

THE RELEVANCE OF HERITAGE PLACES

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Abstract

Why do we care about heritage places? Heritage conservation theory and practice have assumed that these places are intrinsic to the idea of community and that their conservation is of public interest.

Yet heritage places, as recognized by governments, do not necessarily have overwhelming support for their conservation, despite better processes to include multiple values. Some elicit a strong sense of connection, others are a 'foreign country' to be visited. Finally, some are forgotten though remain officially recognized as part of a 'national heritage'. The relevance of these places is a deciding factor in their fate.

In parallel, the concept of *lieux de mémoire* (place of memory) highlights the nature of those places that do not require official recognition to exist and to engage communities in their conservation. Their significance often clash with the purpose of legislation and government agencies because these tend to focus on processes based on facts and consensus. The relevance of these places to a community may not be captured and conserved by official means.

This thesis explores the expressions of relevance of recognized (official) and unrecognized (unofficial) heritage places by studying the case of Grand Pré in Nova Scotia (Canada), a community with more than a century of official and unofficial heritage status. The case study reveals the various roles and responsibilities emerging from state and community initiatives to highlight differences in the nature of heritage places. By contrasting the roots of the mainstream heritage conservation movement and of the community-driven assignment of value to certain places, this thesis establishes characteristics that distinguish 'historic places' from *lieux de mémoire*. That distinction creates a path towards improved definition, conservation, and relevance of heritage places.

This thesis concludes by proposing an approach to conserving heritage places based on their function as an evolution from current values-based conservation.

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Preface and Acknowledgements

All personal communications included in this thesis were made during the public and individual meetings held during the course of the World Heritage nomination proposal for Grand Pré. All translations from French to English are mine unless otherwise indicated.

The following thesis is the product of my first-hand experiences, for over a decade, of the complexity of heritage, the abstraction of its definition, the politics, and the tangible manifestations of significance. It was a welcome opportunity to reflect on that experience and draw personal conclusions that will continue to guide my professional career.

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Abbreviations

NHSC	National Historic Site of Canada
WH/ WHS	World Heritage / World Heritage Site
ICOMOS	International Council on Monuments and on Sites
HSMBC	Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
DAR	Dominion Atlantic Railway Company
SPGP	Société Promotion Grand-Pré Inc.
SNA	Société nationale de l'Acadie
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
Operational Guidelines	Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention
Standards and Guidelines	Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada

1. Chapter One: Introduction

Considering that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole – Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)

On behalf of the people of Canada, we protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage and foster public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment in ways that ensure their ecological and commemorative integrity for present and future generations.
– Parks Canada mandate (2002)

Thirty years separate those two statements and two realities, one international and one national, from the mindset that generated them, and yet the essence of the message is the same: heritage needs to be protected for the benefit of communities. As a professional involved for over a decade in the preservation of cultural heritage I have often caught myself thinking – sometimes even voicing – the question: who cares? What I came to realize is that while my question was at face value a call for attention tinted with frustration, it also became a fundamental question about the nature of the work. Obviously there are people who care: people show up at public consultations, visitors still visit, volunteers still volunteer. However, I have always wondered whether our approach to engaging communities was not oversimplifying the nature of the relationships and the essence of the places. The concepts of ‘mankind as a whole’, the ‘people of Canada’, and ‘present and future generations’, are repeated as a mantra and believed as a faith which guides our work. Personally, I agreed with it but did not really appreciate its full meaning. I do not think I am the only one in this conundrum which is why the question is so important.

The question became even more problematic when Parks Canada, the Canadian federal government agency that employs me, undertook a renewal of its programs to become more relevant to Canadians. The facts were there: fewer Canadians visited and interacted with national protected heritage areas, the cultural make up of the country was much more multicultural, and most Canadians lived in urban areas (Parks Canada 2008). Changing the course to respond to this new reality was going to be a challenge.

In 2007, I was assigned to lead the World Heritage nomination proposal for Grand Pré, a community located in the province of Nova Scotia, Canada. Until then, my professional duties were essentially carried out within the confines of Parks Canada's way of thinking. With the World Heritage process, I had to work closely with a broader group of political, business, social, and cultural stakeholders that all 'cared' about Grand Pré for their own purpose. More importantly, the rules were different: the point of the exercise was to define value in a universal way with no guarantee that the argument would be accepted and the proposed site inscribed. However, this environment proved enlightening as it offered a different way of seeking recognition for values which would presumably have a different outcome on the relevance of the place for stakeholders. This was not only because 'mankind as a whole' would all of a sudden care for the place if it were inscribed but also because stakeholders are expected to care for the place to ensure its protection. This professional reality gave me the means to reflect on the role of government and of communities in safeguarding the places they deem significant.

1.1. Context

My work environment offered the practical context for this research. It raised questions and provided situations, interactions, and relationships to reflect on the act of conserving heritage and its connection to communities' needs. Both emotions and rational arguments were used by the various individuals and groups involved to express the nature of their relationship, without necessarily referring to heritage, and hence demonstrate the relevance. Not all had the same strength of connection, and not all conveyed emotion either.

From a theoretical perspective, the question of relevance stems from an evolving context framed by three axes: the debate around authorized heritage discourse; the practice of values-based conservation; and, the democratization of heritage management.

The first axis emerged from the concern that there is an underlying socio-political tension resulting from the imposition of significance onto a heritage place. As Laurajane Smith unequivocally states in the introductory sentence to her essay *The Uses of Heritage* "there is, really, no such thing as heritage", meaning that heritage is not an object it is a construct resulting from an 'authorized heritage discourse' (Smith 2006:11). It is intangible, the result of political, cultural, and social processes aimed at constructing identities of nationality, class, culture or other community unifying ideas. Smith also demonstrates the impermeable nature of the commemoration process to voices that are not in conformity with the expectations of those who are authorized to

shape the heritage outcome, namely heritage experts serving within the confines of the national, class, and professional discourse (Smith 2006:11).

Smith observes that minority groups, indigenous people, labour class, and other similar groups are affected by this hegemony with groups 'fighting' to be part of history and be recognized by an authority to legitimize their existence. The stamp of authenticity by experts is the prerequisite to be included in the authorized heritage discourse; however it also justifies their involvement and direction. In part these observations lead Smith to her conclusion that heritage does not exist tangibly and should instead be viewed as a socio-cultural process.

The idea and discussion of 'authorized heritage discourse' and similar discourse-driven analysis of heritage provide an incomplete if not unsatisfactory image of heritage generation. I agree that it is a socio-cultural process, however in suggesting that the material dimension of heritage is subservient to its intangible dimension, it is underestimating the role of material elements in justifying, initiating, and motivating said process. Furthermore, though removing experts from the equation, or at least limiting their role, may seem to expand the debate about what is heritage, maybe even nullifying it altogether, it seems to focus only on their role in validating heritage and underplays the ultimate political decisions that lead to its creation. It also leaves unanswered what the characteristics of heritage are that would drive a community to generate it. Finally, conflict or tension, seem to be the natural result of authorized heritage discourse clashing with 'unauthorized' ones, but it does not explain the

harmonious existence of multiple values at certain sites and the acceptance of 'universal values'.

I believe that the answer to these questions lies in understanding the genesis of places of significance from a community perspective, or more accurately a group that has a common interest. Hegemony and power relations are important forces, but are not the only ones or even the predominant ones at all times. I intend to demonstrate this through cases where government and stakeholder roles in commemoration and protection vary.

The second axis of the theoretical context appeared from the expanding practice of values-based conservation or values-centred preservation as it is often referred to in the United States of America. Described as "the coordinated and structured operation of a heritage site with the primary purpose of protecting the significance of the place as defined by designation criteria, government authorities or other owners, experts of various stripes, and other citizens with legitimate interests in the place" (Mason, Myers and de la Torre 2003:1), it is seen as a means to facilitate "the connections between the preservation field and the larger trajectories of society [and recognize] how preservation actually works" (Mason 2006:22). It is based on the premise that significance is core to the decision-making process of the conservation professional and that to fully understand a place's significance these must involve a wide range of interests, experts and non experts (Mason 2006:22).

As for Smith's argument about 'authorized heritage discourse' and the social production of heritage, values-based conservation reinforces the idea that heritage is a social construct aiming to listen to and incorporate the values in the way a place is preserved and interpreted. It may bring an element of answer to Smith's concern about the hegemony of certain values by drawing a more layered picture of the range of values associated with a place.

The limitations of values-based conservation are apparent when the question of 'who conserves?' is raised. The suggestion in this approach remains that the professional is the source of authority in guiding activities that will maintain the physical life of a heritage place. What values-based conservation suggests as well is that since there is acknowledgement of multiple values and that they are embraced in the conservation process, the responsibility or role of conserving a place is extended to those that have ascribed value. The challenge is two-fold. Firstly, the resulting tension, conflict, or confusion is seen as part and parcel of this appreciation of diversity and are the focus of site management. In fact, in many cases, it does not resolve the issue of the strength of certain values over others, or alternatively there is a risk of lack of clarity in what the place stands for and for whom. Secondly, it maintains the primacy of expert advice on how a place is defined, what use is appropriate and whether a place should be conserved at all. It does not, or nor can it substitute itself to the cultural group that generates a place of heritage and as such the process is weakened. Furthermore, it operates within a legislative and ethical environment that values expertise, clean definitions, and categorical decisions.

