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**Forging Identities: The celebration, manipulation and invention of history in
French-speaking Canada through architectural restoration and re-creation**

by

Leah McFeetors, B.A.

**A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts
In Canadian Art History**

Carleton University

OTTAWA, Ontario

August 14th, 2001

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**The undersigned recommend to the Faculty
of Graduate Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis
“Forging Identities: The celebration, manipulation and invention of history in
French-speaking Canada through architectural restoration and re-creation”**

**Submitted by Leah McFeetors, B.A.Hons., (Carleton)
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Master of Arts.**

Michael Bell, Thesis Supervisor

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Ottawa, Ontario

August 2001

Abstract

This thesis demonstrates how architecture and architectural forms can be used within Canada's built environment to assert, mythologize and invent history so that authentic and imagined identities may be articulated. Architecture has frequently been used to promote patrimony and nationality. This is due to its ability to record and forward history. Architecture and architectural forms also contain particular "signs" and symbols with which a nation or group identifies, or longs to identify. Regional histories and, consequently, desired identities, can be resurrected or reconfigured through the deliberate use of specific architectural vocabularies in the course of architectural restoration, reconstruction or appropriation. Although examples of identity promotion and creation from within English-speaking Canada are provided (Shaughnessy Heights and Upper Canada Village, for example), this thesis concentrates on the advancement of specific identities within French-speaking Canada. Four case studies: Place Royale (Quebec City), St. Boniface (Winnipeg), Hull and Vanier (Ottawa), are examined and compared one to the other in order to illustrate how architectural forms and "signs" can be used to legitimate and/or create history, celebrate or invent identities, and represent groups and nations.

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Introduction

The restoration, reconstruction and renovation of the architectural environment have been ongoing for centuries in the Canadian context.¹ Throughout this time approaches to and methodologies used have evolved significantly. However, one thing has remained constant – the forces motivating architectural restoration projects are varied. This thesis will demonstrate that architectural restoration projects within French-speaking communities, as all other similar projects, are neither as simple nor as straightforward as they may appear. They are complex and studied initiatives that silently and forcefully embody national, political, social and economic ideologies. Informed by issues of collective identity and representation, the built environment can be manipulated through the application, modification and appropriation of specific, carefully chosen architectural vocabularies. It is this deliberate manipulation which produces a constructed and imagined identity.

The ultimate root of identity is history for “remembering the past is crucial for our sense of identity ... to know where we were confirms what we are.”² Like identity, however, the past is not fixed or unchanging but is malleable and adaptable. The past is continually being interpreted by individuals, communities and nations in order to strengthen or alter the way in which they want to represent themselves. Looking back to history, preserving it or altering it, demonstrates how much the past is manipulated in order to adapt to the present. The contemporary concerns of an individual or group dictate how they view their personal or collective past, what they save and preserve from the past and what they attempt to forget or ignore.³ Wrote David Lowenthal,

... while preservation formally espouses a fixed and segregated past, it cannot help revealing a past all along being altered to conform with present expectations. What is preserved, like what is remembered, is neither a true nor a stable likeness of past reality.⁴

¹ Throughout this thesis the term “French Canada” is used. This term is intended to include all regions and communities within Canada which sustain French-speaking majorities, including Quebec.

² David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 197.

³ Gerda Lerner asserted that, “What we remember, what we stress as significant, and what we omit of our past defines our present.” *Why History Matters* (Oxford, 1997), p. 199.

⁴ *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 410.

The reshaping of the past is inevitable and continuous as history is never final but is always being revised.

As stated by Gerda Lerner, “History is the archives of human experiences and of the thoughts of past generations; history is our collective memory ...”⁵ This history and collective memory can enjoy a lasting presence within the built environment. However, the alteration of these built forms will consequently alter the reading of both history and identity. If the remains of the past within the built environment do not articulate the desired collective identity of a particular group then architectural restoration practice can be used and forms arranged so that an imagined past, one which sustains the aspirations of the community, is represented. This phenomenon is demonstrated in this thesis through the examination of four case studies within French-speaking Canada. The Place Royale project in Quebec City exemplifies the celebration of a specific era of the city’s history (that of the French) to the exclusion of all others through aggressive demolition and reconstruction. The revitalization of Provencher Boulevard in St. Boniface (Winnipeg), on the other hand, demonstrates how current approaches to architectural restoration attempt to legitimately build upon history and not concentrate on one particular time and culture. The municipalities of Hull, Quebec and Vanier, Ontario, both located within the National Capital Region, have each denied their histories. The proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France* in Hull and the completed Montreal Road renovations in Vanier are lessons in historical fabrication through architectural design and manipulation.

Rustic fieldstone and plastered timber buildings, steep hipped and gambrel roofs accentuated with bellcast eaves, raised porches and heavy chimneys are some of the components and forms that make up the architectural vocabulary associated with historic Quebec construction. Frequently these architectural characteristics, along with other “Frenchified” elements such as fleurs-de-lis ornamentation and wrought iron detailing, have been restored and reproduced within French-speaking communities in Canada in order to enhance or construct a French past so that a desired French identity may be

⁵ Lerner, p. 52.

advanced. This architectural idiom of New France (Old Quebec) – preserved, appropriated and reconstructed – is easily identifiable by the majority of Canadians and when seen within the built environment is regarded as the sign of an existing French history. It has thus been used both within and outside of Quebec by a number of French-speaking communities who long to pursue and project a French identity.

The past is integral to a sense of personal and collective identity. Without the past we could have no true sense or understanding of who we are, no way to cope with or understand our current reality. Our identities are inextricably linked to our histories and when these identities are threatened (by external conquering cultures, for example) we cling even more tenaciously to our pasts. David Lowenthal wrote, “Buffeted by change, we retain traces of our past to be sure of our enduring identity.”⁶ French Canada has sought and continues to pursue, continuity and a recognized distinctiveness – goals which can be realized through the celebration of a French history.

The British Conquest of New France, almost two and a half centuries ago, forced cultural, political and social change upon its French-speaking populace. Surrounded by British influence and cut off from its European roots, the conquered French culture was forced to turn in on itself. Instead of assimilating to the new dominant British culture, the French persevered and maintained their language, religion and civil laws, which were assured by treaty. Their identity became centered on the perceived homogenous “golden age” of the pre-Conquest, French colonial past and it is this history which has regularly become the model for social and cultural self-definition amongst French Canadians.

Despite their ability to maintain a French way of life, the Québécois, along with other French-speaking Canadians, became a minority in a new Anglo-dominated nation. Fearing assimilation and the resulting destruction of their culture, which was and continues to be linked directly to their unique identity, the Québécois, beginning in the early twentieth century (thanks in large part to Marius Barbeau) engaged in a struggle to

⁶ David Lowenthal. “Past Time. Present Place: Landscape and Memory”. *Geographical Review* (January, 1975), p. 9.

celebrate and remember their heritage.⁷ This distinctive heritage is clearly identifiable in their architecture, an easily accessible and lasting medium.

The built environment, constituted of strong, largely enduring fabrics such as masonry, timber and brick, can remain a presence for centuries. Architecture is evidence of the past in contemporary surroundings, thereby affirming present-day French-Canadian identity. An examination of cultural policy bearing upon preservation and restoration of that built environment therefore engages in the arena of cultural representation. Policies of preservation and restoration often demonstrate a calculated attempt on the part of French Canada to establish a continuity with a preferred historic past: the pre-Conquest era. The historic architectural elements and designs associated with Old Quebec have consistently been used, whether within historically indigenous areas or not, to assert, mythologize and create a past, which aims at empowering the French Canadian present and future.

This exaltation of the past is intended to shape a cultural identity in a manner that comforts the present,⁸ a present which in French Canada is still considered to have been determined by British force. It is this longing for pre-Conquest authenticity, the refusal of the hybrid present, that drives the incessant renewal of past forms in French Canada. David Lowenthal, although not specifically referring to French Canada, nor to Quebec in particular, wrote of the connection between a defeated culture and its need to identify with its pre-conquest history in his 1985 publication, The Past is a Foreign Country. He stated,

Identification with a national past often serves as an assurance of worth against subjugation or bolsters a new sovereignty. Peoples deprived by conquest of their proper past strive hard to retrieve its validating comforts.⁹

⁷ Marius Barbeau (1883-1969) was a Quebec-born anthropologist who, in the early 1920s, began collecting French Canadian folk songs and tales. Becoming a consequential player in the preservation of Quebec culture, Barbeau was also very much involved in the maintenance of French Quebec's rural and craft traditions. Architectural historians Gérard Morisset (in Quebec City) and Ramsay Traquair (at McGill University in Montreal) were also very influential in the preservation of traditional Québécois styles, designs, etc.

⁸ The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 333.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

It is this yearning for validation among Canada's French-speaking populations and the drive to create a familiar environment with which its inhabitants can readily identify that encourages the "incorporat[ion] and fabricat[ion] [of] memorabilia."¹⁰

This notion of constructing and inscribing retrospective representation through architecture to create an imagined past can be demonstrated by two unique, but connected, strategies typical of restoration practice in French-speaking Canada. The first is the systematic selection, restoration and re-creation of specific architectural forms with the intention of celebrating a relevant local history. This is evident in the use and romanticization of specific French-inspired elements, to the exclusion of all other relevant historic periods and products. The second is the deliberate invention of an "instantaneous" French history, where none originally existed, through the erection and careful creation of fictitious architectural elements reminiscent of Old Quebec.

The methodology employed throughout this thesis is fairly simple and straightforward. Comparison is used frequently. The past and current French Canadian identity and its projection within the context of architectural restoration and re-creation is examined through inquiry into the relevant history of each of the sites of the four main case studies. This determines the extent to which an indigenous and continuous French history exists within each of the localities. Quebec City, for example, has sustained a largely homogenous French history while the examination of St. Boniface reveals a more heterogeneous past. Hull and Vanier lack French histories altogether. The determination of the degree to which French histories inform the individual communities allows for an insight into how each site has been modified to either confirm or deny their respective histories through their individual restoration projects. The restoration methodologies and underlying strategies that they have consequently employed and the approach used for each particular project is then reviewed, determining whether and how history has been revised so that it differs from what was earlier confirmed, and why. How each of the sites has responded to the current and past methods of architectural restoration used is

¹⁰ "Past Time, Present Place", p. 6.

also examined. The projects are analysed through the theoretical lenses of cultural geography, post-colonial discourse, literary and semiotic theory, identity and nationalism.

The literature used for this thesis has been both very specific and quite broad. Articles, books and reports pertaining to the specific case studies discussed have been collected through provincial and municipal governments, Heritage Canada, l'Université de Laval and local libraries. Works dealing with notions of history, nationality and identity, myth, cultural geography and collective memory were examined for theoretical insights. Works by Eric Hobsbawm, Benedict Anderson, Homi K. Bhabha, David Lowenthal, Edward Relph, Martha Norkunas and Richard Handler, among others, will be discussed at length in Chapter One. Literature pertaining to the touristic potential of historic sites was consulted at various points but only marginally due to the focus of this particular thesis on the issues informing the advancement of particular local identities through the manipulation of the built environment.

A large number of authors have theorized identity creation and manipulation in discussions of memory, history, culture and tradition. However, the vast majority of them have focused on either Britain or the United States and the Canadian scene, especially that of French Canada, has been largely disregarded. The precarious and continually evolving Canadian identity, with its two competing founding cultures, has long been an issue of study and discussion, yet few writers have drawn a direct link between architectural restorations and reproductions with the mythologization and creation of an identity within the French Canadian sphere. A number of authors have, however, equated the manipulation and use of certain architectural forms with the intent to promote or create a more generalized "Canadian" identity. For example, Luc Noppen, a Québécois scholar and architectural historian, contributed an article to the 1996 SSAC Bulletin that outlined Lord Dufferin's attempts to modify Quebec City's architecture so that it better provided a dual (French and English) image of nationhood. Harold Kalman, along with other authors,¹¹ postulated that the chateau-style railway hotels erected across

¹¹ Christopher Thomas, "'Canadian Castles'? The Question of National Styles in Architecture Revisited," Journal of Canadian Studies vol. 32 (1997) and Abraham Rogatnick, "Canadian Castles – Phenomenon of the Railway Hotel," Architectural Review vol. 141 (May, 1996), are examples.

the Canadian landscape throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were intended to advance a vision of national unity. Moreover, discussion surrounding attempts to create or celebrate local identities through specific architectural styles and groupings within English Canada likewise appear to be readily available. For instance, numerous essays and articles have critiqued and/or praised the formation of Upper Canada Village, located near Morrisburg, Ontario, and the ensuing celebration of the Loyalists' contribution to Canadian heritage.¹² Other case studies, including Shaughnessy Heights in Vancouver, British Columbia, have also been examined from an architecture-as-means-to-create-identity point of view.

Equal attention has not been paid, however, to the study of this same phenomenon within French Canada. Luc Noppen has written and/or contributed to several other pieces of literature, which address (without analysis) the topic of architectural fabrication as a means to create and mythologize history within Quebec. These include his report L'avenir de la Place Royale (1978) and his contribution to La restauration à la Place Royale de Québec (1978).¹³ However, these writings, along with his earlier mentioned article, "The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Quebec," have concentrated exclusively on Quebec City and have not included similar illustrations in other parts of the province nor in any other French-speaking municipalities across the country. Furthermore, Noppen has not undertaken to explore at any great length the motivations fueling these alterations and fabrications. On the other hand, Richard Handler, in Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec (1988), highlights the importance of contemporary political sentiment in cultural policy (and thus to the dynamics involved in projects such as Place Royale). This publication, as the title indicates, again focuses only on Quebec and very little on architecture. No direct correlation is made between architectural restoration/reproduction and the assertion of a French image of self.

¹² Some of these include John de Visser and William J. Patterson's Upper Canada Village (1981) and Gary Thompson's Village Life in Upper Canada (1988).

¹³ André Cloutier and Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau are co-authors.

There exists a generous amount of material on the history of the Place Royale project and especially on the site itself. This is not surprising considering work has been ongoing there since the 1950s. Material criticizing the manner in which the site has been “restored” is also readily available (from both Anglophone and Francophone perspectives), although the majority of these analyses focus solely on technique and very little is mentioned regarding the underlying motivations supporting the employed methodologies.¹⁴ The more recent municipal designs, however, such as the proposed French heritage development in Hull and the desired Main Street (*Rues Principales*) rehabilitation in St. Boniface, Manitoba, are almost entirely lacking in public documentation. Although the late twentieth century Montreal Road alterations in Vanier have received some published coverage in local newspapers, none of these last three projects has been critically examined.

Before theories on nationalism and identity and their connection to the built environment and the collective memory can be applied specifically to French Canada, an examination of the existing body of relevant work is necessary. The majority of Chapter One is dedicated to this examination. Various approaches to the link between history and identity, history and the built environment, history and collective memory, the built environment and identity, and the built environment and collective memory are reviewed. The history of identity creation within Canada is likewise investigated, demonstrating that there exists within Canada a long-standing tradition of modifying or creating architectural forms to forge both national and local identities. Examples within English Canada are provided, proving that the issue of self-representation among French-speaking Canadians and the search for a collective identity, through the alteration and invention of monuments and sites, is not a circumstance restricted solely to French Canada.

Chapter Two concentrates specifically on the first two case studies within the Francophone environment – Place Royale in Quebec City and Provencher Boulevard in St. Boniface, Manitoba. Both of these projects are supported by a French historical

¹⁴ Some English-speaking authors do make the political connection to the restoration methodology

context but the strategies informing their development have been very different. The examination and comparison of the sociological, historical, religious and economic differences between the two communities provides insight into the respective methodological strategies adopted. Each of the strategies employed is assessed.

Chapter Three introduces and compares two final case studies. The *Projet Nouvelle-France* in Hull and Montreal Road's revitalization in Vanier are the subjects of analysis. Unlike the communities hosting the projects studied in Chapter Two, however, Hull and Vanier do not have French origins and both have chosen to forward their desired French identities through the deliberate invention of a past. The use of uniform design schemes is intended to reinforce the public (French) identity each of the two communities longs to advance. The reasons behind this denial of the past are made clear as the strategy of invention is examined more fully as it relates to the political and economic positions of Hull and Vanier.

These four case studies provide ongoing evidence of French Canada's assertion of itself culturally, politically, historically and economically, needs often manifested within the architectural environment.

employed at Place Royale. They will be discussed more fully in Chapter Two.

Chapter One: Constructing Identity: the Built Environment as a Vehicle for the Re-interpretation and Re-imagining of History

*"... in the context of contemporary life, the sense of identity and place is unique and significant in the shaping of the human environment."*¹

Michael Hough

This chapter concentrates on how and why groups and nations represent themselves as they do. The advocacy of deliberately chosen collective identities can be accomplished through the interpretation of history and the manipulation of the built environment; the built environment can be manipulated to reflect the interpreted history. Justification for the promotion of a specific identity is commonly grounded in nationalism. The first section of this chapter examines identity as it relates to nationalism, history and the built environment. This is followed by a discussion surrounding the myths, meanings and symbols inherent in architectural forms, all of which, according to semiotic theory, contain readable signs that can likewise be used to forward or promote a sought after identity.

Our identities are not entirely predetermined. Regardless of the era and culture into which we were born, the language we speak and our ancestry and heritage, our identities are largely malleable. Sociologist Manuel Castells, in his publication The Power of Identity (1997), maintains that "all identities are constructed"; none are overlooked or left to chance.² Scholar Benedict Anderson, who believes that identities are a collective product of the human imagination, makes a similar assertion in his book, Imagined Communities (1991).³ We imagine ourselves collectively and individually as we long to be perceived by ourselves, by fellow group members and by outsiders. The tangible realities evinced by these constructions and imaginings are visible in the built environment. Architecture, like the human identity, is malleable and readily affords an outlet for the collective positioning of identities because it stands "as evidence of the

¹ Michael Hough. Out of Place – Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape (New Haven, 1990). p. 2.

² Manuel Castells, The Power of Identity (Malden, Massachusetts, 1997) p. 7.

³ Rachel Beatty, "Review Essay: Primordialism versus Constructivism," The Nationalism Project (Madison, 1999). p. 1. www.wisc.edu/nationalism/books/bookrevs/beattyrev.htm June 11, 2001

history of people and nations.”⁴ Therefore, the restoration, re-creation and/or reconstruction of a building also lend insight into the society responsible for its alteration; the identity the group wishes to embrace is manifested in the built environment. The examples studied in this thesis illustrate the power of the imagined community and its ability to construct and alter itself through the manipulation of the built environment.

Nation and History

Nations are a product of an imagined or constructed identity and as such they provide an important reference for identity building. The forwarding of a national identity is commonly revealed in the built environment. Nations regularly manipulate architectural products, attempting to provide the inhabitants with a visual link to their shared identity, their cultural legitimacy and a sense of collective unity and continuity. Because the quest for nationalism often incorporates some of the strongest instances of identity construction, its examination penetrates the question of imagined collectivities. In fact the nation represents the most powerful (and ubiquitous) of group identities. As Castells claims, nations are also constructed and as such they provide an important reference for identity building.⁵ While the building of national identities has been ongoing for millennia the definition of nationalism has been anything but static, changing constantly over the centuries. In order to understand the current interpretation of the nation and of nationalism one must first understand its development. Eric Hobsbawm’s Nations and Nationalism since 1780 (1992) provides a useful historical overview of the notion of nationalism as it pertains to the pursuit of a collective identity and is consequently outlined briefly below.

The modern concept of the nation as an ethnically, linguistically and historically united group of people is recent. Hobsbawm contends that before the 1830s the concept of the nation was rooted in political affiliations and geographical boundaries. The ethnic make-up of the people within these boundaries was of little concern. Emphasis was,

⁴ Renato Bonelli, “Principles of Architectural Restoration and Urban Restoration and Conservation,” Encyclopedia of World Art vol. XII (New York, 1996), p. 195.

⁵ Castells writes, “nationalism is indeed culturally and politically constructed.” p. 32.

instead, placed on civic inclinations.⁶ During the French Revolution, for example, the people defined themselves as a united group based not on a common language or ethnicity, but on their shared political goals.⁷ Theories identifying nations with ethnic descent were, at this point, non-existent.

The period from 1830 to 1880, referred to by Hobsbawm as the period of “liberal nationalism”, maintained a tolerance for heterogeneity.⁸ What became all important for the pursuit of nationhood during this phase was economic prosperity and expansionism. It was discovered that a functioning government capable of careful administration was essential to the attainment of prosperity. Nation, state and economy, thanks in large part to the American federalist Alexander Hamilton, became linked. The ‘threshold principle’ grew from this connection between nation and economic wealth; territories that could not function self-sufficiently due to a deficiency in size could never nourish independent nationhood. Instead, according to this principle, small groups were absorbed into larger wholes, forming expanded and politically strengthened entities.⁹ This process of nation building resulted in a forced yet accepted mix of ethnic backgrounds and, according to Hobsbawm, the many differences in language and culture within the unified groups were celebrated and cherished, never issues of segregation.¹⁰ People identified themselves as diverse and multi-cultural groups united under the larger umbrella of an economically sound federation.

The principle of nationality changed dramatically in the pre-war period between 1880 and 1914. The ‘threshold principle’ was abandoned and consequently the right to self-determination was claimed by a number of smaller groups. Amalgamation became a rejected concept as notions of Darwinian evolutionism invaded the European intellectual community. These new inclinations produced a dangerous quest for racial purity and groups began to purge their communities, languages etc. of foreign influences. Conflict between groups escalated as xenophobia developed. From this point onwards ethnicity,

⁶ Eric Hobsbawm, Nations and Nationalism Since 1780 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 15-18.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

⁹ The unification of a number of separate states to form the Kingdom of Italy on March 17, 1861, is an example of this trend towards amalgamation.

language and history became central to the definition of nation. People began to identify themselves as members of specific elite groups, each group special and unique from any other.

In the post war period the understanding of nationalism shifted from “a concept associated with liberalism and the left into a chauvinist, imperialist and xenophobic movement of the right.”¹¹ Separatism and elitism became securely linked to nationhood, a situation enforced by the Wilsonian principle. This principle, proposed by American President Woodrow Wilson, attempted to systematically create a European continent with defined and united “territorial states each inhabited by a separate ethnically and linguistically homogenous population.”¹² Minorities became lost and/or expunged from this interpretation of the principle of nationality, as the unmixed nation became the sought-after condition.¹³

The aftermath of anti-colonialism and the trend of separatism brought about by the break-up of the USSR and the eruption of ethnic wars in Yugoslavia have, today, made the international scene increasingly sensitive to cultural differences. Many smaller groups within larger countries are currently claiming nation status.¹⁴ This is fueled by what Hobsbawm calls “non-competing multi-lingualism or bilingualism.”¹⁵ Recently, according to Hobsbawm, a number of regional dialects the world over have received official recognition within their respective countries. As language has become an undeniable means of identifying and separating groups its role in delineating what is a nation has increased. Ethnic and religious tolerance, however, continue to be pursued but largely elusive conditions.

Theories and ideologies of identity creation, as it relates to nations and individuals, have been advanced by a number of authors over the last thirty years. The majority of their discussions have linked the construction of identities to the existence

¹⁰ Hobsbawm, p. 35.

¹¹ Ibid., p. 121.

¹² Ibid., p. 133.

¹³ These notions of ethnic purity informed Nazi ideology leading up to the Holocaust endured by European Jews in World War II.

¹⁴ The Canadian province of Quebec remains a clear example.

¹⁵ Hobsbawm, p. 162.

and/or manipulation of the following elements: history, geography, the physical environment and its preservation/restoration, collective memory and politics.¹⁶ The majority of the authors cited below have adopted the current interpretation of nationalism, equating the nation with segregated cultural experiences through exclusive histories, languages, built environments, etc. A brief examination of several of these authors' works will establish how these cultural realities and products can be shaped to create and advance a sense of collective self (i.e., a sense of belonging to a nation).

One of the key building blocks in the construction of a nation, or "imagined community", as Benedict Anderson defines it, is a shared history. As French philosopher Simone Weil aptly expressed, "a collectivity has its roots in the past," meaning that we cannot know who we are without it.¹⁷ Our past is therefore unquestionably integral to our sense of identity and, in fact, our histories define our presents and how we (and others) regard and understand ourselves. Kevin Lynch, an urban planner who wrote What Time is this Place? (1972), believes that an appreciation of and connection to the past is crucial to the well-being of the present, stating that "a desirable image [identity] is one that celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with past and future."¹⁸

A large part of the above-mentioned publication is dedicated to the temporality inherent within the physical environment. Lynch construes the physical environment as "an emblem of past, present and future time."¹⁹ Due to its ability to record passing time, the physical environment, asserts Lynch, is a mirror of culture (and thus of identity).²⁰ It contains clues as to the identity of the group responsible for its human artifacts. The physical environment as a cultural landscape often bears imprints of human existence. These imprints, such as monuments and buildings, are largely responsible for our

¹⁶ Manuel Castells believes that "the construction of identities uses building materials from history, from geography, from biology, from productive and reproductive institutions, from collective memory and from personal fantasies, from power apparatuses and religious revelations." p. 7.

¹⁷ Simone Weil, The Need for Roots (New York, 1971), p. 8.

¹⁸ Kevin Lynch, What Time Is This Place? (Cambridge, 1972), p. 1.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid., p. 218.

understanding of a particular locality within a particular period; they stand as testaments to a people, their beliefs, customs and culture.²¹

Groups identify with their spatial surroundings and architecture. Architecture, a cultural product found within the physical environment, is directly linked to a group's expression of self. Its manipulation via preservation, restoration or destruction, is a direct reflection of how group representation and identification can change and grow. Lynch believes that the preservation of an environment is a means to maintain a specific response to that environment.²² It is also a way to hold onto the past, which is "known, familiar, a possession in which we may feel secure," for the preservation of a specific cultural monument can simultaneously preserve a specific moment within a group's past.²³ Due to the fact that, as Lynch explains, groups "[rely] on history to maintain coherence and common purpose in moments of stress and disunity" these preserved monuments are typically those worth remembering and celebrating.²⁴ The Québécois, for example, whose nationalism of past years led them to assert their French roots, often downplayed, ignored or even destroyed products within their spatial environment that could be connected to the British culture while pre-Conquest, French Regime products were honored and extolled. This was a way for the sovereignty-seeking Québécois to maintain a visual and physical connection (or "response" as Lynch calls it) to their French history; the Québécois or French Canadian landscape was preserved to make visible their desire to promote a French-rooted identity.²⁵

Lynch regards the manipulation of historic products within the built environment as a reflection of a group or nation's present and future circumstance. Holding on to the past determines how a group envisions its present, which in turn decides how a group will contemplate its future. He writes, "we preserve present signals of the past or control the

²¹ Certain built forms are commonly associated with certain groups; they become symbols of the group's communal spirit. Igloos, for example, are representative of the traditional Inuit dwelling and are easily identifiable as such, while the combination of bellcast caves, raised porches and steep rooflines conjure an image of traditional lodgings within the province of Quebec.

²² Lynch, p. 53.

²³ Ibid., p. 65.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁵ Architectural preservation is not the only approach adopted to maintain a connection to a chosen point in history. Architectural restoration, recreation and reconstruction can all accomplish the same ends.

present to satisfy our images of the future.”²⁶ He continues, “[nations/groups] preserve, create or destroy the past to build a secure sense of the future.”²⁷ In the 1960s and ’70s especially, when Quebec nationalism was at its peak, the Québécois deliberately chose to preserve and foreground their French past. The strong nationalistic sentiment at that time motivated the protection of all things related to Quebec’s French history. This concurrently affirmed an image of a sovereign, French-speaking and independent Quebec: *je me souviens*.

David Lowenthal, who has contributed a number of books and articles to the discourse of identity construction, elaborates on many of Lynch’s concepts. He continues the discussion of the pertinence of history and of the architectural environment and its preservation in the representation of group identity. Lowenthal also touches on the discourse addressing the idea of collective memory. His 1975 article, “Past Time, Present Place” (1975), and his book, The Past is a Foreign Country (1985), both advance Lowenthal’s thesis. He maintains that our past, which is so inescapably evident in the built environment, is not detachable from our identity; it is a requirement in the visualization and understanding of whom we are both individually and collectively.

Lowenthal, echoing but strengthening Lynch’s earlier assertions, establishes the importance history plays in our daily survival. “Our ability to recall and identify with our own past,” he states, “gives existence meaning, purpose and value.”²⁸ He argues that without our past we are anonymous and therefore, because we define ourselves through our history, without identity.²⁹ Like Lynch, Lowenthal declares that environments are repositories for the past and that “we need the past ... to cope with present landscapes.”³⁰ Without the places that retain evidence of our pasts we are destined to suffer from anonymity. The tangible past within our spatial environment must therefore be protected and coveted.

²⁶ Lynch, p. 65.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 3.

²⁸ David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge, 1985), p. 41.

²⁹ David Lowenthal, “Past Time, Present Place,” The Geographical Review (January, 1975), p. 2.

³⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

Lowenthal writes, “the place of the past in any landscape is as much the product of present interest as of past history.”³¹ The present regularly impacts the past; today’s circumstances determine how we interpret and understand the past, influencing our recollections and determining what we choose to preserve and glorify within the landscape. The exaltation of the past also comforts the present and makes it familiar.³² If a nation or group is enduring uncertainty and stress in the present, they are likely to look back to a time in their collective history when stability and prosperity ruled, a phenomenon described earlier by Lynch.³³ Lowenthal’s main argument stems from the ability of a nation or group to re-imagine its history: the past (our imagining and understanding of it) is alterable and open to interpretation. As history is constructed and reconstructed so is the accompanying group identity.

Why would a society actively modify and re-imagine its history? According to Lowenthal, “the most compelling motive for altering the past” is not only “to change the present” but in so doing “to secure national hegemony.”³⁴ Nations consciously “fashion new collective histories”³⁵ and “continually reinterpret traces of their own history” in order to forward imagined or sought-after identities that suit the present day needs and concerns of the commonality involved.³⁶ A strong identity is crucial to the shared well-being and collective potency of a community. An ill-defined, weak or non-existent identity produces feelings of disconnection, uncertainty and confusion, as discussed above. Nations cannot exist, nor induce their inhabitants to a forcible sense of nationalism, without an established identity. The re-arrangement of the past can establish an appropriately powerful identity through which a nation’s citizens can proudly unite.

³¹ “Past Time, Present Place.” p. 24.

³² For example, European settlers to North America gave Old World place names to new sites and erected familiar architectural structures in an attempt to provide a continuing link between their past and their present.

³³ “Past Time, Present Place.” p. 12.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 27. Lowenthal continues, “Most of all we alter the past to ‘improve’ it – exaggerating aspects we find successful, virtuous, or beautiful, celebrating what we take pride in, playing down the ignoble, the ugly, the shameful.” p. 332.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

One of the most malleable aspects of the past, and therefore one of the most often manipulated, is the built environment. A lasting visual representation and reminder of history, it provides a nation with a record of its past achievements and thus remains an emblem “of communal identity, continuity and aspiration.”³⁷ National imagery may be enhanced within the built environment. Lowenthal claims,

Patriotism is a major stimulus for preserving and displaying the tangible past. History in the landscape [i.e. architecture] often stands for durable national ideals.³⁸

In an effort to emphasize their uniqueness and justify an independent future, Canada’s French-speaking Québécois have linked patriotism to their collective (pre-conquered) past.³⁹ Heritage conservation policies in Quebec have tended to preserve the architecture of New France, while choosing to excise the post-Conquest accretions. (Most recent approaches elsewhere call for the temporal layering to be preserved.) British architectural contributions to Quebec City’s historic landscape are not only downplayed but, in the case of the Place Royale project discussed in Chapter 2, eliminated. Through the restoration and re-creation of certain architectural aspects its French origins are glorified so that Place Royale supports a vision of French cultural continuity. This intentional glorification of the French contribution to Quebec City (at the expense of that made by the British) is what Lowenthal has referred to as “cultural prejudice”, a driving force behind “what is preserved [in the built environment], what is suffered to vanish, and what is deliberately destroyed.”⁴⁰ Any such architectural features that “reflect shame [i.e. any reminder of the British Conquest] may be ignored or expunged from the landscape.”⁴¹

The preservation, restoration or reconstruction of the built environment is useful not only in forwarding desired “national ideals” through selective historic glorification, or the “reorder[ing of] past scenes” but it also “creates wholly new ones” so that

³⁷ *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. xvi.

³⁸ “Past Time, Present Place”, p. 13.

³⁹ This patriotism is often encouraged and backed by local politicians and political parties. It is not an isolated phenomenon brought into existence and celebrated by the populace independently.

⁴⁰ “Past Time, Present Place”, p. 31.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

“fabrications ... become fixed recollections.”⁴² The former city of Vanier, Ontario, for example, which owes its existence to Anglophone settlers, recently introduced architectural elements (inspired by New France) intended to cultivate an aura of French history more agreeable to the current French-speaking majority. A new French past (and thus identity) has been “invented” through the manipulation of the built environment.⁴³ Lowenthal asserts, “By changing relics and records of former times [within a landscape], we change ourselves as well; the revised in turn alters our own identity.”⁴⁴

Referring specifically to architecture, John Ruskin wrote in his Seven Lamps of Architecture (1849), “We may live without her, and worship without her, but we cannot remember without her.”⁴⁵ A repository for social recollections, the built environment is not only a fundamental element of place but also a lasting visual representation and reminder of history. It stands as a memory device. This device, however, is not necessarily reliable; it is capable of leading off in a multitude of directions, directions that can result in a recasting of history and a restructuring of memory itself. Landscapes are readily altered and/or composed by groups and communities so that they corroborate memory’s fabrications, turning inventions and preferences into realities. Place Royale is a clear case of memory modifying history, a phenomenon which serves to underline Paul Connerton’s statement, in his publication, How Societies Remember (1989), that “... the practice of historical reconstruction can in important ways receive a guiding impetus from, and can in turn give significant shape to, the memory of social groups.”⁴⁶ Memory, like the built environment, is not fixed but alters over time. It is fully capable of transforming the known past into what a nation or community believes it could or should have been. Lowenthal explains, “The more strenuously we build a desired past, the more we convince ourselves that things really were that way; what ought to have happened becomes what did happen.”⁴⁷ By changing the geographical (visual) surroundings, and thus the material evidence of history (through erasure, exchange or invention), a

⁴² “Past Time, Present Place,” p. 33.

⁴³ A term used by Lowenthal, *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁴⁴ The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 411.

⁴⁵ John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (London, 1907), p. 182.

⁴⁶ Paul Connerton, How Societies Remember (Cambridge, 1989), p. 14.

community can revise collective memory to suit both personal and collective aspirations. These aspirations can include a striving toward unity and/or a longing to be part of a particular cultural group.⁴⁸

Collective memory is only one element used as a means of representation. The importance of geographical setting and surroundings, or “place”, as they relate to group identity, is another. The significance of our surroundings has been discussed by Edward Relph in his book titled Place and Placelessness (1976). Relph’s approach to nationalism is very similar to that of Lynch and Lowenthal. Although he focuses greater attention on geography than history, Relph returns to the built environment and also establishes its role as a means of identification. He writes, “...places are indeed a fundamental aspect of man’s existence in the world ... they are sources of security and identity for individuals and for groups of people.”⁴⁹ Nations are often, though not always, rooted geographically to a place. For instance, the Canadian identity cannot be separated from the vast and diverse countryside, the harsh and unforgivable climate, or the indigenous flora and fauna. Where we come from is of great importance in determining how we define ourselves; our surroundings are indicative of how we view ourselves, both individually and collectively. This is due to the fact that, as Relph believes, places have the ability to act as “records and expressions of the cultural values and experiences of those who credit and live in them.”⁵⁰

The built products (i.e. architecture) within these places are the records to which Relph refers. He writes, “...architectural space, although founded on and contributing to

⁴⁷ The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 326.

⁴⁸ Christine Boyer, The City of Collective Memory (Cambridge, 1994), believes that memory, the built environment and collective identity are intermingled and connected. She claims that the built environment is not only a fundamental element of place but also a lasting visual representation and reminder of history crucial to a group’s ability to remember. (p. 225) She argues, as did Lowenthal, that memories are self-serving and that architectural reconstruction can be used to purposefully produce a previously non-existent collective memory or obliterate memories deemed unacceptable to the advancement of a desired identity. Boyer believes that synthetic memories are created when historic sites and monuments are too actively restored and reconstructed. She writes, “today we might say that the pervasive appearance of historic districts in our western cities, the nostalgically designed theme parks and historically coded styles of life, have tilted the scale toward a contemporary form of memory crisis.” (p. 131) Boyer contends that architectural forms are not without meaning; embedded within them is a latent mythology capable of relaying both personal and collective myths. (pp. 193 and 196)

⁴⁹ Edward C. Relph, Place and Placelessness (London, 1976), p. 16.

unselfconscious spatial experiences, involves a deliberate attempt to create spaces.”⁵¹ We define ourselves not only through our surrounding environments but also through what we choose to include and erect within these places. The creation of spaces correlates directly with the creation of identities and therefore the examination of regional constructions within the spatial environment can allow not only for the recognition of a particular place but also for the recognition of the culture or group responsible for their erection. Architecture provides the meanings that allow for a place to be known; it acts as a visual representation of identity.⁵²

As a theorist of the notion of nationalism Benedict Anderson must examine issues of representation and identity. He lays out an involved definition of nationalism, which includes the analysis of these issues, in his book Imagined Communities. The first edition became available in 1983 and after its revision it was re-published in 1991. Like Hobsbawm, Anderson outlines the dawning of nationalism (an event he also connects to the eighteenth century), its growth and transformations. However, unlike Hobsbawm, Anderson devotes a good deal of energy to the definition of nationalism, an ideology which he believes has exerted “immense influence ... on the modern world.”⁵³

Anderson moves away from any direct discussion of architecture and the built environment, although he does align nationality and nationalism with “cultural artifacts,” of which the built environment is an undeniable example.⁵⁴ He concentrates, instead, on the notion of the nation as a *created* social system. Anderson declares that nation-ness, nationality and nationalism are “*inventions*”; they can be organized and manipulated to

⁵⁰ Relph, p. 61.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

⁵² Lucy Lippard, in her publication, The Lure of the Local (New York, 1997), like Relph, concentrates on the significance locality plays in group representation. However, like Lowenthal, she also recognizes the roles of history and collective memory, both of which she believes can be altered to fit with topical conceptions of identity through architectural manipulations. Referring to architectural alterations she writes, “According to current fashion, the ravages of time can be removed for effect, maintained for effect, even counterfeited for effect.” p. 92.

⁵³ Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism (London, 1991), p. 3.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

cultivate a desired identity.⁵⁵ Anderson defines the nation as something illusory, “an imagined political community.”⁵⁶ He contends that

It is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.⁵⁷

This “image” is the identity that has likewise been concocted, a collective product of the human imagination. Echoing statements made earlier by Lowenthal, Anderson argues that nations actively engage in “the construction and reconstruction of identities” through which their own pasts are interpreted and meanings are asserted.⁵⁸ These constructions, as stated earlier by other authors, allow “impositions of the present” to be resisted and a particularly imagined future to take hold.

Not only is Anderson’s nation imagined, it is also fluid. This is because the identities with which nations connect themselves vary over time and space according to the group or nation’s needs and desires; they are not static but forever changing based on social, economic and political circumstance. This means that the national identity of a group during one period may not be congruent with the same group’s identity at a later time. Regardless of this fluidity Anderson maintains that such identities, through the assertion of nationalism, are always created. Like Lowenthal, Anderson also sees this creation of identity as linked to history; a group’s past determines how it sees itself and its future. Anderson writes, “Nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies,”⁵⁹ “the nation ... is conceived as a solid community moving steadily down (or up) history.”⁶⁰ A group or nation’s history can never be completely separated from its identity.

Homi K. Bhabha, too, believes that identities, or nations, are constructed and that their power lies in their symbolic force, a force which is only fully realized “in the mind’s

⁵⁵ Anderson, p. 156.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Rachel Beatty, p. 3.

⁵⁹ Anderson, p. 149.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

eye,” i.e. in a group’s perception of itself.⁶¹ Bhabha claims that nations are like narratives, or stories – constructed and alterable. Not only are they the products of a collectivity’s imaginings and therefore intangible, but they also “lose their origins in the myths of time”; they are not solid or fixed realities but fluid and temporal.⁶² This is due to the assertion that identities are constructed and imagined – as a group’s needs and desires change so does the nation that they have created. Like the group’s beliefs the nation, too, slips away from its “original” perception to something new.

Bhabha, in fact, does not believe that the nation, without “hideous extremity,” can exist as an ethnically pure commodity.⁶³ If a nation’s identity is to be strictly homogenous then such a state can only be achieved “through the death, literal and figurative, of the complex interweavings of history, and the culturally contingent borderlines of modern nationhood.”⁶⁴ In his publication, The Location of Culture (1994) Bhabha writes, “The agency of identification is never pure or holistic but always constituted in a process of substitution, displacement or projection.”⁶⁵ The province of Quebec, for example, no longer has a pure French culture. Although fragments of this original civilization do exist, new cultures have also been introduced and subsequently blended (the British, for instance, with their Conquest of New France and, more recently, the arrival of numerous immigrants to Quebec from all over the world) with the French ethnicity to create a new and diversified identity for Quebec. Pieces of other civilizations and cultures have intermingled so that the result is a layered hybridity. The conclusion of The Location of Culture summarized in New Perspectives Quarterly follows: “the location of culture today is not in some pure core inherited from tradition, but at the edges of contact between civilizations where new, ‘in-between’, or hybrid identities are being forged.”⁶⁶

⁶¹ Homi K. Bhabha, “Introduction: narrating the nation,” Nation and Narration ed. Homi K. Bhabha (New York, 1990), p. 1.

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ Homi K. Bhabha, The Location of Culture (New York, 1994), p. 5.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 162.

⁶⁶ “Life at the Border: Hybrid Identities of the Present,” New Perspectives Quarterly vol. 14, no. 1. (1999-2000), www.npq.org/issues/v141/p30.html July 26, 2001.

Identity and nationhood are thus complex and layered. Certain layers can be ignored (as the Quebec nationalists have tried to ignore the British influence on the province) but this is an imagining, a construction, for the layer remains an historical reality regardless. As Bhabha states, “The demand for identification becomes, primarily, a response to other questions of signification and desire, culture and politics.”⁶⁷ This means that groups ignore or expunge legitimate layers of history from their collective identity in an attempt to establish and present an ethnically pure identity for the reasons discussed above and below.

Martha Norkunas, author of The Politics of Public Memory (1993), likewise views the past as an essential element in the determination of identity. She believes that this past can be selectively reconstructed “to affirm a particular ideology.”⁶⁸ Citing Richard Handler’s monograph on Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec, Norkunas points out that the nation is not “an objective, bounded unit” nor is history “constructed of solid facts,”⁶⁹ but, as is the case in French Quebec’s drive toward sovereignty, a nation and its history are created in the interest of establishing a simplified and generalized image.⁷⁰ With the collapse of history these images become myths and these myths, argues Norkunas, are regularly visible in the built environment.

The built environment provides a ready means for groups to forward selected aspects of the past through its reconstruction and re-creation. For example, “monuments and historical sites,” such as Place Royale, “meant to symbolize complex movements or historical events, [can be manipulated so that they] enshrine singular visions of the past.”⁷¹ Such visual reconstructions and reinterpretations of history reconfigure reality in an attempt to convince the community “that this is history, their reality” and thus the past and present public identity with which they are to identify.⁷²

⁶⁷ The Location of Culture, p. 50.

⁶⁸ Martha K. Norkunas, The Politics of Public Memory (Albany, 1993), p. 94. The re-creation of the 1665 wooden version of Fort Chambly is an example. The reconstruction of seventeenth-century Fort Chambly stands as a testament to the ultramontane thought and nationalism dominant in late nineteenth century Quebec, not as an example of military life in early Canada.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 96.

Norkunas believes that political choices lie behind the writing and re-writing of history. The exclusion of particular ethnic groups from a nation's past, for example, is politically motivated. The present alteration or creation of history is, according to the author, done "to legitimize contemporary ... political circumstances."⁷³ Politically guided, a re-structured national history and the resultant myths and images are "powerful tools of legitimation and hegemony."⁷⁴

The semiotics of architecture and the Canadian identity/Semiosis in architecture

History is neither an actuality nor a certainty but an interpretation. It can be interpreted at various points in time by historians, politicians, residents, visitors and other groups of people as they see fit. It can be created and/or re-cast so that it fits with and expresses contemporary needs of collective representation. As discussed above, the built environment is easily adjusted to conform to group notions of representation. It can become symbolic of the way in which a society or nation regards itself and the way it longs to be regarded by others. In semiotic theory architectural vocabularies can be seen as a language of social identity, a collection of "signs" with every sign holding "socially constituted meanings" that stand for something.⁷⁵ Each sign is a representation "constituted by different viewers in different ways at different times and places."⁷⁶

Semiotic analysis is not concerned with the interpretation of these selected architectural idioms "but rather [seeks] to investigate how [these vocabularies] are intelligible to those who view them", how their selection and adoption is able to represent a desired identity.⁷⁷

Representations of nation and identity through the calculated selection of specific architectural vocabularies (signs) have a long-standing tradition in Canada. The drive in French Canada to assert, mythologize and even invent a French history can, for example, be documented through the alteration, purposeful selection and outright creation of architectural forms in the course of building restoration and re-creation. However, this

⁷³ Norkunas, p. 6.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 36.

⁷⁵ Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson, "Semiotics and Art History," *Art Bulletin* (June, 1991), p. 175.

⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 179.

same coincidence of history and identity finds a precedent in nineteenth century projects initiated by English representatives of government and commerce. In both areas this process of selection and assemblage is not value-neutral but ideologically based, as each chooses particular signs and symbols as a means to assert certain cultural myths/values/ideals.

Imaginative architectural “restorations”, coupled with the deliberate adoption of particular architectural models, can be studied in the context of the following two examples: Lord Dufferin’s redevelopment of Quebec (1875) and the Chateau Style railway hotels (Banff and Quebec City).

In 1875 Canada’s Governor General, Lord Dufferin, sought to strengthen the identity of the young Canadian nation by recommending a myriad of built embellishments to the oldest architectural elements within the city of Quebec. These embellishments were part of an attempt on his part to affirm the century-old British presence in Quebec alongside the older French culture, in a symbolic union representative of the dual nature of the country itself. This feat was to be accomplished through the deliberate introduction of a British architectural vocabulary. As historian Georges Drolet has explained in his article “The Mighty Empire of the Past: Lord Dufferin’s 1875 Embellishment Proposals for Quebec City” (1996), Lord Dufferin’s proposal came after members of Quebec City’s Special Committee on City Improvements called for the demolition of Quebec’s two-hundred-year-old fortification walls.⁷⁷ These were seen as factors inhibiting the expansion of the city’s urban fabric. Lord Dufferin was not particularly interested in the decaying bulwark itself but in developing the “evocative potential of the city’s dramatic setting, its striking silhouette and tumultuous history.”⁷⁹ Enhancing the picturesque quality of the city, the walls served as “emblems of Quebec’s historical significance.”⁸⁰ The Governor General commissioned the Irish architect William H. Lynn to plan the project on paper and over

⁷⁷ Bal and Bryson, p. 184.

⁷⁸ Georges Drolet, “The Mighty Empire of the Past: Lord Dufferin’s 1875 Embellishment Proposals for Quebec City,” *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* (1996), p. 20.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

the course of several years a number of Lord Dufferin's proposals were implemented. The fortification walls were spared, although some of them were lowered, providing pedestrians with a spectacular view of the St. Lawrence River and the Laurentian Mountains. New gates (the Kent Gate, for example) were also constructed, the Durham Terrace extension was built and the Esplanade park was partially completed. All of these elements were intended, as Christopher Thomas claimed in his article, "Canadian Castles"? The Question of National Styles in Architecture Revisited" (1997), to "romantically ... evoke French medieval fortifications" but were actually re-imagined within a specific British context.⁸¹

The decision to re-shape the ancient fabric of Quebec City not in the continental French style, but in Lynn's preferred "Scots Baronial" style, was the materialization of Lord Dufferin's desire to assert a British presence alongside that of the French. Linked to Scottish nationalism, this idiom, visible in the architect's Quebec City designs, was inappropriate to Quebec's architectural past. "Scots Baronial" served Dufferin's purpose and, according to Thomas, this style, "the first known modern use of chateau imagery in Canada," with its steep roofs and reoccurring turrets,

suited the popular view of Quebec province ... as an island of romantic, pre-modern – and tragically doomed – humanism and traditionalism in the sea of madness into which North America was thought to be falling in the late-nineteenth century.⁸²

The conscious choice to incorporate Lynn's "Scots Baronial" forms can also be linked to nostalgia and the romanticism of a generalized type.

Lord Dufferin was not, unlike those involved in the first twenty years of the Place Royale project (discussed in the next chapter), intending to promote one form of architecture over another (although it can easily be argued that that is exactly what he did). Instead, he hoped to use the embellishments to reinforce certain aspects of the city's history, a history shared by the two "founding nations". By purposefully welding together the two cultures through the introduction of Romanticized architectural elements

⁸¹ Christopher Thomas. "Canadian Castles"? The Question of National Styles in Architecture Revisited." *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Spring 1997). p. 17.

⁸² *Ibid.*

(whether or not the “Scots Baronial” held any sort of tradition within Canada), Lord Dufferin seemingly sought to speak to the shared inheritance of the French and English, using Quebec City as a model to advance Canadian unity. As Drolet put it,

In the face of ancestral antagonism between Canada’s two founding nations, the Old Town provided a perfect stage for the merging of French and English history into a single, heroic past.⁸³

Lord Dufferin, it can be argued, pioneered the introduction of fictitious architectural restorations in Canada in an effort to represent and advance a united Canadian identity. The introduction of particular European architectural styles within the Canadian landscape (it was not a phenomenon reserved for Quebec City alone) later became a means to articulate an image of the new nation, Canada. By the end of the nineteenth century this concept (that architecture represents nations) had spread to the design of railway hotels. Selected architectural imagery was purposefully adopted and fictionalized. Initially, according to Thomas, it was Victorian sentiment and the longing for romantic imagery (exoticism and picturesqueness) that inspired the use of a neo-medieval vocabulary for the hotels.⁸⁴ They were tourist attractions in and of themselves, and stimulating train ticket sales,⁸⁵ propagated the corporate identity of the railways. They were awe-inspiring sites intended to make money, not simply to represent the Canadian nation itself.⁸⁶ During this period, however, from the 1890s onward, as Thomas has explained, Canadian architects became “intent on unveiling or devising national styles of architecture that were deemed organically Canadian.”⁸⁷ Eventually the chosen architectural vocabulary, first rooted solely in aestheticization and commercialization, developed into an overt strategy for the mythologization of Canadian nationalism – a means to assert a regional sensibility apart from American styles. What began with the erection of two distinct buildings, the Banff Springs Hotel (Banff) and the

⁸³ Drolet, p. 23.

⁸⁴ Thomas, p. 16.

⁸⁵ Abraham Rogatnick, “Canadian Castles – Phenomenon of the Railway Hotel,” *Architectural Review* (May, 1967), p. 365.

⁸⁶ Thomas believed it to be “unlikely” that in the beginning the style was intended to represent a nation. p. 16.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

Château Frontenac (Quebec City), led to the use of the medieval “Franco-Scots”⁸⁸ or “Chateau Style”⁸⁹ for all Canadian Pacific Railroad and Grand Trunk Railway hotels. The style, in turn, came to be regarded as a manifestation of the Canadian spirit, a representation of both French and British heritage. Buildings erected in the French Chateau idiom survive to this day as emblems of a corporate determination to establish a distinctive Canadian national style.

The use of architectural elements now associated with the so-called Chateau Style was not, from its inception, encoded with specific meanings of national import. The Banff Springs Hotel, designed by the American architect Bruce Price for the Canadian Pacific Railroad, was completed in July 1888. Regarded today as a hybrid of sorts,⁹⁰ the hotel has the steep, hipped roofs, corner turrets, tall chimneys and pointed dormers typical of the Chateau Style. These components have been linked, by Canadian architectural historian, Harold Kalman, in his publication, The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada (1968), to the Scottish Baronial style of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the same mode adopted by Lynn for Lord Dufferin’s embellishments to Quebec City.⁹¹ Christopher Thomas maintains, however, that, despite its medieval inspiration, this structure was not created with one specific, archaeologically accurate style in mind.⁹² Instead, he argues, the goal was not, initially, to articulate a Canadian national identity through architecture but

to build [a] comfortable, up-to-date, picturesque resort-[hotel] ...
to attract the business of well-heeled tourists from the United States,
Britain and eastern Canada to a [railway] line whose financial security
was in some doubt.⁹³

⁸⁸ This term, used by Thomas, refers to the blending of elements from Scottish Baronial and French Loire châteaux designs.

⁸⁹ A term coined by Harold D. Kalman in his publication, The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada (Victoria, 1968).

⁹⁰ Thomas, p. 16.

⁹¹ Kalman, p. 10.

⁹² Thomas, p. 16.

⁹³ *Ibid.*

But Kalman insists that the exotic and picturesque images evoked by the hotel coupled with the steep hipped roofs considered appropriate for the northern climate, led to the widespread appropriation of the Chateau Style in Canada.

According to Kalman, the Château Frontenac, constructed in Quebec City around 1892 by the Château Frontenac Company (a group headed by the president of the Canadian Pacific Railroad, American William Van Horne), was “unquestionably a paraphrase of a medieval Loire château.”⁹⁴ He relates this idiom back to the Scottish Baronial style, having suggested that the Scottish Baronial style was largely derived from Loire châteaux (in France).⁹⁵ This links the Chateau Style of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and Canada’s two distinct cultures – British and French. Because the style and its use within Canada followed upon Canadian Confederation, it has been assumed to be consciously nationalistic. Yet Christopher Thomas has argued,

the château mode was very French, not French-Canadian; and it seems clear that, at the time and well into our century, it was emblematic, when used in Quebec, of the Frenchness of that province, not of the character of Canada as a whole.⁹⁶

Regardless of its stylistic origins and intended symbolism (or lack thereof) the Château Frontenac, also designed by Price, “created a sensation and became progenitor of a national movement.”⁹⁷ Van Horne became so enamored of this Chateau Style hotel he embarked upon its nationwide duplication and diffusion. The Place Viger Hotel and Station in Montreal, which opened in the summer of 1898 and the Empress Hotel in Victoria, completed ten years later, are clear demonstrations of Van Horne’s vision. The style became so popular that “it became a national symbol for luxurious hostelry,” and not to be outdone, the Grand Trunk Railway (later absorbed by the Canadian National Railway) likewise adopted the same successful architectural mode.⁹⁸ Its hotels included the Château Laurier (Ottawa), completed in 1912, the Fort Garry Hotel (Winnipeg, 1913), the MacDonald Hotel (Edmonton, 1915), and the Bessborough Hotel (Saskatoon, 1932).

⁹⁴ Kalman, p. 12.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 10.

⁹⁶ Thomas, pp. 16-17.

⁹⁷ Kalman, p. 28.

All of these hotels purposefully emulated the Chateau Style first made popular by the rival CPR company.

A combination of Scottish Baronial and French (Loire châteaux) influences, the Chateau Style gradually became identified with Canada, a legitimate style capable of representing both the united, independent nation and its historical roots. The subsequent adoption of the style by Canada's federal government demonstrates how the forms entered national mythology and became a signifier of "Canadianness". Ottawa's Confederation Building, the Supreme Court and the Central Post Office are all typical of this motif, which, by the 1920s and 30s, according to Kalman, was "appreciated as something uniquely Canadian."⁹⁹ In fact, the impact, in his view, goes further. The Chateau Style actively cultivated in Canadian architecture from 1893 to 1939,¹⁰⁰ came to be regarded as a symbol of "aspir[ation] to greater nationalism..."¹⁰¹

It is not only the desire to shape a national identity that underlies the use and modification of architectural forms; local identities have likewise been created and/or glorified within the Canadian experience. By using architecture as a means of cultural reproduction, the elite neighborhood of Shaughnessy Heights, in Vancouver, demonstrated a longing to authenticate an explicit identity – that of nineteenth century upper-class England. Although localized, the choice of a specific architectural vocabulary to represent a sought-after-identity resembles the public agendas of Dufferin's Quebec and private corporate agendas of the railroad hotels. Shaughnessy Heights was a development undertaken by the Canadian Pacific Railroad, which had been granted 6000 acres of land in Vancouver in 1888. The CPR, in developing Shaughnessy Heights, specifically engaged in identity invention, hoping to attract upscale buyers. In an effort to promote "the kind of high status Anglophile environment that would appeal to businesspeople and professionals," the railroad, which had begun to clear 345 acres of its

⁹⁸ Kalman, p. 18.

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 21.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., p. 27.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., p. 21.

land in 1907, purposefully sought to recreate an English landscape ideal.¹⁰² Romantic visions of the English country house and garden were used as models so that a civilized, upper-class environment could be represented.¹⁰³

The nineteenth century in Europe, and specifically in England, saw the revival of many historic architectural styles. The so-called 'Queen Anne' revival began a vogue for 'Old English' or Tudor elements later more fastidiously copied in outright revivals of the twentieth century. Forwarded by the Romantic Movement and coupled with a longing to return to the simplicity of pre-industrial living, England embraced the rustic, rural forms of indigenous fifteenth and sixteenth century building fashions. Although original Tudor buildings were vernacular in nature and thus anti-bourgeois, the style, in its revival, came to represent an elite lifestyle associated with the English gentry.¹⁰⁴ These symbols of the English gentry bore prestige within England's colonies and former colonies (the United States, for example) and as such, the architectural styles that emphasized this desired connection to Britain (England especially) were re-created in great capacity. This, as David Ley explained in his article, "Past Elites and Present Gentry" for The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities (1993), was not at all unusual. He wrote,

As in the United States, elites in Canada have traditionally shown deference to European styles and precedents in the staging of their residential landscapes. In the presentation of their homes they have been particularly receptive to the picturesque and the romantic pastoralism of an English country estate.¹⁰⁵

This 'country house style' (materialized in Tudor and Queen Anne revival architecture), largely adopted in the 1890s through the 1920s, thus came to signify in North America, "an abstracted concept of Englishness which was seen by Anglophile elites as the most

¹⁰² James Duncan, "Elite landscapes as cultural (re)productions: the case of Shaughnessy Heights," Inventing Places ed. Kay Anderson and Fay Gayle (Melbourne, 1992), p. 42. This is similar to the case of the railway hotels, which were initially built using romantic imagery also for economic reasons – not to attract buyers, as in the case of Shaughnessy Heights, but to attract tourists.

¹⁰³ Again, a specific romantic vocabulary (Queen Anne Revival) was used, promoting nostalgia and a direct link to the motherland.

¹⁰⁴ James S. Duncan and Nancy G. Duncan, "A cultural analysis of urban residential landscapes in North America: the case of the anglophile elite," The City in Cultural Context ed. John A. Agnew, John Mercer and David E. Sopher (Boston, 1984), p. 260.

prestigious ethnic identity.”¹⁰⁶ What unfolded was the deliberate and strictly controlled “creation of the *illusion* of an English landscape of the nineteenth century,” resulting in a development suburb with an estate-like effect; large, set-back lots with Tudor style mansions in a wooded, picturesque setting.¹⁰⁷

This fanciful evocation of a particular remote time and place in early twentieth century suburban western Canada was intended to demonstrate the strong ancestral tie to Britain that many members of Vancouver’s elite shared. It was also an expression of economic standing. Shaughnessy Heights, like so many of its successors, serves as an example of how landscape and architectural styles, and their direct application, can function as symbols of a favored group identity.

Other Canadian towns have looked to architecture as a means to assert a regional identity. The growth of suburbs has left the downtown areas of many Canadian cities and towns facing deterioration and redundancy. To revitalize core areas and make them more attractive to residents and visitors, many municipalities have sought the aid of the Heritage Canada Foundation. The Foundation’s Main Street Program proposed restorations to historic urban fabrics in order to create vital new tourist destinations.

As John Stewart noted in his contribution to Reviving Main Street (1985), downtown regeneration for a number of western Canadian cities involved adopting foreign architectural designs which intentionally promoted an historical materiality not actually connected with that locale. Stewart suggested that communities “seeking a renewed or better-defined community image” selected and subsequently executed various vernacular and period themes in the hope of attracting people and simultaneously stimulating business and growth.¹⁰⁸ For example, Osoyoos, British Columbia, in the Okanagan Valley, looked to Spanish sources, implementing red tile roofs and white stucco walls throughout the small town. Just as alien is the Bavarian village theme undertaken in Kimberley, British Columbia. The chalet-style architecture dominates the

¹⁰⁵ David Ley, “Past Elites and Present Gentry.” The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities ed. Larry S. Bourne and David F. Ley (Montreal and Kingston, 1993), pp. 216-217.

¹⁰⁶ James Duncan, p. 41.

¹⁰⁷ Duncan and Duncan, p. 272.

municipality, as a reference to the alpine setting. Osoyoos, could reasonably argue that the area's hot, dry climate and large Portuguese population support the manufacture of a pseudo-Spanish genre of building. Likewise, the town of Kimberley could explain that the Bavarian-influenced constructions fit in with the mountainous surroundings and signify the town's fame as a downhill ski centre.

In 1974 the town of Battleford, Saskatchewan attempted to re-establish and strengthen the commercial aspect of its downtown core by initiating changes to its Main Street façades. False cedar fronts, porches and tall, rustic fences were introduced into the existing architectural fabric, imitating the image of a Wild West Frontier, a past time and place that seemingly has no connection to the community. The Wild West vision advanced by the municipality of Battleford has absolutely no grounding in past or present reality and instead "looks back to the American cinema" and not at all to its true character.¹⁰⁹ John Stewart concluded that although the town, through architectural selection, now has a sense of identity and place (albeit falsified), this "theme treatment" is "little more than a fantasy" which has "destroyed [the old] by trying to look older."¹¹⁰ The current appearance of Battleford has failed to capitalize on the community's own history and character. Its present state has little to do with architectural preservation, rehabilitation or even restoration and is, instead, all about fantasy. Unlike Shaughnessy Heights, which has some cultural and historical meaning in a community cognizant of its British heritage, the theme village of Battleford is a total counterfeit. It is like an "historicized stage [set]."¹¹¹

Semiotic theory reveals that all signs are coded, but post-structural interpretations and reception theory suggest that different groups possess different codes for viewing even the same architectural vocabulary. As Mieke Bal and Norman Bryson have explained, "access to the codes is uneven: codes have been learned and their distribution varies (and changes)" according to the meaning the signs have for a particular group or

¹⁰⁸ John Stewart, "Breathing Life back into Downtown," *Reviving Main Street* ed. Deryck Holdsworth (Toronto, 1985), p. 63.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹¹ Boyer, p. 420.

society.¹¹² For example, an architectural vocabulary rooted in New France holds a different symbolic meaning for the Québécois than it does for Anglo-Canadians. Quebec's motto, "*Je me souviens*" ("I remember") refers directly to their French heritage and French-inspired architecture helps to represent their unique history through a strengthened feeling of collectivity. The idiom chosen for Shaughnessy Heights would not, by contrast, hold the same meaning for the Québécois as this sign (Tudor Revival) does not embody significant codes for the latter and thus lacks the same symbolic force as for Anglophiles or the upwardly mobile middle class who first bought property there. The architectural vocabulary selected in Battleford is likewise read differently by different groups. The locals might regard the changes as a necessary beautification intended to regenerate their downtown. Visitors might either enjoy the Wild West additions or see them as artifice. Those unfamiliar with the history of the area might read the architectural codes as an accurate and truthful representation of the town's past. In each of the cases cited above every one of the architectural vocabularies serves a specific purpose. Whereas the foregoing demonstrate the semiotic coding implicit in a choice of architectural vocabulary, other types of choices noted previously are more broadly based representations of history, nation and identity.

The process of assemblage is not value-neutral either. It too can be used to serve an imposed agenda. The collecting and assembling of seemingly disparate items to form a "whole" representative of a specific group of people within a particular period can be observed in the following example, an example that illustrates how history and memory can be intentionally altered in order to promote a desired outcome.

In the 1950s the St. Lawrence Power Project and Seaway resulted in the flooding of eight villages in eastern Ontario. First settled by Loyalists in 1784, this region was considered to be exceptionally significant from a social and historical point of view. To diminish the loss of heritage in this area the government of Ontario established the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission (now called the St. Lawrence Parks Commission) in 1955. This organization salvaged structures and artifacts from the

¹¹² Bal and Bryson. p. 186.

villages (before their inundation) so that they could later be re-assembled. The result was the opening, in June 1961, of a living history museum intended to memorialize the life of the pre-Confederation Loyalists along the St. Lawrence.

Although the site presents itself as “a rural river front community of the 1860s,” it is an imagined replica of such a village and, therefore, fiction.¹¹³ No such village ever existed on the site despite the purported ambiance (and declaration) of authenticity.¹¹⁴ The deliberate aggregation of various elements of the local history, combined with architectural re-creations and reproductions proposes a newly imagined “history.” The resultant bricolage¹¹⁵ that is Upper Canada Village forms a site that Edward Relph had described as “one of the most elaborate cases of museumisation in Canada.”¹¹⁶ It shows another way of achieving representation. A specific architectural vocabulary has not been chosen but instead a re-arrangement of structures from different years and different locales is assembled into one unified entity. This re-assemblage of constructed memory also acts as a means to represent an imagined past. The imagined past in this instance supersedes actual history, as Upper Canada Village acts as an encoded sign illustrative of an illusory verity. It is read and understood as a typical early Canadian village, despite the fact that as a whole it never existed. This willful creation of a fictional village through the amalgamation and relocation of artifacts and reproductions was executed in the hope of celebrating and preserving the unique identity and contribution of the Loyalists of eastern Ontario to the formation of the Canadian nation.

Common elements, such as language, ethnicity, cultural traits and political unity, have the ability to constitute a collective identity. History, which determines what language is spoken, what religion is practised and what political agenda is forwarded, can also be altered or invented in order to shape these elements and the resultant collective

¹¹³ “All About the Village,” Upper Canada Village, <http://www.parks.on.ca/village/aboutvil.htm>, p. 1. October 16, 1999.

¹¹⁴ The official Upper Canada Village site declares, “A key part of the experience is the authentic buildings that make up the village, the activities that each housed, and of course, the people who lived there.” “Tour the Village,” www.uppercanadavillage.com/tourvil.htm June 11, 2001

¹¹⁵ The third edition of The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language: Fourth Edition (2000) defines *bricolage* as “something made or put together using whatever materials happen to be available.” www.bartleby.com/61/85/B0478500.html June 11, 2001

¹¹⁶ Relph, p. 101.

identity. That the past is vital to national and communal identity is an idea advanced throughout Chapter One. Accompanying history's role in identity creation is the built environment. Architecture too, through its ability to record and project ethnicity and history, is also crucial to the formation of an identity. The conservation and alteration of the built environment through architectural restoration, re-creation, reproduction and assemblage, can celebrate the established history of place and culture, or can advocate and invent inauthentic identities, depending on the contemporary needs and desires of the group. Through the deliberate modification and manipulation of architectural components and designs Castell's declaration that "all identities are constructed" is further advanced.¹¹⁷ Neither one's identity nor one's history is static; they are, instead, continuously subjected to revisions informed by changes in social, political and economic spheres.