Values-based conservation is a significant and necessary shift in heritage conservation because of its acknowledgement of cultural and social diversity. However, to fully advance the paradigm, I believe that it is necessary to recalibrate the relationship between experts, government authorities, and stakeholders. One avenue to explore is to emphasize the understanding of value from a functional standpoint where the value is understood as fulfilling a significant community need for the formation of identity. Not only would it inform use, but it would open a debate about community stewardship in conserving the place and even stimulate discussion about its conservation. Another avenue is to redefine the role of government and experts in heritage conservation where the argument of public benefit claimed by most legislation is defined by a broader component of society rather than delegated to authority.

This last reflection, introduces the third axis of the theoretical context. Processes were established as the source or consequence of the evolution in heritage conservation. Where experts once decided unilaterally what was heritage, increasingly processes were put in place to consult about whether a place is meaningful or not. Where once experts were alone in making decisions about conservation actions and the protection of a heritage place, international charters (eg. Venice Charter) (ICOMOS 1964) and professional ethics (eg. SAA Code of Ethics) (Society for American Archaeology 1996) have been calling for multidisciplinary decision-making, public consultation, and stakeholder engagement. This democratization of heritage conservation was meant to reflect socio-political changes but it was also a result of the interconnectedness of the discipline with broader issues of land use, planning, environmental

management, and development. The latter became a major pressure as well as the motivation for a significant transformation of the heritage conservation movement, leading to an acceleration and internationalization of the movement. From that pressure, international charters and conventions were born and a sense of solidarity was formed to resist it.

It also ushered the era of activism pitting those in favour of development against those in favour of heritage, progress versus conservation, creating seemingly irreconcilable positions with losers and winners. These polarizing positions invited public debates on the merits of each as if they were mutually exclusive and citizens were asked to choose. These debates were and continue to be repeated with the same vigour and same appearance of intransigence from all players. Professional charters and conservation standards have built bridges to begin reconciling development and heritage conservation based on evolving assumptions about urban landscapes and compatible uses. However, in many, maybe most, debates, heritage is on the losing side.

The 'anti-heritage' movement is not only anchored in those in favour of development; it has also attracted those concerned with property rights and the imposition of state authority. Cornelius Holtorf (Holtorf: 2007), through a discussion about a case in Germany, provides an enlightening perspective on the matter of rights and the necessity to revisit the role of the state in preserving heritage. In his observations, he highlights that one of the main criticisms levelled against the current heritage management regime is that it is authoritarian and that the aims of preserving collective heritage in the public domain have been

transferred intact to the private sphere without accommodating the reality of property rights (Holtorf 2007:35).

To be sure, the report commissioned by a German politician that stimulated the national debate has a strong populist streak. The recommendations it makes are summarized as follows: a) redefine the concept of heritage because too much is being preserved which dilutes the purpose; b) a lack of state protection should not equate the destruction of the heritage place, but should invite alternative means of conservation; c) buildings that people do not love or appeal to them should not be protected and preserved, and d) aesthetics or 'beauty' is an essential criterion and it will favour older buildings (Holtorf 2007: 37-38). This recommendation argues in essence that aesthetics is the ultimate democratic assessment: if people like it, think it is pretty, it should be preserved. The call here is to substitute what Smith called 'authorized heritage discourse' with peoples' heritage, the one they decide is worth celebrating and conserving.

The questions raised by the report are legitimate in their criticism of state intervention in matters of private property, unbridled designation of heritage places, and the role of individuals in heritage management. What would a world without heritage protection look like? Would we lose our collective identity? Would the tragedy of the commons affect collective well-being? If the state has to remove itself from heritage protection, what is the role of individuals?

Democratization of heritage is an essential component of the discussion on relevance. Its shortcomings are numerous: tyranny of the majority or the vocal

minority; dilution of public interest; positioning of ownership and stewardship as potentially incompatible; and overall conflict. Its strengths are also numerous especially when it comes to justifying investment of collective resources. I believe that there is a necessity to look into the role of the state versus that of the individual in a process of 'heritagization' and protection to bolster the argument of relevance.

There is one last element that connects those three axes that also requires attention. Authenticity is one of the character-defining aspects of a heritage place. An official designation process typically applies a test of authenticity that determines the presence of tangible and intangible evidence to support the value. In some instances, the test refers to integrity while in fact covering aspects of authenticity. The challenging concept of authenticity was addressed in an international conference sponsored by UNESCO and held in Nara, Japan. It concluded essentially that the concept is culturally-relative and universal judgements about the truthfulness and credibility of information cannot attempt to supersede culturally specific perspectives. While the Nara Document on Authenticity is a fundamental and influential text, it only skims the matter of relevance despite the acknowledgement that communities are best placed to take care of their heritage (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994: par.8). Part of its weakness in this respect is that it considers all heritage places equal without distinction as to what function they play in a society. The general statements of 'traditional', 'spiritual', 'social' uses serve to establish the foundation for respecting cultural diversity but are still too broadly articulated to really define authenticity in ways that can measure relevance.

The three axes representing the 'authorized heritage discourse', values-based conservation, and democratization of heritage, intersect to create a picture of current concerns in heritage management that ultimately provide insight into the matter of relevance, by connecting intent of commemoration, conservation actions and their impact, and role distribution in society. This essay through the case study and theoretical discussions analyses their manifestation, strengths and limitations. Its conclusion addresses these three axes and provides elements of answers.

1.2. Research Questions

As outlined in the previous section, much of the discussion around what is important about heritage places and the way people relate to them recognizes that they are places that are valued, which is the motivation behind their conservation. But what does relevance mean at heritage places? What makes a heritage place relevant? What role do governments and stakeholders have in maintaining the relevance of heritage places? More importantly, how would the conservation of heritage places be different should relevance become an important factor in deciding on a course of action? These are the research questions I am setting out to explore in this essay.

As one heritage conservationist puts it “what is more problematic is what do we mean when we speak of value or meaning, and how do the interpretations of value and meaning shape decisions made to conserve places themselves?” (Kerr 2007:1). This has been the focus of contemporary heritage conservation

theory and practice, one that emphasizes the relationship between meaning and actions to conserve it. The same author continues by recognizing that “to understand where significance lies, one not only has to identify what the range of values might be, but also to understand them within the contexts of the stakeholder groups who created them.” (Kerr 2007:6). Values are culturally-specific and thus an understanding of the cultural context is necessary to best conserve them.

This thesis offers a discussion on the aftermaths of decision-making as well as on its relationship to the processes established to arrive at a decision. I postulate that the matter of relevance is equally a matter of understanding value as it is about the role, responsibilities, and agendas of different components of society, from government agencies to individual citizens. Furthermore, I also suggest that ‘relevance’ is a much deeper and more complex issue than the matter of offering services and interpretation to visitors at those sites that nurture memorable experiences.

1.3. Objectives and Scope

My objective is to characterize the concept of relevance as a measure of its usefulness rather than strictly a measure of significance or a matter of personal connection. In other words, we accept that heritage places are relevant because they are significant but this does not necessarily lead to their conservation. Furthermore, one’s personal connection to a place does not necessarily lead to a connection to a story or its conservation. Understanding a heritage place’s ‘usefulness’ should by extension lead to greater conservation because there is

a clearer path connecting who thinks the place is important, in what way, and for what purpose. I proceed by establishing that there are two non-mutually exclusive streams of places that are studied in parts two and three of this essay: the historic place and the *lieu de mémoire*.

At this point in this thesis, clarification of the meaning of certain expressions used henceforth is in order. The expression 'heritage place' refers to a physical place that has heritage value. While not particularly precise, this synthesizes definitions that are in use in legislation, policy, and international documents (Parks Canada 2010; ICOMOS 2008). The important aspect of the definition is the physical aspect as I will not be discussing intangible heritage specifically. The expression 'historic place' is a type of heritage place that is deemed to have heritage significance by a government. I discuss this concept further in part two. The words '*lieu de mémoire*' – place of memory – refer to a type of heritage place that is deemed to be significant by a community for its identity. The use of the French words is inspired by historian Pierre Nora's definition of *lieu de mémoire* and the fact that the expression place of memory does not quite capture the layered meaning that the French expression carries (Nora 1997). These places are closer to being biographical in nature than static. The word 'management' means here the set of actions that fulfill the mandate of the government agency or stakeholder group responsible for the care of heritage places. This may include the conservation, interpretation, and promotion of these places. 'Conservation' should be distinguished from 'preservation'. For both, I will use the definition of the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*.

Conservation: All actions or processes that are aimed at safeguarding the character-defining elements of a cultural resource so as to retain its heritage value and extend its physical life. This may involve “Preservation,” “Rehabilitation,” “Restoration,” or a combination of these actions or processes (Parks Canada 2010 : 253).