¹¹⁷ Castells, p. 7.

Chapter Two: Celebrating French Histories: How Social Realities Influence Architectural Restoration Methodologies

“Architecture can be the clearest index of latent mythology.”¹

Christine Boyer

This chapter examines architectural restoration projects of two separate communities, their respective methodological approaches and how they relate to each community’s desired collective identity. These two case studies – Place Royale (Lower Town) in Quebec City and Provencher Boulevard (St. Boniface) in Winnipeg – have commonalities, the most important of which is that each community possesses a French heritage and uses the French language. However, analysis of their different histories, social structures, religious traditions, political systems and economies provides insights into how and why the projects were subject to different methodological approaches, thus matching the restored built environment to particular images of the past.

Quebec and St. Boniface: Two very different histories have created two very different societies

The desire to promote patrimony is frequently manifested in the built environment. Architecture can articulate authentic and imagined identities, as well as collective memory. Regional histories can be resurrected or reconfigured through the selection of architectural vocabularies in the course of restoration and reconstruction. Attempts to celebrate a French Canadian heritage through deliberately chosen architectural idioms have been used to reacquaint residents (and visitors) with this specific collective past. Not only is architecture able to celebrate a group’s identity, but it is also able to provide a sense of continuity; it brings the desired past into the group’s present and future collectivity. The examination of two separate architectural restoration projects within two different communities – Quebec City’s Place Royale and St. Boniface’s Provencher Boulevard – provides insight into two distinct developments linked by the French cultural fact in Canada. History, in these two examples, is used to

legitimate identities. The French origins of the respective areas are seen as justification for the ongoing architectural modifications meant to promote and provide a sense of French heritage. However, the contextual realities of each group affect how their history is manifested within their respective architectural projects.

In his publication, Out of Place – Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape (1990), Michael Hough wrote,

Culturally, what we see as regional identity has been determined by the social and institutional linkages that tied people to one place and dictated how they should behave and lead their lives.²

As already discussed in the previous chapter, a group's history performs an essential role in establishing its identity; a group's past affects how it represents and interprets itself in the present and, as Hough stated, identity is inseparable from a group's cultural and social conditions. The cultures and histories of Quebec and St. Boniface are different. The French have a strong historical presence in both areas and they have undeniable French heritage; however, the celebration of their respective French pasts and identities plays out in very different manners and with very different agendas. One (Quebec) has traditionally been political, driven by nationalist sentiment, and the other (St. Boniface) is largely motivated by economic considerations. Nevertheless, the reasons why they chose to incorporate specific architectural idioms in their respective architectural restoration projects can be linked to their historical circumstances.

The social structures (seigneurial system and Catholic Church), political system (absolutism) and economy (primarily farming) in place in seventeenth and eighteenth century New France are echoed in modern Quebec; the distinct nature of the province stems from the ancient customs of the original French settlers. The connection to the land that sustained them through centuries has shaped nationalist sentiment throughout the history of the province.³ From its inception, agriculture and agricultural products

¹ Christine Boyer, The City of Collective Memory (Cambridge, 1994), p. 335.

² Michael Hough, Out of Place – Restoring Identity to the Regional Landscape (New Haven, 1990), p. 34.

³ Even after Quebec's mid-twentieth century industrialization, their agrarian origins have been strongly linked to nationalist sentiment.

were essential to the success of New France.⁴ The seigneurial system, adapted from that employed in the motherland, was established from the colony's beginning. The land was divided into river-lots and the tenants, or *habitants*, worked under the landlords, or *seigneurs*. The cultivated land and its output determined the wealth and success of the colony and as such the *habitants* who worked the land formed the backbone of society.

Although Quebec began and endured for centuries as an agrarian society, a society whose very existence was firmly rooted in the soil of the New World, the area now known as St. Boniface, located near the confluence of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers in eastern Winnipeg, has very different origins. The settled and static reality of an agrarian way of life was non-existent. Its economy was initially based on trading and hunting; the organized and controlled society of New France was nowhere evident. The Red River interior was, however, for centuries, the objective of the traders of New France and Lower Canada and in the seventeenth century a number of Frenchmen from Montreal, *coureurs de bois* and explorers, passed through the site. In the eighteenth century Pierre La Vérendrye, along with his sons, established several forts in the region. Fort Rouge, established in 1738, was the French fur trading post at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine. Although the fort was only maintained for a short period the French presence in the area continued with the arrival of the *voyageurs* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.⁵ Upon retirement from the transportation of furs and supplies via canoe for the Hudson Bay Company and the North West Company, many of these men chose to settle in the Red River Valley instead of returning to Lower Canada. By 1810 this class of men, known as the "freemen", many of whom married Native women and subsequently produced Métis offspring, led semi-nomadic lives as buffalo hunters.

The seigneurial system in New France was exceptionally static and class-bound. Class relations were rigidly defined and enforced. The colony, controlled by the absolutist French monarchy, was governed by appointees from the aristocracy.⁶ With

⁴ Wilfrid Bovey, *The French Canadians To-Day – A People on the March* (Toronto, 1938), p. 26.

⁵ Every February St. Boniface celebrates this aspect of its French roots with the very popular *Festival du Voyageur*.

⁶ Léandre Bergeron, *The History of Quebec – A Patriote's Handbook* trans. Baila Markus. Rev. ed. (Toronto, 1980), p. 25.

European class structures imposed on the settlement there was little opportunity for upward social mobility. The governor, intendant and bishop of the colony, essentially the “ruling class”, were at the top of the social ladder. The “owning class”, which included seigneurs, merchants and officials followed.⁷ The clergy and the religious orders also enjoyed high social status. At the bottom of New France’s social structure were the artisans and *coureurs de bois*.⁸ The peasants, or *habitants*, whose surpluses supported the land-owning and clerical elite through the payment of the tithe (a levy on agricultural production), were likewise considered a part of the lowest class.

Unlike the rigid social institutions in place in New France, where birth and nepotism determined status, the French-speaking Métis living within the area around present-day St. Boniface initially enjoyed almost total autonomy. Living on land owned by the fur trading companies, any sort of formal organized societal structure was absent. However, when Lord Selkirk’s Scottish and Irish settlers arrived in 1812, forming the first permanent European colony in the area, the Red River Settlement and the itinerant way of life of the large population of French Métis was disrupted.⁹ Opposed to an agricultural settlement, fearing it would drive away the buffalo herds and consequently erode their way of life, the Métis resisted the colonizing forces of Selkirk’s settlers and tensions between the two groups developed. To temper the aggressive tendencies of the Métis, Selkirk requested the establishment of a Roman Catholic mission in the area, which he hoped would stabilize the community and provide moral direction.¹⁰ On 11 February, 1818 Joseph Octave Plessis, Bishop of Quebec, acceded to Selkirk’s wishes and three priests were sent from Montreal to minister a Catholic mission at Red River:

⁷ The History of Quebec – A Patriote’s Handbook, p. 37.

⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹ Thomas Douglas was the fifth Earl of Selkirk. He had purchased a large land grant of around 116,000 square miles in the area of Assiniboia (present-day Manitoba) from the Hudson Bay Company. Alvin M. Josephy, The Artist was a Young Man – The Life Story of Peter Rindisbacher (Fort Worth, Texas, 1970), p. 5. He did not actually visit the Red River colony until 1817. The multi-cultural character of present day St. Boniface began to take shape with the arrival of Swiss colonists in 1819.

¹⁰ According to Harvey Golden. Selkirk’s aim “was not solely to confer the sweets of religion upon the turbulent ... Red River, but also to transport thither the whole stabilizing ecclesiastical tradition of Old Quebec.” Harvey Golden, The French Element in the Red River Settlement (Winnipeg, 1924), p. 17.

Fathers Joseph Norbert Provencher and Severe Joseph Nicolas Dumoulin along with the seminarian Guillaume Edge.

On 1 November 1818 Father Provencher (later appointed Bishop for the Northwest), who had been empowered as vicar-general, opened the mission at the forks of the Red and the Assiniboine Rivers and consecrated it to the protection of St. Boniface. After the establishment of the mission, which provided the first institutional framework for the Métis population, the hunting freemen were encouraged to take up small allotments of land within the mission's district. Their autonomous existence, subjected to the diligent ministrations of the Church, eventually gave way and the community produced leaders such as Métis Louis Riel (1844-1885).

The institutional and controlled character of New France was further enhanced by the Catholic Church, a mainstay in Quebec society until the second half of the twentieth century. Central to the governance of New France, the Church's presence in the colony was modeled after its place in the motherland. Encouraged by the Counter Reformation, the French King, who ruled by divine right and who was regarded as the protector of the Church, ensured that the Roman Catholic Church had no rivals in the colony. Protestants were unwelcome in New France and were denied entry; therefore all inhabitants were officially Catholic.¹¹ This monopoly allowed the Catholic Church to exert a strong influence over both religious and cultural life in New France. Due to the rural reality of the sparse settlement of New France, a parochial system was organized. This aided the state in its principal goal – the maintenance of order. Parish priests were not only religious leaders within their communities but they also fulfilled important civil functions. They were responsible for recording births, deaths, and marriages and in communities without notaries they were also in charge of drawing up legal documents.¹² Religious orders, like the Jesuits and Gray Nuns, for example, many of whose members

¹¹ Brian Young and John A. Dickinson, A Short History of Quebec: A Socio-Economic Perspective 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1993), p. 95.

¹² The History of Quebec – A Patriote's Handbook, p. 39.

had come to the colony hoping to convert Natives to Christianity, also played important roles in the colony. Education and health care devolved to these religious orders.¹³

The role of the Catholic Church within the lives of the French-speakers in and around St. Boniface was also important, albeit to a lesser degree than in New France. Although the mission had a strong connection to Lower Canada and its ecclesiastical tradition,¹⁴ the introduction of organized Catholicism into the region occurred as a commercial and political necessity if Lord Selkirk's vision was to be realized. The independent freemen had had no institutionalized faith prior to the creation of the mission. The new mission was intended to bring stability, exerting civilizing control over the Métis, and was thus crucial to the success of Selkirk's settlement. The Quebec clergy invested a great deal of money in the St. Boniface mission, the mother parish for many surrounding French settlements, funding the construction of religious institutions and other buildings, including the Collège Saint-Boniface (begun 1855). Schools for the Métis were also established early on by Provencher. Over time the French Métis became thoroughly identified with parish priests and rallied round them; however, the Catholic Church is not equated with the continuity of Métis culture, as it has been with Québécois culture. Although important in the daily lives of the inhabitants of St. Boniface, the Catholic Church did not enjoy a monopoly. Unlike the situation in New France, there existed a number of religious denominations in and around the area. Selkirk's settlers brought with them the Protestant faith and the Catholic mission was forced to co-exist.

French-speakers in today's Quebec still form the majority but the British Conquest of French-held territory in 1760¹⁵ has been equated, by Quebec nationalists, with over two centuries of English oppression of French Canada.¹⁶ It has had a significant impact on how the Québécois view themselves in Canadian society. The

¹³ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967* vol. 1 (Toronto, 1968), pp. 15-16.

¹⁴ Explained Harvey Golden, "...just as New France had depended on Old France for its clergy, so did Red River and the West look to Lower Canada for their clergy." p. 31.

¹⁵ In 1763, with the Treaty of Paris, New France was officially awarded to the British and re-named the Province of Quebec.

¹⁶ Wrote Léandre Bergeron, "Canadians have been told things about the Québécois that reassured them and kept them away from the real issue: that the Québécois are colonized and that Canadians are accomplices of the colonizer." "To English-Canadians," *The History of Quebec – A Patriote's Handbook*, n. p.

British presence did introduce a less rigid class structure, allowing for the development of a bourgeoisie, but Anglophones (as the new commercial elite) dominated this class.¹⁷

The majority of the French-speaking population remained largely segregated from the urban-based British, clinging to their rural existence. Remote from English influence, French-speakers were able to maintain their distinct cultural character.¹⁸ This was further ensured by the Quebec Act of 1774, which legislated that, despite severed contact with France, the French language and established religious, seigneurial and judicial systems (French civil law) would remain privileged. Threats to the traditional agrarian lifestyle and the dominant role of the parish emerged, instead, in the next century as industrialization took hold. New technologies rendered the customary farming methods of medieval northern France obsolete. The resulting shift in population to the cities threatened the cultural and racial homogeneity of a people whose entire way of life and identity was rooted in the seigneurial system of land tenure and the parish church. The situation worsened at the end of the nineteenth century when the ethnic composition of Quebec's population began to diversify significantly due to another influx of English-speaking immigrants. This was coupled with a declining birthrate among Francophone families. As the fear of assimilation set in, and in an attempt to counter the ubiquitous influences of external English-speaking cultures, including American, the Québécois began to assert their French ancestry. This resulted in a desire to document and preserve their unique past. It continues to this day.

Provencher's mission in St. Boniface not only provided stability but also encouraged the French culture of the area's settlers. The continued influx of many discharged, French-speaking, Catholic fur trade employees contributed to St. Boniface's French character.¹⁹ By the mid-nineteenth century the Church had acknowledged that it longed to establish, within St. Boniface, "a miniature Quebec with vested interests and statute rights for the Catholic population."²⁰ Further consolidation of the French identity

¹⁷ Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec* trans. Richard Howard (Toronto, 1981), p. 68.

¹⁸ Edward M. Corbett, *Quebec Confronts Canada* (Baltimore, 1967), p. 21.

¹⁹ Growth was especially enjoyed in the 1820s and again after 1850 when the buffalo herds began to diminish and the French-speaking Métis settled permanently within St. Boniface.

²⁰ Golden, p. 30.

came with the arrival of the Oblates from France, providing the mission with a direct link to the motherland and its religious traditions. However, the continuing survival of the French culture within St. Boniface and the rest of Manitoba, surrounded by an Anglophone majority, was not guaranteed. The second Bishop of the diocese of St. Boniface (after Provencher's death in 1853) was Alexandre Taché, an Oblate. He fought to ensure that the French language and Catholic religion shared equal recognition with the English language and Protestant faiths but it was not until under the leadership of Louis Riel, the Métis leader born in St. Boniface, that French rights in Manitoba became firmly, if briefly, established.

The Métis had enjoyed almost total autonomy under the Hudson Bay Company's rule but in 1870, when the Company sold its land to the newly created Confederation of Canada, the Métis feared political persecution and loss of land. Riel's attempts at self-preservation led to the Red River Rebellion of 1869. This resulted in the passing of the Manitoba Act on 12 May 1870, which acknowledged the formation of the Province of Manitoba. The Act gave the new province the same constitution as that of Quebec, protecting minority rights. The separate French school system in the province was now recognized and the French language (as stated in Clause 23) was acknowledged as equal in status to English in the Legislature and in all courts.²¹ This act resulted in the arrival of hundreds of new settlers from Quebec and expatriate French-Canadian communities in the United States. The future of the French in Manitoba seemed secured.

Only twenty years after the Manitoba Act was passed, however, the French in the area were, as in Quebec, subjected to a flood of English-speaking immigrants. Forever altering the ethnic composition of Manitoba, the presence of an English-speaking majority spawned the passage of another act by the Manitoba Legislature. This new legislation deprived French Catholics of earlier established language rights and the teaching of French was abolished. By the early 1900s all signs were in English despite

²¹ "Either the English or the French language may be used by any person in the debates of the Houses of the Legislature and both those languages shall be used in the respective Records and Journals of those Houses; and either of those languages may be used by any person, or in any Pleading or Process, in or issuing from any Court of Canada established under the *Constitution Act, 1867*, or in or from all or any of the Courts of

the fact that French continued to be spoken everywhere in St. Boniface.²² In 1916 persons of French background made up the largest single group in St. Boniface, outnumbering even those of British origin.²³ However, French Canadian emigration was not substantial enough to counter the predominantly British settlement of Western Canada and it became evident that a French-speaking western province, despite the presence of a French heritage, would not be tolerated.²⁴ It was not until 1972 that a law declaring that people in St. Boniface had a right to services in French was enforced and by the mid-1970s Manitoba was once again declared a bilingual province.

In Quebec, cherishing the original, unblemished French past found its earliest and strongest advocates within the Church.²⁵ This role was later taken up by nationalist politicians as the Québécois endeavored to establish pre-Conquest conditions. Throughout the period of industrialization the Catholic Church, whose power had continued to increase after the Conquest, becoming the only agency to which the French-speaking population could turn with confidence, consistently advocated traditional ways of rural life. Ultramontane Catholicism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries not only provided the basis for the growing *terroir* movement but also the momentum for the emergence of nationalist and separatist politics, which gained in strength well into the late twentieth century.²⁶ The goal of recognizing and celebrating Quebec's unique French past culminated in the formation of the sovereignty-seeking *Parti Québécois* in 1968. The party was elected to power on 15 November 1976 under the leadership of René Lévesque, a man who was firmly convinced that Quebec should be considered a separate and unique society.²⁷ Over the past twenty-five years the Québécois have continued to fight for national recognition, using their history, language

the Province. The Acts of the Legislature shall be Printed and published in both those languages." *Manitoba Act* (Winnipeg. 1870).

²² Marie-Anna A. Roy, *Les Visages de Vieux Saint-Boniface* (1970), p. 31.

²³ Alan Artibise, *Winnipeg – An Illustrated History* (Toronto. 1977), p. 74.

²⁴ Roger Motut, "The French in the West," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* vol. II. (Edmonton. 1988), p. 846.

²⁵ Gregory Baum, *The Church in Quebec* (Outremont. Quebec. 1991), pp. 20-22.

²⁶ *Terroir* can be interpreted as "back-to-the-land".

²⁷ Political autonomy for Quebec was also a desired end. Lévesque was responsible for Bill 101 (Charter of the French Language) which was enacted in 1977 to counter "the cultural and linguistic disintegration of French-speaking Quebecers." *Quebec's Policy on the French Language* (Quebec. 1977), p. 49.

and, to a lesser degree, religion, as key elements in the determination and maintenance of their distinctness.

The situation in southern Manitoba was and is far different from that of traditional and nationalistic Quebec. Unlike the strong association of political structure and the survival of their civilization asserted by the Québécois, Franco-Manitobans have claimed that “culture and heritage are much more important than political structure” in the preservation of their French identity.²⁸ Despite an overwhelming English-speaking majority within Manitoba, Francophones do not, today, feel threatened nor do they fear cultural deprivation.²⁹ This is not to say that nationalist sentiment did not develop during the Red River period. There was what Harvey Golden has deemed “a noticeable tendency to segregation among the French in the settlement” from the English which occurred as an attempt to protect the French rights and culture from external contamination.³⁰ Later, when their rights were further threatened, the Métis rallied around Louis Riel and backed his fight for equal recognition of the French language and Catholic faith. The Métis, after Riel’s success, considered themselves a new nation and a strong feeling of national identity developed amongst them. The Catholic Church, sympathetic to the Métis uprising of 1869-70, expanded upon the idea of Métis nationalism and claimed, not only for the Métis but for all French Canadians, the privileges of “prior possession” of the west (the French, Taché pleaded, were the first to discover and settle the western plains).³¹ Riel was eventually executed as a traitor, however, and French-speakers ultimately became the minority in the west. Despite this development Franco-Manitobans today do not perceive the need to assert and protect their culture through political strategies. Suzanne Nolette, the marketing director of the

²⁸ Suzanne Nolette, marketing director of the *Centre Culturel Franco-Manitobain* quoted in Ken Gray, “Preserving a place for francophones,” *The Ottawa Citizen* Nov. 26, 1999. *Ottawa Citizen Online*. <http://www.ottawacitizen.com/city/990913/2850104.html>, p. 2. February 20, 2000.

²⁹ Only about 50 000 people in the province (of approximately one million) are French-speaking. 30 000 of these French-speakers reside in Winnipeg and the majority of those in the St. Boniface/St. Vital area.

³⁰ Golden, p. 38.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 57.

Centre Culturel Franco-Manitobain in Winnipeg recently observed that, “There’s no danger of French culture disappearing [in Manitoba]. The roots are too deep.”³²

Although it can be argued that French roots in Quebec grow even deeper, French-speaking Manitobans have not clung to an imagined French purity; they acknowledged cultural and historical diversity early on. They are thus able to imagine themselves both separately (as a French-speaking minority) and collectively (as part of the larger cultural hodgepodge that makes up the province of Manitoba). The societal make-up of the St. Boniface area has included and sustained an overwhelmingly mixed-descent population. Before the arrival of Selkirk’s settlers this hybridity was a result of intermarriage amongst French-speaking *voyageurs*, traders and Native women. With the establishment of the Red River Settlement the ethnic population became even more diverse with the addition of the English-speaking agricultural class to the original French-speaking hunters. An elaborate multicultural society developed when immigrants from all over Europe began to arrive later in the nineteenth century.³³ The blending and intermingling of a number of different cultures has contributed to the high tolerance for cultural plurality and the acceptance of a hybrid identity, albeit one containing a strong French core.

The heterogeneous reality of St. Boniface lends itself well to Homi Bhabha’s consideration of identity as a bricolage. The location of culture and/or identity is not found within a pure form, as the Place Royale project might have us believe, but is within the acknowledgement of a group’s hybridity. Cultural purity, or any notion of a culturally pure nation, does not exist naturally and can only fully be realized as such in a group’s collective imagination. Bhabha writes in *The Location of Culture* (1994), “hybridity ... resists the binary opposition of racial and cultural groups ... as homogenous polarized political consciousness.”³⁴ It is this concept of hybridity which

³² Gray, “Preserving a place for francophones,” p. 2.

³³ Former members of the disbanded de Meuron regiment. Swiss mercenaries, had been inhabiting the colony since 1817 when Lord Selkirk collected one hundred of them from Montreal to help fight the Métis. In 1819 one of these Swiss officers, Captain Rudolf von May, was sent to Switzerland by Selkirk to recruit other Swiss families to join their fellow countrymen, who had since become permanent residents of the Red River colony. Josephy, p. 7.

³⁴ Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York, 1994), p. 207.

can be seen in action in the community of St. Boniface. The St. Boniface of today is totally diversified, layered with a variety of different cultures, co-existing so that a multi-cultural history is represented. This tolerance and embrace of cultural hybridity, very different from other places in French Canada, is well represented in the Provencher Boulevard re-development project, regardless of its being touted as the “French quarter”.

The original population of New France is rooted in a homogenous culture.³⁵ The inhabitants, the majority from northern France, shared similar histories, spoke the same language, practiced the same faith and were bound together under Old World systems of class, law and government. This common background has led to the possession of a distinct identity promoted and shared by all French-speaking Québécois. Since their initial occupation four hundred years ago, the French have remained a strong presence in the province of Quebec, identifying themselves and their cultural connection via their shared ancestry, landscape, religion and language. The nature of this envisaged commonality is echoed in Benedict Anderson’s concept of the “imagined community.”³⁶ Nationalism, for the Québécois, is a specified set of factors that do not allow for the dilution of one culture by another; they imagine themselves as historically, culturally and linguistically linked to their French forebears. The current French-speaking population of Quebec remains a separate, cohesive group resistant to both assimilation and diversification. This reality has been well demonstrated in the architectural transformations of Quebec City’s Place Royale.

Although they share a language and a faith, the Québécois and French-speaking residents of St. Boniface have diverse histories and dissimilar realities. Past and current political, cultural and economic realities in each of the societies have directed their respective approaches to architectural restoration and reconstruction projects.

³⁵ Natives were present but they were not integrated into the established lifestyles of the European colonists.

³⁶ “... even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities (New York, 1991), p. 6.

The Place Royale Project: An Exercise in Politics and Homogeneity

The celebration of the French identity given by the colonists of New France to present day Québécois has often been expressed in the twentieth century through political agendas (i.e. nationalist/separatist politics), which have determined how and why certain architectural heritage has been restored and/or reconstructed.³⁷ It is Quebec's separateness, perceived or otherwise, coupled with fears of assimilation by North American mass culture and of Anglophone dominance, that has nourished and cultivated the Québécois' attachment to the province's homogeneous origins under the French Regime. Pre-conquest Quebec is upheld as an ideal society – the “golden age” in the province's history – particularly by Quebec nationalists. Anne Griffin, in her publication Quebec – the Challenge of Independence (1984), has referred to this clinging to the past as the “ideology of survival”, a factor continuously presented as justification for the ongoing mythologization of a strictly French identity.³⁸

The eighteenth century Conquest by the British was a traumatic event in the view of Quebec nationalists and, as such, they have chosen to ignore this defining event, the resultant hybridity and shared development, preferring instead to assert the mythology that New France lives on unchallenged and unchanged. The present becomes an outlet for the past; that is, the past as it should have been, according to the nationalists. This myth, which likewise plays into Quebec's “ideology of survival” (or fear of assimilation), is well represented in the celebration and consequent exploitation of French Canadian vernacular architectural forms. Providing a visible re-assertion of a collective French memory, the architectural idiom accepted as representative of Quebec's history and culture (i.e. the idiom associated with New France) has been consciously preserved and reproduced as a means to provide continuity; it acts as a direct and inescapable link to the province's pure French heritage.³⁹

³⁷ Lucy Lippard has noted that the celebration of the past can “be made to play politics.” The Lure of the Local (New York, 1997), p.107.

³⁸ Anne Griffin, Quebec – The Challenge of Independence (Rutherford, New York, 1984), p. 20.

³⁹ Pre-Conquest architecture (17th and 18th century) in New France was largely derivative and consisted of elements incorporated from the motherland. Typically these included steep hipped roofs, often ending in

The longing for cultural continuity has been a motivating force behind Quebec's separatist politics. In response to the province's economic inefficiencies that began to be evident in the nineteenth century, a fundamental dichotomy developed within Quebec politics. The Liberal ideology supported by most politicians and businessmen, the majority English-speaking, strongly supported Quebec's industrial development. They wanted to see economic growth and progress and the modernization of Quebec through individual and free enterprise. This was in direct opposition to the nationalist ideology supported by French-speaking traditionalists and the Catholic Church. Opposed to almost everything foreign they advocated the French Canadian agrarian collectivity. By returning to rural life and traditional French Canadian and Catholic values they believed that Quebec's national well-being would be ensured. The nationalist cause, under such leaders as Honoré Mercier,⁴⁰ Henri Bourassa⁴¹ and Abbé Lionel Groulx,⁴² was strengthened in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as Quebec attempted to

belcast caves, plain facades and widely spaced windows (often dormer). Walls were thick and chimneys essential for warmth, especially as a large percentage of the buildings were constructed in stone.

⁴⁰ Honoré Mercier, considered the father of Quebec nationalism, was one of the founders of the *Parti national* (around 1871), the first political group to be known as part of a national movement in Quebec. In January of 1887 Mercier, as leader of the *Parti national*, took office as the Premier of Quebec. Through Mercier and his champions, who fought for provincial autonomy, the protection of French minorities outside Quebec and the official recognition of the French language, an interest in the traditional French Canadian past was politically re-awakened and consequently brought into the public arena. Jean-C. Bonenfant and Jean-C. Falardeau, "Cultural and Political Implications of French-Canadian Nationalism," *French-Canadian Nationalism – An Anthology* (Toronto, 1968), pp. 25 and 26.

⁴¹ In 1903 the *Ligue Nationaliste* was formed in Montreal. Henri Bourassa's involvement was essential to the *Ligue*, which proved to have a much larger following than Mercier's party. This group of patriots called for Quebec's autonomy and a re-structuring of the province's economy so that it would better serve French Canadians. The *Ligue* also opposed mass European immigration, which, it believed, further diluted French Canadian culture and also resulted in greater commercial invasion. Bourassa, longing to prevent the Americanization of Quebec, stated that French culture must resist assimilation by making the worship of God (above money and the pursuit of wealth) a dominant value in French Canadian society. Troubled by the coming of big industry to Quebec, which he equated with greed and anti-Catholicism, Bourassa, who connected piety with the land, hoped to preserve Catholic values. He believed that by reverting back to a society in which the rural domain was all-important, religious preservation and consequent societal amelioration could be accomplished. Joseph Levitt, "Henri Bourassa," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* vol. I (Edmonton, 1988), p. 260.

⁴² Abbé Lionel-Alphonse Groulx, not a politician but a religious leader, has been considered the initiator of the separatist movement. He was greatly opposed to Quebec's rapid industrialization and encouraged the Québécois to look to their ancestry and the simple life of the *habitants*. Groulx worried over the diminishing stature of the French language and culture in the burgeoning world of English-dominated industry and sought, instead, a sovereign Quebec, free from its ruinous presence. Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, "Lionel-Adolphe Groulx," *The Canadian Encyclopedia* vol. II (Edmonton, 1988), p. 942.

maintain its French identity. Referring to nationalist and separatist sentiment Griffin concluded,

[it] answers the needs of French Canadians for Respect because it reaffirms a collective past and its cultural and social consequences in a way that no bi-ethnic or bi-cultural approach can afford to. It asserts the primacy of French Canadian culture, and in so doing recognizes it as a goal too valid to be compromised by inept and inappropriate political arrangements.⁴³

The re-creation of seventeenth and eighteenth century New France in the quarter now known as Place Royale in Quebec City's Lower Town is only one example among many of the Québécois' desire to hold on to and/or reconstruct their ancestral past.⁴⁴ Through the deliberate "creation, dismantling and restructuring of images of the past," the ongoing assertion of Quebec's French patrimony has been guaranteed.⁴⁵ The principles that guided this project, between the late 1950s and the last years of the 1970s were less those of historical preservation and more those of the nationalist political agenda.

The project begins...

During the 1950s, thanks to Duplessis's funding and his government's nationalist stance, the desire to re-assert French dominance within the city of Quebec through directed architectural alterations really began to emerge. Attention was directed towards the resurrection of several isolated buildings near *Notre Dame des Victoires* (Fig. 1), in the area today referred to as Place Royale. The Historic Monuments Commission was initially responsible for the restoration of these buildings.

⁴³ Griffin, p. 20.

⁴⁴ "Reconstruction not only reorders past scenes, it creates wholly new ones. Retold stories characteristically add background details absent from the originals, fabrications that become fixed recollections ... Little time is needed for such inventions to become rooted in the mind." David Lowenthal, "Past Time, Present Place: Landscape and Memory," *The Geographical Review* vol. 65, no. 1 (January, 1975), p. 33.

⁴⁵ Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," *The Invention of Tradition* ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge, 1983), p. 13.

The first structure to be tackled was the Chevalier House, or Hôtel Chevalier as it is known today. (Fig. 2) It was Gérard Morisset who first drew attention to the Chevalier House. In a 1953 edition of La Patrie he wrote,

Si nous avions un peu de respect pour l'oeuvre de nos ancêtres, nous restaurions ce charmant hôtel ... du même coup, nous donnerions aux propriétaires voisins l'idée de restaurer leurs maisons dans l'esprit du XVIIIe siècle.⁴⁶

Morisset suggested that the building be demolished and then re-built and re-arranged so that it stylistically corresponded to the eighteenth century architectural idiom representative of New France.⁴⁷ This would insure that the Chevalier building achieved stylistic integrity. Morisset's suggestions were not ignored and by 1958 work had begun.⁴⁸ Raymond Douville, in his article, "La Place Royale" (1974), claims that it was the success of this "renovation" that led to the subsequent and more ambitious undertaking at Place Royale.⁴⁹

The independence movement in Quebec grew in strength and credibility from the mid-twentieth century, leading up to the June 1960 election of Jean Lesage's Liberal government. This sparked what has since been referred to as the Quiet Revolution (1960-66), a period of economic expansion and firm self-assertion for the province. Replacing the old Catholic, ultramontane ideology was a new, secular system that invited modernization but simultaneously encouraged the preservation of a national identity through the enhancement of Quebec's distinct culture and heritage. Among the principal manifestations of this revolution were increased government intervention and an affirmation of a distinct political voice for Quebec. It was under Premier Lesage's leadership (1960-66) that Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs (MAC) was created, a ministry which proved to be of great importance to the work done within the historic Place Royale district.

⁴⁶ André Cloutier, Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau and Luc Noppen. La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec (Quebec. 1978). p. 16.

⁴⁷ Ibid., p. 85.

⁴⁸ Morisset's views on restoration at this time are clearly evident in a statement he made in 1957. He claimed that it was necessary to restore "les objets défigurés par les dernières générations." Gérard Morisset. "La conservation historique." Le Congrès de refranchisation du Québec (1957). p. 25.

The first restoration project in Place Royale undertaken by the MAC, the reconstruction of the Fornel House,⁵⁰ exemplifies the policies still in place during the 1960s and 70s despite the change in government. Using the same strategies as those used in the Hôtel Chevalier project, the three-year reconstruction of the Fornel House, named after the eighteenth century owners Jean Fornel and his son Jean-Louis Fornel, began in 1961. (Fig. 3) Michel Gaumond, historian, archaeologist and director of the *Bureau de Coordination de Place Royale* (BCPR), wrote in his book Place Royale: Its Houses and their Occupants (1974), that Place Royale's restoration "is being carried out with due respect for the findings of history, of traditional architecture and of archaeology."⁵¹ However, the work done on the Fornel House, which has been severely criticized since the 1970s, demonstrates how misleading this statement is.

The original house on the site was razed in the 1682 fire and was re-erected by the then owner, Louis Rouer de Villeray.⁵² The Conquest bombardment almost entirely destroyed this structure, which was re-built a second time. Eventually, in the late nineteenth century, the house was purchased by a man named Victor Lemieux. He replaced the stone walls with brick.⁵³ In 1960 this brick structure was severely damaged by fire. This fact, coupled with the late nineteenth century date of the Lemieux reconstruction, provided justification for its razing as the restorers sought to reconstruct the house according to its "original" eighteenth century state. (Fig. 4)

Dismissing a large sum of the available evidence, the MAC, following recommendations made by architects André Robitaille and Michel Gaumond, turned to the 1810 model of pre-Conquest Lower Town Quebec by Jean-Baptiste Duberger. This resulted in a historical error. Although the model depicted the Fornel House with two floors, the state to which it was consequently rebuilt, a 1759 engraving by Richard Short, along with other documentary evidence, confirms that the house actually had three levels

⁴⁹ Raymond Douville, "La Place Royale," *Heritage Canada* (Spring, 1974), p. 16.