‘Conservation’ is a concept that has specific meaning in collections management and material culture studies, but I will use this definition because it captures the actions that affect both the value and its physical expression and because it is the current accepted definition in Canada.

‘Preservation’ is a specific conservation action that focuses on maintaining the physical integrity of a heritage place.

Preservation: The action or process of protecting, maintaining, and/or stabilizing the existing materials, form, and integrity of a historic place or of an individual component, while protecting its heritage value (Parks Canada 2010 : 255).

In other words, to illustrate the distinction between both concepts, the conservation of a historic structure is ensured by the preservation of its architectural elements of significance.

The word ‘stakeholder’ in this thesis is used to describe the selected and self-selected groups and individuals who are deemed to have or believe to have an interest in a heritage place. It is a broad definition that reflects the murkiness of the concept. However, it is one that is used by government agencies and groups alike to describe a relationship between legal authority and moral or social authority. For example, Parks Canada considers culturally-affiliated groups, business interests, and historical societies to be stakeholder groups.

The words 'Grand-Pré' and 'Grand Pré' are not to be considered interchangeable. The first refers specifically to the national historic site, the rural historic district, the ancient Acadian settlement, and the French toponymy. The second refers to the English toponymy and the current name of the hamlet.

Finally, probably the most important word is 'relevance', which I will not attempt to define fully at this point to limit the influence of strict definitions in understanding the dynamics that I will be studying in this thesis. However, the expressions 'applicability', 'relationship', 'connection', 'user needs', and 'pertinence' will be guiding my thinking throughout.

This thesis is largely the result of my own professional experience and observations as project manager for the World Heritage nomination proposal. There are strengths and weaknesses in this role: from this vantage point, I was privy to conversations, exchanges, decisions, and behaviours that enlighten the motivations behind the decisions made concerning heritage places. I am also aware, that being at the heart of the entire process, I have had my own biases in perceiving the information and those motivations. Being aware of both, I am hoping to demonstrate enough impartiality in the absence of objectivity to illustrate my thesis with what I believe is valuable and credible information.

For the most part, I refer to information available through public means, such as minutes, notes, and reports. I rely on primary sources when discussing designations, charters, conventions, legislation, policies and other such framework-type documents. Discussions through secondary sources are less

relevant as I am interested in what is the direction and not what it would be in an ideal world. In exceptional circumstances, I rely on the exchanges I had with individuals that were first-hand participants or observers of events and only to clarify those events, such as the reasons behind a specific outcome.

The scope of this thesis applies specifically to Canada but in large part, excepting specific regional particularities, is relevant within the context of Western countries in North America, Europe, and Oceania. The traditions and approaches are relatively similar so as to recognize the potential for the application of the ideas in other environments. My own understanding is influenced by the Canadian experience with legislation, roles and responsibilities. The role and effect of community groups such as historical societies, the rights of landowners, the public appreciation of heritage, and the national discourse are specifically defined in Canadian society.

The scope of this research is limited to the single location of Grand Pré because it offers in fact multiple places: there are numerous designations of national, provincial and municipal heritage significance all identifying different places in a single geographical location. Furthermore it has over a century of unofficial heritage status as the centre of the identity of a diaspora. This allows me a rich and meaningful comparative environment to study various processes of heritage generation and their outcome on relevance.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is organized in three parts: the case study, an analysis of historic places, and an analysis of *lieux de mémoire*.

The case study centers on the multiple commemorations of significance at Grand Pré. It includes a summary of the evolution of heritage legislation in Canada and Nova Scotia as well as an outline of the government agencies mandated to carry it out. More significantly, it includes a detailed description of the international, federal, provincial, and municipal processes that led to the different commemorations. The information is provided in a manner that compares and contrasts the different approaches so as to highlight key findings about the definition of heritage places, the process of recognizing and managing them, and their impact on relevance.

The following part focuses on the definition of a historic place as one type of heritage place. It aims to demonstrate that this type evolved from an object-focused definition of the past inherited from the convergence of the ideas of the 18th century interest in collecting things and of the 19th century emergence of the nation-state. This origin has guided the international development of the theory and practice of heritage conservation as well as the legislation, role of governments, and understanding of what is relevant heritage.

The next part explores another view of heritage places based on the premise that communities, or non-government groups, have throughout their history identified meaning in places and have nurtured a memory of what is significant. These *lieux de mémoire*, or places of memory, reflect the need of groups to organize their environment in meaningful ways that engages them in the formation of their identity and thus is the primary driver of relevance. The

chapter discusses the characteristics of those places in their nature, form, and use so as to highlight the tensions resulting from the application of internationally-recognized theories and practices in heritage conservation.

Finally, the conclusion opens the discussion on the role of government and that of communities. Specifically, it proposes responsibilities and activities for each in identifying and conserving both forms of heritage places so as to strengthen their preservation and retain relevance.

Throughout the thesis, the example of Grand Pré is used to highlight the observation and application of concepts.

Part I: Experiences in Heritage Places Conservation in Grand Pré, Nova Scotia

This section presents the case of Grand Pré, a community located in the province of Nova Scotia on Canada's eastern seaboard. Founded in 1682 on the shores of the Bay of Fundy by French Acadian colonists, it is strongly associated with their deportation by the British authorities in 1755. It is also associated with important Aboriginal stories and with a vibrant agricultural community of New England, Scottish and Dutch ancestry. All these stories exist, overlap, and compete in Grand Pré in official and unofficial ways.

The section is divided into two chapters. The first is an overview of the legal and policy context of heritage conservation in Nova Scotia to appreciate the scope of government action in conservation. It is followed by a short history of Grand Pré and a review of the official and unofficial values of the landscape. The official designations are described in detail, including the reasons for recognition, the circumstances, and the evolution of their significance. This highlights the interaction between government and community groups.

2. Chapter Two: The Legal and Policy Context for Heritage in Canada

In order to appreciate the purpose of government action in heritage conservation, it is useful to have an understanding of the history of the commemoration programmes and the agencies responsible for them as well as the parameters of legal protection. This serves to articulate the vision of legislators regarding government responsibilities towards heritage, the role of stakeholders, and some ideas of collective identity.

Canada is a federation of provinces and territories, with three levels of government: the federal, the provincial or territorial, and the municipal. The protection of cultural heritage is a responsibility shared between the federal and provincial / territorial governments. The latter may delegate through legislation some authority to designate and protect heritage properties at the municipal level. The federal commemoration program is the oldest in the country. A close look at its evolution provides a better understanding of the cross-jurisdictional interests in heritage commemoration and protection.

2.1. Federal Legislation and Policies

There is little protection of cultural heritage at the federal level. Legislation enacted by the Government of Canada only applies to assets and places it owns or has authority over such as heritage railway stations and lighthouses. While there is legislation in place to designate sites of national significance (Historic Sites and Monuments Act 1953), their protection is only ensured if they are owned and administered by the Parks Canada Agency (Canada National

Parks Act 2000). National historic sites that are buildings and are administered by federal departments other than Parks Canada, with the exception of Crown Corporations, are managed under the *Treasury Board Policy on Management of Real Property* (Treasury Board of Canada 2006) with the assistance of the Federal Heritage Buildings Review Office. The Office provides direction to departments for the protection of heritage features.

The federal legislation to designate places, people and events of national significance is the *Historic Sites and Monuments Act* (1953). The act establishes the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) to advise the Minister responsible on matters of designations of national significance. The act also confirms the authority to the Minister to designate.

The main legislative mechanism that allows the protection of cultural heritage by the federal government, is the *Parks Canada Agency Act* (1998) together with the *Canada National Parks Act* (2000). The first piece of legislation sets up a government agency responsible for the protection of national parks, national historic sites, and national marine conservation areas. The agency's focus according to the act is to commemorate, protect and present nationally significant examples of Canada's natural and cultural heritage. It is concerned with protection as well as tourism and enjoyment of these special places (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998). The mandate is a decidedly nation-building agenda, as evidenced by the use of expressions such as "their special role in the lives of Canadians and the fabric of the nation" and "enhancing pride, encouraging

stewardship and giving expression to our identity as Canadians.” (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998 : Preamble)

The agency may acquire places of national historic significance which then enables the application of the *Canada National Parks Act*. That act allows

The Governor in Council [to] set apart any land, the title to which is vested in Her Majesty in right of Canada, as a national historic site of Canada to which this Act applies in order to:

- a) commemorate a historic event of national importance; or
- b) preserve a historic landmark, or any object of historic, prehistoric or scientific interest, that is of national importance (Canada National Parks Act 2000 : section 42.1).

The aim of Parks Canada with regards to national historic site conservation is to maintain commemorative integrity, which “refers to the condition or state of a national historic site when the site is healthy and whole” (Parks Canada 2002a:2).