⁵⁰ The Historic Monuments Commission bought the Fornel House in 1960 just as it had earlier purchased the Chevalier building.

⁵¹ Michel Gaumond, Place Royale: Its Houses and their Occupants trans. Ronald Sheen (Quebec, 1971), p. 20.

⁵² Michel Gaumond, La Maison Fornel (Quebec, 1965), p. 17.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

before the English bombardment, as did its neighbor, the Barbel House.⁵⁴ Gaumond, in *Les Chemins de la mémoire* (1990), acknowledged the error of the techniques he previously supported, noting that, “at the beginning of the 1960s restorers followed too closely the 1810 Duberger model.”⁵⁵ He continued, “the Fornel House stands today, as does the Hôtel Chevalier, as a reminder of the type of intervention employed by the Ministry of Cultural Affairs during that period.”⁵⁶

In February 1965 the *Société de la Place Royale de Québec* was created and in 1967 the Quebec National Assembly declared a large section of Lower Town an historic site. A law was passed by the Quebec government that same year, which established the boundaries of the historic locality called Place Royale. After the passage of this law the MAC was officially placed in charge of the entire Place Royale project.⁵⁷ With the intention “to privilege the French character of the locale” the MAC consciously and purposely preserved only those buildings and building parts that dated to the French Regime.⁵⁸ Those that did not fall within the accepted dates or architectural idiom were demolished and subsequently replaced with reconstructions that appeared to be “those which [had] existed in the 17th or 18th centuries.”⁵⁹ These activities were sanctioned by Premier Daniel Johnson’s *Union Nationale* government, the nationalist party which had returned to power in June, 1966, effectively ending the Quiet Revolution and accelerating the movement to create a true Quebec state.⁶⁰ By 1969 a detailed scheme for the re-development of Quebec’s Place Royale quarter was presented and in 1970 the federal government reached an agreement with the provincial government of Quebec and provided funding for a five-year work plan.

⁵⁴ *Place Royale: Its Houses and their Occupants*, p. 34.

⁵⁵ *Les Chemins de la mémoire: Monuments et sites historiques du Québec* Tome 1 (Quebec, 1990), p. 110.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* The truly phenomenal outcome is that the twentieth century reconstruction that is the Fornel House, incorrect even in its latest re-building, was classified as an historic site in Quebec in April 1964.

⁵⁷ The biggest project of its kind ever undertaken in Quebec. Place Royale’s re-development has consequently been regarded as the epitome of the MAC’s approach to heritage preservation.

⁵⁸ *Colloque place Royale 16-17-18 novembre 1978: les Actes du Colloque* (Quebec City, 1979), pp. 18-19.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Johnson was only Premier until 1968 but the *Union Nationale* remained in power under Jean-Jacques Bertrand from 1968-70.

Following the precedents of the Chevalier and Fornel restorations, a number of other heterogeneous and late elements were eliminated from Place Royale buildings in order to re-create “pure” New France architecture. This brought about the loss of copious amounts of irreplaceable history. The Liberals, who favored autonomy for Quebec but remained federalists, returned to power under Robert Bourassa in 1970. Bourassa’s government was responsible for the Cultural Property Act of 1972, which confirmed the importance of state responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage and likewise reaffirmed “a strong desire to preserve a particular identity.”⁶¹ This Act also greatly expanded the definition of cultural property outlined in the earlier legislation. Natural and archaeological patrimony along with movable cultural property were now included, providing a more inclusive and anthropological interpretation of culture.⁶² However, the goal of a homogenous unity of style and period at Place Royale was not dropped, despite the international adoption of the Venice Charter in 1964, which acknowledged the historical importance of respecting architectural accretions. During Bourassa’s rule nine houses including Leber (Figs. 5 and 6), Charest, St. Amand, Beaudoin, Milot and Leduc, were partially or entirely demolished. The structures were re-built or restored in the homogenous style of the French Regime.

Criticism surrounding the Place Royale project: an English perspective

The systematic eradication of post-Conquest British history practiced in the Place Royale project did not go unnoticed by English-speaking Canadians nor by a number of Americans. Both before and after the end of the Quebec government’s culturally biased practices in Quebec City’s Lower Town, English-speaking scholars openly criticized the pre-1978 methodology and architectural outcome. These critics were also quick to point out the political motivations behind the Place Royale project, paralleling the undertakings at Place Royale with Quebec’s mid-to-late-twentieth century nationalist agenda.

Douglas Richardson, in his article for the publication Preserving the Canadian Heritage, “Politics and Priorities in Architectural Preservation” (1975), did not hesitate to

⁶¹ Les Chemins de la mémoire, p. 15.

point out the direct political statements inherent in the destructive approach to architectural heritage adopted at Place Royale. Devoting only a single paragraph to the historic quarter, Richardson made his statement quickly, with little elaboration. He lamented the destruction of authentic nineteenth and twentieth century structures in and near the Place Royale, asserting that these “exceptional structure[s]” were “doomed to be replaced with pious fraud because pre-Conquest associations are politically more expedient than post-session achievements.”⁶³

James Marston Fitch, an American scholar in the field of architectural conservation, mentioned Quebec’s Place Royale project, albeit briefly, in his book Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World (1982). Fitch immediately made the correlation between the project and nationalist politics in Quebec. He wrote,

Nationalistic motivations are explicit in current restoration activities in the Canadian province of Quebec. A direct expression of the Québécois’ determination to reassert the presence of French culture in contemporary Canada, the Place Royale is being radically restored.⁶⁴

Fitch also observed that,

Most physical evidences of the earliest seventeenth-century settlement ... had been blurred or destroyed by subsequent development. The current campaign involves a hard-edged mix of demolition, restoration, and sometimes complete reconstruction of the oldest buildings to re-create the appearance of Place Royale before the British Conquest.⁶⁵

Richard Handler saw little merit in the “nationalistic objectification of culture” visible at Place Royale.⁶⁶ The undertakings at Place Royale, he stated, provided a “constricted view of the national past that it represented.”⁶⁷ Handler wrote,

⁶² Richard Handler, Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec (Madison, 1988), p. 146.

⁶³ Douglas Richardson, “Politics and Priorities in Architectural Preservation,” Preserving the Canadian Heritage (Ottawa, 1975), p. 54.

⁶⁴ James Marston Fitch, Historic Preservation: Curatorial Management of the Built World (New York, 1982), p. 55.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶⁶ Handler, p. 151.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 149.

in privileging French-regime architecture to the exclusion of all else, the project ... favored fakery at the expense of the authenticity of an evolving system of styles.⁶⁸

He continued,

While the critics of the Place Royale project rejected the notion of turning the site into a museum frozen in time, they had no objection to putting the ongoing life of the site 'on stage' for tourists.⁶⁹

English-speaking Canadians and indeed people of British descent the world over had and have good reason to find fault with the methodological approach taken at Place Royale. Quebec City's perceived pure historical continuity with its French origins is another myth that has been perpetuated over the years, a myth legitimated by UNESCO's nomination of Old Quebec City to its list of world heritage sites. Although Place Royale has been sacralized by the Québécois as the birthplace of the French civilization in North America, the oldest surviving structures in historic Quebec City actually date from the British, not French, era.⁷⁰ Only ten percent of the edifices in Old Quebec City are from the French Regime. The remaining ninety percent are from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, erected long after New France was ceded to the British.⁷¹

Quebec City's current French architectural identity, as stated by Luc Noppen in his article, "The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec" (1996), has been "constructed."⁷² This construction, he has argued, was a by-product of two factors. The first was Confederation, which officially recognized the country's dual cultural make-up. The second was the "penchant for creating history" practiced during the nineteenth century.⁷³ This creation of history resulted in an attempt to give Quebec the "desired image of historical continuity" through the injection of "buildings and

⁶⁸ Handler, p. 149.

⁶⁹ Ibid., p. 151.

⁷⁰ Luc Noppen, "The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec." Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada (1996), p. 9.

⁷¹ Ibid., p. 5.

⁷² Luc Noppen is a French Canadian architectural historian. His criticism of the Place Royale project itself will be discussed in detail in the following section, "Criticism surrounding the Place Royale project: a French perspective." His article for the SSAC Bulletin is cited at this point only to establish the relevance and significance of British planning and architecture in Quebec City.

monuments inspired by French architecture of the 16th and 17th centuries.”⁷⁴ However, the British contribution to old Quebec City’s architectural identity is undeniable and also extremely relevant.

Circa 1800 the British government, looking to create an impressive presence for its new colonial capital, began its architectural alteration of Quebec. A number of new buildings were erected in the classical English style, the single-family dwelling was introduced, the use of urban space was changed (districts became separated according to function) and the city’s fortified walls and citadel were constructed.⁷⁵ Noppen is of the opinion that the British changes and expansion of the city not only “shaped the cultural behaviour of the francophones of North America”, but also ensured “the survival of the old historical centre of Quebec.”⁷⁶ The French image that is today connected with Quebec City is thus not consistently reflected in the remaining authentic architecture, nor in the city planning for that matter, which also bears a British stamp, but is what Noppen calls a “global intuition.”⁷⁷ People tend to associate Quebec City solely with the French, overlooking and even neglecting British contributions to its past and present appearance. This one-sided interpretation of history was resolutely embraced in the nationalistic goals of those first reconstructing buildings within Place Royale.

Criticism surrounding the Place Royale project: a French perspective

Since at least 1971 a number of French Canadian academics, generally architectural historians, urban planners and archaeologists, have openly criticized the methodology adopted at Place Royale and its constricted view of the province’s past. In spite of their academic reservations, however, the majority of these critics were moved by the contemporary political sentiment, but feared that Quebec’s questionable heritage practices would place the province in an unsympathetic light. They did not embrace the

⁷³ “The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec,” p. 5.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ The fortified walls, built between 1815 and 1830, are, coincidentally, what enabled Quebec City, the only fortified city in North America, to be designated a World Heritage Site.

⁷⁶ “The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec,” pp. 6 and 8.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

project and its bowdlerized celebration of the province's cultural history and opposed the restorative techniques employed.

The resonance of Viollet-le-Duc's philosophy (see Appendix 2) with the nationalist sentiment of the 1960s and 70s in Quebec was difficult to overcome. The first sparks of opposition occurred after the October 1971 adoption of the BCPR's restoration concept, a concept almost exclusively based on Morisset's writings. An urban planner named Jean Cimon was the first to challenge this ethically flawed concept. In his publication, Schéma de réaménagement de la Place Royale (1971), Cimon protested the massive demolitions of two centuries of architecture (nineteenth and twentieth) and the artificial eighteenth century reconstructions that filled the voids. Cimon called these reconstructions "faux anciens", something he likened to Disney creations.⁷⁸ Going against the predominant Quebec sentiment of the day Cimon wrote,

Les démolitions totales de maisons historiques en vue d'une reconstitution historique exacte doivent être prohibées, car cette reconstruction artificielle aboutit à du faux ancien et risque de détruire l'authenticité du quartier et de le transformer en un musée sans vie et sans âme.⁷⁹

He did not understand the privileging of one period in time over another, exclaiming,

tout ce qui est valable dans un bâtiment, qu'il date du 17^{ième}, du 18^{ième}, du 19^{ième} ou du 20^{ième} siècle, doit être conservé comme témoin d'une époque, car une ville vivante est faite d'accumulations heureuses ou malheureuses, mais toujours émouvantes parce qu'elles sont vibrantes d'humanité.⁸⁰

Cimon's report, perhaps regarded as anti-nationalistic and thus anti-Quebec, was promptly rejected and suppressed and the BCPR concept was put solidly into practice as the Place Royale project continued its destructive pace.

The mounting criticism came to a head in 1978 when the Quebec government could no longer ignore the hostility and controversy the Place Royale "restorations" were inciting amongst the province's own intellectual community. Luc Noppen appears to have officially instigated this intellectual backlash with his publication L'avenir de la

⁷⁸ Jean Cimon, Schéma de réaménagement de la Place Royale (Quebec, 1971), p. 25.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Place Royale (1978). Seemingly reluctant to engage in any aggressive criticism, Noppen never mentioned the stylistic restoration and mass demolitions undertaken at Place Royale. He did not inform the reader as to what exactly was going on but expressed what he wanted and did not want to witness happening. He advocated the immediate adoption by the MAC of the international restoration philosophy proposed in the 1964 Venice Charter (see Appendix 2). He wrote,

Puis il importe de connaître, de diffuser, d'adopter et surtout de mettre en pratique les principes retenus par voie de consensus au niveau international. Il est d'une extrême urgence de lire, de relire et d'adopter la Charte de Venise ...⁸¹

Noppen's reluctance to link his criticism directly to the Place Royale project does not diminish the significance of his opinion. He was clearly positioning himself in the anti-Morisset camp, recommending thorough research⁸² and the proper publication and subsequent accessibility of information to the public.⁸³ Modeling his thoughts after article 9 of the Venice Charter Noppen stated that

... le restaurateur doit respecter ce qui existe et que la règle de l'intervention minimale doit guider le restaurateur pour prévenir les excès. La restauration est une opération qui revêt un caractère exceptionnel. Elle s'arrête là où commence l'hypothèse.⁸⁴

Reciting the Venice Charter he asserted that modern adjustments should be visible and recognizable as such, something absolutely overlooked in the Place Royale project at the time.⁸⁵ Addressing the Morisset and BCPR approaches head on, Noppen also claimed that architectural restoration should "respecte toutes les traces du temps. Elle ne privilegie pas une époque, ni un état complet, pas plus qu'elle ne favorise l'unité stylistique."⁸⁶

Despite his criticism Noppen did not want to be labeled anti-nationalistic and thus anti-Quebec. Expressing his pro-French attitude Noppen referred to Canada as "another

⁸¹ Luc Noppen, L'avenir de la Place Royale (Quebec. 1978). p. 12.

⁸² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

country.”⁸⁷ He did not consider Quebec history to be Canadian history, as if to demonstrate that regardless of his critique his political ties to Quebec remained intact.⁸⁸ Apparently uneasy about what he posited, afraid perhaps of offending the Quebec nationalists, he wrote,

Je me permets de vous signaler que les points de vue que j’exprime me paraissent sans valeur s’ils ne peuvent être questionnés, débattus et éventuellement remis en cause. Car si j’ai bien compris, il ne peut être question de remplacer une idée par une autre, il s’agit d’obtenir un consensus sur ces questions.⁸⁹

Noppen showed a much greater degree of confidence in his views when he teamed up with colleagues André Cloutier and Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau later in 1978. Their joint publication, La restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, like Noppen’s earlier work, cited above, focused on the inadequacies of the stylistic restoration undertaken at Quebec City’s Place Royale. Alternative approaches to restoration were recorded in this publication but its main purpose was to attack the contemporary methodologies. Wasting little time, the authors used the first few pages to address the inadequate documentation of the project by the government. The refusal to make public the research documenting these ‘restorations’ “constitue un grave accroc à l’éthique professionnelle.”⁹⁰ Accurate documentation, along with photographs depicting the demolition of buildings, was, according to the authors, rare and difficult to find.⁹¹ They, too, called for the greater accessibility and organization of information for public consumption.⁹² Cloutier, Gobeil-Trudeau and Noppen referred to the project as an “unsatisfactory”⁹³ “scandal”⁹⁴, a “campaign of devastation.”⁹⁵ They asked how a superimposition of an image from the French Regime could be put on a quarter largely reconstructed during the nineteenth century, writing “Comment pouvait-on sérieusement

⁸⁷ L’avenir de la Place Royale, p. 33.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18.

⁹⁰ La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, p. 132.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 8.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

entrevoir les démolitions massives qui nécessitait la création de cette nouvelle image?”⁹⁶

Believing that restoration work should be true to the existing structure, the three architectural historians maintained that a variety of architectural styles and periods represented in Place Royale would not only be historically telling but historically accurate.⁹⁷ Addressing the actual work done they claimed, “Soulignons seulement qu’il s’agit là d’une pratique pour le moins douteuse que même Viollet-le-Duc n’aurait pas envisagés.”⁹⁸ They continued, “Les plans des démolitions à Place Royale (faites et à faire) nous montre que les vestiges authentiques de cet ensemble se font de plus en plus rares.”⁹⁹ Believing that the tourist angle is misguided the authors stated,

Ce qu’il faut comprendre une fois pour toutes, c’est que le public ne visite pas des restaurations; il visite des quartiers animés et typiques, des monuments, des musées.¹⁰⁰

Claiming that many of the Place Royale reconstructions are simple speculations without solid grounding, the three authors called for proper and adequate historical and architectural research and the adoption and application of the 1964 Venice Charter.¹⁰¹

What is unique about this publication is that the three Francophone authors confronted Quebec’s political situation. Perhaps feeling strength in numbers, or simply fed up with the widespread destruction, they stated that those who felt the Place Royale project was indispensable for affirming the French existence in North America were misguided because the project “empreint d’une sensiblerie politique de mauvais aloi.”¹⁰² They felt that, on the contrary, the restorer should respect every era, which permits

de mettre en valeur l’adaptation souvent très original, que le Québec a pu faire des influences étrangères en matière d’architecture. Par ailleurs, le fait de respecter les monuments des époques moins prestigieuses du Québec francophone témoigne d’un haut degré de civilisation ... Le Québec d’aujourd’hui est quand même une Société qui se veut plus ouverte sur le monde.¹⁰³

⁹⁶ La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, p. 108.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 147.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 109.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 131.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 154.

¹⁰² *Ibid.*, p. 166.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 167.

The one positive thing they said about the program at Place Royale is that it served as a model for what not to do in the future.¹⁰⁴ They wrote, “On ne peut plus prétendre aujourd’hui que le type de conservation préconise à la Place Royale est le seul possible,” calling for a symposium on the subject of future restorations in the Place Royale district, in the hope of pushing the Ministry of Cultural Affairs to adopt a more ethically acceptable policy of intervention.¹⁰⁵

Discussing interventions sustained by specific buildings Cloutier, Gobeil-Trudeau and Noppen maintained that it is impossible to consider much of the work done at Place Royale as “restoration” at all. The Leduc House, they claimed, was intended to be a prototype for a restoration of integrity but ended up being almost entirely reconstructed, an act which the three authors find “unjustifiable.”¹⁰⁶ Although the public has access to the interior of the building its value “is severely negated by its facsimile décor.”¹⁰⁷

C. R. Anderson was the architect in charge of the Beaudoin House. He wanted to restore the existing nineteenth century condition of the building. The BCPR would not support such a notion and forced Anderson to return the house to an eighteenth century appearance. All nineteenth century features were consequently removed. Cloutier and his associates lamented this decision remarking that

l’application de ce type de restauration à la maison Beaudoin a eu comme effet de faire disparaître un des monuments les mieux conservés de la Place Royale. Les éléments authentiques remplacés ou noyés dans un ensemble reconstitué enlèvent tout caractère authentique à la maison ...¹⁰⁸

Similarly, the interior of the Milot House was entirely demolished while the exterior suffered only partial demolition. As Cloutier, Gobeil-Trudeau and Noppen noted, the restorers did not have a guide or plan to follow, arbitrarily removing all that did not appear to belong to the original.¹⁰⁹ They observed that:

¹⁰⁴ La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, p. 133.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 170.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 118.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 122.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 113.

L'ensemble de ces opérations et leur caractère radical, alors qu'on a systématiquement remplacé les pièces authentiques par les copies neuves, nous oblige à considérer la Maison Milot comme ayant été reconstruire plutôt que restaurée.¹¹⁰

The three authors lamented the fact that no credible historical research was completed on the house despite the large amount of documentation available.

The criticism did result in a symposium on Place Royale later that year (16, 17 and 18 November) in Quebec City. Sponsored by the MAC it brought together all parties interested in the project. Although the MAC argued for the continuation of reconstructions based on a French Regime theme, seeing Place Royale as “a privileged tie between the French Canada of yesterday and Quebec of today”, architects, social scientists, citizen groups, and cultural-affairs facilitators demanded a change in policy.¹¹¹ The Quebec government, facing both internal and external pressure, reluctantly abandoned its radical outdated restoration methodologies, privileging the reconstruction of French Regime architecture, and allowed for work done in the 1980s and 1990s (it continues to this day) to be more heterogeneous in character.¹¹² (Fig. 7)

Luc Noppen recognized the error of promoting a strictly French history in Quebec City. He argued for the importance of a complete historical record, writing in 1996,

the preference of certain authorities towards a one-sided history would appear to threaten the subtleties of an environment that is characterized, as has been shown, by layers of different historical periods and heritage, both French and English.¹¹³

¹¹⁰ La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, p. 113.

¹¹¹ Handler, p. 149.

¹¹² For example, the planned restoration of the Smith and Hazeur houses allowed for a more modern interpretation of the buildings. A new structure was to be inserted “derrière la maison Smith et la façade incendiée de la maison Hazeur, pour accueillir huit logements et un centre d’interprétation du berceau des francophones de l’Amérique du Nord. L’ensemble permet un regard vers et sur la place, tout en abritant un escalier public qui relie la côte de la Montagne, où apparaissent deux bâtiments neufs. Replié sur lui-même, en signe de révérence pour le caractère historique des lieux, l’édifice projeté est fait de transparences (et de lumière, la nuit venue), à la fois pour révéler les vestiges, créer un événement architectural, et pour bien signer l’intervention de notre époque. La composition a été alimentée par l’aspect matériel et mémoriel du site, sans toutefois donner dans le pastiche ou la reconstitution. Il s’agit, en fait, d’un nouveau regard que les Québécois de l’ère postmoderne portent sur eux-mêmes.” Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset, Québec de roc et de pierres – La capitale en architecture (Sainte-Foy, 1998), p. 133.

¹¹³ “The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec,” p. 9.

Noppen understood the political implications of such “one-sided history.”¹¹⁴ He concluded, “In the present political context, the last thing to deliberate is the inherent British character of the old capital.”¹¹⁵

Despite contemporary nationalist sentiment in the province many Québécois currently in the heritage field remain apologetic for the destructive policy adopted by the Quebec government in its restoration of Place Royale. Architect Marie-Josée Deschênes, in her article for *Continuité* titled “*Restaurer? Non, réanimer!*” (1997), acknowledges the damage done by the 1970s’ work on Place Royale. She asserts that the search for a renewed French identity amongst the Québécois led to hypothetical reconstructions. She writes, “Le pouvoir évocateur de Place-Royale reside finalement plus dans la théâtralité du décor que dans son authenticité.”¹¹⁶ Others, despite the 1978 acceptance of past errors, do remain in denial¹¹⁷ but generally speaking the politics initially inherent in the Place Royale project seem to have been largely removed. Internationally accepted conservation guidelines have replaced the previous ideologically driven policies.

Architectural alterations to the historic and cultural landscape can be used “to construct an idealized national past that legitimates the objectives of a modern state.”¹¹⁸ Lord Dufferin’s nineteenth century architectural embellishments to Quebec City and Joseph Octave Dion’s development of Fort Chambly aptly demonstrate this (see Appendix 2). The MAC’s Place Royale project, too, is a powerful example of politically driven architectural manipulations. Fueled by Quebec’s nationalist sentiment, the work done at Place Royale erased the British presence and focused solely on the seventeenth and eighteenth century architecture of New France. The past at Place Royale was consciously reconstructed to support the contemporary quest for a strictly French reality.

¹¹⁴ “The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec.” p. 9.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ Marie-Josée Deschênes, “Restaurer? Non, réanimer!,” *Continuité* (1997), p. 20.

¹¹⁷ For example, Daniel Latouche refers to the Place Royale site as “a genuine recreation of an architectural ensemble.” “Quebec,” *Canadian Encyclopedia* (Edmonton, 1988), p. 1800.

¹¹⁸ Alexander Wilson, *The Culture of Nature – North American Landscape from Disney to the Exxon Valdez* (Toronto, 1991), p. 216.

Saint-Boniface's Renovation of Provencher Boulevard: Economy and Tolerance

The past can be used not only to promote political ideologies but also to serve a community's economic ends. While the Place Royale project was largely motivated by a nationalist agenda, the renovation of St. Boniface's main street, Provencher Boulevard and the celebration of the area's French history, is being used to stimulate economic growth in the area.¹¹⁹ Like the Québécois, however, Franco-Manitobans believe that the celebration of French loyalties "require[s] the reaffirmation of symbolic links with the material past."¹²⁰ Architecture is an ideal vehicle for historic symbolism. The desire to commemorate the distinct and largely French history inspired recent proposals made for Winnipeg's French-speaking enclave, St. Boniface.¹²¹ St. Boniface remains the largest French-speaking municipality in western Canada and is regarded not only as the capital of Franco-Manitoba but as the center of French Canadian life in western Canada. Through Heritage Canada's Main Street Program and by making architectural and landscape changes, the Riel Corporation (along with the City of Winnipeg) planned the rejuvenation of St. Boniface's principal downtown artery, Provencher Boulevard, intending to turn the area into a "vibrant French quarter."¹²² This allows for the simultaneous recognition of one of Winnipeg's most historically significant communities as well as for the promotion of tourism.¹²³

¹¹⁹ The economics that came to play a role in Place Royale had been earlier dictated by the nationalist political agenda. In the first decades of the twentieth century Place Royale had been the business center of Quebec City, alive and vibrant but it began to run down. This was accelerated by the project itself as people, fearing expropriation, neglected the upkeep of their properties. The neighborhood fell into ruins. The MAC undertook its revitalization but simultaneously turned the historic district into "an isolated ... commodity" full of tourists and no longer able to function as a residential neighborhood. Handler, p. 150.

¹²⁰ David Lowenthal, "Introduction," *The Past – Why Do We Save It?* ed. David Lowenthal and Marcus Binney (London, 1981), p. 20.

¹²¹ St. Boniface was first organized as a municipality in 1880 and incorporated as a town and granted separate legal status in 1883. It was incorporated as a city in 1908 and then, in 1971, St. Boniface joined other Red River Valley cities to form the City of Winnipeg.

¹²² Gray, "Preserving a place for francophones," p. 3.

¹²³ Provencher Boulevard is not the first example of an economically motivated architectural restoration project in Manitoba. In the 1920s the provincial government urged the federal government to fund the restoration of the Prince of Wales Fort on Hudson Bay near the mouth of the Churchill River. One of the oldest in the country, built in 1717 after the earlier 1689 construction burned down, Prince of Wales Fort is close to the settlement at Churchill, where the Hudson Bay Railway had its northern terminus. Its accessibility by rail increased its potential as a major tourist attraction and the government of Manitoba pressured Ottawa to develop the site for visitors. After its recognition by the HSMBC as a site of national

Guy Préfontaine, the current project architect for the *Rues principales St. Boniface*, a project which is devoted to helping St. Boniface “protect and enhance its heritage resources,”¹²⁴ has suggested that Provencher Boulevard acts as “the barometer for the economic status” of the community.¹²⁵ Having established that the Boulevard was suffering from a loss of tenants and a consequent decline in its community significance, *La Chambre de commerce francophone de St. Boniface* (CCFSB), in the early 1990s, hoped somehow to “ensure the economic and cultural development of St. Boniface and Provencher Boulevard.”¹²⁶ Upon further investigation, the CCFSB realized that the key to St. Boniface’s economic resurgence was the promotion of its special flavor and identity through the physical revitalization of its ceremonial main street, Provencher Boulevard. Wrote Préfontaine, “This boulevard was the glue that bound [the residents] into an identifiable and united community. The fate of the artery would in fact define the future of the community.”¹²⁷

Armed with this knowledge the CCFSB sought to acquire greater expertise, an initiative which led them to contract the Heritage Canada Foundation in 1996. Heritage Canada, a not-for-profit, non-governmental organization devoted to preserving Canada’s built heritage, suggested using its successful Main Streets (Rues principales) Canada Program, which has been actively reinvigorating downtown commercial districts by way of appropriate aesthetic alterations to local buildings, since 1985. The Provencher Boulevard project was directed and managed through the *Rues principales St. Boniface* committee of the CCFSB, which initially had a board of forty-seven members. It was its responsibility, within the study framework proposed by Heritage Canada, to undertake detailed studies and analyses of the neighborhood in an attempt to establish a course of action.

significance in the 1920s, the Parks Branch became involved in the fort’s preservation and its reconstruction began in 1935, turning the ruin into an economically beneficial tourist attraction.

¹²⁴ Guy Préfontaine, *Rues Principales Saint-Boniface – Design Guidelines – Boulevard Provencher* 1st ed. (Winnipeg, 1998), p. 2.

¹²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 1.

¹²⁶ Heritage Canada, *Rues Principales – Report – Resource Team* (Saskatoon, 1996), p. 2.

¹²⁷ *Design Guidelines*, p. 1.

The necessary research determined that a focus on tourism would stimulate economic growth and inject into the community a greater sense of pride and belonging.¹²⁸

The board, which learned that

people wanted and expected to enjoy a different cultural experience in St. Boniface, and wanted to see truly visible signs of a distinct neighborhood reflecting the Franco-Manitoban history and culture, not unlike the French Quarter which exists in New Orleans,¹²⁹

believed that as it stood in 1996 St. Boniface not only lacked any developed tourist destinations but was also “too assimilated to attract tourism.”¹³⁰ It was ascertained that the celebration of St. Boniface’s uniqueness as a French-speaking center, through a shared community vision, could be translated into a viable tourist attraction and a strong marketing tool to attract merchants and shoppers.¹³¹

The motivating policy behind the project is that through architectural renovation the unique and historic character of St. Boniface is to be developed and accentuated. These architectural modifications (coupled with the anticipated landscaping of the Boulevard) are intended to highlight the distinctive flavor of the area as well as improve its overall aesthetics. The project hopes to create “visual harmony”¹³² along the Boulevard while simultaneously promoting and celebrating the “first French, Catholic diocese in the west.”¹³³ (Fig. 8) However, the project’s policy acknowledges the evolving reality of St. Boniface and its role as a “hub of various cultural groups”¹³⁴ (not just French): the aim “is not an attempt to paint the area with one treatment, but rather to create a cohesive, positive and identifiable local area.”¹³⁵ Although the project, a celebration of St. Boniface’s French past, is largely driven by economic objectives, a

¹²⁸ Design Guidelines, p. 3.

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Ibid., p. 4.

¹³¹ In order to enhance the greatest distinguishing feature of the area, which is that it is largely French, the Guidelines suggest that merchants allow their signage to reflect this fact, with equal space awarded to the French language. The installation of wall murals (on non-designated buildings) with historic and cultural themes relevant to the area is also suggested.

¹³² Design Guidelines, p. 29.

¹³³ Rucs Principales – Report – Resource Team, p. 3.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ Design Guidelines, p. 20.

strict policy discouraging the creation or alteration of history through inaccurate or falsified architectural restorations is in place.

The *Rues principales* board settled on an area of intervention restricted to Provencher Boulevard itself. This area included both the north and south sides of the street from Taché Avenue, stretching several blocks east to Langevin Street.¹³⁶ In order to regulate development a set of Design Guidelines was established in accordance with the City of Winnipeg Zoning By-Laws No. 6400/94 Part IX, which pertain to the Boulevard Provencher (BP) District outlined above. These Guidelines, which deal only with the exteriors of the buildings, apply to anyone who wishes to modify an existing structure within the District. They are intended to “direct development in view of creating a cohesive built expression for the area”¹³⁷ while guaranteeing that “a minimum standard of quality is assured.”¹³⁸ The Guidelines aim at “harmoniz[ing] the visual, contextual and textural quality of the area into one positive and concise image” by visually defining the area through the recognition of its unique identity and building heritage.¹³⁹

Unlike specific areas in Quebec, Franco-Manitoba does not have a distinct and recognizable architectural style of its own. St. Boniface’s Provencher Boulevard, one of only two remaining Grand Boulevard style streets in central Winnipeg, is no exception. This means that the intention behind the Provencher Boulevard renovation was never to use a specific architectural idiom to reconstruct a uni-cultural image of Franco-Manitoba. Its architectural diversity is being embraced instead of being forced into a predetermined French mold.

The architectural development of Provencher Boulevard can be signaled by the appearance and evolution of particular materials and detailing. A variety of architectural styles were used throughout the Boulevard’s history. Regardless of function (many buildings were intended for institutional or commercial use), the majority of the Boulevard’s nineteenth century buildings, details included, were of unpainted wood

¹³⁶ Over time this area of concentration is likely to be expanded.

¹³⁷ Design Guidelines, p. 20.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

construction.¹⁴⁰ This changed in the early 1900s when important civic and institutional buildings, reflecting an image of stability and permanence (and also enjoying a much greater resistance to fire), were erected in stone. A little further into the twentieth century some mercantile and commercial buildings were also constructed of stone; however, local Red River yellow brick along with red brick cladding were more prevalent while stucco veneers (and later renovated stucco facades) were also popular. Metal detailing, which could be purchased through catalogues, was an inexpensive way to give a building the presence and prestige of its masonry neighbors.¹⁴¹ Awnings, often of canvas and commonly fringed, became popular during the economic boom and decorated most of the buildings on the north side.

Within the boundaries of the BP District are buildings in a variety of architectural styles – the area is very rich in building types and details. Today, for example, the styles that can be recognized on the Boulevard include Boomtown, Classic Revival, Edwardian, Moorish, Neoclassic, Early and Late Commercial, Modern and Bauhaus. These buildings range in date from 1873 (the Maison Joseph Royale)¹⁴² to 1987 (Edifice Centreville). Despite the current jumble of design and the lack of any strict unity of style, caused by the sporadic development of the Boulevard, the objective of the *Rues principales* is not to favor one style or period above another but, instead, to “accommodate and respect” all of the varied styles represented.¹⁴³ Guy Préfontaine wrote that, “It is critical to assess each property’s historical significance, or risk losing a valuable community asset. We must not abandon either the older or ostracize the newer vocabularies.”¹⁴⁴ In any event it would be next to impossible to restore these buildings according to one specific style as single buildings have often incorporated a number of different historical architectural styles and details within one exterior.

¹³⁹ *Design Guidelines*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁰ Wood was plentiful, easy to acquire, and inexpensive.

¹⁴¹ *Design Guidelines*, p. 33.

¹⁴² One of only two buildings in the District that have been designated as historic monuments. The *Hôtel de Ville*, built 1906, is the second.

¹⁴³ *Design Guidelines*, p. 12.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

Styles, for that reason, are not to be used as benchmarks in the *Rues principales* project. Instead of classifying buildings by one particular style and then altering all of the structures that do not conform, the *Rues principales Guidelines* state that “the most commonly accepted way to classify buildings is through categories of scale and proportion.”¹⁴⁵ This means that regardless of architectural style, the aim of the project is to bring together the overall architectural diversity of the Boulevard through an emphasis on human scale and the buildings’ relationships to the pedestrian. Section 2.3 of the *Design Guidelines*, “Principals of Preservation and Conservation” repeats that the purpose of any architectural renovations or alterations is “not to attempt to imitate building styles” but to provide “an essential link to our past and a bridging of vocabularies to the future.”¹⁴⁶ Longing to “protect, display and enhance the collective memory of the culture,” the *Rues principales* calls for the preservation of all of the buildings on Provencher, including modernist structures, so that a complete history and sense of place is likewise preserved.¹⁴⁷

The restoration of the character of the Boulevard is to be accomplished through various degrees of building renovation: minimal, moderate or extensive intervention. Regardless of the level of intervention owners should ensure that historic elements are preserved. The *Guidelines*, in fact, contain many of the points made in the Venice and Appleton Charters. In Sections 3.6 and 3.7 of the guidelines, “Architectural Details” and “Addition and Renovation”, it is stated that “historical reconstruction shall be based on and supported by evidence of previously existing details.”¹⁴⁸ They continue, “When considering reconstruction of any façade, it should only be undertaken to the extent and level of detail that can be proven to have existed ... Should this evidence not exist, historical interpretation and assumption is not appropriate.”¹⁴⁹ Nor is “simply applying erroneous details to a façade to give it a historical feel” deemed appropriate.¹⁵⁰ The

¹⁴⁵ *Design Guidelines*, p. 13.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 25.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

¹⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

policies guiding the Provencher project respect national and international codes of architectural restoration ethics.¹⁵¹

The spring of 2000 was to see this project commence with fifteen scheduled façade or store front improvements; however, due to the difficulty of obtaining quotes from contractors, the starting date was postponed until that summer. At this time the majority of the project has been completed – only several businesses still await new signage and awnings. A number of buildings have been renovated and given details and fixtures, as outlined in the Design Guidelines, so that their aesthetic character is improved. For example, awnings, iron light fixtures and iron detailing have been added to Provencher's IGA (grocery store). (Fig. 9) A mural depicting *voyageurs* on the Red River has also been painted onto the structure. (Fig. 10) The retail building at 180 Provencher, which houses a barber shop, has also been updated with awnings and improved (i.e. more aesthetically pleasing) signage. (Fig. 11) The Lazy Dog, just down the street, at 190 Provencher, has undergone an incredible transformation. Not only has the addition of striped awnings and window flower boxes improved its appearance but the widening of its concrete surround has also allowed for the creation of an outdoor patio/café. The iron tables and chairs, plant holders, benches and light fixtures, complete with small umbrellas and large trees, typical of the streetscape work executed all over the Boulevard, have turned this previously ugly locale into an appealing destination. (Fig. 12)

The conclusion

As communities attempt to shape their histories so that they match current images of the collective self (i.e. identity and nationhood), the past can become re-situated within the present. In the promotion of a nationality, however, history can be subjected to interpretation and revision. The restored historic district of Quebec City's Place Royale,

¹⁵¹ This is further evinced in the following principles. The Guidelines urge that these principles be respected when any sort of architectural intervention takes place:

- Accommodate as many original features and proportions of the existing façade as possible in the work.
- Do not alter the original materials in a way that will make them impossible to recapture in the future.
- Use materials sensitive in nature, color and texture [in] the existing context and do not introduce large expanses of new materials. Design Guidelines, p. 35.

for example, is an interpretation of a nationalist identity but it is not the manifestation of an authentic regional history. The layered and multi-cultural history that belongs to Quebec City was eliminated at Place Royale to project an identity imagined by French Canadian nationalists. According to Richard Handler,

those who seek the sources of national identity reinterpret aspects of a social world as typifying that world, which is then understood to be territorially and sociologically bounded (“the nation”) and in possession of “a” culture composed of detached, object-like “traits”.¹⁵²

The reconstruction and preservation of Quebec’s French Regime architecture has been equated with the preservation of Quebec’s traditional French patrimony. Unlike British architectural elements, the French idiom provided 1) an agency for the Québécois to celebrate a past that might otherwise have been extinguished; 2) a visual symbol (and reminder) of their French identity. The deliberate re-creation and promotion of one singular period of Place Royale’s architectural history exemplifies the exclusionary nationalism practiced by Québécois nationalists. This illiberal stance has resulted in the production of a simulated environment entirely removed from its social and historical reality. Place Royale has become a site-museum frozen in time for tourists, a veritable “concentration camp for culture.”¹⁵³

Although Place Royale and St. Boniface share the same main objective, to promote the Francophone character and history of their respective areas, underlying motivations for the architectural restorations and renovations, as well as the policies and strategies directing the projects, have produced very different approaches and outcomes. A fictive reality, based on a certain legitimacy, has been constructed in Quebec City, one which claims that New France survived and lives on. The political dynamic informing the Place Royale project allows for one culture (French) to erase another (British). The French culture, a majority within the city (and province) for some time, answered back to the earlier Anglophone invasion through the Place Royale project by replacing, through removal and forced amnesia, the British culture that had made such an imprint throughout

¹⁵² Handler, p. 151.

¹⁵³ Ibid.

Quebec City. Despite changes in policy the aura of New France remains well established at Place Royale. Its overall visual effect is one resembling seventeenth and eighteenth century New France. Luc Noppen and Lucie K. Morisset have recently concluded,

Bien plus qu'un répertoire d'architectures d'époque ou qu'un quelconque musée en plein air, Place-Royale est en effet devenue, au des ans, un lieu de commémoration des origines francophones de cette partie de l'Amérique, et un monument consacrant la quête identitaire qui a dominé l'histoire récente des Québécois.¹⁵⁴

The *Rues principales* project envisioned for Provencher Boulevard contrasts sharply with that at Place Royale. The project fully intends to highlight the area's French culture and distinct identity but with simultaneous acknowledgement of St. Boniface's cultural hybridity. Neither a single architectural style nor period will be favored over another, allowing for a far more diverse streetscape capable of reflecting the evolution of the Boulevard and the community over time, not simply one specific era. The Franco-Manitobans' heritage, arguably more understated than that of the Québécois but just as proud, has acknowledged its hybridity so that an inclusive identity, capable of promoting its diversity, is advanced. Provencher Boulevard, in its layered and varied reality, will remain a vital and multi-purpose community environment, not an isolated tourist commodity grounded in politically-motivated exclusivity.

¹⁵⁴ Québec de roc et de pierres – La capitale en architecture, p. 132.

Chapter Three: Inventing History: The Appropriation of Non-indigenous Architectural Forms to Advance French Canadian Identities

*"The pasts we alter or invent are as prevalent and consequential as those we try to preserve."*¹

David Lowenthal

This chapter will examine two final case studies – a proposed, but never built, tourist destination in Hull, Quebec, and the Montreal Road redevelopment in Vanier, Ontario. Comparisons will be made between these two communities, neither of which have French origins but both of which long to possess French identities. The justification for their deliberate invention of history, through the manipulation of the built environment, will be provided. Finally, a brief discussion will focus on the inauthenticity these thematic applications produce.

Inventing History

History, as demonstrated in the Place Royale and St. Boniface examples, can be interpreted and revised in order to reinforce a group's contemporary beliefs about their collective identity and to promote its imagined national image. History can also be entirely invented. What has never existed in the past can be invented in order to accomplish similar goals. David Lowenthal, in The Past is a Foreign Country (1985), has asserted that "those who lack links with a place must forge an identity through other pasts" so that such a link is created.² Willful modifications can result in the manipulation of memory and the improvisation of history. A previously non-existent collective memory can thus be represented. When historically relevant architectural components are altered, removed or added, the culture and history that one associates with the structures will be changed, contributing to an entirely constructed identity. Fictional representations of history used to support a desired identity can be advanced through the use of specific architectural idioms. These idioms can be deliberately chosen and injected into a cultural landscape that never saw such usage in its past. The inauthentic,

¹ David Lowenthal, The Past is a Foreign Country (Cambridge, 1985), p. xxiii.

² Ibid., p. 42.

Disney-like result thus created, although claiming to project a nationalist voice, may be mistakenly justified by “destination” tourism and the quest for economic growth.

Although Hull, Quebec and Vanier, Ontario currently sustain largely French-speaking populations, neither of these two cities were founded by Francophones.³ Their historic demographics are not as French as the present statistics indicate. Despite their nineteenth century foundation by Anglophones of British descent, both cities proposed the implementation of, or adoption of an architectural idiom representative of seventeenth and eighteenth century New France construction. Christine Boyer, in her publication on geography and memory, *The City of Collective Memory* (1994) has asserted that history is “often invented for specific purposes,” and this is true for both Hull and Vanier.⁴ This appropriation of non-indigenous architecture and architectural elements served to remedy perceived shortcomings in the current images of these communities. While the demographics of these two cities changed over time from an English majority to a French one, their material histories did not reflect this transformation. The architectural idiom of Old Quebec serves to act as a symbolic representation of a current French identity, grafting a French past onto a present French reality. The planners of both projects also determined that this approach would stimulate tourism and consequently boost the local economies and sagging civic morale while differentiating each city from adjacent English-speaking centres.

Hull: A City Founded by Americans

The city of Hull, situated on the north shore of the Ottawa River directly across from the nation’s capital, was never part of the territory of New France. However, it was a Frenchman, Etienne Brulé, who was the first European to explore the Ottawa River and the present day site of Hull in 1610. Samuel de Champlain, the famed French explorer, followed in 1613.⁵ Other French explorers and French missionaries also journeyed up the Ottawa River in the early seventeenth century. These included such figures as Jesuit Jean

³ In 1991 roughly 80% of the population of both Hull and Vanier was French-speaking.

⁴ Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 69.

de Brébeuf⁶ and explorers Pierre-Esprit Radisson,⁷ Médard Chouart Des Groseilliers⁸ and René-Robert-Cavelier Sieur de la Salle.⁹ During the next century the French exploration of the area continued as explorers like La Verendrye used the Ottawa River as a means to get elsewhere within the continent.¹⁰ Due to the fur trade, a key economic activity for over two centuries, the use of the Ottawa River was also business-oriented. It was used by *coureurs de bois* (the first of the fur traders from New France, who worked independently) and later *voyageurs* (who worked for the Montreal-based North West Company) who, feeding the European demand, travelled far into the interior of the continent in search of furs. It was within what is now the National Capital Region that all those using the Ottawa River were forced to stop by the Chaudière Falls and nearby treacherous rapids. These natural obstacles, which made the area well known, required that travellers portage on the north side of the river, where Hull lies today. One such portage, known as the Second Chaudière Portage, situated in today's Brébeuf Park, still shows the crudely hewn stone steps constructed by the *voyageurs*.

Although the area was regularly passed through by numerous French-speakers from the seventeenth century onward, some of whom established several temporary encampments close to the edge of the Ottawa River,¹¹ it was not settled until almost two centuries after Champlain's stopover. Its settled origins are not French but American. Philemon Wright, an American-born entrepreneur established the first permanent settlement on the site.¹² Wright, who first visited the region in 1797, quickly recognized the value of its dense forests and of the hydraulic potential of the Chaudière Falls.

⁵ Champlain was the first to produce detailed maps of the region and is credited with naming certain local sites such as the Chaudière and Rideau Falls.

⁶ Brébeuf was a missionary who came to Canada in 1625. He was martyred by the Iroquois at St. Ignace in 1649.

⁷ Radisson was a *coureur de bois* who eventually co-founded The Hudson Bay Company in 1670 with his brother-in-law, Des Groseilliers.

⁸ Des Groseilliers was an explorer and fur trader who arrived in Canada in the 1640s. With Radisson, he founded the Hudson Bay Company.

⁹ Also a fur trader, Sieur de la Salle arrived in Canada in 1666. He canoed down the Mississippi River in 1682 and claimed the entire Mississippi basin for France, naming it Louisiana.

¹⁰ Alexander Mackenzie, a Scottish explorer, likewise travelled along the River in the eighteenth century.

¹¹ "Canada's Capital and its region – About Canada's Capital – History of Canada's Capital Region." [www.capcan.ca/about_canadas/history/history2_e.html#First Arrivals](http://www.capcan.ca/about_canadas/history/history2_e.html#First%20Arrivals), p. 3. May 4, 2001.

¹² Philemon Wright was born in 1760 in the New England town of Woborn, Massachusetts.

Several years later, in March 1800, together with his own family, five others, plus twenty-five independent male recruits, Wright established Wrightstown on the site of present-day Hull.¹³

Well aware of the British demand for squared timber, Wright wasted little time before exploiting the abundant surrounding pine forests.¹⁴ In 1802 he built the first sawmill and gristmill and by 1806 he had sent the first timber raft to Quebec City, where ships waited to take the supplies overseas. After the floating timber raft proved successful, the timber trade in the Ottawa Valley skyrocketed. By 1830 the Ottawa Valley was the major timber-producing area in both Upper and Lower Canada.¹⁵ Wrightstown, having benefited, had become a thriving and important community, a position that was further elevated during the 1850s. This was thanks in large part to a second American entrepreneur, Ezra Butler Eddy, who helped to make Wrightstown an increasingly significant industrial centre.¹⁶ Eddy quickly established the manufacture of pine matches in 1851, the year of his arrival. This was followed by the establishment of factories dedicated to the fabrication of clothes pegs and wooden pails. In 1866 he built a sawmill and later, around 1890, Eddy set up pulp and paper mills, an industry which came to play a crucial role in Hull's future.

In 1875 this flourishing town incorporated as a city. Soon after this event its name changed from Wrightstown to that of the surrounding township, Hull, named after the town in York County, England.¹⁷ It was a choice that reflected the British heritage of the community. Founded by Anglophones, the majority of Hull's population was

¹³ Lucien Brault claims that Quebec, by decree, was awarding free land to Loyalists fleeing the American Revolution, which began in 1775. *Hull 1800 – 1950* (Ottawa, 1950), p. 14. As a result Wright (whose status as a Loyalist appears uncertain) and his fellow settlers received large tracts of land (which, according to Harold Kalman, totaled 12,000 acres) in the townships of Hull and Templeton. *A History of Canadian Architecture* vol. 1 (Don Mills, Ontario, 1994), p. 234.

¹⁴ The Napoleonic blockade was responsible for the halt of wood imports from the Baltic, forcing Britain to turn to her colonies for her lumber supply.

¹⁵ "Canada's Capital and its region – About Canada's Capital – History of Canada's Capital Region," p. 4.

¹⁶ Eddy, who had arrived from Vermont, became one of the largest manufacturers of wood products on the continent.

¹⁷ It has been postulated that Wright's ancestors were from Hull and that he was responsible for the choosing of its name but, according to Lucien Brault, the name was actually given to the district before Wright's arrival, as early as 1792. p. 11.

English-speaking until the second half of the nineteenth century.¹⁸ However, the prospering industries in Hull attracted numerous French Canadian workers, as employment was abundant and easy to secure. The number of French-speakers steadily grew and as they did the ethnic and religious composition of Hull was forever altered. The Presbyterianism practised by the original colonists gave way to Catholicism and English-speakers quickly became outnumbered by those whose mother tongue was French.¹⁹

The “*Projet Nouvelle-France*”: A Proposal grounded in the Denial of One History and the Creation of Another

Despite Hull’s Anglo-American foundation, the city desires to provide a strong sense of French identity for its French-speaking inhabitants. In recent years the City of Hull has ignored its early roots and history, favoring, instead, a French past more palatable to the current French-speaking residents. It seems easier to skip over the founding American entrepreneur and industrialists and to focus on the French explorers, missionaries and *voyageurs* who frequented, but did not settle the site. The desire to project a collective French identity culminated in the proposal, in 1996, for an historic “village”²⁰ to be erected in the French Regime style, a style which would provide a visual connection to seventeenth and eighteenth century New France. It was to be built on the undeveloped land around Brewery Creek.²¹ The purpose of the proposed project was manifold. The invention of an inauthentic history (Hull did not historically produce this style of architecture) through visual and material means (i.e. architecture) was intended to

¹⁸ According to historian Courtney C. J. Bond, the 1855 council of the township did not contain one French-speaking councilor. *Ottawa Country: a historical guide to the National Capital Region* (Ottawa, 1968), p. 45.

¹⁹ George Nader asserts that less than 10% of Hull’s population was French-speaking in 1851, a number which had increased to almost 55% by 1871. *Cities of Canada* vol. 2 (Toronto, 1975), p. 170. Recent statistics report that approximately 80% of today’s residents are French-speakers. *Scénario de Revitalisation Centre-ville de Hull* (Hull, 1994), p. 6.

²⁰ City of Hull. *Concept Final – Design Urbain – Projet Nouvelle-France, Ruisseau de la Brasserie* (Hull, 1996), p. 113.

²¹ Brewery Creek is a channel that runs through the centre of Hull. Along with the Ottawa River to the south, it set the original boundaries of the city, which was restricted to this island.

assert Hull's contemporary French identity while concurrently stimulating civic pride and the local economy.

Initially the motivation for such a project, which had been on the table in various forms since the 1980s, was largely economic. It had been hypothesized that "an urban cultural park,"²² i.e. "une destination récréo-touristique," could aid in the reinvigoration of the local economy.²³ It was The National Capital Commission (NCC) that proposed, in 1988, that the "island area" – Victoria and Chaudière Islands, LeBreton Flats and Brewery Creek, sites located in both Ontario and Quebec – would benefit from such a park.²⁴ Although it was the City of Hull that was ultimately responsible for the city's approval of an architectural scheme designed to reflect its French-speaking demography, the NCC had first got the ball rolling, although for different reasons. According to the NCC's website the Commission

is a Crown corporation whose mandate is to plan and assist in the development, conservation and improvement of the National Capital Region in keeping with its significance as the seat of the Government of Canada.²⁵

As of 1958, with the adoption of the National Capital Act, the National Capital Region became officially defined as an area of 4,660 square kilometres, 2,720 of which are in Ontario and the remaining 1,940 of which are in Quebec.²⁶ It was only one hundred years earlier (in 1857) that Queen Victoria had chosen the settlement of Ottawa to be the capital city of the United Province of Canada.²⁷ The choice was likely a strategic one reflecting the city's location on the Rideau Canal, at a distance from the United States. From the outset the location of Ottawa played an important role in its choice as capital. Ottawa likewise represented the duality of the Canadian reality, home to both English and French-speaking residents.

²² National Capital Commission, Core Area West – Ideas for the Future (Ottawa, c. 1988), n.p.

²³ Devencore Ltée., Rapport Final – Ruisseau de la Brasserie – Etude de pré-faisabilité (Montreal, 1996), p. 6.

²⁴ Core Area West – Ideas for the Future, n.p.

²⁵ "Canada's Capital and its region – About NCC," www.capcan.ca/about_ncc/index_e.html, p. 1. May 4, 2001.

²⁶ "Canada's Capital and its region – About Canada's Capital – Overview of the Capital," www.capcan.ca/about_canadas/overview/index_e.html, p. 1. May 4, 2001.

In 1899, under the Liberal government of Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier, the Ottawa Improvement Commission was created. Its beautification projects included not only the city's parks but also the Ottawa River itself, which simultaneously bordered Hull and thus that city likewise benefited from the Commission's works. Under Prime Minister Mackenzie King the Ottawa Improvement Commission was replaced, in 1927, with the Federal District Commission and, in order to create "a more representative Capital" its mandate was expanded to officially include the region of Quebec across from Ottawa.²⁸ By 1958 the NCC, which "organizes, sponsors and promotes public activities and events that enrich the cultural and social fabric of Canada,"²⁹ had replaced the Federal District Commission as the federal body responsible for the Capital. The area specifically located around Brewery Creek (in Hull), which included twenty-five hectares of largely vacant land, was thus part of the National Capital Region. As such it fell under the jurisdiction of the NCC, which believed the Creek area to be "an ideal environment to implement facilities which would cater to cultural activities as well as water and land-based recreational activities."³⁰ While the NCC saw an opportunity to improve the National Capital Region through the creation of another tourist attraction, the City of Hull recognized the possible local benefits as well. A recreational park located in Hull would serve to boost that city's economy. The potential attraction that the site's proximity and accessibility to water offered resulted in its development being seized upon by both the NCC and the City of Hull. Ideas for the development of the Brewery Creek area consequently came to the fore.

The local population of Hull had been left dispossessed of much of its built history. This was due not only to the large number of fires sustained throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but also to the demolitions and redevelopment that the city underwent in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of Hull's public landmarks were consequently lost. For example, the post office and law courts, both of which had been re-built in 1901 after the massive fire the year previous, were razed in 1973 and again re-

²⁷ Bytown was incorporated as the City of Ottawa in 1855.

²⁸ "Canada's Capital and its region – About Canada's Capital – History of Canada's Capital Region," p. 7.

²⁹ "Canada's Capital and its region – About the NCC," p. 1.

built. This widespread and deliberate removal of history made way for the massive restructuring of Hull's downtown core, a project undertaken by the National Capital Commission, and instigated by Liberal Prime Minister Pierre Elliott Trudeau, throughout the 1970s. Trudeau's government had decided to relocate a large number of federal employees from Ottawa to Hull. Offices to house these federal workers were thus required. Although the federal, provincial and municipal governments all collaborated with one another to secure the execution of this enormous enterprise, the NCC (a federal agency) was largely responsible for its planning and implementation. .

Downtown Hull is, today, anchored by two complexes, the Place du Portage, commenced in 1969, and the Terrasses de la Chaudière, both of which were built to house federal government offices.³¹ The area that separates these complexes, just over a kilometre, is dedicated to other commercial and administrative establishments. These include hotels, shops, City Hall and the law courts. According to Claude Bergeron, who briefly discussed the late twentieth century changes made to Hull's downtown in his book, *Architectures du XXe siècle au Québec* (1989), the re-organized downtown Hull is far more concerned with catering to those who arrive from the suburbs to work or shop there than to those who live within the neighborhood.³² This feeling of isolation and segregation (the government vs. the local populace) is further enhanced by the structures themselves. Those built by the federal government thirty years ago have absolutely nothing in common with the few older buildings that remain in the neighborhood; they offer no resonance with Hull's past nor do they attempt to harmonize with their surroundings. Not only did this new construction result in the decline of the old business section, but it also disturbed the social fabric as people were displaced. The permanent population of the city consequently decreased. By 1981 the population of Hull had dropped from its 1971 figure of 63,580 to 56,225.³³ These changes, done in the name of

³⁰ *Core Area West – Ideas for the Future*, n.p.

³¹ Place du Portage is an office tower with twenty-two floors plus two lower levels dedicated solely to commercial occupancy. It was the first federal office building to incorporate space for commercial ventures, a trend which continued throughout many of the other downtown Hull buildings.

³² Claude Bergeron, *Architecture du XXe siècle au Québec* (Montreal, 1989), p. 201.

³³ Pierre Louis Lapointe, "Hull – Cityscape," *The Canadian Encyclopedia online*, www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com, p. 1. May 4, 2001.

urban renewal, thus left the first permanent settlement in the Ottawa area largely devoid of any architectural legacy of its past and also negatively affected its local economy.³⁴

In 1989 the City of Hull and the *Société d'aménagement de l'Outaouais* accepted the invitation of the NCC to form a tripartite committee in charge of undertaking a joint study of the development of the Brewery Creek sector. It was agreed that the goal of such a redevelopment was to “promote the economic development of the area through the realization of major tourist projects.”³⁵ From 1991 on, a number of different concepts for the Brewery Creek project were proposed, all of which focused on the creation of “a touristic [centre] with entertainment amenities, offices and housing.”³⁶ In 1996 the thematically inspired “*Projet Nouvelle-France*” (i.e. the previously referred to French “village”) was officially introduced.³⁷ Its proposed architectural effect reflected the fact that Hull has long regarded itself as the “porte d’entrée” of Quebec for visitors and tourists. It was anticipated that this type of simulated architectural project, were it to be carried out and completed, would not only stimulate tourism and boost the economy but would also be able to provide the local residents with a sign of a suitable French past, supporting their imagined and desired French identity.

This “village” project, to be located on the banks of Brewery Creek, was not lacking a precedent. In fact, the Hull proposal owes much of its design concept to the *Paseo del Rio* (or River Walk) in San Antonio, Texas,³⁸ which supplied the model for

³⁴ Eric Hobsbawm, “Introduction: Inventing Traditions,” *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983), points out the implications of such radical changes: “Where the old ways are alive, traditions need be neither revived nor invented,” but “we should expect [the invention of tradition] to occur ... when a rapid transformation of society weakens or destroys the social patterns for which ‘old’ traditions had been designed, producing new ones to which they were not applicable...” pp. 8 and 4.

³⁵ “[L]e principal intérêt dans cette étude est de promouvoir le développement économique du secteur afin de favoriser la réalisation de projets touristiques majeurs.” City of Hull, National Capital Commission and Société d'aménagement de l'Outaouais, *Ruisseau de la Brasserie – Trois concepts d'aménagement* (Hull, 1991), p. 3.

³⁶ Pierre Tanguay and Josée Sabourin (compiled by Eric Boutet), *Information Request on Brewery Creek* (Hull, 2000), p. 1.

³⁷ *Concept Final*, p. 11.

³⁸ The River Walk has been described as follows, “As vital as an artery of the human body, the River Walk infuses animation – and almost bucolic relief – to the asphalt midriff of San Antonio. Winding and pulsating in a horseshoe shape through the downtown area, lined with diverting shops, cafés and restaurants, with promenades on either side and a *bateau-mouche* ferrying sight-seers (with police boats making their appointed rounds), this tiny meander ... is the delight of the city.” G.E. Kidder Smith, *Source Book of American Architecture* (New York, 1996), p. 485.

both a thematic architectural approach and for the touristic and recreational exploitation of a waterfront property.³⁹ It was back in 1988, almost ten years before the official introduction of the *Projet Nouvelle-France*, that the mayor of Hull, accompanied by city representatives, travelled to San Antonio to examine the re-developed River Walk. The project there had obviously sparked the City of Hull's interest early on: the desire to develop the Brewery Creek waterfront in a thematic manner was not new. One of the most significant economic successes in the history of the state of Texas,⁴⁰ the *Paseo del Rio* generates an estimated \$800 million dollars in tourist revenue annually.⁴¹

³⁹ Vernon G. Zunker has claimed, "The Paseo del Rio is internationally known for its unique design and has been used as a model for development in other cities." *A Dream Come True: Robert Hugman and San Antonio's River Walk* (San Antonio, 1983), p. 14.

⁴⁰ "San Antonio Riverwalk." *TxTell: San Antonio Riverwalk*. <http://txtell.lib.utexas.edu/stories/s0005-short.html>. p. 1. May 22, 2001.

⁴¹ "Paseo del Rio." *The Handbook of Texas Online*. p. 3.

www.tsha.utexas.edu/handbook/online/articles/view/PP/hppl.html. June 18, 2001.

Prior to its initial renewal during the late 1930s and early '40s, however, the River Walk area, in the heart of downtown San Antonio, was rundown and altogether unsavory. After the disastrous flood of 1921, the city contemplated filling in the downtown section of the River. This appeared easier and less costly than attempting to clean it up but many citizens and citizen groups opposed the loss of the River and city officials agreed to shelve the plan. As early as 1929 designer-architect Robert Hugman suggested that a certain degree of cosmetic beautification would greatly improve the downtown waterfront area and its economic capacity. By late 1938 the City of San Antonio, under Mayor Maverick, solicited and acquired aid from Washington's Works Progress Administration. In 1939, with funding secured, Hugman was made project architect of the beautification plan he'd proposed ten years earlier and he set about transforming the River's downtown banks. The river was dredged, cleaned and diverted into a network of canals. It was also deepened so that small craft could be accommodated. Dams and retaining walls were built, arched footbridges were erected, cobblestone and flagstone walkways were constructed, cottonwoods and cypresses were planted and a great deal of landscaping was executed. Hugman also proposed changes to the façades of the buildings along the river. His designs were suggestive of old world, Spanish architecture. Completed in 1941, Hugman successfully created a pedestrian thoroughfare that was accessible from all of the main downtown streets. Despite the implementation of these vast improvements, however, the area still resisted economic success and continued to harbor petty criminals and transients: it was unable to attract locals or visitors. The 1960s saw renewed efforts in the development of the riverfront's potential. Through to the 1980s considerable changes and additions were made as improved lighting was installed, new structures were erected, older structures were renovated and a number of new shops, restaurants, cafés, hotels, clubs and a mall opened, making the site far more lively and thus much safer. To further encourage people to spend time on the River Walk, various festivals and celebrations, such as the *Fiesta in April* and the *Fiesta Noche del Rio* in the summer, are concentrated in its vicinity. Boats with musicians playing live music attract listeners and boat rides (inspired by Venice's gondolas and introduced by Hugman) up and down the river, some of which proffer traditional Mexican dinners onboard, continue to be offered. Today the *Paseo del Rio* is a popular, vital and economically beneficial project where people love to gather. It has "beautified San Antonio's downtown area, bolstered its tourist economy to nationally recognized levels, and showcased the history and culture of one of America's unique cities."⁴¹ *TxTell: San Antonio Riverwalk*. p. 2.

San Antonio's history and culture is "showcased" via the architecture and architectural style incorporated within the River Walk; it is inspired by the city's Hispanic past and current reality so that a thematic sense of place dominates.⁴² Through the observation and documentation of its history, the character of the San Antonio River was preserved. Inlaid tile mosaics,⁴³ pebbled walkways, iron rail balconies, stone architecture and the use of bright colors, all contribute to the River Walk's Old World atmosphere. The designed improvement of water-front property, the use of architecture to highlight its traditional Spanish culture and the conservation of historical elements created an ambiance that stimulated tourism. A cohesive aesthetic character informed by the area's Spanish and Mexican tradition and history was achieved. The City of Hull thus looked to the *Paseo del Rio* as a model; it provided an example of how to blend commercial activities with a park-like atmosphere that would act as a tourist destination.

Similar to the *Paseo del Rio*, the *Projet Nouvelle-France* proposed the beautification of a waterfront area. A multi-level complex with both commercial and residential structures set within a simulated Old Quebec environment was envisioned for Brewery Creek. (Fig. 13) Multiple bridges crossing the creek (Fig. 14), amphitheaters, public piazzas, a music kiosk and a water garden were included in the plans. Based on designs by the firms Audet, Fortin Architectes and Pierre Cayer Architectes,⁴⁴ hired several years earlier by the City of Hull's Urban Planning Department, the final concept proposed to the NCC by the City called for an urban style inspired by "'Nouvelle-France', datant du début de la colonie française au Québec."⁴⁵ The architectural idiom of "Old Quebec" is regularly regarded "as the prime example of french (sic) architecture in

⁴² Hugman dreamed of creating "a unique atmosphere through landscape and design from which San Antonio could identify with its past." Zunker, p. 6.

⁴³ There is one, for example, near West Commerce Street on the north bank that depicts "a Mexican sniper aiming his rifle at an unsuspecting Texan. The story has been told that the Mexican sniper sat in the fork of one of the large cypress trees nearby and used that vantage point to kill Ben Milam during the Battle of San Antonio on December 7, 1835." Zunker, p. 26.

⁴⁴ Pierre Cayer is a native of Hull. He studied at both the University of Ottawa and at Laval University, in Quebec City. In the mid-1960s he worked on Public Works for the federal government and was also involved with the restoration of historic monuments.

⁴⁵ *Concept Final*, p. 5.

North America”⁴⁶ and it was consequently believed that it could well provide a visual and symbolic connection to Hull’s “visage culturel et francophone.”⁴⁷ The idiom was purposefully chosen for this project, according to the director of the Urban Planning Department, Pierre Tanguay (1996), to emphasize “the particularity of Hull,” i.e. “its ‘French’ culture.”⁴⁸

To reflect this stylistic choice, the architecture of the project was to respect, at all times, the aesthetic understood as that of the French Regime, insuring uniformity and integration.⁴⁹ The architectural vocabulary associated with this period, including mansard roofs of metal or wood, dormer windows, bellcast eaves, fire walls, chimneys, stone exteriors and wooden door and window framing,⁵⁰ were to be faithfully recreated.⁵¹ Imitation granite paving, iron benches and lighting were also to be installed, further reflecting the New France theme. In fact, the finished product was to be a re-creation, to scale, of the ambiance of a quarter in New France.⁵² It was a project intended to bring tourists across the river from Ottawa while simultaneously showing them the unique French character of Hull.⁵³

Unlike the *Paseo del Rio* project, the architecture of which is based on local Hispanic vernaculars, the architectural and cultural authenticity of the *Projet Nouvelle-France* must be questioned. The southern Texas city of San Antonio, the State’s third largest⁵⁴ has Hispanic origins as well as an Hispanic present. It has been inhabited by Spaniards since the eighteenth century. Even after the Texan Revolution and the 1838 Battle of the Alamo, when Texas won independence from Mexico, the Hispanic quality

⁴⁶ Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 5.