Parks Canada applies a variety of policies to the protection and preservation of cultural heritage it administers. The key policies that are relevant to the present case study include the *National Historic Sites Policy* (1994) and the *Cultural Resource Management Policy* (1994). The first articulates the objectives and the implementation of a national historic site programme, including the respective roles of the Minister, the HSMBC, Parks Canada, and to a certain extent partners. The second sets out principles and practices for effective management of cultural resources and the maintenance of commemorative integrity at national historic sites. It emphasizes the role of Parks Canada in implementing its mandate as well as the framework within which to set partnerships for the protection and interpretation of national historic sites.

In addition, the agency's work is guided by the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (2010), a document that outlines appropriate approaches. These approaches are based on the places' heritage values and include principles for the conservation of cultural landscapes, archaeological sites, buildings, and engineering works.

2.1.1. Development of the federal commemoration and conservation programme

These policies and the legislation to support them was the result of a century of evolution in heritage awareness, commemoration and conservation which, although reflective of a nation-wide interest in heritage matters, was first and most thoroughly developed as a tool of government at the federal level. A short history of the Canadian park service offers insight into a mindset, inspired in part by European and North American developments in heritage, which carried much influence in defining commemoration and conservation, as well as the role of government in achieving those (Pomian 1990 :194). By extension, this mindset influenced the development of heritage legislation, policies and government agencies in Canada throughout the 20th century.

In 1911, the Government of Canada passed a bill to appoint a civil servant “to make any decisions necessary for the “protection, care and management” of public parks” (Campbell 2011 :1) that had been established since the first, Banff in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, was created in 1885. It was a small matter

on the House of Commons' agenda, but one that had an important effect on Canadians' sense of identity.

Soon after, the first agency of its kind in the world was set up to take care of national parks, one that would “alternately [guide and mirror] this dialogue between Canadians and their land” and that “would come to govern some of the most iconic places in Canada, profoundly affecting how Canadians and the world see our country” (Campbell 2011 :2). Claire Campbell, the editor of a collection of essays that map the evolution of Parks Canada's philosophy and practice summarizes the agency's role as:

[...] a lens through which to understand the making of Canada: our sense of territory, as ideas, resources, and space; our changing relationship with First Nations peoples, with urban communities, with the North; the evolving framework of the Canadian state; and the evolution of environmental thought and practice as we struggle to find a sustainable place for ourselves in the natural world (Campbell 2011:3).

Despite the important role of national parks in shaping Canadian identity, the full impact of this was initially underestimated both by government and by the bureaucrat pegged to take the helm of the new Dominion Parks Branch, James B. Harkin, as recounted by his assistant, Mabel (M.B.) Williams:

“What in the world are national parks?” Williams asked.

“Blessed if I know,” Harkin replied, “but it sounds easy.” (MacEachern 2011:22)

Harkin had a revelation and a conversion later on which gave him and his department a great sense of purpose at a time when Canada was fully engaged in nation-building initiatives. After having visited these parks himself, met the people and lived with them, he came to appreciate the meaning of these places

and of the relationship people had with them. He also came to appreciate that beyond the original purpose of the parks as stated in the *Rocky Mountains Park Act* of 1887 that national parks are each “a public park and pleasure ground for the benefit, advantage and enjoyment of the people of Canada” (Campbell 2011 :3), they were also there to protect what was to be enjoyed by Canadians. Hence in 1930, the *National Parks Act* saw the original mandate of setting them apart for the “benefit, education and enjoyment” of the people paired with a mandate to maintain them “so as to leave them unimpaired for future generations.” A vision was finally crystallized.

This vision was also the result of a very real challenge and pragmatic response to it: how would the Department justify appropriation of government funds to support its programme? Tourism had been one of the primary reasons for the creation of national parks and Harkin had noted that it had significantly increased after allowing automobiles in national parks in 1910. Harkin and his staff were decided that this would play an important role in the justification for the request for funds (MacEachern 2011:31).

Harkin and his staff continued their work to build that argument, the ‘worth-while-ness’ in the words of M.B. Williams. They eventually concluded, still according to Williams’ recollection, that:

[...] the worth-while-ness had to be measured in terms of human welfare, first spiritual; second mental; third, physical. No, not exactly that way, we really felt that these were so intimately mixed up in life, that they were mutually dependent. So all three were requisite. (MacEachern 2011:31)

Finally, based on these three elements, the vision was articulated internally, in a memo titled "*Dominion Parks – Their Values and Ideals*" and externally in the agency's first promotional booklet in 1914 in a bid to spread a unique sentiment of pride both within the agency and in the public. The vision, while lengthy, is a pillar of how it defined Canadians' views of themselves and of their parks:

To sum up then, Dominion Parks constitute a movement that means millions of dollars of revenue annually for the people of Canada; that means the preservation for their benefit, advantage and enjoyment forever, of that natural heritage of beauty – whether it be in the form of majestic mountain, peaceful valley, gleaming glacier, crystalline lake or living birds and animals, – which is one of our most precious national possessions; that means the guarantee to the people of Canada to-day and to all succeeding generations of Canadians of those means of recreation which serve best to make better men and women, physically, morally and mentally; the protection of the country's beauty spots equally for the poor and the rich; the preservation of those places which stand for historic events that have been milestones in Canada's development; they represent a movement calculated to arouse and develop that national pride which Canada's history and Canada's potentialities justify. Canada's parks exist to render the best possible services to Canada and Canadians. Their establishment and development is based upon this idea that Canada's greatness as a nation depends so much upon her natural resources of soil, of minerals or of timber as upon the quality of her men and women. (MacEachern 2011:32)

This vision had all the elements of nation-building which imbued social and political priorities of the day and of the decades that followed. It was also reflective of cultural, one may say classical, views of a healthy and well-rounded individual and by extension of the key element of the new young nation. M.B. Williams, the principal author of all promotional material and guide books for the Department convinced the reader "that parks are the birthright of all Canadians, and that they make one physically stronger, psychologically renewed, spiritually fulfilled, and aesthetically aware" (MacEachern 2011:25).

This setting for national parks was also the framework for the parallel exercise of identifying 'historic parks'. In the years preceding the First World War, a 'heritage movement' had emerged around the country and was lobbying the federal government to preserve historical sites. It coincided with the Dominion Parks mandate since 1914 to expand the parks system in the east and the federal government's desire to dispose of forts and trading posts that were no longer in use (Symons 1996:333). Since there was no large tract of undeveloped federal Crown land in the east, the department considered focusing on creating national historic parks, although the intent had much to do with identifying new recreational areas as it did with an interest in preserving cultural heritage (Hart 2010:140-141). The first historic site of national significance was identified in 1914 in New Brunswick at Fort Howe. It was followed in 1917 by Fort Anne in Nova Scotia. Finally, in 1919, James B. Harkin convinced the federal government to create a national historical commemoration programme led by a board composed of eminent individuals (Hart 2010 :334).

The first meeting of the newly formed Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) was held that year. Six members were named:

- James B. Harkin himself, as Commissioner of the Dominion Parks (1919 – 1936);
- James Coyne, a lawyer and historian from Ontario (1919 – 1932);
- Ernest A. Cruikshank, a Brigadier-General and historian also from Ontario (1919 – 1939, chairman for that entire period);

- W.C. Milner, a journalist and archivist at the Public Archives of Canada from Nova Scotia (1919 – 1923);
- W.O. Raymond, a clergyman and historian from New Brunswick (1919 – 1923); and,
- Benjamin Sulte, a civil servant and historian at the Department of Militia and Defence from Ontario (1919 – 1923).

In the 1920s, another number of members were named;

- W. Crowe, a judge from Nova Scotia (1925 – 1930);
- Philippe Demers, a judge, historian, and professor of law at the University of Montreal, from Québec (1927 – 1929);
- J. Plimsoll Edwards, a businessman and president of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, from Nova Scotia (1923 – 1925)
- Aegidius Fauteux, a journalist, librarian, and historian at the daily *La Presse* from Québec (1925 – 1926);
- Frederick W. Howay, judge and historian from British Columbia who also represented Manitoba until 1937 and Alberta till 1944, and was chairman from 1943 to 1944 (1923 – 1944);
- Victor Morin, a lawyer, historian, and professor of law at the University of Montreal from Québec (1924 – 1925); and,
- J. Clarence Webster, physician and historian from New Brunswick, chairman from 1945 to 1950 (1923 – 1950) (Symons 1996 : 346-356).

One may notice a trend in the profile of those who sat on the HSMBC in the first decades of its existence. All these men occupied positions of influence in the

community in business, politics, or religion. The Board was overrepresented with individuals from Eastern Canada (Ontario, Québec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia). Finally, they often represented local groups and interests in preserving heritage (Marsters 2006 :33; Hart 2010:335). This combination of interests with the individual profile of each member intersected with government priorities of expanding the national parks system east, disposing of obsolete infrastructure, and developing tourism attractions to create within three decades a network of over three hundred commemorations, mostly around military, exploration, and political history (Symons 1996 :333). This was consistent with the nation-building initiatives and ideas following the First World War, one where Canada was built by the British and French colonial powers and progressively was emerging as an independent nation (Pelletier 2006). In the instances where the property was owned by the federal government, the HSMBC recommended some levels of restoration.

After the Second World War, the attention of the HSMBC shifted to a broader field of potential elements of national significance. In 1951, the Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences concluded that the federal government needed to pay greater attention to preserving structures, not just commemorating them (Royal Commission on National Development in the Arts, Letters, and Sciences 1951). It was followed by the *Historic Sites and Monuments Act* which enshrined the HSMBC and its mandate in law and, following an amendment in 1955, extended its interest to national designations based on architectural value, thus responding to the Royal Commission's recommendation.

From the mid-1950s onwards, the conservation movement both for cultural and natural heritage was gaining recognition and influence in government policy. Tourism attractions were still central to the operations of the Canadian Parks Service (as Parks Canada was then known) but it implemented, during that time, an approach and practices that reflected a greater focus on conservation in line with national and international trends (Taylor 1990 :138,153,155). It hired specialized staff and embarked in major restoration projects such as the one at the Fortress of Louisbourg in Nova Scotia, an 18th century French fortress that had been demolished by the British in 1747 (Taylor 1990 :181-186).

The period of expansion of the 1960s and 1970s heralded the advent of professionalized research and planning services with the accompanying push to develop frameworks for decision-making, the crux of it being the *National Parks System Plan* (1970) (Dick 2011 :380).

Towards the late 1970s and in the following decades, the department endeavoured to develop management plans for each protected heritage area, a major change in policy as this signalled the beginning of systematic public consultation and engagement in decision-making for these places. Practices were 'codified' through policies such as management directives, to guide specific aspects of operations, to policies and standards which set parameters for decision-making. From the late 1980s to the late 1990s, all the current key policies and tools for management of protected heritage areas, in particular for historic sites, emerged to become the foundation of Parks Canada's work in

conservation today. These include the *National Historic Sites Policy* (1994), the *Cultural Resource Management Policy* (1994), and the *Commemorative Integrity Statement* (1997). Each document is basically reiterating and implementing the core principles of conservation management at Parks Canada: the department is responsible for the protection and commemoration of elements of national significance, it has the mandate to communicate and interpret those values for public education, and appropriate principles and practices ensure commemorative integrity.

At national historic sites, the HSMBC applies a test of integrity which stipulates that “a place may only be designated as being of national historic significance if the integrity of its design, materials and execution, its function or environment has been maintained, inasmuch as these aspects are essential to understanding its historical significance” (HSMBC 2008). The relationship between the integrity of the attributes and the idea that their presence is essential to value reflects a certain definition of authenticity and results in commemorative integrity once the site is designated. That latter concept is the cornerstone of cultural resource management at Parks Canada, allowing the agency to identify those resources that have historic value and manage them as cultural resources (Parks Canada 1994 :101). It also provides the framework to develop a *Commemorative Integrity Statement*, which articulates that value, identifies those resources, and expresses the key messages to be communicated at the national historic site.

In 2000, the Minister of Canadian Heritage unveiled Parks Canada's National Historic Site System Plan which aimed to identify the types of heritage that were underrepresented in the network of national historic sites. These identified communities, such as Aboriginal Peoples and cultural communities, as well as themes, such as scientific discoveries. This system plan guides the HSMBC in considering designations and applying its criteria for commemorating places.

The criteria emphasize that places must:

- illustrate an exceptional creative achievement in concept and design, technology and/or planning, or a significant stage in the development of Canada; or
- illustrate or symbolize in whole or in part a cultural tradition, a way of life, or ideas important in the development of Canada; or
- be explicitly and meaningfully associated or identified with persons who are deemed of national historic importance; or
- be explicitly and meaningfully associated or identified with events that are deemed of national historic importance (Parks Canada Agency 2000:3).

In addition to these criteria of value, the HSMBC requires that the “buildings, ensembles of buildings, and sites [be] completed by 1975 [...] provided five years have passed since the death of those responsible for their design.” Furthermore, “the boundaries of a place must be clearly defined for it to be considered for designation as a national historic site” (HSMBC 2008:5). Prior to these criteria being established, the expertise of the researchers that advised the HSMBC as well as the knowledge of the members of the board guided the decisions.

Today's composition of the HSMBC reflects the balance that is sought in commemorating Canada's national history. The Board has included over the years a greater number of women, Aboriginal people and representatives of cultural communities. Those who are appointed come from a much wider scope of professional backgrounds, albeit still relevant to fulfilling efficiently the Board's mandate. Moreover, the submissions for consideration are largely the result of public proposal. In 1997, there were over 200 requests received each year from the public, some 70 generated agenda papers for the HSMBC. In 2010, 90% of all nominations to the board originated from the public (provided by email by Mariella ChooFon from the HSMBC secretariat to the author on August 11, 2011). This suggests that the act of commemorating elements of national significance remains relevant for the public and remains a public desire to express and recognize valued places and stories.

A century after its foundation, Parks Canada's mandate is now solidly articulated around protection, presentation and public appreciation (Parks Canada Agency 2002). Nation-building is no longer part of the discourse but the question of "*what does it mean to be Canadian?*" remains. And this question is at the heart of the matter of relevance for the national historic site programme.

The legal and historical context described above reveal the meaning of value for places of national significance. While each designation is dealt with on a case-by-case basis and while Canadian identity is never defined, the HSMBC's work and the legal framework have driven the definition of collective memory.

The legal framework articulates value as being of national significance, without defining it precisely using such expressions as “in view of their special role in the lives of Canadians and the fabric of the nation”, “giving expression to our identity as Canadians”, and “enjoy Canada’s special places” (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998). The Historic Sites and Monuments Act, which gives the authority to the HSMBC to advise the Minister, does not explain the meaning of ‘national significance or interest’ although at the time, according to a departmental analysis, it was being looked at as a determination of influence of a person or event rather than the interest (Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources 1961).

The HSMBC’S criteria provide some insight in that they focus on exampleS of achievements, traditions, ideas, and ways of life that are “important in the development of Canada” (Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 2008:3). In addition, it stresses that “a place must be in a condition that respects the integrity of its design, materials, workmanship, function and/or setting to be considered for designation of national historic significance, insofar as any of these elements are essential to understand its significance” (HSMBC 2008 :5). This last criterion refers in part to the idea of authenticity, a concept that justifies the identification of special places because that characteristic makes them distinguishable from their surroundings. Finally, the National Historic Sites Policy further elaborates by highlighting that proposals should “have had a nationally significant impact on Canadian history, or will be deemed to represent a nationally important example of or illustration of Canadian human history” (Parks Canada 1994:74).

Value is thus defined in fairly abstract terms. The sole common denominator is that it is relevant to Canadian history and the development of the country. Value is more specifically defined at the time of the submission through the application of guidelines specific to types of resources, historical and archaeological research, and, in very particular circumstances, oral tradition research (Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada 2008). In this process of determining national significance, the idea of what is significant is sensitive to the composition of the group assessing it, the information available, and time. The evolution of the HSMBC, its composition and interests, is evidence of these influences.

Throughout its evolution in the 20th century, the HSMBC interpreted meaningfulness based on the socio-political context in which it operated (Taylor 1990; Pelletier 2006). It applied some measure of assessment of relevance by articulating the values for which the sites were commemorated. Although this programme is still very active and responds to popular requests, it has resulted in a collection of sites over the years for which public meaning has been lost, such as for numerous 18th and 19th century forts. It demonstrates in effect the tenuous connection between value, relevance, and preservation since not all designated sites have been preserved.

Time is an influence that represents a challenge for relevance. Sites that were once deemed very significant because they supported a certain idea of community and nation may have lost that contemporary connection. Canadian

society today has in fact little in common with the six men that formed the HSMBC in the 1920s. What those men valued, their idea of 'Canadianness', is very different from the idea that most Canadians in 2011 would have of their community. Yet, those places that were designated in the 1920s remain of national significance along with the places designated over the years since. While British and French forts were relevant to Canadians in the 1920s because of the way they defined themselves, they no longer mean the same thing to visitors in 2011. A designation of national significance which defines that value as perpetual will thus not 'redefine' it based on contemporary perspectives. It aims to retain the original intent, the *statement of commemorative intent*, to ensure commemorative integrity and maintain that idea of 'collective identity' intact.

The connection has evolved from a sense that those places really mattered to that they are important, indicating a shift from the individual experience of belonging to a collective to one where the individual is told that the place is important without necessarily relating to it. Parks Canada's emphasis on facilitating visitor experiences reinforces this individual experience encouraging the individual to forge its own connection with those places without the Agency suggesting that connection.

The choices facing the agency, like most heritage protection organizations, are these: is there a point in trying to maintain these places as relevant or should the agency relinquish its role in maintaining them? Indeed, what is the role of a place that is not deemed relevant by the community? Is it to educate? Is it to

impose a definition of collective identity? Is there a hierarchy between those places that 'people care about' and those that are important?

The role of government and the role of citizens shape the way these options are determined. Legally, the government's role is to identify these places that are significant (Historic Sites and Monuments Act 1953), to protect, to present through interpretive and educational programs, encourage stewardship, to provide opportunities for enjoyment, and to manage visitor use (Parks Canada Agency Act 1998). In other words, the role of government is to provide the resources and expertise to support the connection between the people of Canada and these special places. This role is explicitly outlined in the National Historic Sites Policy.