⁴⁷ *Scénario*, p. 24.

⁴⁸ Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 2.

⁴⁹ “L’architecture des bâtiments doit respecter les critères de conception d’une esthétique dite de Nouvelle-France.” *Concept Final*, p. 36.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ To ensure architectural accuracy and faithful recreations, images of Old Quebec were to be closely examined.

⁵² *Concept Final*, p. 36.

⁵³ This project has not yet been realized. Inadequate funding from the private sector is the main reason for this although the local population also rejected proposed zoning by-law changes, “particularly those concerning the cafés and the entertainment activities.” The City of Hull has not, however, abandoned the project and awaits private investors. Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 2.

⁵⁴ Stephen Brook, *Honkytonk Gelato – Travels Through Texas* (London, 1985), p. 146.

of San Antonio remained strong. This is not only visible in the city's pace and its cuisine but also in its Hispanic style of architecture, which is both common and abundant.⁵⁵

Along the River Walk plaques marking historic sites of interest have been mounted to further demonstrate the importance of the area to San Antonio's history.

The situation in the Canadian city of Hull differs considerably. Although Hull does currently contain an undeniable French majority, the French Regime style of architecture proposed for the Brewery Creek project is foreign to the city and has no historical precedent there.⁵⁶ Unlike the *Paseo del Rio*, which not only celebrates the city's Hispanic history, but which is a lesson in historical conservation as well, the *Projet Nouvelle-France*, lacking any basis in historical fact, can neither celebrate nor conserve Hull's past. In fact, due to factors relating to the American origins of the town's original settlers, its successful lumber industry, as well as its particular economic and social situation, Hull developed a recognizable vernacular style of its own.

Although a planned village site had been laid out in 1826, the distinct architecture that is today associated with the city, i.e. the "*maison hulloise*," did not dominate its streets until several decades later, after Hull's industrial economy had been well established.⁵⁷ The mid-to-late nineteenth century houses, inhabited by immigrant laborers, were typically small and narrow with little or no yard space. This was due to the small, designated lot sizes. Wright and his descendants, preferring not to sell their land, rented out ½ lots, the size of which were usually only 33 x 100 feet.⁵⁸ In an attempt to make the most of what little space was available the houses were generally two-storey. They were of a mixed English-French architectural vocabulary.⁵⁹

⁵⁵ Brook, p. 147.

⁵⁶ The City of Hull's Urban Planning Department has admitted that this "architectural 'style' is not indigenous to the Region and [would look] ... out of place." Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 3.

⁵⁷ Surveyor P.H. Smith, hired by Wright, was responsible for the planning of Wrightstown. The present day street pattern of Hull, between Brewery Creek and the Ottawa River, (before suburbia the geographical boundaries of Hull were limited to this island) is, according to Courtney C. J. Bond, Smith's work. p. 43.

⁵⁸ Institut d'histoire et de recherche sur l'Outaouais, *Hull-Aylmer: Quelques éléments d'histoire et d'architecture*, p. 23.

⁵⁹ The Joseph Lebel House (1822-25) showed English influence in its symmetry and Neoclassical ornamentation but it also contained (it burned in 1979) traditional Old Quebec elements such as a gable roof, thick chimneys and low dormer windows. *Hull-Aylmer*, p. 69. The Symmes Inn is another example.

The Anglo-Americans who first settled the area brought with them the styles current in New England. These included Georgian, Neoclassical and Neo-Gothic especially.⁶⁰ As the *Institut d'histoire et de recherche sur l'Outaouais* has suggested, however, a Québécois influence can also be noted.⁶¹ The Anglo-Americans quickly recognized that traditional French-Canadian construction was well suited to the harsh Canadian climate and they adopted certain elements including gable roofs,⁶² dormer windows and raised porches.⁶³ The surplus of lumber in the region naturally encouraged wooden interpretations rather than the stone masonry one would find in New France. Wood was not only ubiquitous and inexpensive but it was also a material that had been proven to be a good insulator against the fierce winter cold. Initially the houses were faced with vertically or horizontally placed wooden boards but after the Great Fire of 1900 many of the surviving homes were clad in brick to increase their fire-resistance.

Despite the fact that Hull possessed its own architectural vernacular, a vernacular which signals the presence of both the Anglo-American and French-speaking populations, the *Projet Nouvelle-France* did not celebrate this hybridity. Instead, it was proposed that history be re-invented through the deliberate choice of the Old Quebec theme. The reasoning behind this choice is most likely grounded in politics. Hull's official inclusion in the National Capital Region after the passing of the National Capital Act was solidified when the Liberal government, under Trudeau, relocated a number of federal ministries to the Quebec side of the river, essentially transforming Hull into Ottawa's "left bank."⁶⁴ Quebec nationalists have not viewed this federal take-over favorably, regarding it as an act of dispossession and as a way for Ottawa to forcibly include Quebec within the federalist ideology.⁶⁵ The *Projet Nouvelle-France* would thus serve specifically as a nationalist and architectural counteraction to the city's federal

Its volume, symmetry and Neoclassical ornamentation are English in origin while its roof, porches and dormer windows reflect a Quebec influence. *Hull-Aylmer*, p. 104.

⁶⁰ *Le Village d'Argentine*, p. 10.

⁶¹ *Hull-Aylmer*, p. 110.

⁶² The steeply sloped pitch of a gable roof prevents snow from accumulating.

⁶³ A raised porch compensates for ground-level snow build-up in winter.

⁶⁴ Pierre Louis Lapointe, "Hull – Economy," *The Canadian Encyclopedia online*, www.canadianencyclopedia.com, p. 1. May 4, 2001.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

office buildings. Close to the downtown core, a complex perceived within the style of seventeenth and eighteenth century New France would contrast sharply with the modern government buildings and would stand as a visual reminder of Quebec's "national" distinctiveness opposite the Canadian Houses of Parliament. Using the indigenous architecture of Hull would fail to achieve such a goal. But as in Quebec City's Place Royale project, the deliberate and exclusive use of Old Quebec style architecture would be a sign that the City of Hull was indeed Québécois. The denial of any and all foreign influences (i.e. British and American) in favor of a strictly French architectural vocabulary, allows the City of Hull, often included as an extension of Canada's capital city, to assert its "Quebec" identity.

The *Projet Nouvelle-France* remains on paper only and any definite plans to construct it along the banks of Brewery Creek have been shelved since the late 1990s. According to the City of Hull's Urban Planning Department the project, which was to be financed by private sources, did not attract investors. After an economic feasibility study was conducted in the mid-1990s it was concluded that the profitability of such a project would be minimal. This was compounded by the dramatic drop in real estate values for mid-scale developments at the time.⁶⁶ Hull's Urban Planning Department has stated, however, that "the City of Hull is still interested [in] the project and is waiting for private investors to show up."⁶⁷ The economic motivation to build this tourist destination has also significantly lessened since the completion of the Casino de Hull, which opened its doors to the public on March 24, 1996. It is now a major destination for the region and generates a good deal of tourist dollars for the City of Hull.

Vanier: A Community with English Roots

The invention of a French past, where originally there was none, has not only been proposed but also achieved in the former city of Vanier, Ontario through a program of thematic architectural embellishments. Attempting, perhaps, to find strength by association with Quebec's French majority, this small Franco-Ontarian community,

⁶⁶ Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 2.

entirely surrounded by predominantly English-speaking districts, deliberately looked to the province of Quebec and her history for inspiration.⁶⁸ Prior to the January 2001 amalgamation of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton into a single-tier government, referred to as the City of Ottawa, Vanier was its own city.⁶⁹ It was before this absorption into the new mega-city that Vanier, with its largely French-speaking population, attempted to align itself with Quebec's French heritage. The former city accomplished this feat by reproducing, through landscaping and the adoption of specific design guidelines, the ambiance of Old Quebec along Montreal Road. This was despite the community's undeniable English roots.

The construction of the Rideau Canal in the early nineteenth century (1826-1832) brought an influx of people of English, Scottish, Irish and Welsh descent to the region of Gloucester Township, presently part of the amalgamated City Of Ottawa but originally located to the south-east of Ottawa. The township's first settlers in the area now marked by Montreal Road included a number of prominent Anglophones. Among them were George Sparks⁷⁰, Sergeant Templeton of Colonel John By's Royal Engineers and Gideon Olmstead.⁷¹ Charles Cummings arrived in the area in 1830 and purchased, in 1836, an island in the Rideau River very close to present-day Montreal Road. This island, on which he erected a general store and post office, came to be known as Cummings' Island. As the population of Gloucester Township increased a small community formed on the east side of the River. The official name of this community was Janeville, likely after the

⁶⁷ Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 2.

⁶⁸ Vanier has a population today of roughly 18,000 and occupies only one square mile.

⁶⁹ The new City of Ottawa includes not only Vanier but also the former municipalities of Nepean, Kanata, Gloucester and Cumberland; the townships of Rideau, West Carleton, Goulbourn and Osgoode; and the village of Rockcliffe Park.

⁷⁰ George Sparks was cousin to Irishman Nicholas Sparks. Nicholas was one of Philemon Wright's employees who purchased, in 1821, a large area of land across the river, in present-day Ottawa. This land became only one of two private holdings incorporated into the original town site of Bytown (today's Ottawa). Sparks, who became an important figure in the timber trade, was an enthusiastic developer and an active landlord in Bytown until his death in 1862.

⁷¹ Philip Shea, *History of Eastview* (Ottawa, 1965), p. 1.

wife of Donald McArthur, an esteemed resident and hotel owner,⁷² but due to its proximity it was commonly referred to as Cummings' Island.⁷³

Janeville, by 1879, had become an important suburb of Canada's capital city and was considered the most flourishing village in Gloucester Township.⁷⁴ In 1909 Janeville, Clandeboys⁷⁵ and Clarkstown⁷⁶ were amalgamated to form the village of Eastview, a name intended to distinguish the location of the site in relation Ottawa.⁷⁷ In 1918 Eastview became a town and on January 1st, 1963, it was incorporated as a City. Six years later, in January 1969, the name of the newly recognized city was changed from Eastview to Vanier. The name Vanier, chosen to honor the memory of Georges Philias Vanier (a French-Canadian from Montreal), Governor General of Canada from 1959-67, served to more adequately reflect the contemporary linguistic character of the community, which had become largely French-speaking.⁷⁸

Although initially settled by Anglophones, the city of Vanier has long sustained a predominantly French-speaking population. This alteration to the ethnic composition is directly connected to the amalgamation of Janeville, Clandeboys and Clarkstown in 1909. Clarkstown was a predominantly Francophone Catholic village, often referred to as "Saint-Charles", after the name of its parish.⁷⁹ It brought to Eastview a large group of French-speakers, a group that continued to grow and flourish, eventually accounting for approximately two-thirds of the population.⁸⁰ A strong sense of *francophonie* pervaded and the municipality later asserted that it "did not want to allow itself to be assimilated

⁷² McArthur's well-known hotel was located on Sussex Street.

⁷³ Robert Haig, *Ottawa – City of the Big Ears* (Ottawa, 1970), p. 77.

⁷⁴ H. Belden and Co. *An Illustrated Historical Atlas of the County of Carleton (including City of Ottawa) Ont.*, (Toronto, 1879), p. XXVII.

⁷⁵ Clandeboys was planned as a settlement as early as 1879 but experienced little growth prior to its amalgamation into Eastview. Philip Shea claims that Clandeboys was to the west of Janeville (p. 2) but Brad Evenson believes that it was a small town to the east. "Vanier at 75." *The Ottawa Citizen* (September 13, 1988), p. D3.

⁷⁶ Clarkstown was established in 1887. It occupied the area of present day Beechwood Avenue, north of Janeville. Shea, p. 2.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁷⁸ According to historian Philip Shea (p. 25) almost 63% of the population was French-speaking in 1962, a number which jumped, claims Robert Haig (p. 78), to 80% by 1975.

⁷⁹ Evenson, p. D3.

⁸⁰ This proportion has remained fairly constant. Shea, p. 5.

into English culture,”⁸¹ a sentiment foreshadowed by the 1926 establishment of the secret French-Canadian patriotic society, *l'Ordre de Jacques-Cartier*. According to historian Philip Shea “this order became an influential force, if not throughout French Canada, at least in the capital.”⁸² The English origins of the community were quickly submerged in a desire to identify with the French.

Eastview, with lower taxes and fewer building restrictions than Ottawa, had grown and prospered until the early 1960s. At this point the once suburban ambience began to feel far more urban and its population began to decrease. Eastview’s middle-class, family-oriented character eroded as the rapidly expanding City of Ottawa closed in and families fled to more spacious suburbs. A large number of rental units popped up and the city became a haven for senior citizens and social assistance recipients.⁸³ When Highway 417 was completed in the 1970s Vanier’s position as the key link between Montreal and Ottawa, via Montreal Road, was lost. This resulted in further deterioration of the city’s economy, making Vanier one of the poorest districts, with one of the poorest reputations, in the National Capital Region.⁸⁴

The Renovation of Montreal Road: The Construction of an Ambiance

It became apparent that Vanier was in need of some assistance. It was believed that Montreal Road, which remained the most visible and main artery, was the key to its image and to Vanier’s revitalization. The historic thoroughfare, which had been the main access into Ottawa from the east, was in poor condition. (Fig. 15) Fires and bad planning had resulted in a run-down street that was largely perceived as a “ramshackle embarrassment.”⁸⁵ The City, enlisting the aid of the Heritage Canada Foundation, like St.

⁸¹ Leonard Ernest Vaillancourt, *Urban Renewal in Vanier* (Ottawa, 1973), p. 8.

⁸² Shea, p. 12.

⁸³ Anne Tolson, “Vanier: Down but not out,” *The Ottawa Citizen*. Heritage Canada, “Vanier file” (Cambridge office), c. 1987-90.

⁸⁴ “There is a growing concern within the community that a lack of regional promotion perpetuates an outdated image to outsiders of Vanier as a high crime, low income ghetto ... Fixed or low income residential development was described by several community members as perpetuating Vanier’s underprivileged image.” *Resource Team Report, Vanier, Ontario* (Ottawa, 1989), p. 9.

⁸⁵ John Ibbotson, “Montreal Road: Boutiques, bingos share neighborhood,” *The Ottawa Citizen* (August 7, 1991), p. C3.

Boniface, hoped to take advantage of the Foundation's Main Street Program. In an attempt to breathe new life into the historical downtown area, the City of Vanier, under the direction of the Business Improvement Association (BIA), which was founded in 1987 by the business community, hired a full time Main Street coordinator to work with residents, building owners, downtown businesses, civic and community leaders as well as Provincial and Federal representatives. It was decided that seven blocks of Montreal Road, between the Vanier Parkway and Lajoie Street, would be re-developed, transforming the district into "un pôle touristique et commercial."⁸⁶ Turning the street into an entertainment and shopping district, with a collection of trendy shops, boutiques and restaurants, would, it was hoped, attract new developers, up-scale residents and tourists.⁸⁷ Gisèle Lalonde, the mayor at the time, strongly believed that the economic and cultural survival of the municipality depended on this revitalization project.⁸⁸ It was intended to strengthen the community both culturally and economically.

The specific direction of the project was decided upon in November 1987 when the Vanier City Council approved a plan to turn the dilapidated blocks of Montreal Road into "a French quarter reminiscent of Quebec City."⁸⁹ This was in spite of the fact that Vanier "has always been known for its delightful mixture of French and English cultures."⁹⁰ The French Quarter concept was developed by the firm Haigis/McNabb/ De Leuw Ltd., a firm of planners and landscape architects. The incorporation of this thematic architectural approach was intended, as in Hull, to serve a variety of ends. In a 1989 article for Ottawa Business News, Michael Swan cited a 1986 tourism study commissioned by the City of Vanier, which concluded that "Vanier could grab a larger share of the National Capital Region's tourism market if Montreal Road can be made

⁸⁶ Andre Poulin, "\$4 millions pour revitaliser le coeur de Vanier," Le Droit (February 17, 1988). Heritage Canada, "Vanier file" (Cambridge office), c. 1987-90.

⁸⁷ "The biggest challenge has always been getting travellers along its main roads to stop and shop." "Vanier Business Improvement Association - polishing a jewel," Business & Finance vol. 8, no. 25 (Dec. 1990), 34.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Dave Guy, "Vanier activates plan to spruce up Montreal Road," The Ottawa Citizen (Nov. 18, 1987), p. B3.

⁹⁰ "In the Heart of the Nation's Capital," Business & Finance vol. 8, no. 25 (Dec. 1990), 32.

more appealing.”⁹¹ To draw people to the city the main street not only had to be more appealing but also must appear as somehow unique and different from competing destinations. The differentiation of the Montreal Road commercial district from its competitors, through the implementation of a thematic design scheme, was intended to further improve economic conditions by attracting tourists. By making Vanier more attractive and distinctive it was anticipated that private sector investment would be stimulated as the confidence among existing businesses and potential investors increased. It was anticipated that the French Quarter concept would not only stimulate Vanier’s sluggish economy by enabling it to lure some of the region’s tourists, but it would also provide a visible cultural (i.e. French) association for residents so that their collective French identity would be addressed and reinforced.

The City of Vanier decided that the appropriation of the “signs” of a French past would be beneficial.⁹² Grant Toole, then president of the Vanier BIA,⁹³ was quoted as having said, “Vanier has the ability to offer something unique. It has its own identity.”⁹⁴ However, choosing to identify with Old Quebec, Vanier, like Hull and the proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France*, denied its indigenous and heterogeneous past. But unlike Hull, Vanier does not have a distinct architectural style of its own. As a result the city lacks a distinctive material connection with its past. To compensate for this absence and to provide an association for its French-speaking majority, the City of Vanier attempted, as David Lowenthal has described in his study of the past, to “forge an identity through other pasts,” specifically that of Quebec.⁹⁵ Council member Guy Cousineau admitted that the City’s aim was to restore Montreal Road “to the flavor of another, better day.”⁹⁶

⁹¹ Michael Swan, “Vanier Approves Redevelopment of Montreal Road as ‘French Quarter’,” Ottawa Business News (June 3-16, 1989), p. 3.

⁹² “Often the power to impose a coherent vision of space enables a group to claim that space.” Sharon Zukin, The Culture of Cities (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1995), p. 279.

⁹³ Said Toole, “Our primary goal [of the BIA] ... was to work on the image of Vanier and raise its profile in metropolitan Ottawa.” “Vanier Business Improvement Association – polishing a jewel.” Business & Finance vol. 8, no. 25 (December, 1990), p. 34.

⁹⁴ Tolson.

⁹⁵ The Past is a Foreign Country, p. 42.

⁹⁶ Guy, “Vanier activates plan to spruce up Montreal Road.” p. B3.

That translated into the appropriation of a foreign or alien architectural idiom and the production of a theme, instead of restoring the area to reflect a time within its own past.

At the end of 1988 a press release issued by the City of Vanier explained why the French Quarter theme was to be applied to Montreal Road:

The City wants to see this unique commercial district evolve into the heart, soul and nerve center for franco-Ontario culture. The result will be a commercial district that stands on its own merits and identity – the New Orleans of the North – Vanier!”⁹⁷

To be seen as the “Franco-Ontarian” centre “for the City of Vanier and the Ottawa region,” Vanier needed to visibly promote its Francophone character.⁹⁸ The French Quarter design scheme allowed for that. Toole declared, “We want to develop our own *Gas Town*,⁹⁹ our own distinct section, ” providing further justification for the French theme.¹⁰⁰ By drawing attention to Vanier’s French demographics through French-inspired architectural treatments, the municipality was attempting to differentiate itself from the surrounding English-speaking communities.

In April 1989 the provincial government awarded a grant of \$300,000 to help pay for Montreal Road’s planned renovation. Construction began soon afterward. Sidewalks were widened and upgraded with brick and paving stone, trees were planted and wrought-iron furniture including street lamps, benches and fencing were added and underground wiring was installed, eliminating the “forest of hydro poles.”¹⁰¹ (Fig. 16) Existing merchants and professionals were encouraged to renovate their storefronts while the

⁹⁷ Business Improvement Association, Press Release (Dec. 1988). Heritage Canada. “Vanier file” (Cambridge office), c. 1987-1990.

⁹⁸ Resource Team Report, p. 5.

⁹⁹ In downtown Vancouver, Gastown is the oldest part of the western Canadian city. The area was left in decline in the early twentieth century when the business community moved from Gastown to the present business district – economic stagnation set in. The federal government had been pushing for the destruction of the area so that a highway could be constructed but in 1971 Gastown was named an “historic site” by the British Columbian government. From then on it was protected – all alterations or demolitions in Gastown became subject to provincial approval. Buildings have since been cleaned up, restored and recycled, the streets beautified and landscaped. The area has become a popular commercial district with antiques, specialty shops, boutiques, restaurants, etc. Many festivals and events are also staged in Gastown, awarding it an atmosphere unique from the rest of Vancouver.

¹⁰⁰ Sheila Brady, “New looks: Vanier cleaning up image,” The Ottawa Citizen (Sept. 17, 1991), p. C2.

¹⁰¹ Jane Wilson, “Montreal Road could become ‘French quarter’,” The Ottawa Citizen (December 12, 1988), p. C16.

establishment of new boutiques, cafés and restaurants was also encouraged.¹⁰² The implementation committee appointed in the winter of 1987 ensured that all of the changes and additions conformed with the French design theme proposed by Haigis/MacNabb/de Leuw Ltd.

Working largely with existing buildings instead of erecting entirely new ones (like Hull's *Projet Nouvelle-France*), the creation of a French Quarter in Vanier was largely informed by the desire to create an ambiance, similar to the Main Street project in St. Boniface, as opposed to a rigidly controlled architectural program. However, Haigis/MacNabb/De Leuw Ltd.'s design guidelines propose that "existing buildings should be renovated to create a certain uniformity." The use of specific materials, such as a red-orange brick, painted wood, painted stucco and stone combined with the prohibition of others – aluminum, concrete, glass and false stone fronts – ensured not only that this uniformity was achieved but that an old world atmosphere won out over a modern one. It was further suggested that red, blue, turquoise and green be the dominant paint colors, colors which all had a place in Old Quebec.¹⁰³ Mansard, gable and tin roofs were favored (Figs. 17 and 18) as were gables, dormers and verandahs.¹⁰⁴ The redevelopment project at the corner of rue Olmstead, 214 Montreal Road, which currently houses the *Fédération des Caisses populaires de l'Ontario*, was erected with the design guidelines in mind. The mansard roofline makes a clear and direct reference back to Old Quebec. (Figs 19 and 20) Flower boxes, wooden signage with decorative iron supports, and foliage used as screens to hide parking lots and vehicular circulation areas, were all also intended to downplay the attributes of the twentieth century, thus enhancing the seventeenth and eighteenth century French character of the district. Lighting, purposefully made rustic in appearance, was installed along both sides of the street (Fig. 21), as was decorative iron fencing.¹⁰⁵ (Fig. 22) Murals painted on several of the buildings, depicting scenes from the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, were

¹⁰² Design guidelines for the renovation and construction of buildings on Montreal Road, p. 8.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 16.

¹⁰⁵ The fencing is uniform – the same design has been used throughout. It has a fleur-de-lis motif combined with a trefoil pattern intended to represent Ontario's provincial flower, the trillium.

further intended to restore an Old World feeling. (Fig. 23) By the end of 1990 the transformation led to the following description in the December issue of Business & Finance, “Quiet residential areas, strings of roadside shops and French streetscape architecture reflect a traditional character that belongs exclusively to [Vanier].” It is “the small French quarter of Ottawa.”¹⁰⁶

The project was generally well received locally and was supported by the mayor, Gisèle Lalonde. Some counsellors did express concern about the amount of debt that would be incurred but recognized that the renovation of Montreal Road would be economically beneficial in the long run as the change of image would (hopefully) attract developers.¹⁰⁷ Others within the community feared that the creation of a French Quarter in Vanier and its promotion as such would contribute to the alienation of the local Anglophone populace and likewise did not reflect the strong Portuguese constituency within the area. The voicing of these concerns speaks volumes from both a political and economic viewpoint. Political ideology was not a motivating force behind the French Quarter revitalization project of Montreal Road. Economically the city could not afford to isolate the Anglophone market or to “create counter-productive French-English feelings.”¹⁰⁸ The pervading French nationalism of Quebec is absent in this Franco-Ontarian community and thus there was little threat of French-English tensions developing out of the project.

Appropriation and Invention: Strategies in Inauthenticity

The revitalization of Vanier’s Montreal Road and the proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France* in Hull were intended to acknowledge the current French-speaking majorities in these two communities. Hull hoped to “emphasize ... the particularity of Hull and its region, that is its ‘French’ culture.”¹⁰⁹ The City of Vanier wanted the Main Street

¹⁰⁶ “An Evolving Community Prepares for Future Growth,” Business & Finance vol. 8, no. 25 (December, 1990), p. 40.

¹⁰⁷ Poulin, “\$4 millions pour revitaliser le cœur de Vanier.”

¹⁰⁸ Resource Team Report, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 2.

revitalization project to “reflect the city’s francophone heritage and cultural identity.”¹¹⁰ What makes these statements specious is the fact that neither of these two communities has French origins or strong French histories.

The deliberate adoption of a French lineage invented a sense of continuity that seemed relevant to Hull and Vanier’s respective presents; through the appropriation of French architectural forms, contemporary French identities could be strengthened and promoted. Facts are sometimes unable to establish the required link between past and present and thus history is rewritten or realigned so that the desired identity may be eternalized.¹¹¹ The French-speaking populations in Hull and Vanier chose a non-indigenous but easily recognizable architectural idiom to contribute to the construction of their desired identity – that of seventeenth and eighteenth century New France. The City of Hull could have, alternatively, chosen to highlight its own distinctive historical architectural vernacular instead of borrowing that of New France¹¹² and Vanier could have cleaned up its main artery while concurrently celebrating its “bilingual, multi-cultural aspect.”¹¹³ Both projects are, consequently, exercises in inauthenticity.

“Fictions,” wrote Orrin E. Klapp, “may give an illusion of constancy to identity.”¹¹⁴ Fictitious (i.e. non-indigenous) architectural idioms can be adopted and constructed to provide the desired history with which a group wishes to identify, regardless of their genuineness. The Old Quebec themes provided opportunities for the cities of Hull and Vanier to focus on how they identified themselves in the late twentieth-century (as French), not on their historical reality. This “surrealistic combination of history, myth, reality and fantasy” that has “little relationship with [its] particular geographical setting” exemplifies what Edward Relph has referred to as a “synthetic

¹¹⁰ James Kearns, letter to The Heritage Canada Foundation (November 10, 1987). Heritage Canada, “Vanier file” (Cambridge office), c. 1987-1990.

¹¹¹ Eric Hobsbawm has observed, “[The study of invented traditions] throws a considerable light on the human relation to the past ... For all invented traditions, so far as possible, use history as a legitimator of action and cement of group cohesion.” *The Invention of Tradition*, p. 12.

¹¹² There were those at the City of Hull who pushed for a design respecting Hull’s architectural style. The NCC “didn’t want to be tied with one or the other proposed ‘style’.” The City Council never adopted an official position. Tanguay and Sabourin, p. 3.

¹¹³ *Resource Team Report*, p. 14.

¹¹⁴ Orrin E. Klapp, *Collective Search for Identity* (New York, 1969), p. 6.

place.”¹¹⁵ Relph understands that identity can be affected by and altered through the implementation and use of architectural forms and he claims that architectural “preservation, reconstruction ... [through the] idealisation of history”¹¹⁶ can result in inauthenticity, a phenomenon that “is nowhere more clearly expressed than in tourism...”¹¹⁷

Disneyland, the world’s first theme park, constructed for purely touristic purposes, first opened in Anaheim, California in 1955. “Born from nothing, out of pure imitative determination,” it remains the ultimate example of a synthetic and wholly fabricated place.¹¹⁸ Disneyland stands as an illustration of how architectural forms can be used to simulate the appearance of particular places and times, forwarding assumed realities and purely constructed visions.¹¹⁹ People associate specific architectural idioms with specific cultures, places and eras. Through the successful manipulation and combination of architectural elements these geographies and histories can be created, relaying both personal and collective myths. Relph, who, in fact, refers to the preservation, reconstruction and idealization of history as “disneyfication,”¹²⁰ described this type of geographical syntheticism as follows:

Regional differences are stylized into the cute and kitschy tourist attraction... Such places strive for accuracy of replication in their visible detail, but so long as they meet the general demand for historical atmosphere it does not seem to matter whether they are genuine relics or complete fakes and facades.¹²¹

Sharon Zukin, author of Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World (1991) and The Cultures of Cities (1995), has described the Disney theme park as “an imaginary landscape,”¹²² a “landscape of consumption.”¹²³ Anything undesirable is

¹¹⁵ Webster’s II New Riverside Dictionary (New York, 1984) describes the term “synthetic” as meaning “Not genuine” and “Manmade”. p. 698. Edward Relph, Place and Placelessness (London, 1976), p. 95.

¹¹⁶ Relph, p. 101.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 83.

¹¹⁸ Umberto Eco, Travels in Hyper Reality trans. William Weaver (San Diego, 1986), p. 40.

¹¹⁹ Eco has referred to Disneyland and Disney World as “absolutely fake cities.” *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ Relph, p. 101.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 121.

¹²² Sharon Zukin, Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World (Berkeley, 1991), p. 230.

¹²³ *Ibid.*, p. 20.

simply eliminated from these created spaces; the authenticity of the place or era being re-created is compromised to enhance its touristic value. Zukin continued, asserting that the theme park “represents a fictive narrative of social identity – not real history, but a collective image of what modern people are and should be – and it exercises the spatial controls that reinforce this identity.”¹²⁴

Hull and Vanier, through architectural reproduction, have constructed their myth – that of a French historical connection. Following Anderson’s definition of a nation, these two projects are imaginary constructions aimed at establishing an identity. The projects are little more than theme parks or artificial schemes celebrating the non-indigenous history and culture of New France. The two cities used (or proposed to use) uniform design and design elements to reinforce their public respective identities: “the past has been reconstructed and reality reconfigured to convince (more covertly) insiders in the community that this is history, their reality.”¹²⁵ The appropriation of foreign or alien architectural forms to promote this desired identity, however, is a clear denial of both place and history. Although legitimated through a constructed, imagined community, this fictionalized history, according to Relph, results not in the achievement of an identity but in the “weakening of the identity of place.”¹²⁶

¹²⁴ Sharon Zukin, *The Cultures of Cities* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 55.

¹²⁵ Martha K. Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory* (Albany, 1993), p. 46.

¹²⁶ Relph, p. 9.

Conclusion

If the statement that “we are what we build” is valid then it follows that architecture and identity are inextricably linked. The built environment contains an historical and ongoing record of a group or nation’s values, histories, aspirations and circumstances, be they social, political or economic. Changes, additions or removals within the built environment are commonly justified by the desire to demonstrate, enhance or improve the above-mentioned elements as well as by a desire to project a particular collective identity. This leads to the main point that this thesis demonstrates – that architectural restoration projects can be used to create, alter or celebrate identities and histories through strategies of manipulation, addition or excision. Four separate case studies – Place Royale (Quebec), St. Boniface (Winnipeg), Hull and Vanier (Ottawa) – have been examined in order to illustrate that architectural addition, restoration, re-creation, demolition and reconstruction projects are not based solely on principles of aestheticization and beautification but may also be motivated by something much larger – the affirmation of a desired identity. Each studied project involves the manipulation of the built environment but issues of authenticity, invention, hybridity and nationalism play varying and particular roles within each individual case, depending on the respective community’s history and contemporary social, political and economic situations.

Authenticity and Purity versus Invention and Denial

The architectural idiom representative of New France (Old Quebec) has been used to varying degrees in each of the four case studies. In each case its deliberate application, appropriation or intermixing, and the extent to which it is favored, is telling. Is the group responsible for the project attempting to celebrate and promote its history? Deny it? Invent a new one? The Place Royale project in Quebec City and the revitalization of Provencher Boulevard in St. Boniface use architectural restoration and reconstruction (Place Royale) and architectural manipulation and renovation (St. Boniface) to promote their authentic French histories. Place Royale, until recently, used only those

architectural forms reminiscent of New France, ignoring any architectural developments or accretions that occurred over the last several centuries. In this manner certain histories (in particular that of the British) were denied a presence at the site. The work done on Provencher Boulevard has not involved the application of one strict architectural idiom and, instead, all architectural styles and their related histories and cultures – not just that of New France – have been represented. The City of Hull's proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France*, like its provincial counterpart, Place Royale, adheres to the specific architectural vocabulary of New France and excludes any reference to the city's indigenous architectural tradition. The embellishments, constructions and renovations executed on Vanier's main thoroughfare, Montreal Road, are less precisely associated with New France but specific forms and references to that time and place have still been applied with the intent to create a French atmosphere.

There is an element of authenticity discernible within the Place Royale and St. Boniface projects. Both have indigenous French histories from which to draw and thus French architectural forms can be regarded as having some place there. However, despite the fact that New France did exist and that a distinctive architecture was produced at Place Royale, this exclusionary vision of the past does contain an element of artifice. History, in the instance of Place Royale, has been allowed to collapse into myth – the myth that New France lives on and that no other cultures have made a mark.¹ The Québécois know, although they may not choose to acknowledge it, that the British played an important role in the province's history and especially in the architectural history of Quebec City itself, as Luc Noppen has demonstrated.² However, the Quebec government, by removing material evidence of this past, has attempted to erase the authentic, hybrid and evolving history of Quebec City in favor of this myth. Cumulative hybrid history has been replaced with an exclusive and homogenous reinterpretation.

¹ As Martha Norkunas has asserted, "Myths are powerful tools of legitimation and hegemony" and the Quebec government has used this myth of French continuity to advance its quest for a national independence. *The Politics of Public Memory* (Albany, 1993), p. 36.