Meanwhile, the role of citizens in this dynamic is two-fold: one is to be 'receivers' of government commitments since they are the ones to 'enjoy these special places'. The government will foster understanding, enhance pride, and encourage appreciation. The second role is much more elusive and may be described as being 'participants'. This participation is primarily possible through consultation and cooperation. Legislation mandates the Parks Canada Agency to consult stakeholders and take their input into consideration (Canada National Parks Act 2000). Policy also recognizes that there are other groups that are involved in the commemoration of Canada's history and cooperation with these groups is important (Parks Canada 1994 :73).

The seemingly evident division of responsibilities is the result of a legal framework that essentially designs the identification and protection of heritage

as a 'public benefit' and hence creates a government responsibility and structure to meet that mandate. However, the lines of responsibility get blurred when the government's role is to accomplish its mandate 'on behalf of all Canadians' and be a 'guardian' of these special places (Parks Canada Agency 2002). This is because these expressions suggest a clash between the purpose of protection, which is to protect a value, and the purpose of those places, which is to reflect Canadians. This tension matters when assessing the meaning of relevance.

2.2. Provincial and Municipal Legislation and Policies in Nova Scotia

Political and social concern with history has a long history in Nova Scotia going back to the mid-19th century when the province became a destination for visitors longing to visit the location of Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*. It also signalled a tradition of connecting tourism to history driving the definition of what is important and how to preserve it.

Prior to the 1920s, efforts at commemorating history in Nova Scotia were for the most part limited to private initiatives where the state was not involved (McKay 1993 :105). The Dominion Atlantic Railway (DAR) had been a successful actor in connecting history to fiction and tourism revenues by promoting *Evangeline* and the "quintessentially antimodern (sic) appeal of an unspoiled region of romance" as an anchor for the Annapolis Valley to becoming a tourist destination (McKay 1993 :105). In fact, much of the tourism and commemoration efforts in Nova Scotia were concentrated in that area (McKay and Bates 2010:62). The federal government had begun to implement its

commemorative programme with a narrative around the evolution from colony to nation and supported by the erection of plaques and the development of Fort Anne, in Annapolis Royal (McKay 1993 :105).

The province began to pursue a formal policy of heritage commemoration shortly after establishing the tools for promoting the province as a tourist destination. In the 1920s, in response to the need for the tourism industry to compete with New England and attract still ever increasing numbers of visitors to Nova Scotia, the Nova Scotia Tourist Association, renamed in 1924 the Nova Scotia Publicity Bureau, was created with the aim of collecting information on visitors and promoting the province. Then again, in 1926 the Bureau was absorbed by the Department of Natural Resources thus providing it with stable infrastructure and financing as well as making it a priority for government (Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management 2008). Tourism promotion for the province consistently emphasised the twin attractions of history and the landscape.

In parallel, the federal HSMBC and the work of the Dominion Parks Branch had inspired the creation of a provincial offshoot (McKay 1993:105). The Nova Scotia Historic Sites Advisory Council was created in 1947 to coordinate the commemoration and efforts of commemorators in the province. Its first chairman named in 1949 was Will R. Bird, nicknamed 'Mr. Nova Scotia' for his role and influence in promoting the province as a tourist destination (McKay 1993:102, 119). The Council had much success attracting interest as Bird indicates in a correspondence to the Nova Scotia premier at the time:

It is little more than six weeks since our Annual Meeting [...] and already I have half an agenda for May 1962. I have spoken at ten widely different meetings this spring and all want the same topic — historic Nova Scotia. History has become almost a mania in some communities, who feel they can attract tourists if their history is made known (Bird 1961).

What Bird is confirming in his correspondence is the craze for marking something historic in order to build a tourism economy around it. The Council ceased operations in 1964 but the work continued within a provincial department to protect heritage, in part through the *Museum Act* which provided the Nova Scotia Museum the ability to provide grants to heritage organizations (Nova Scotia Archives and Records Management 2010).

Legislation guiding the protection of heritage emerged in Nova Scotia in the 1970s, in keeping with an international trend at the time to highlight the importance of heritage preservation. The only legislation prior to that was the *Treasure Trove Act* created in 1954 which allowed treasure hunting at underwater sites.

There are two main pieces of legislation to protect heritage in Nova Scotia: the *Heritage Property Act* (revised in 2010) and the *Special Places Protection Act* (1980). The first aims to “provide for the identification, designation, preservation, conservation, protection and rehabilitation of buildings, structures, streetscapes, areas and districts of historic, architectural or cultural value, in both urban and rural areas, and to encourage their continued use” (Heritage Property Act 1989: section 2). This act is the primary piece of legislation to protect built heritage. It can protect individual or groups of properties. As of the 2010 revision of the act, it now covers cultural landscapes. The process to designate a heritage

property is similar to the one applied at the federal level. The first step following an application is historical research and architectural evaluation to assess the completion and validity of the information provided. It is then reviewed by the Minister's Advisory Council on Heritage Property, a province-wide body composed of individuals representing a range of expertise. That body makes a recommendation to the minister responsible for the Act who is the authority to determine designations.

The *Special Places Protection Act* aims to “provide for the preservation, protection, regulation, exploration, excavation, acquisition and study of archaeological and historical remains and palaeontological sites which are considered important parts of the natural or human heritage of the Province” (Special Places Protection Act 1989 : section 2a). Under this act, archaeological research activities are regulated through the issuance of permits. While the province has the legal responsibility to protect archaeological heritage, in effect it requires the authorization and assistance of land owners to implement the provisions of the act, in particular to locate, identify, evaluate, and monitor the condition of archaeological sites.

Finally, the province of Nova Scotia endorsed the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (2010) and uses them to review proposed activities and interventions that might affect the integrity of protected places.

The role of government is focused on protecting and interpreting. The role of citizens is confined to statements about “heritage stewardship [being] a shared responsibility” and that “all Nova Scotians have a role to play in preserving, protecting, and promoting our heritage a shared responsibility” (Department of Culture, Tourism and Heritage 2008 :9).

In Nova Scotia, municipalities have the authority, under the provincial *Heritage Property Act*, to create by-laws identifying and protecting properties of community or local value. Municipalities may also initiate the creation of Heritage Conservation Districts to protect the character of a larger component of the community.

Value is defined in the legislation in abstract terms as that which is “considered [an] important [part] of the natural and human heritage of the Province [of Nova Scotia]”. It suggests a potential list of values as well since the purpose of the Special Places Protection Act is also to “promote understanding and appreciation among the people of the Province of the scientific, educational and cultural values represented by the establishment of special places” (Special Places Protection Act 1989 : section 2c).

2.3. World Heritage Convention and Implementation in Canada

The concept of World Heritage stems from the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) *Convention Concerning the Protection of World Cultural and Natural Heritage* known informally as the *World Heritage Convention*. The document, signed in 1972, was a major international

commitment to formalize the efforts that had been undertaken in the preceding decades to save and protect significant cultural and natural heritage both in times of war and peace. Indeed, it notes in its preamble “[...] that the cultural heritage and the natural heritage are increasingly threatened with destruction not only by the traditional causes of decay, but also by changing social and economic conditions which aggravate the situation with even more formidable phenomena of damage or destruction” (UNESCO 1972: Preamble). This statement reflects the motivation behind the convention due in great part to the international campaign to save the temples of Abu Simbel and Philae in 1954 after the Egyptian government announced that it would build a dam across the Nile River.

The preamble carries on explaining the rationale by stating that the “...deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world...” affirming that historic monuments and nature preserves are important elements of a society’s fabric. This was certainly the rationale pursued by UNESCO in inviting over fifty countries to contribute financially towards the campaign to save the Egyptian temples.

The most significant statement in the preamble in support of creating the convention is the one that considers “[...] that parts of the cultural or natural heritage are of outstanding interest and therefore need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of mankind as a whole”. Its significance comes from the assertion that there are places that are of ‘outstanding interest’, suggesting that

these appeal to a much broader level of significance than natural or cultural monuments of national significance. This statement claims that there are places that connect us as a human race and that it is “incumbent on the international community as a whole to participate in the protection of the cultural natural heritage of outstanding universal value” (UNESCO 1972: Preamble).

These statements are the foundation of the convention that as of 2012 was signed by 190 countries which is nearly all countries recognized by the United Nations. This brings considerable weight to the objective of the convention which is to encourage each country to set up the expertise and resources necessary to inventory and protect natural and cultural heritage. In particular, it aims to identify that heritage with outstanding universal value meaning a “[...] cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity” (World Heritage Committee 2008 :14)

The convention also sets up a number of concrete ways of implementing this mandate. An inventory is created to identify those places of outstanding universal value, the World Heritage List. To populate this inventory, a process and guidelines are put in place explained in the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Finally, a decision-making body is created to manage the inscription of sites on the List and provide assistance to countries that need it. The World Heritage Committee’s concern is to implement the convention’s commitment that “the permanent protection of

this heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole” (World Heritage Committee 2008:14)

While the general definition of outstanding universal value guides the work of the World Heritage Committee and of the State Parties to the Convention, the *Operational Guidelines* provide a more precise framework to make decisions about inscribing sites on the World Heritage List. The first six criteria of the list of ten are specific to cultural heritage while the others are applicable to natural heritage. The cultural criteria include uniqueness (criterion i), exchanges between cultures (ii), cultural tradition (iii), exceptional architectural advancement (iv), settlement and interaction with the environment (v), and beliefs and living traditions (vi)¹.