² See his article, "The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec," *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin* vol. 21, no. 1 (1996). pp. 4-10.

Franco-Manitoba was never part of New France proper and the architectural idiom associated with that time and place is not indigenous to the area, a fact which the St. Boniface project has recognized and respected. Elements of the older architectural idiom were used historically in the construction of buildings in Franco-Manitoba and in St. Boniface specifically but they were intermixed with other forms as well. Hybridity (as it relates to language, culture and architecture) has had a constant presence within St. Boniface. As in history, no specific architectural idiom has currently been favored on Provencher Boulevard – no single culture or cultural “sign” is privileged above any other.³ The improvement of the area and its promotion as a French community is not to be traded for the alteration or erasure of history. In this manner historical verity and diversity is maintained. This non-thematic strategy allows for the advancement of a more authentic and inclusive history while simultaneously celebrating the French fact that is St. Boniface. The Provencher Boulevard project thus does not attempt to change history but accepts it as the diverse and hybrid thing that it is.

Unlike Quebec City and St. Boniface, Hull and Vanier are without deep French histories, although they do currently sustain French-speaking majorities. Hull has denied its English-American origins, choosing not to celebrate its own indigenous (authentic) architectural idiom in the *Projet Nouvelle-France*, an idiom which embodies the historical and cultural reality of the city, its growth and resources. Instead, the project calls for the exclusive use of architectural forms reminiscent of Old Quebec in order to invent local French history. The former city of Vanier likewise denied its authentic

³ As discussed in Chapter One, semiotic theory helps to explain how it is that changes to the built environment are capable of infusing a locale with a specific cultural or historical character, be it indigenous or not. There is an iconology inherent within architectural vocabularies and architectural forms, which function as symbols, resplendent with connotations and intentions. As semiotic theory has demonstrated, every architectural form can act as a sign and none of these signs are neutral – they are encoded for those who read them. How each individual or collectivity reads a sign depends on their respective cultural backgrounds and experiences. (As John Berger wrote, “The way we see things is affected by what we know and what we believe.” *Ways of Seeing* [London, 1972], p. 8.) Many Canadians are able to recognize that Old Quebec style architecture is a signifier of ‘Frenchness’. As such, forms from this idiom can, within the Canadian landscape, be effectively injected into a built environment, acting as signifiers of a French identity. The “latent mytholog[ies] embedded within architectural forms” also play a role in inscribing meaning and identity. The architectural forms of New France are capable of perpetuating, within modern Quebec, the myth that a pure, unadulterated French culture lives on in the province. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory* (Cambridge, 1994), p. 193.

history and chose to appropriate “signs” of Old Quebec. Not only is Vanier lacking French roots, it is also outside the province of Quebec. Its adoption of “signs” associated with New France has even less validity than does that of Hull, a city which, at the very least, falls within the borders of Quebec. Regardless, the reason for the appropriation of alien forms was not to promote an authentic history but to invent a new one, providing Montreal Road and the municipality of Vanier with a respectable French atmosphere. The two communities deliberately chose to deny their authentic Anglophone origins and heritage in favor of their French presents. By inventing a French history, Hull and Vanier would be and were better able to advance their French identities. These thematically-inspired projects may reinforce the desired French identity but they are, like Disneyland, “fictive narrative[s] of social identity – not real history.”⁴ Synthetic places producing synthetic memories, the projects have little to do with their particular geographical settings and everything to do with the deliberate denial of one history and the appropriation of the “signs” of another.

The Politics of Nationalism and Economic Need

Political ideology aimed at affirming a national character has frequently motivated and dictated the adopted methodologies governing architectural restoration and re-creation in Quebec.⁵ Both Place Royale and the proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France* in Hull have been informed by nationalist politics. The aim of these two projects was the construction of an idealized national past able to legitimate the objectives of the modern state – preserving a pure French past would ensure a pure (and sovereign) French future. By countering the assumed loss of the traditional, “authentic” Québécois culture and identity (i.e. that of New France) within modern Quebec through the removal and denial of any external (i.e. non-French) cultural forces, the government hoped to create a stronger and more recognizable independent French identity.⁶

⁴ Sharon Zukin, *The Culture of Cities* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 55.

⁵ Politics, which have long played a cultural role in Quebec, are directly linked to that province’s heritage preservation; what is considered valuable is overtly dictated by politics.

⁶ David Lowenthal has explained, referring to the built environment, that “Cultural prejudice also affects what is preserved, what is suffered to vanish, and what is deliberately destroyed. Features recalled with

Place Royale, considered the “cradle of Francophone civilization in North America,” is a likely locale for the Quebec government to manifest its political ideology.⁷ The Quebec government here sought to directly shape cultural history and, in the process, obliterated the diversity of the place. Hull, on the other hand, stands as an exception to much of the rest of the province of Quebec (save the Eastern townships) – it has English and not French origins. The proposed *Projet Nouvelle-France* deliberately adopted the “signs” of Old Quebec so that it would be better able to relate to the rest of the province. The federal buildings erected within Hull’s downtown core (the city is frequently considered an extension of Ottawa, the nation’s capital) have subverted regional support for the recognition of an independent Quebec. The adoption of acknowledged French “signs” within the architectural environment would enable Hull to promote its association with the rest of the province from both a cultural/linguistic and political point of view.⁸

Outside of Quebec it was economic development and not the pursuit of nationalist goals, which played a major role in the development of the studied projects. Endeavoring to attract a larger share of economic activity, the community of St. Boniface has been renovating the buildings along Provencher Boulevard and landscaping the designated area in order to present a healthier and more inviting atmosphere. By featuring the unique history and culture of St. Boniface, the community longs to create a visually pleasing area, one that, through its character and atmosphere, promotes it as Winnipeg’s “French quarter,” a different experience from the rest of the city. In this manner St. Boniface hopes to differentiate itself so that it is better able to draw shoppers from Winnipeg’s downtown, just on the other side of the Red River.

Very similar to the project in St. Boniface, Vanier’s main street, Montreal Road, underwent renovations in an effort to become a unique local destination. Vanier was likewise hoping to distinguish itself as the “French quarter” by offering the tourists and shoppers something different from nearby downtown Ottawa. By attracting merchants,

pride are apt to be safeguarded against erosion and vandalism; those that reflect shame may be ignored or expunged from the landscape.” *The Past is a Foreign Country* (Cambridge, 1985), p. 31.

⁷ “The British Contribution to the Architectural Identity of Old Québec,” p. 5.

⁸ As Ernest Gellner wrote, “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to self-consciousness: it invents nations where they do not exist.” *Thought and Change* (London, 1964), p. 169.

shoppers and tourists, St. Boniface and Vanier hoped to improve their economy, a goal which was especially important to the latter community.

Despite its political undercurrents, the official aim of Hull's *Projet Nouvelle-France* was to create a park-like atmosphere, similar to San Antonio's River Walk, that would house locals, draw tourists and consequently boost the city's economy.

Homogeneity versus Hybridity and a Model to Follow

Quebec has denied its present hybridity and has chosen to cling to a limited homogenous past in an effort to re-establish a cultural purity that has not existed for two and half centuries. This deliberate preservation of a singular frozen past is restrictive, as Homi K. Bhabha has pointed out: "restrictive notions of cultural identity ... burden our visions of political change."⁹ Until the province adopts a more tolerant attitude towards current and historical non-French cultures and their products, the political and nationalist ideology based on this homogeneity will continue to dictate Quebec's preclusive cultural policy.

To a certain extent Vanier has accepted its hybridity. The renovations to Montreal Road have included the "signs" of Old Quebec (fleurs-de-lis) but the ambiguous trefoil (as seen on the iron fencing) can represent the trillium, the provincial flower of Ontario, for example. Murals depicting nineteenth century local (and not Quebec) scenes also adorn the exterior walls of buildings.

St. Boniface, however, remains the most authentic of the projects. It has accepted its hybrid past and its diverse and multicultural identity, choosing to represent itself as an entity that has arisen "from the 'hybrid' interaction of contending cultural constituencies," a concept of nation outlined by Bhabha.¹⁰

Place Royale is, essentially, an historical theme park and nostalgic cityscape that idealizes and celebrates only a specific era and culture within its past. The Hull and Vanier projects, having appropriated alien architectural forms, are entirely detached from

⁹ Homi K. Bhabha. The Location of Culture (New York. 1994). p. 38.

their local histories, offering residents only a shaky identity, be it French or otherwise, to sustain the present and address the future. The Provencher Boulevard project, on the other hand, is one that “celebrates and enlarges the present while making connections with past and future.”¹¹ It is a project that has remained attached to its specific place, its history and its current reality; no inauthentic memories or histories are constructed and only those that previously existed are celebrated. There is no thematic application, as in all of the other three case studies, and consequently the St. Boniface project can be labeled as being the most “authentic.” This is reflected in the architecture. The renovations, restorations and alterations have not been dictated by the pursuit of a sole architectural idiom representative of one particular historical era, but have included a variety of styles and periods. This is in keeping with the development of Provencher Boulevard itself, which was not erected at one set moment in history, as the Place Royale project would have us believe it was. A respect for the diversity that has shaped the community of St. Boniface ensures that it will survive in all its parts and eras, not only that of the French.¹²

This thesis has drawn attention to the fact that government policies guiding architectural restoration and reconstruction projects in Canada often lack historical foundation. The current situation, which allows for the invention and erasure of history, a history shared by all Canadians, must be acknowledged and redressed by all levels of government by promulgating policies that preserve the rich diversity of Canada’s built environment.¹³

¹⁰ Benjamin Graves, “Homi K. Bhabha: an Overview” (Brown University, 1998). <http://landow.stg.brown.edu/post/poldiscourse/bhabha/bhabha1.html>. July 26, 2001.

¹¹ Kevin Lynch, *What Time is This Place?* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 1.

¹² It is called the “French quarter” to draw attention to the area’s current use of the French language and to its residents, the majority of whom are French-speaking. This title does not, however, unlike the situation in Vanier, attempt to paint the community with only one brush – that of the French – but is used merely as a tool for differentiation.

¹³ This thesis has addressed the connection between history, the built environment and identity. Issues surrounding tourism and how it affects the above-mentioned elements are largely beyond the scope of this thesis. Heritage tourism as it relates to the four case studies is a rich area yet to be studied. Each particular case study (i.e. how it evolved, developed and how it was received locally) also offers opportunities for further exploration and study.

Appendix I

A Chronology of Important Events, Philosophies and Charters in the Field of Architectural Restoration: European and Canadian Contexts

Although it has been argued that architectural restoration and preservation can be traced back to the Middle Ages, this chronology will commence its account of the history of these practices from the late eighteenth century onward.¹

1700s – British practice employs the principle of stylistic preference within the field of architectural restoration. Some architectural styles were regarded highly and others were quickly dismissed as inferior but all historic architecture was judged according to the aesthetic preference of the day.

1798 – Bishop John Milner, a respected antiquarian, publishes his Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals as Exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury. This publication, which attacked architect James Wyatt's interference with the original plan and architectural forms of Salisbury Cathedral, represents the first attempt to rationalize the practice of restoration.²

1800s – France likewise practises stylistic preference, or *l'unité de style*. Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, a French architect, theorist and medievalist, is the leading proponent of this type of restoration on the continent.

1800 - 1850 – The principle of stylistic preference in the restoration of historic architecture maintains a foothold in English restoration methodology. The favored idiom is Gothic, which enjoys unparalleled application. This preference for Gothic is promoted by the Ecclesiological Revival.

1837 – *La Commission des monuments historiques* (France) is created.

1845 – Prosper Mérimée writes Rapport sur la restauration de Notre Dame de Paris.³

¹ This is according to Stephen Tschudi Madsen, Restoration and Anti-Restoration (Oslo, 1976), p. 15. Jukka Jokilehto, in his publication, A History of Architectural Conservation (Oxford, 1999), has argued that forms of architectural conservation have been executed at least since classical times.

² Wyatt "restored", using his stylistic preferences, a number of England's most prestigious cathedrals including Salisbury, Lichfield, Hereford and Durham.

³ Mérimée gave this definition of "restoration": "By restoration we understand the conservation of that which exists and the recreation of that which has definitely existed." This ran counter to Viollet-le-Duc's interpretation of restoration which quickly replaced Mérimée's philosophy. Madsen, p. 15.

1854 - 1868 – Viollet-le-Duc writes a multi-volume treatise entitled, Dictionnaire raisonné de l'architecture française, in which he advocates a *unité de style* approach to architectural restoration.

1839 – The Cambridge Camden Society is founded. They promote the Ecclesiological approach to restoration and are responsible for The Ecclesiologist, a journal which begins to appear one year later.

1840 - 1873 – Approximately half of England's medieval churches are "restored" (i.e. given Gothic appearances through the removal or alteration of earlier forms).

1846 – E. A. Freeman publishes a pamphlet titled, "Principles of Church Restoration." He advocates the restoration of buildings back to their original (not Gothic) state, if possible (i.e. a more historical approach). If not then the building should be restored back to the "latest tolerable character."⁴

1848 – Sir George Gilbert Scott gives a lecture called, A Plea for the faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches. He re-asserts the role and right of the architect to decide what forms should be removed and what should be kept when restoring a building (i.e. stylistic preference).

1849 – John Ruskin publishes The Seven Lamps of Architecture. This book heavily criticizes the stylistic restorations performed by men like Scott and Viollet-le-Duc. In its stead Ruskin forwards a new concept – one which does not advocate restoration at all, either back to the building's original or preferred appearance – that of preservation. The anti-restoration movement is born.

1850 – Scott, perhaps as a means counteracting Ruskin's proposal, publishes his lecture, A Plea for the faithful Restoration of our Ancient Churches.

1855 – The Society of Antiquaries adopts Ruskin's radical approach and begins to promote the conservation and preservation of ancient buildings, instead of alteration through restoration.

1855 - 1875 – Despite Ruskin's efforts, these two decades are marked by the prevalence of restoration based on Scott's preferential and subjective approach.

⁴ Nikolaus Pevsner, "Scrape and Anti-Scrape," The Future of the Past ed. Jane Fawcett (London, 1976).

1866 – Criticism of the principle of stylistic preference begins to emerge in France with Raymond Bordeaux's article, "Questions ecclésiologiques." Bordeaux's article, which criticizes Viollet-le-Duc, is far more critical than any previous English article.

1875 – In an attempt to award Quebec City a greater sense of the country's dual (i.e. French and British) nature, Canada's Governor General, Lord Dufferin, hires British architect Lynn to make architectural alterations to the city's historic fabric.

1875 - 1900 – Viollet-le-Duc's methods begin to be questioned on the continent.

1877 – Influenced by Ruskin, William Morris writes a letter to London's Athenaeum expressing his desire to establish an association dedicated to the protection of ancient monuments through their preservation.

1877 – Morris writes The Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments: Manifesto and The Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments (SPAB) is founded.

1881 – The re-building of Fort Chambly (in Quebec) begins.

1882 – The Ancient Monuments Protection Act is passed in England.

1882 – The Royal Society of Canada, a national organization concerned with the promotion of scholarship in the arts and sciences, is founded by the Governor General, Marquis de Lorne.

1883 – Camillo Boito puts forth his new principles of restoration based on a scientific approach.

1885 – From this date on, English-speaking Canada rejects stylistic restoration.

1887 – France's first law regarding "*monuments historiques*" is promulgated.

1887 – The Rocky Mountains Parks Act, the earliest piece of legislation of its kind in Canada, results in the creation of Banff National Park. The protection of the sulfur springs located therein is ensured.

1890s – The notion of preservation (Ruskin and Morris's approach) reaches the European continent.

1895 – England forms and funds the National Trust for Places of Historic Interest and Natural Beauty to protect and acquire buildings and land of national historic interest.

1899 – The Ottawa Improvement Commission is formed.

1900 – England passes the Ancient Monuments Protection Act.

1900 – Ruskin's Seven Lamps of Architecture is translated into French, further disseminating the philosophy of preservation.

1901 – The Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places in Canada, a quasi-public organization, is formed by the Royal Society of Canada at the request of England's National Trust. The focus of the committee is on the historic and not the natural landscape. Its aim is "the preservation of places, of scenic and historic interest within the Canadian Dominion as a part of the British Empire."⁵ It aided in arousing an interest in preservation activities and becomes a key force in Canada's heritage movement.

1905 – Italian architect Luca Beltrami, one of the greatest representatives of historical restoration, publishes Indagini e documenti origuardanti la torre principale del Castello Sporzesco, which forwards his philosophy that it is necessary to ground architectural restoration in historical documentation.

1907 – The promotion of Canada's historic sites by the Committee for the Preservation of Scenic and Historic Places in Canada justifies the creation of the Historic Landmarks Association (HLA), which supplies information about Canada's historic sites and works with local historical societies to try to secure government funding.⁶ Although it lacks the capacity to execute projects itself or to engage in costly preservation works, the HLA becomes instrumental in the early recognition of historic sites nationwide through the production of a national inventory of significant sites.⁷

1907 – The Canadian Pacific Railway commences the development of Shaughnessy Heights in Vancouver.

1908 – Senator J. S. McLennan begins to lobby for the reconstruction of the French fortress of Louisbourg on Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia.

⁵ Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and Transactions (1901), p. xxi.

⁶ These local organizations would apply to the HLA for the commemoration of chosen sites and the Association would screen these applications, acting, in effect, as an advisory board to the government.

⁷ Christopher James Taylor, National Historic Parks and Sites, 1880 – 1951: The Biography of a Federal Cultural Program (Ottawa, 1986), p. 50.

1909 – Boito's 1883 doctrine on the conservation and restoration of historic buildings informs Italy's first modern charter on the subject.

1919 – The founding by the Canadian government of its own advisory body, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), marks the first important event in Canada's heritage movement, as previously no official governmental office concerned specifically with the country's historic heritage existed. This Board, which takes over the role of the HLA, is responsible for the identification, selection and designation of sites and structures deemed of national importance to Canada. These sites and structures are commemorated with plaques.

1919 – The Dominion Parks Branch of the Department of the Interior (parks service) was made responsible for the supervision and administration of Canada's national heritage designated by the HSMBC.

1919 – The Canadian government initiates a formal historic sites program made up of three agents: the federal government, which acts as the executive; the national parks service, which is connected to the executive via a minister; and the above-mentioned Historic Sites and Monuments Board.

1920s - 1930s – The recognition of traditional Quebec architecture as part of the province's collective French heritage grows considerably. This growth is largely attributable to McGill University's architecture faculty, and to architectural historian, Ramsay Traquair. The faculty at McGill begins to examine vernacular Quebec architecture as a particular style and product of French Canadian culture and Traquair identifies a particular building type associated with the Quebec *habitant*, an identification which fits in well with the regional version of the nationalist ideology. The escalating appreciation for a distinctly provincial architectural heritage results in a widespread intellectual patriotic movement.⁸ This, in turn, leads to measures being taken for the preservation of the province's rich national-cultural heritage.

1922 - 1929 – Quebec City's *Notre-Dame de la Victoire*, Quebec's oldest stone church (begun 1687), which stands on the original site of Champlain's *habitation*, is restored

⁸ Les Chemins de la mémoire: Monuments et sites historiques du Québec Tome 1 (Quebec, 1990), p. 4.

after it was damaged by fire in 1922.⁹ This has since been referred to as Quebec's "first important restoration."¹⁰

1922 – Canada passes the Historic Sites and Monuments Act.¹¹

1922 – The Historic Monuments Act¹² is passed in the province of Quebec under Liberal Premier, Louis-Alexandre Taschereau.¹³ Quebec is the first province to enact legislation for the preservation of its architectural heritage.¹⁴ A five-member commission, the Historic Monuments Commission (HMC), is then created.¹⁵ It is responsible for making an inventory of Quebec's cultural property, focusing on monuments which are "rooted in a historically specific past, or which typif[y] a national-cultural style."¹⁶ The commemoration of historic sites, events and personalities through the erection of statues, monuments and the installation of plaques is also part of the HMC's duties. Classified buildings can no longer be demolished, restored or repaired without the consent of the Commission.

1927 – The Ottawa Improvement Commission is replaced with the Federal District Commission.

1928 – Louisbourg is designated a national historic site.

1928 - 1940 – Small-scale excavations are performed at Louisbourg and an on-site museum is erected.

⁹ There have subsequently been a number of restorations and changes made to the church, considerably altering its façade and interior over time. The most recent "restoration" took place in 1967.

¹⁰ André Cloutier, Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau and Luc Noppen, La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec (Quebec, 1978), p. 82.

¹¹ The first re-enactment of the act took place in 1953 and the second in 1963.

¹² Called, "Loi relative à la conservation des monuments et des objets d'art ayant un intérêt historique ou artistique."

¹³ Taschereau, supported by English-speaking financiers, welcomed the industrial and technological development of Quebec and encouraged outside investors (in the pursuit of modernization) in an attempt to create a secular state. Although, for the above-cited reasons, Taschereau was not well liked or well tolerated by Quebec nationalists, it was under his leadership that the introduction of legal/political intervention to preserve Quebec's built heritage occurred.

¹⁴ This Act declared that "the conservation of monuments and historical and artistic objects" was to be considered of "national interest." Historical Monuments Act, (Quebec, 1922).

¹⁵ According to Richard Handler, "the various activities that it [the HMC] initiated or championed indicate that its primary mission was to make both French Canadians and the members of other nations aware of the existence of French Canada's historical and cultural possessions." Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec (Madison, 1988), p. 145.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

1929 – Quebec City’s *Notre-Dame des Victoires* is classified by Quebec’s HMC as an historical monument.

1930 – The National Parks Act is passed in Canada.¹⁷ It accords formal status to Canada’s historic sites and parks.

1931 – The International Conference on Restoration, the first international meeting devoted to the discussion of historic monuments, is held in Athens. The result of this gathering is The Athens Charter, which essentially advocates the acceptance of Boito’s principles of scientific restoration on an international level.

1932 – Gustavo Giovannoni, Director of the School of Architecture in Rome, modernizes and extends Boito’s principles but the initial emphasis on ancient monuments as historical records, remains unchanged.

1936 – The Department of the Interior is disbanded and Canada’s parks service loses its branch status. It becomes buried within the Department of Mines and Resources.

1936 – Maurice Duplessis becomes Premier of Quebec.¹⁸

1936 – Gérard Morisset publishes a manifesto on the subject of architectural restoration in Quebec called La Nation. Following Viollet-le-Duc’s century-old ideas, Morisset promotes the return to the “original” (i.e. seventeenth and eighteenth century) and ancient state of Quebec’s buildings through reconstruction and *en style* restoration.

1938 - 1939 – The reconstruction of the Port Royal Habitation in Nova Scotia takes place.

1940 – The Canadian government creates the Port Royal Habitation National Historic Park.

1944 - 1949 – The Second World War brings a halt to many of the historic sites projects as more pressing matters take precedence.

1947 – Architectural historian, Ramsay Traquair, publishes The Old Architecture of Quebec: A Study of the Buildings Erected in New France from the Earliest Explorers to

¹⁷ It was re-enacted in 1953.

¹⁸ Taschereau’s Liberal ideology led to the twentieth century strengthening of nationalist and traditionalist parties, who fought against his modernization and industrialization. In 1936 Maurice Duplessis, leader of the *Union Nationale* party, took his first term in office as Quebec’s Premier. Duplessis, although losing his

the Middle of the Nineteenth Century. This publication brings recognition of and respect for early architecture in Canada and becomes a catalyst for the preservation of heritage buildings.

1950s – This decade witnesses a new era in the Canadian government’s heritage program as more money becomes available and the government steps up its involvement in the social and cultural development of Canadian society.

1950 – Canada’s parks service wins back its branch status.

1951 – The Report of the Massey Commission is published in Canada. Examining the administration of federal cultural programs, including that of historic sites, the Commission recommends that “greater emphasis be placed on the restoration and preservation of historic sites and buildings including those buildings of purely architectural significance.”¹⁹ The Commission regards heritage developments not only as a means to foster national unity, but also as tourist attractions capable of stimulating economic benefit. The Commission also advocates increased intervention via restoration, which it regards as a more informative approach than simple commemoration.²⁰

1952 – The province of Quebec sanctions a new Historic Monuments Act to enforce the *Commission*’s power to protect the province’s historic architecture, which had become increasingly difficult in face of the pressure for post-war expansion and progress.²¹

Proving their commitment the government awards the *Commission* substantial sums of money – a budget of \$25,000.²²

1953 – Canada’s Historic Sites and Monuments Act is amended, thanks perhaps, to the Massey Commission.²³

Premiership from 1940 until he re-gained it in 1944 (a position he maintained until his death in 1959). used Quebec nationalism to justify his government’s economic policies.

¹⁹ Canada, “Royal Commission of National Development in the Arts, Letters and Sciences.” Report, (1951), p. 124.

²⁰ “We believe that the marking [commemoration] of sites, important as it is, has received undue attention in relation to restoration and maintenance. Restoration of course is much more costly, but it is more informative and it offers its information in a much more striking fashion.” *Ibid.*, p. 346.

²¹ Called, “Loi relative aux monuments, sites et objets historiques ou artistiques.”

²² This sum had been increased to \$300, 000 by 1959. Les Chemins de la mémoire: Monuments et sites historiques du Québec Tome 1 (Quebec, 1990). p. 12.

²³ The 1953 re-enactment expanded the definition of an historic site to include “buildings or structures that are of national interest by reason of age or architectural design.” Canada, Laws and Statutes, “An Act to

1953 – The Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act is passed in England.

1955 – The Ontario government establishes the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission.

1958 – Work on Chevalier House begins.

1950s - 1970s – Quebec opts for stylistic restoration, as advocated by Morisset. A stylistic return to New France construction is widely endorsed in Quebec during this period.

1960s – Stylistic restoration becomes an internationally rejected methodology.

1960s – Quebec engages in a social and cultural repositioning. In an attempt to ensure that the province remains French, an interest in preserving and retaining Quebec's cultural heritage quickly develops and nationalist sentiment grows.

1961 – Upper Canada Village opens.

1961 – The re-building of a section of Louisbourg is initiated.

c. 1961 – Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs (*Ministère des Affaires culturelles*) is created.

1961 – The first restoration project in the Place Royale district of Quebec City undertaken by Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs commences.

1963 – Teoria del restauro is written by Cesare Brandi. This publication forwards a critical approach to architectural restoration in which each monument is recognized individually as both an aesthetic and historic object.

1964 – The first comprehensive statement of Canada's national parks policy is tabled in the House of Commons.

1964 – The largely historical approach outlined in the Athens Charter is discovered to be inadequate and new international principles governing the practice of restoration are sought. It is determined that the built environment could have artistic as well as historical value, something the scholarly position of the Athens Charter neglected. The Second

Amend the Historic Sites and Monuments Act," 3-4 Elizabeth II, cap. 20. (1955) The HSMBC had previously refused to acknowledge buildings which were of architectural importance if they did not have significant national relevance.

International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments is consequently held in Venice, Italy. The result of this conference is the Venice Charter.²⁴

1965 – As a result of the conference in Venice, the international, non-governmental organization known as the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) is founded. Dedicated to the conservation of the world's historic monuments and sites through the implementation of relevant legislation, ICOMOS “seeks to establish international standards for the preservation, restoration, and management of the cultural environment.”²⁵

1965 – *Société de la Place Royale de Québec* is created.

1967 – Much of Lower Town, Quebec City is declared an historic site.

1967 – The Quebec government passes a law which establishes the boundaries of Place Royale.

1967 – Quebec's Ministry of Cultural Affairs is placed in charge of the Place Royale project.

1969 – The plan for re-development of Place Royale is presented.

1970 – **Canada's federal government provides funding for the Place Royale project and official work on the site begins.**

1970 – The Canadian Inventory of Historic Building (CIHB) is established. It is responsible for recording and photographing all examples of pre-1914 architecture in Canada.

1972 – Quebec passes the Cultural Property Act which confirms the government's responsibility for the protection of cultural heritage.

1973 – Amendments to the National Housing Act (Canada), regarded as the first major achievement in conservation legislation at the national level, are made.²⁶

1973 – Heritage Canada, a trustee of the Crown, is created by the federal government (Parks Canada) as a non-governmental, charitable organization financed by membership

²⁴ This new internationally adopted charter, as stated in Article 3, remedied this as follows: “the intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.” ICOMOS. *The Charter of Venice* (Paris, 1965).

²⁵ “About ICOMOS,” www.international.icomos.org/about.htm June 11, 2001.

²⁶ Sybil Frenette, *Conservation: Strategies for Selected Older Neighbourhoods* (Winnipeg, 1979). p. 18.

and donations. It places most of its emphasis on the preservation of Canada's tangible, built heritage, which it is authorized to acquire through purchase, donation, bequest, exchange or lease, and concentrates to a lesser degree on natural or scenic heritage. Heritage Canada exists as a means for private citizens to claim and protect their built heritage and to influence legislation.

1973 – The Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada, devoted to the examination of the role of the built environment in Canadian society, is established to lobby for building conservation and to research specific areas of architecture and its history.

1973 - 1982 – Buildings within Quebec City's Artillery Park are restored.

1974 – Battleford, Saskatchewan makes changes to its Main Street architecture using a Wild West theme.

1976 – The Charter on Cultural Tourism is adopted by the General Assembly of ICOMOS.

1977 – ICOMOS Canada is established. With an office in the nation's capital, it regards itself as "the leading national authority on conservation philosophy and practice."²⁷

1982 – The Florence Charter of Historic Gardens is adopted by the General Assembly of ICOMOS.

1982 – The Constitution Act (Canada) makes matters pertaining to property and civil rights of exclusive provincial jurisdiction; heritage conservation is primarily a matter of provincial policy, except for sites of clearly national significance. Provincial governments have thus become participants in the field of heritage preservation and every Canadian province today has some form of heritage conservation legislation.²⁸

1982 – The Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (Declaration of Deschambault) is adopted by ICOMOS Canada's French-Speaking Committee and the *Conseil des monuments et des sites du Québec*.

²⁷ ICOMOS Canada – Mission Statement. www.icomos.org/canada/ June 11, 2001.

²⁸ Involvement on a provincial level had been ongoing for decades, however. Under the Ontario government, for example, the Niagara Falls Parks Commission sponsored four projects of restoration and reconstruction including the re-building of Fort George at Niagara-on-the-Lake. The Ontario Department of Highways, also looking to stimulate tourism in the province, undertook, in 1936, the restoration of Fort Henry in Kingston.

1983 – The Appleton Charter for the Protection and Enhancement of the Built Environment is published under the auspices of ICOMOS Canada’s English-Speaking Committee. It discusses the manner in which the appropriate level of intervention should be decided upon based on levels of intervention (preservation, period restoration, rehabilitation, period reconstruction, redevelopment), scales of intervention (building elements, buildings, groups of buildings, buildings and settings, sites) and the activities (maintenance, stabilization, removal, addition) that relate to the above.

1987 – The Charter on the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (The Washington Charter) is adopted by the General Assembly of ICOMOS.

1987 – The Business Improvement Association (BIA) of Vanier is founded.

1987 – The BIA contracts Heritage Canada to help them revitalize Montreal Road.

1987 – Vanier City Council approves a plan to turn Montreal Road into a “French quarter”.

1989 – The provincial government awards Vanier money to help pay for Montreal Road’s renovation.

1989 – **Construction begins on Montreal Road, which is completed by 1990.**

1989 – The City of Hull and the *Société d’aménagement de l’Outaouais* accept the invitation of the National Capital Commission to form a committee responsible for studying the possible development of the Brewery Creek area.

1990 – The Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage is adopted by the General Assembly of ICOMOS.

1993 – ICOMOS adopts Guidelines for Education and Training in the Conservation of Monuments, Ensembles and Sites.

1994 – Parks Canada releases its Guiding Principles and Operational Policies, a comprehensive revision of the documents guiding the management of national parks.²⁹

²⁹ The lack of commitment to the preservation and maintenance of Canada’s built heritage by the Canadian government is an ongoing issue; there remains an absence of heritage policy at the federal level. A quote by Ann Falkner sums up the persisting situation. She writes, “A review of the legislation and financial commitment of the three levels of government in this country shows clearly that preservation of early buildings is not a major political issue, nor is it among the top ten in any listing of government priorities. In fact, after reviewing legislation from a variety of countries, Mr. Hartland MacDougal, [the then] chairman of the Board of Governors of Heritage Canada has stated, ‘We have possibly the weakest heritage

1995 – ICOMOS Canada formulates a mission statement.³⁰

1996 – The *Projet Nouvelle-France* is proposed in Hull for the Brewery Creek site.

1996 – *La Chambre de commerce francophone de St. Boniface* (CCFSB) hires Heritage Canada to aid in the revitalization of Provencher Boulevard.

2000 – Work commences on St. Boniface's Provencher Boulevard.

legislation in the world.' Unlike Europe, Britain, and even the United States, we do not have a positive approach to historic preservation nor even a philosophical policy view of heritage values." *Without Our Past?* (Toronto, 1977), p. 20.

³⁰ The mission statement reads as follows: "ICOMOS Canada seeks to raise the quality of conservation care provided to our built cultural heritage at national and international levels: by defining appropriate principles and standards of care for conservation; by promoting needed changes in conservation policy or programmes, on the basis of ongoing review of relevant policies/programmes; by supporting scientific exchanges and forums in the heritage conservation field, and encouraging participation in these forums; by encouraging scientific research in the conservation field; by ensuring that Canadian practitioners benefit from conservation lessons gained elsewhere; by ensuring that Canadian know-how and approaches are widely communicated to those in other jurisdictions who might profit from that knowledge; by increasing public awareness of appropriate methods and approaches for the conservation and care of our built cultural heritage; by developing links with organizations whose activities influence the well-being of our cultural heritage." ICOMOS Canada, *Mission Statement – draft* (August, 1995), <http://canada.icomos.org> June 11, 2001.