These criteria undoubtedly identify aspects of a shared heritage that would bring different peoples to seek a common goal. They express the characteristics of human behaviour that result in diversity yet in their articulation are justifiably

¹**Criteria included in the Operational Guidelines (as of 2012)**

- i. represent a masterpiece of human creative genius;
- ii. exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design;
- iii. bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared;
- iv. be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history;
- v. be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change;
- vi. be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria);
- vii. contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance;
- viii. be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features;
- ix. be outstanding examples representing significant ongoing ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals;
- x. contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of outstanding universal value from the point of view of science or conservation.

universal. While the identification of a 'masterpiece of human creative genius' may be subjective, the idea stresses the extraordinary capacity for groups and individuals to overcome a particular challenge. Similarly, criteria that identify a 'cultural tradition' or an object that illustrates a 'significant stage in human history', also stress the importance of diversity and the contribution of different cultures in the history of humanity's progress. Finally, the criteria that capture the interaction between groups or with the environment emphasize the complexity of cultural distinctiveness and the forces at play in creating diversity (World Heritage Centre - ICOMOS - IUCN 2008).

In addition to these criteria, outstanding universal value is defined according to the site's integrity and authenticity. Integrity means the wholeness and intactness of the cultural heritage and its attributes, principally that the elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value are included within the boundary of the nominated property, that its size is adequate to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance, and that it does not suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect (World Heritage Committee 2008 :23). Integrity is an important aspect of outstanding universal value because the aim of the convention is to protect these places.

Authenticity is a concept that has evolved significantly since the beginning of the convention. Until the *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention*, the test of authenticity as applied to nominated property was unclear as the concept of authenticity itself varied amongst

cultures. The World Heritage Committee requested that “the concept and application of authenticity to cultural heritage be further elaborated through international discussions among experts” (World Heritage Committee 1994). The government of Japan then hosted an international conference on the subject in Nara where a document was produced that outlined a consensus around a workable test for authenticity. Without engaging at this point in a detailed discussion about the concept and importance of authenticity, it is useful to appreciate that the concept as it now appears in the *Operational Guidelines* describes authenticity as culturally subjective. It is supported by tangible elements (attributes) that are carriers of meaning (World Heritage Committee 2008: 21). It stresses that the idea of ‘credibility and truthfulness’, based on knowledge and sources of information, are essential to the definition of heritage (World Heritage Committee 2008 :21). As a result the concept of authenticity is essential to the process because it supports the justification of value within the cultural context of the nominated property as well as on a universal scale.

The fourth and last component of outstanding universal value is the management environment. This is consistent with the aims of the convention to protect and conserve these exceptional places. It also allows for an assessment of the commitment by government and stakeholders to protect the nominated property.

As indicated earlier, the rationale for the World Heritage Convention when it was signed in 1972 was to encourage governments to invest the necessary resources to protect natural and cultural heritage. Specifically, it encourages

governments to “[recognize] that the duty of ensuring the identification, protection, conservation, presentation and transmission to future generations of the cultural and natural heritage [...] situated on its territory, belongs primarily to that State” (UNESCO 1972:art.4).

Article five is even more explicit about the role of government. It states that it is “to ensure that effective and active measures are taken for the protection, conservation and presentation of the cultural and natural heritage situated on its territory” including by adopting policies to that effect; setting up services for the protection, conservation and presentation of heritage; to develop scientific and technical studies; and by implementing the legal, scientific, technical, administrative, and financial measures to achieve those goals (UNESCO 1972:art.5).

Throughout the process of preparing a nomination proposal, in particular when developing the management plan, the role of government is clearly focused on providing the resources for the protection of the nominated property, including legislation, expertise, and financial resources.

With regards to stakeholders, the convention is silent on their role. The *Operational Guidelines* provide a glimpse of what the World Heritage Committee considers to be their role when they state that “a partnership approach to nomination, management and monitoring provides a significant contribution to the protection of World Heritage properties and the implementation of the *Convention* (World Heritage Committee 2008 :10) [and that] partners in the protection and conservation of World Heritage can be those

individuals and other stakeholders, especially local communities, governmental, nongovernmental and private organizations and owners who have an interest and involvement in the conservation and management of a World Heritage property” (World Heritage Committee 2008 :10) While the governments are encouraged to engage stakeholders (World Heritage Committee 2008: 3) and that an effective management system for nominated properties include a ‘thorough shared understanding of the property by all stakeholders’ as well as their involvement in the system (World Heritage Committee 2008: 27), the level of engagement is left to the discretion of the authorities. The stakeholders are perceived as partners but their role as stewards is understated as they are to be ‘involved’ in the system.

The process to nominate a heritage place begins with the requirement that each State Party submit an inventory of properties suitable for inscription on the World Heritage List (referred to the Tentative List) (World Heritage Committee 2008 :4). States Parties are encouraged to prepare their Tentative Lists with the participation of a wide variety of stakeholders (World Heritage Committee 2008 :18) and to consult the World Heritage List and other State Parties’ Tentative List to address gaps in representation on the World Heritage List (World Heritage Committee 2008 :19).

Canada revised its list in 2004. A committee was struck to advise the Minister of Canadian Heritage, then responsible for Parks Canada who is the lead federal agency on World Heritage matters (Parks Canada Agency 2004 :5). It was assisted by two respected experts in natural and cultural heritage who devised

a framework and consulted on the sites that should appear on the Tentative List. The committee was presented with a list of approximately 125 natural and cultural sites submitted by provincial and territorial authorities, stakeholders, and Parks Canada. In the end, it prepared a Tentative List of 11 sites, including Grand-Pré as a cultural site.

The framework applied to the selection of cultural sites was devised based on the concerns of the World Heritage Committee about the representativity of the World Heritage List and the *Global Strategy for a Representative, Balanced and Credible World Heritage List* the direction adopted by the Committee in 1994 to address this concern. In addition, it relied on Parks Canada's *National Historic Site System Plan* that serves to guide the work of the HSMBC in recommending designations of national significance to the Minister. The assumption was that should inscription be achieved, they would contribute to making the World Heritage List more balanced.

As of 2012, Canada is host to 16 World Heritage Sites displaying a range of natural and cultural values. Its first site was inscribed in 1978.

3. Chapter Three: Heritage Conservation Approaches in Grand Pré

3.1. The Complex Values of the Landscape of Grand Pré

The following section summarizes the history of the region of Grand Pré. The intent is to provide an overview of a complex and rich history, focusing on the main elements that provide context to the values expressed later in this case study. This is not merely a history of the place; it is an exercise in highlighting the values associated with communities, their overlaps as well as their conflicts and thus better appreciate the basis for stakeholder involvement in the conservation of these heritage places at Grand Pré.

The history of the landscape of Grand Pré has its origin in the extraordinary natural forces at play in the environment. Located in Nova Scotia in the Minas Basin along the Bay of Fundy (Figure 3-1), the landscape has been shaped by millennia of tidal forces carrying sediments and creating marshes that nurtured a rich fauna and flora. Indeed, the tides in the Bay of Fundy, in fact less than 3 kilometres from Grand Pré, are the highest in the world at a mean range of 11.61 meters (National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Agency 2012). The sediments not only created an extremely productive ecosystem, it also provided fertile soil for agriculture (Figure 3-2).



Figure 3-1 Location of Grand Pré in Canada and Nova Scotia. © Parks Canada



Figure 3-2 Mudflats at low-tide east of the dyked marshes. © Christophe Rivet

The first evidence of human presence in the area dates back to 4000 B.P. (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :30). The ancestors of the Mi'kmaq, the name of the First Nation that lives in Nova Scotia and in many parts of Atlantic Canada, came to the Grand Pré area to hunt and fish in the fertile marshes. There is evidence of their presence on the land in the form of fish weirs, encampments, and burial grounds (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :31). The Mi'kmaq's presence is also confirmed by the oral tradition associated with the Minas Basin. It is the setting for the stories of Glooscap, the most important Mi'kmaq hero, of his battles, magic, and travels. Cape Blomidon which jets into the Minas Basin and is always seen in the background at Grand Pré, is a major landmark in those stories and is considered significant by the Mi'kmaq (Nomination Grand Pré 2011:30)(Figure 3-3).