Appendix 2

Restoration Methodologies throughout History

1. Stylistic Preference or *Unité de style*

The term “restoration” has traditionally been interpreted as 1) the repair executed on damaged buildings¹ and 2) the method by which a building is returned to its “original” architectural state.² Stylistic preference, however, is not concerned with the necessary repair of a deteriorating structure; structures that are healthy can be restored using this method. “Restoring” in this case refers, instead, to the pursuit of an aesthetic preference and the “restoration” of a monument back to its original state is not necessarily of interest. Additions and elements that do not conform to the formal style or single period being pursued are deliberately removed and/or altered and, if the desired style was never present at all, forms conforming to that particular idiom are added to give the illusion that it did exist historically. The removal of accretions is seldom preceded by the thorough research required to accurately determine the original appearance of the building.³ Accuracy and the lack of distortion, however, are not part of the stylistic process; it is the architect’s personal interpretation and preference which determine to what style and period a building is to be restored.⁴ A restorer’s creative energy is awarded the most

¹ Stephen Tschudi Madsen, *Restoration and Anti-Restoration* (Oslo, 1976), p. 23.

² In his *Dictionary of the English Language*, Samuel Johnson defines architectural restoration as, “the act of replacing in a former state; to give back what has been lost or taken away.” (London, 1755). The term “restoration”, for Orin M. Bullock, means “putting back as nearly as possible into the form [the building] held at a particular date or period in time. Its accomplishment often requires the removal of work which is not ‘of the period’.” *The Restoration Manual* (Norwalk, Connecticut, 1966), p. 1. In Canada, the term has had a similar interpretation. Anthony Adamson defined “restoration”, as it pertains to the built environment, as “the changes necessary to be made on an old building in order to bring it back to its original or earlier appearance.” “Reviving Our Past – 10 points on restoration,” *Canadian Interiors* (October, 1973), p. 30.

³ French restoration architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc based his re-building of Synodal Hall in Sens (1855-66), for example, on fragmentary evidence alone, never performing adequate research to accurately determine the original appearance of the monument.

⁴ This was the case when, from 1632-42, English architect Inigo Jones transformed St. Paul’s in London. Jones turned the old Norman cathedral into a classical, Italianate structure based on his own preferred architectural idiom.

value in this approach, his personal tastes and predilections used as absolute markers, while historical and archaeological authenticity is brushed aside.⁵

The social, political and economic circumstances of the place and era, the beliefs and goals of the society in which the restoration is being performed, have traditionally played a major role in determining to what extent stylistic preference is present and to which architectural idiom a building is restored. For example, in nineteenth century England and France, Gothic forms made up the preferred architectural vocabulary. They were affixed to buildings of all dates, regardless of their original style or accumulated accretions.⁶ The preference for this stylistic bias was guided by the beliefs of the day. In England the Ecclesiological Revival dictated that “restoring” England’s ancient churches to a Gothic appearance, the “embodiment of Christian style,”⁷ was morally responsible and a way of saving the building and congregation from profanity.⁸ In France, instead of England’s religious and moral justifications, stylistic restoration fed upon the nation’s rational, scientific approach to history and the arts. Periods of style were subjected to classification⁹, which fueled the French pursuit of *unité de style*.¹⁰ The Gothic vocabulary was chosen “not for [historical] conformity but for its own aesthetic qualities.”¹¹

⁵ During the seventeenth, eighteenth and half of the nineteenth century, when stylistic restorations were at their peak in Europe, restorationists believed that “all buildings should be returned to that particular period in history which they themselves thought had been most important.” Bullock, p. 2.

⁶ English architect Christopher Wren (1632-1723) superimposed his preconceived ideas on old ancient parish churches in the city of London when, irrespective of their original vocabulary, he infused them with the Gothic idiom.

⁷ Madsen, p. 32.

⁸ English architect George Gilbert Scott was an Ecclesiologist who actively “restored” monuments back to the Gothic idiom.

⁹ Madsen, p. 22.

¹⁰ Viollet-le-Duc was the leading proponent of this type of restoration on the continent. His interventions in many French cathedrals attempted to return them to what he considered to be their ancient, original condition. The true nature of that original state was of little interest to Viollet-le-Duc, who, in a manner similar to his English contemporaries, sought to honor the Gothic style exclusively. Unlike his British contemporaries, however, he even went so far as to implement the use of new materials within these ancient structures, believing that this was favorable, if the new materials were of better quality than the originals. Viollet-le-Duc’s views are captioned in a short excerpt from his 1860 *Dictionnaire raisonné de l’architecture française* (vol. VIII): “to restore a building is to reestablish it to a completed state which may never have existed at any particular time.” Madsen, p. 14.

¹¹ Nikolaus Pevsner, “Scrape and Anti-scrape,” *The Future of the Past* ed. Jane Fawcett (London, 1976), p. 36.

Social motivations have likewise influenced the use of stylistic restoration within the Canadian context. The province of Quebec, for example, has traditionally employed *unité de style* as it is best able to support the political (i.e. nationalist) agenda that regularly motivates the preservation and celebration of the province's French past. One of the earliest examples of the use of stylistic preference in Quebec is at Fort Chambly on the Richelieu River, near Montreal.¹² Its re-building was used to forward the myth of French exclusivity within Quebec.

As early as 1866 Joseph-Octave Dion, a journalist and antiquarian from the Chambly area, proposed the restoration of the fort to its early eighteenth century French design.¹³ Dion eventually received federal government backing in 1879 and work commenced two years later. Made honorary curator, Dion, who was also the editor of the ultramontane publication, *Nouveau-Monde*, enjoyed total control of the project, and was given free rein to impose his own interpretation. This resulted in an interpretation consistent with his ultramontanist thought. Looking back to New France as the traditional and cultural centre of contemporary Quebec, Dion sought to re-ignite the glory of that period for his fellow Québécois. He had some areas of the stone structure re-built and others restored – all so that the overall appearance closely resembled that of the fort's pre-British existence. Regarding the contemporary English dominance of his province as not reflecting the French past, Dion pressed history into political service. He deliberately ignored the British involvement in the site and allowed its significance as a British military fort to be entirely removed in favor of one demonstrating that heroic French past.¹⁴

¹² The Fort Chambly project was the first restoration project in Canada. Begun in the 1880s, before the creation of the parks branch, the fort was placed under the care of the Department of Public Works.

¹³ The original wooden fort, first built by the French in 1665 to halt an Iroquois invasion from the south, was destroyed by fire in 1702 and re-built in 1709. With the fall of New France it became occupied by a British garrison, who remained on site until after 1850, but not before making a number of renovations to the French stone fort.

¹⁴ According to scholar Christopher James Taylor, Dion (and his successor, L.J.N. Blanchot) "looked upon their charge as a sacred trust from the French-Canadian past. They encouraged pilgrimages by religious and nationalist organizations, who came to regard the fort as a shrine to traditional [i.e. pre-Conquest] Quebec culture." *Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites* (Montreal, 1990), p. 14.

The restoration and re-building of Fort Chambly was only the beginning of Quebec's long-term use of stylistic preference. This methodological approach gained further favor in the following century, thanks in large part to Gérard Morisset, a leading historian of Quebec's architecture. Morisset was an admirer of French architect and restorer, Viollet-le-Duc, and wrote several articles about the man and his work throughout the 1930s.¹⁵ Viollet-le-Duc's writings provided a scholarly link to French culture and Morisset, who referred to Viollet-le-Duc as "un architecte de génie"¹⁶, both supported and promoted the Frenchman's philosophy on restoration.¹⁷ Based on Viollet-le-Duc's philosophies, Morisset wrote La Nation in 1936.¹⁸ A manifesto for architectural restoration in Quebec, this publication focused on the restorer's right to creative expression and personal interpretation so that any and all buildings from later epochs and styles could be systematically altered to the architectural vocabulary evocative of New France.

The largest project displaying stylistic restoration in Quebec is Quebec City's Place Royale, which was begun in the 1950s. Inadequate research was performed prior to the removal of all post-New France accretions. This meant that it was impossible for "original" appearances of the buildings to be recovered. Animated again by nationalistic fervor, the first twenty years of the project saw the systematic eradication of hundreds of years of accumulated history.¹⁹ This erasure attempted to turn back the clock to a pre-Conquest (i.e. pre-British) Quebec.

¹⁵ Morisset praised his imaginative and artistic approach stating in a 1933 publication on Viollet-le-Duc's restoration of the Château de Pierrefonds, "toutes les restaurations des cathédrales qu'il a dirigées, de Vézelay à Lausanne, portent la marque de son esprit chercheur, de sa science profonde de la sûreté de son goût et de la qualité de son imagination. En restaurant un monument, il interprétait libéralement l'architecture du passé, il respectait les dispositions générales des organes architectoniques ... il appliquait ... les principes rationalistes..." André Cloutier, Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau and Luc Noppen, La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec (Quebec, 1978), p. 83.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ The Québécois naturally turned to French models, perhaps, underlining their desire to align themselves as closely as possible with their French lineage, but likewise a reflection of language issues.

¹⁸ This title emphasizes the fundamental nationalist politics associated with stylistic restoration in Quebec from as early as the 1930s.

¹⁹ "Il ne fait pas de doute que la volonté politique qui est à l'origine du projet de Place Royale..." La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec, p. 91.

Quebec's Historic Monuments Commission (HMC) upheld Morisset's manifesto and the use of Viollet-le-Duc's stylistic restoration through to the 1970s; the stylistic return to New France construction continued to be endorsed.²⁰ This deliberate choice, to honor one period of history and one style of architecture above all others,²¹ demonstrates the impact nationalism had on the province's cultural policy.²²

Stylistic restoration is a methodological approach that, according to Renato Bonelli, leads to "reconstructions, remodelings, and even additions based only on stylistic analogies to other monuments, and to alterations in the name of stylistic consistency."²³ Actively practised and endorsed in Europe up until the mid-nineteenth century, in Canada this approach was seen well into the twentieth century in Quebec.²⁴ A controversial approach, the international acceptance of the Athens and Venice Charters reinforced its unacceptability, already established from an academic standpoint in the early part of the twentieth century. It enjoyed its heyday in the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the prevalent principle until 1850, but has since given way to a less intrusive and more informed methodology.

2. "Romantic" or Anti-Restoration

Disgust with the "restoration mania" that had been taking place in Europe spurred opposition to architectural intervention in general but stylistic restoration in particular by

²⁰ That this privileging of architectural styles and buildings from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was accepted by the HMC is referenced by a comment made by Paul Gouin in 1956. The then president of the Commission, he declared that the Québécois must seek to eliminate "les parasites qui avaient crû au cours du siècle dernier et a revenir à la belle simplicité de nos pères ..." In other words, through architectural restoration, cultural accretions outside of those representative of the French should be removed and replaced with designs recognizable as those of the French Regime. *La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec*, p. 86.

²¹ The fact that the classification of cultural properties by the HMC blatantly favored those dating from New France shows that "the HMC defined national culture in terms of the conservative, clerical nationalism that dominated Quebec in the first half of the twentieth century." Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison, 1988), p. 145.

²² "According to the HMC, to increase historical awareness – 'of what we once were and what we must be today' – was among the surest means to 'develop the patriotic spirit of a people' as well as to give tourists a better image of the [Quebec] nation." Ibid.

²³ Renato Bonelli, "Principles of Architectural and Urban Restoration and Conservation." *Encyclopedia of World Art – Vol. XII* (New York, 1966), p. 194.

²⁴ The rest of the country had, for the most part, abandoned this approach to restoration after 1885. *La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec*, p. 88.

the mid-nineteenth century.²⁵ What emerged was, essentially, a call for preservation, or “anti-restoration.” Orin M. Bullock has described preservation as:

stabilizing a structure in its existing form by preventing further change or deterioration. Preservation, since it takes the structure as found, does not relate to a specific period in time and is, architecturally, the most intellectually honest treatment of an ancient monument.²⁶

Emerging in a climate informed by romanticism and the exaltation of the simple beauty of ruins, Bonelli has referred to this approach as “romantic” restoration. He has described it as:

a movement that tried to replace extensive intervention with a religious respect for the monument in the form in which it was found. This concept was the result of an attitude that conferred on the past and the works it produced an autonomous value in relation to the present. It generated a passionate desire for sincerity ... and consequently a repugnance for human intervention, which was considered brutal and sacrilegious. Romantic restoration regarded preservation with fatalistic renunciation. The monument must remain as it is, untouched and nothing must be done to prevent its breaking down and falling into ruin.²⁷

Critic and writer John Ruskin, who did not believe that anyone had the right to alter the history of a building, was the first to propose preservation, or non-intervention, as an alternative to restoration.²⁸ He regarded restoration as a falsification, “a lie from beginning to end,” which succeeded only in merciless destruction, and believed that the originality of a building could never be repeated or replicated.²⁹ Hoping to save historic buildings from the hands of his contemporaries, Ruskin wrote The Seven Lamps of Architecture in 1849. Any number of passages could be quoted here but the following provides a valuable insight into Ruskin’s beliefs:

It is again no question of expediency or feeling whether we shall preserve the buildings of past times or not. *We have no right whatever to touch them.* They are not ours. They belong to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who

²⁵ A contemporary expression quoted from Lord Byron in Madsen, p. 38.

²⁶ Bullock, p. 1.

²⁷ Bonelli, pp. 194-195.

²⁸ “Ruskin regarded architecture as the cornerstone of history and thus as a source not to be touched or falsified.” Madsen, p. 46.

²⁹ John Ruskin, The Seven Lamps of Architecture (London, 1907), p. 200.

are to follow us. The dead have still their right in them: that which they laboured for, the praise of achievement or the expression of religious feeling, or whatsoever else it might be which in those buildings they intended to be permanent, we have no right to obliterate.³⁰

Ruskin's condemnation of the work of architectural restorers like Viollet-le-Duc and George Gilbert Scott had incredible impact on fellow Englishman and social reformer, William Morris, who took up the cause of anti-restoration.³¹ Morris, who wanted buildings to remain in their genuine state, wrote to The Athenaeum, a London paper, calling for

an association to be set on foot to protest all 'restoration' that means more than keeping out wind and weather, and, by all means ... to awaken a feeling that our ancient buildings are ... sacred monuments of the nation's growth and hope.³²

Like Ruskin, Morris felt a responsibility for the protection of the past as a whole but unlike Ruskin, who forwarded ideas but no solutions, Morris put his beliefs into action. In 1877 he founded the Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments (SPAB) and he also wrote an accompanying manifesto. This manifesto, the first to do so, attempted to set down basic principles and guidelines regarding conservation practice.³³ In it Morris urged architects 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.³⁴

This approach, which advocated repairing and rejected reproductions of past styles, was initially dismissed. Slowly, however, especially among the younger architects, the

³⁰ Ruskin, p.201.

³¹ Ruskin rigorously attacked the French school of restoration practices in 1854 during a speech he gave at the re-opening of the Crystal Palace.

³² William Morris, The Athenaeum (London, March 5, 1877).

³³ Robert D. Pickard, Conservation and the Built Environment (Essex, 1996), p. 146.

³⁴ William Morris, SPAB – The Society for the Protection of Ancient Monuments: Manifesto (London, 1877).

approach was adopted in England and later abroad so that, by the late nineteenth century stylistic restoration was considered passé in Europe.

Canada's federal government first adopted principles of preservation, or anti-restoration, before embarking on full-scale restoration and reconstruction projects. Maintenance was a primary concern when Canada's historic sites program was first established in 1919. However, due to lack of government funding and the failure to implement legislation needed to produce a comprehensive policy, the hopes for a national program dedicated to maintenance and conservation were quashed.³⁵ Without a formal federal policy on heritage conservation, and lacking funds,³⁶ the parks branch initially looked to and adopted the strategies earlier forwarded by John Ruskin and William Morris. Restoration was "the most total destruction which a building can suffer."³⁷ James B. Harkin, the commissioner of national parks, held the conviction that it was ahistorical to "restore" or re-build a monument, i.e. put it back to a former state.³⁸ He stated in 1920, "If there is nothing but a pile of stones, it is not considered good policy to erect a fort on the lines of the original one."³⁹ Urban planner, Thomas Adams, who worked for the branch, likewise advocated the preservation of existing ruins, not their re-building.⁴⁰

This methodological approach, which implied the end of a monument's history and accepted the ultimate loss of the object, did not enjoy wide application or success but it has informed the rule of minimal intervention that dominates current restoration methodology.

3. Historic Restoration and Reconstruction

Historic restoration and reconstruction first emerged in North America and was the most common method used from 1920 – 1970 in the United States and English

³⁵ Taylor, p. 245.

³⁶ Restoration and reconstruction are far more costly than Ruskin's apathetic approach.

³⁷ Ruskin, p. 199.

³⁸ Taylor, p. 151.

³⁹ PAC, RG 26, H (Borden Papers), vol. 163, J.B. Harkin to J.G. Mitchell (May 31, 1920).

⁴⁰ Taylor, p. 152.

Canada.⁴¹ This approach, likewise advocated by Italian architect Luca Beltrami, endorsed the thorough examination of all documentary evidence available on a building before intervening in any manner. Forcing architectural restorers to specialize in architectural history, historical restoration was far more exact than stylistic restoration. Documenting the histories of buildings led to notions of reconstruction.

In the words of Orin M. Bullock, reconstruction means, “the re-creation of a building from historical, archaeological, and architectural documents and other evidence, often highly conjectural.”⁴² The restoration of a building implies that that building still stands and to it alterations and repairs are made, although, as Bullock points out, “parts of buildings which are ‘restored’ often must be reconstructed because original work has been removed or changed.” In the case of major or total reconstruction, however, which requires much archaeological and historic research in order for the final product to be accurate and believable, it can be assumed that there is very little of the original available to either alter or repair.⁴³ The reconstruction of historic sites and monuments has enabled history to be interpreted by contemporary audiences; history is allowed to live on albeit in a new manner with new materials.

The Canadian government quickly recognized the potential of reconstructing historic sites and monuments. After the shift in the preservation philosophy earlier advocated by Canada’s parks branch in the early twentieth century had slowly taken place, restoration and reconstruction became increasingly acceptable and practised within the Canadian context.⁴⁴ The project undertaken in 1938 of the Port Royal Habitation,

⁴¹ *La Restauration à la Place Royale de Québec*, p. 79.

⁴² Bullock, p. 1.

⁴³ A building that still stands at the beginning of a restoration project but is subsequently demolished and then entirely reconstructed, as frequently occurred at Place Royale, is not reconstruction as described above. This type of approach falls under stylistic restoration, as something entirely new is created in order to conform to preconceived notions of stylistic preference.

⁴⁴ This was due in large part to the efforts of J. Clarence Webster, a Maritimer who sat on the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and Senator J. S. McLennan, from Nova Scotia. Both opposed the adherence to the nineteenth-century strategy of preservation supported by the branch and forcefully argued for the reconstruction of the fortress of Louisbourg, on Cape Breton Island. Webster and McLennan did not see how ruins, left as they were, could be beneficial; they were incapable of creating a living museum and therefore had little economic or touristic value. Their attitude reflected a growing trend to exploit historic sites as tourist attractions and boosters of local and regional economies. Harkin initially rejected their proposals for fear that the branch would become embroiled in a costly and unrealistic endeavor.

near Annapolis Royal, in Nova Scotia, marked the first of the federal government's relatively elaborate development schemes using total reconstruction.⁴⁵ A full-scale replica of the French stronghold erected by Champlain in 1605, on its original site, was planned.⁴⁶ It was to function as both an educational facility as well as a tourist attraction, something that would not have been possible if Ruskin's approach had been followed.

Taylor, referring to the total reconstruction work carried out at Port Royal, writes:

at this point ideals of preservation had been left behind in an effort to interpret an historic site. While it may have enhanced the interpretation of the site, the building of a modern [reconstructed] structure contravened a basic aim of preservation. Any original remains would be lost forever.⁴⁷

All of the work done at Port Royal was carefully documented and later published. Architectural preservation ideology in Canada had taken a sharp turn in favor of restoration and re-building and, as Taylor remarks, "The Habitation was one of the showpieces of the historic park system and helped pave the way for more elaborate developments in the future."⁴⁸

The fortress of Louisbourg remains Canada's largest reconstruction project.⁴⁹ After Louisbourg was designated a national historic site in 1928, ensuring its protection, small-scale excavations were commenced. This marked the beginning of years of research. It was the aim of the project to not only boost the local economy by creating a tourist destination, but also to keep conjecture to a minimum, a feat accomplished through the execution of intense and thorough research. The entire process and its results were also published, ensuring that the decisions made during the Louisbourg restoration were well documented.

⁴⁵ Within a very short period, from 1938-39, the federal government reconstructed the Habitation and in 1940 created Port Royal Habitation National Historic Park.

⁴⁶ Port Royal was ceded to the British in 1713 and re-named Annapolis Royal.

⁴⁷ Taylor, p. 208.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 211. Despite attempts to achieve accuracy (authenticity was a concern at Port Royal; it was not intended to be a Disney creation without any historical merit and much research was launched prior to any physical intervention) there were some questionable procedures and results. For instance, according to research done by Taylor, the appearance of some of the buildings was based solely on conjecture. The planners had little concrete knowledge about the original construction methods and the authenticity of the actual site of reconstruction was even questioned.

⁴⁹ Louisbourg was built by the French in 1713 as a walled outpost. A naval port and fishing base, it was totally destroyed by the British in 1760.

In 1961, with the government authorizing a twenty-five million-dollar program, the re-building of one quarter of the original town of Louisbourg and its fortifications was begun. It was an undertaking which took over twenty years to complete. John Fortier, the then Director of the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Park, in his contribution to The History of Atlantic Canada: Museum Interpretations, "Louisbourg: Managing a Moment in Time" (1981), underlines the importance of this project and the snail's pace of large-scale government interventions in the fight to save Canada's heritage. He writes,

When the reconstruction of the fortress was launched, it stood virtually alone as an example of government action on the heritage scene. For a decade it was by far the major, and almost the only, effort by the federal government to develop and interpret its historic sites.⁵⁰

The archaeological and archival research conducted for the reconstruction set new standards for Parks Canada as buildings were completely recreated from original plans and drawings. Today Louisbourg is the exemplary national historic park established, developed and maintained by the federal government.

4. Scientific Restoration

As Bullock has stated, "the value of a restoration is measured by its authenticity."⁵¹ Historic restoration attempts to ensure that authenticity is at the fore of all architectural restoration through thorough research, objectivity and the recognition of the historic value of all monuments. Any restoration or reconstruction work that is executed is to be carefully documented and published so that all final results can be accessed and scrutinized. Bishop Milner's publication, Dissertation on the Modern Style of Altering Ancient Cathedrals as Exemplified in the Cathedral of Salisbury (1798), marked the first attempt to give restoration practice an overall principle of equivalence and a tolerance for stylistic diversity. Milner, opposed to the stylistic restoration of many

⁵⁰ John Fortier, "Louisbourg: Managing a Moment in Time," The History of Atlantic Canada: Museum Interpretations ed. Peter E. Rider (Ottawa, 1981), p. 96.

⁵¹ Bullock, p. 1.

of England's best known cathedrals by architect James Wyatt,⁵² advocated the adoption of an unprejudiced attitude toward all surviving architectural qualities and proportions, regardless of the era in which they were added or in which the structure was originally erected. Milner, who believed that the entire building as it stood authenticated the passage of time, took an interest in the integrity of the churches (this publication deals specifically with Salisbury Cathedral) in their contemporary, pre-restoration state and frowned upon the "production of uncontrolled fancy" through individual partiality.⁵³

In 1883, a year after the Ancient Monuments Protection Act was passed in England, Camillo Boito, an Italian professor and restoration architect, outlined a doctrine that Bonelli has since labeled as a "scientific" or "scholarly" approach to restoration. It, like Milner's proposal, called for the presence of equality and the acceptance of buildings as historic documents. Bonelli has summarized Boito's principles as follows:

(1) monuments have a value not only for architectural study but as evidence of the history of peoples and nations and therefore must be respected since any alteration is deceptive and leads to mistaken deductions; (2) monuments should be strengthened rather than repaired, repaired rather than restored, and additions and renovations should be avoided; (3) if the additions are indispensable for reasons of stability or other absolutely necessary reasons, they should be executed on the basis of certain data and with different characteristics and materials, while maintaining the current appearance of the building; (4) additions made at various times must be considered part of the monument and maintained except when they cause concealments or alterations.⁵⁴

Based on the use of wide-ranging methods of research, in an attempt to establish historical and structural authenticity, Boito's doctrine proposed the abandonment of the predilection for stylistic restoration (e.g. for Gothic forms). Instead, scientific restoration developed an awareness that the restoration of a monument should take into account the historical record of the monument – what had happened to the monument throughout its

⁵² James Wyatt "restored" Salisbury Cathedral (1787-1792), Lichfield Cathedral (1787-1795), Hereford Cathedral (begun 1788) and Durham Cathedral (begun 1791), among others.

⁵³ A contemporary statement made by author and medievalist John Carter, who likewise opposed Wyatt-style restorations. This particular quote is in reference to alterations suffered by St. Margaret church in London. *Gentleman's Magazine* (LXVIII, 1802), p. 128.

⁵⁴ Bonelli, p. 195.

entire existence, not just one moment in time. This approach called for the acknowledgement and toleration of historical additions from different periods.

During the International Conference on Restoration in Athens, Greece, fifty years later, Boito's principles of restoration were accepted and consequently adopted worldwide. The so-called Athens Charter of 1931 marked the first time that guidelines concerning the restoration of ancient structures were agreed upon and established on an international basis.

André Cloutier, Madeleine Gobeil-Trudeau and Luc Noppen, in their publication, La Restauration de Place Royale à Québec (1978), cite the Dauphine Redoubt, in Artillery Park, Quebec City, as an example of scientific restoration.⁵⁵ This fortified building, covered in white stucco (or *crépi*), was built between 1712 and 1745. The oldest edifice in the Park, it housed French (and later British) soldiers and, typical of military buildings, underwent a number of modifications throughout its history. As explained in Restauration et Archéologie au Parc de l'Artillerie (1975), the restoration of the redoubt "s'attachera surtout à l'interprétation de son type architectural d'origine, et à la conservation de ses principaux états historiques."⁵⁶ Comparative studies and historical research enabled an accurate assessment of all of the building's various states and appearances. The goal was to restore the structure so that the building's historical evolution would be seen and understood by the public. The necessary contemporary interventions were to be comprehended as such and not as part of the original building. With regard to the restoration of other buildings within the Park, it was said,

Les travaux de restauration se feront dans le respect de l'évolution de chacune des structures, car chacune d'entre elles a été marquée par l'évolution et l'adaptation au temps, aux modes, au climat, aux usagers et aux nouvelles découvertes techniques.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ La Restauration de Place Royale à Québec, p. 79.

⁵⁶ Conseil des Monuments et Sites du Québec, Restauration et Archéologie au Parc de l'Artillerie Conference (Université Laval, 25 October, 1975), p. 26.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

Each building within the Park, using the Dauphine Redoubt project as an example, was to be considered a separate and unique project requiring individual attention relating to its history, etc.

5. Critical Restoration

The largely historical approach outlined in the Athens Charter was discovered to be inadequate after World War II and new international principles governing the practice of restoration were required. It was determined that the built environment could have artistic as well as historical value, something the scholarly direction of the Athens Charter neglected.

Cesare Brandi, in his Teoria del restauro (1963), contended that the specificity of a work of art (including buildings) must be upheld as a resultant creative process. In the entry he prepared for the Encyclopedia of World Art, Brandi wrote,

If ... the condition of a work of art is such that its preservation requires the sacrifice or the substitution of certain parts of it, the operation should be carried out according to esthetic requirements. However, the historical requirements must also be taken into consideration, not only those arising from the actual creation of the work but also those stemming from its subsequent history, beginning at the time of its completion and extending to the time and place in which it was consciously recognized. The balancing of these requirements, which are often opposed, brings about the second principle of restoration: it must aim to reestablish the potential unity of a work without committing artistic forgery or historical falsification and without obliterating every trace of the work's existence in time.⁵⁸

This echoed his earlier expression in Teoria del restauro,

Restoration should aim at the re-establishment of the potential unity of the work of art, so far as this is possible without committing an artistic or historical fake, and without cancelling any traces of the passage of the work of art in time.⁵⁹

⁵⁸ Cesare Brandi, "Restoration and conservation," Encyclopedia of World Art – Vol. XII (New York: 1966), p. 180.

⁵⁹ Cesare Brandi, Teoria del restauro trans. J. Jokilchto (Rome, 1963), p. 36.

Brandi's approach reaffirmed the primacy of conserving the historical record of a monument but also advocated the recognition of each monument "as a work of art, as a special product of humanity."⁶⁰ Any intervention must always be based on this recognition. Both the aesthetic and historical aspects of the building must be taken into account and respected. This "critical" approach to restoration, which recognizes the link between restoration as a "critical process" and restoration as a "creative act,"⁶¹ was recognized at the international level when the Second International Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historical Monuments met in Venice, from 25-31 May, 1964. Brandi's approach was used as a reference for the writing of the Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites, most often referred to as the Venice Charter.

Article 9 of the Venice Charter shares affinities with Morris' SPAB manifesto and the Athens Charter's concern for honesty and authenticity. It reads:

The process of restoration is a highly specialized operation. Its aim is to preserve and reveal the aesthetic and historic value of the monument and is based on respect for original material and authentic documents. It must stop at the point where conjecture begins, and in this case moreover any extra work which is indispensable must be distinct from the architectural composition and must bear a contemporary stamp. The restoration in any case must be preceded and followed by an archaeological and historical study of the monument.⁶²

Article 11 opposes outright the methodological approach advocated by Wyatt and Viollet-le-Duc, practised up to the mid-nineteenth century in Europe, and even later in Canada. It states:

The valid contributions of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since unity of style is not the aim of a restoration ... Evaluation of the importance of the elements involved and the decision as to what may be destroyed cannot rest solely on the individual in charge of the work.⁶³

⁶⁰ Bonelli, p. 231.

⁶¹ Ibid., p. 196.

⁶² ICOMOS. The Charter of Venice (Paris, 1965).

⁶³ Ibid.

Article 15 underlines the importance of authenticity. It asserts that:

Ruins must be maintained and measures necessary for the permanent conservation and protection of architectural features and of objects discovered must be taken. Furthermore, every means must be taken to facilitate the understanding of the monument and to reveal it without ever distorting its meaning.

All reconstruction work should however be ruled out *a priori*. Only anastylosis, that is to say, the reassembling of existing but dismembered parts can be permitted.⁶⁴

ICOMOS Canada's French-speaking Committee and the *Conseil des monuments et des sites du Québec* adopted the Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (The Deschambault Declaration) in 1982. The aim of the charter, which is specific to the predominantly French-speaking province of Quebec, is

to try to identify [Quebec's] cultural personality, and thereby define the special nature of [Quebec's] heritage. Secondly, the charter seeks to encourage people to think before they act; and finally, it proposes a framework for action that is positive and objective, that provides incentive, and that takes into account both the particular problems of Quebec and contemporary doctrines of heritage development.⁶⁵

This Charter officially, albeit subtly, calls for an impartial and discriminating approach to architectural restoration within the province, which had, traditionally, favored one period of history and one style of architecture – that of New France.

The Appleton Charter was published a year later, in 1983, under the auspices of ICOMOS Canada's English-Speaking Committee. It also promotes a critical approach to architectural restoration. The principles and practices that follow echo many of those found in the Venice Charter. For example, the Appleton Charter states that

respect for the existing fabric is fundamental to the activities of protection and enhancement. The process of protection and enhancement must recognize all interests and have recourse to all fields of expertise which can contribute to the study and safeguarding of a resource.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ The Charter of Venice.

⁶⁵ ICOMOS Canada, Charter for the Preservation of Quebec's Heritage (Deschambault Declaration) (1982), p. 2.

⁶⁶ This echoes Articles 9 and 11 of the Venice Charter. ICOMOS Canada, The Appleton Charter (1983).

With regard to additions made to heritage structures the Appleton Charter, like Article 9 of the Venice Charter, asserts that modern alterations should be visible as such while simultaneously “respect[ing] and enhanc[ing] the spirit of the original”: “New work should be identifiable.”⁶⁷ This new work must be completed, however, without any form of speculation: “activities which involve the recovery or recreation of earlier forms must be limited to those forms which can be achieved without conjecture.”⁶⁸ To avoid guesswork adequate and accurate research must first be undertaken; it is crucial to the appropriate preservation of a building. This again repeats statements found in Article 9 of the Venice Charter. The Appleton Charter proclaims,

The better a resource is understood and interpreted, the better it will be protected and enhanced. In order to properly understand and interpret a site, there must be a comprehensive investigation of all those qualities which invest a structure with significance. This activity must precede activity at the site.⁶⁹

Critical restoration promotes the toleration of historical additions to structures. These additions are seen as part of an historic whole; one period is not privileged more than any other.

⁶⁷ The Appleton Charter.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Fig. 1 Place Royale

Fig. 2 Place Royale

Fig. 3 Place Royale

Fig. 4 Place Royale

Fig. 5 Place Royale

Fig. 6 Place Royale

Fig. 7 Place Royale

Fig. 8 St. Boniface

Fig. 9 St. Boniface

Fig. 10 St. Boniface

Rues principales The Business Plan - Storefront Improvements

Storefront Improvement Program

Before

After

101 - 180 Provencher

Fig. 11 St. Boniface

Rues principales The Business Plan - Storefront Improvements

Storefront Improvement Program

Before

After

Lazy Dog - 190 Provencher

Fig. 12 St. Boniface

Fig. 13 Hull

Fig. 14 Hull

Fig. 15 Vanier

Fig. 16 Vanier

Fig. 17 Vanier

Fig. 18 Vanier

Fig. 19 Vanier

Fig. 20 Vanier

Fig. 21 Vanier

Fig. 22 Vanier

Fig. 23 Vanier

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