Figure 3-3 View of Cape Blomidon jetting into the Minas Basin. © Christophe Rivet

The first Europeans arrived in the mid-17th century and settled in 1682. They were Acadian settlers, descendants from the first French settlers that had been arriving in Nova Scotia since the early 17th century. Throughout the 17th and 18th century Acadie/ Nova Scotia was a significant battleground between the French and British colonial powers in North America for control of commercial interests and access to resources. The area changed hands countless times and for well over a century no European power was able to firmly establish its authority over the settlers leaving them to decide on everyday matters in the colony. A communal approach to decision-making characterized the social structure of the Acadians (Griffiths 1992:57). Throughout the conflict opposing the European powers, the Acadians aimed to maintain neutrality thus avoiding getting involved for the most part (Johnston and Kerr 2004 :40).

They also had a distinctive way of settling the land. Instead of focusing on clearing uplands, a strategy favoured by European settlers elsewhere in North America, their primary focus was to transform intertidal marshes into agricultural land through dyking and draining (Bleakney 2004 :4). Through the adaptation of a centuries-old dyking and draining technology, referred to locally as the *aboiteau* (Figure 3-5), they claimed hundreds of thousands of acres of salt marsh in the face of the highest tides in the world to create extremely fertile farmland (Figure 3-4). The contact with a new environment and this lack of strong colonial authority led to a distinct sense of identity (Griffiths 1992:4).

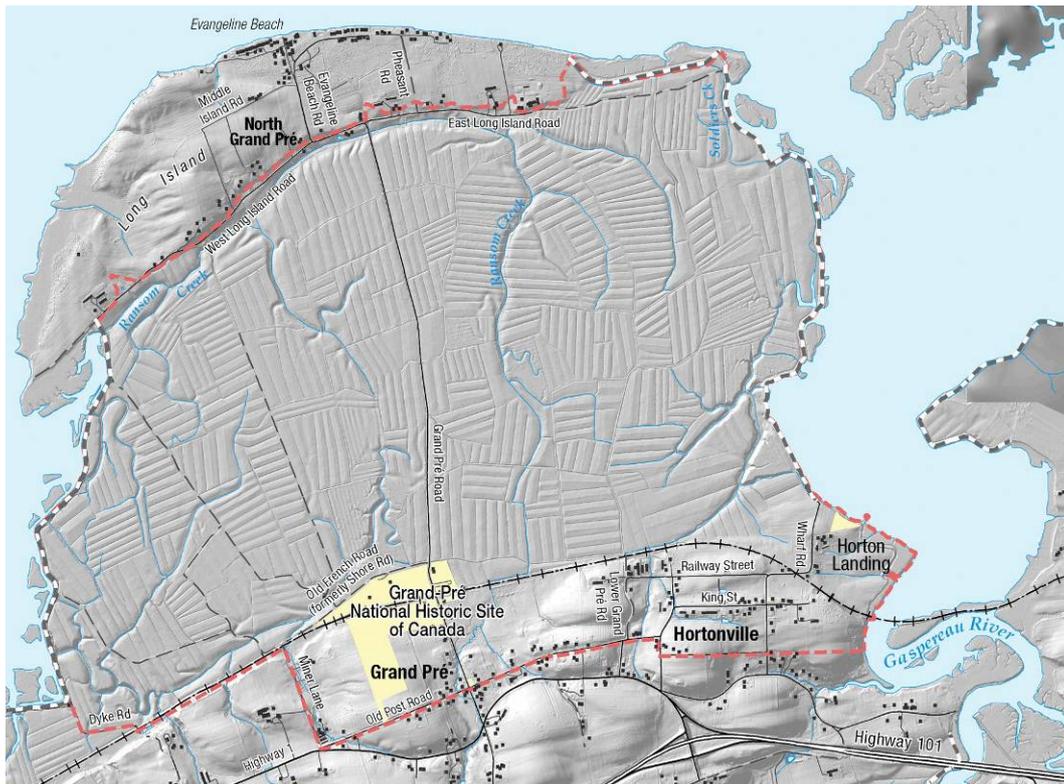


Figure 3-4 The extent of the dyking and draining of the marshlands of Grand Pré is visible in this modern view of the landscape using LiDAR. The Acadians had dyked about two-thirds of this area mostly in the middle and to the east. © Parks Canada; © for data Nova Scotia Community College, Centre of Geographic Sciences



Figure 3-5 Excavation of an abandoned Acadian *aboiteau* (right) and modern functioning *aboiteau* (left). The technology consists of a sluice with a flap which forbids the salt water from entering the dyked area. The sluice is located under the dyke where it meets natural creeks. © Christophe Rivet

The British authorities finally gained permanent control of the territory following the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 which forced France to relinquish its colony in mainland Acadie, where Grand Pré was located. The British tried to impose an unconditional oath of allegiance to the Crown but, in the spirit of maintaining their neutrality, the Acadians refused. This issue became an increasing concern for the British as there were a number of skirmishes and battles with the French during which Acadians were found assisting them and bearing arms (Johnston and Kerr 2004 :43). In 1755, after the surrender of the French fort of Beauséjour in Nova Scotia and the discovery, once again, of Acadian men amongst the French soldiers, the British authorities decided to forcibly remove the entire Acadian population from the colony.

The deportation began at fort Beauséjour but the decision by the colonial authorities was only made public months later. In fact, on September 5th 1755, the order of deportation was read simultaneously in numerous Acadian parishes by officers dispatched with armed militia from New England. Grand Pré, the second largest settlement in all of Acadie, was one of those places.

The order shattered the lives of a people that identified with Acadie and life in North America above any other. Colonel Winslow, the British officer in charge of the Deportation at Grand-Pré, announced the following to the four hundred eighteen men and boys assembled in the church:

that your Lands and Tenements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sorts are Forfeited to the Crown with all of your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods and you your Selves to be removed from this ... Province (Winslow 1755 :94)

The men and boys were locked in the building to await their deportation while the women were ordered to gather the belongings they could carry. In the following days, they began making their way towards the nearby beach where ships were waiting to load them and set sail for the New England colonies (LeBlanc 2003 :37).

Over a period of many months and up until 1763, the expulsion of the Acadians was systematically carried out throughout the present day Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. Settlements were invested by armed forces, the inhabitants rounded up, their belongings seized, and in many instances the buildings set on fire (LeBlanc 2003:44). The prisoners were made to board ships setting sail for unknown destinations, the families often forever separated. The ships had various destinations in Europe and North America: while the initial intent was to send everyone to the New England colonies for assimilation or to France, many groups wandered from one port to another as the local authorities refused to take charge of them (LeBlanc 2003 :46). This period, known as the Acadian Odyssey, was to last until 1764 when the British authorities, in dire need of settlers, agreed to the return of the Acadians to Nova Scotia under the conditions of not settling back on the lands they had left behind and not forming large communities (LeBlanc 2003 :48). By then, however, out of the approximately 16 000 Acadians that populated *Acadie* in 1755, between 7000 and 9000 had perished during their deportation. In addition, many had ended their journey in Louisiana, Québec, France, New England, Haiti, Guyana, and the Falkland Islands with no means

of making their way back to Nova Scotia. Some 1600 Acadians did manage to return to their homeland (Nomination Grand Pré 2011:46).

After the removal of the Acadians, the British promptly implemented the preconceived plan of settling New Englanders and other Protestant groups that would be loyal to the Crown (Clark 1968:362). Grand Pré saw the arrival of hundreds of Planters (or farmers) from New England in 1760. These were expected to farm dyke land and master the art of dyking and draining to preserve the invaluable fertile farmland left behind by the Acadians. By the early 19th century, they had reproduced the communal structure through the formation of a Marsh Body, become skilled dyke builders and successful farmers in their own right.

In parallel to the ongoing agricultural use of the dykelands in the 19th century, Grand Pré was acquiring international fame as the setting of an epic poem written by an American novelist who had never even visited Nova Scotia. *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie* by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was published in 1847 and became instantly an international bestseller in the English-speaking world. Within a decade it had sold over 36 000 copies and had been translated in seven languages.

The fame associated with the poem and its translation into French had an effect on the Acadian people who were facing challenges settling back in Nova Scotia. These challenges began to mobilize the educated elite to seek recognition for the Acadians' rights to speak French and practice Catholicism. The poem

became a vehicle for the public recognition of the events surrounding the Deportation (LeBlanc 2003 :64). In the 19th century, the Acadians in seeking to assert their distinctive identity, adopted 'national' symbols including a flag (the French flag with a golden star), an anthem (*Ave Maris Stella*), and a decision-making body (the *Société nationale l'Assomption* ancestor of today's *Société nationale de l'Acadie*). Grand Pré became one such symbol, as over decades of gatherings, erection of monuments, and cultural references, the place became the spiritual, social, and political centre of collective identity (LeBlanc 2003:176-177).

The place in the 19th century that both the Acadians and those seeking the land of *Evangeline* sought was an open agricultural landscape made up of fields in pasture belonging to individual farmers (Figure 3-6). Many of the structures that had once been there in the 18th century Acadian landscape had disappeared. Visitors were initially attracted by the dykeland, the pastoral feeling, and the presence of willow trees as evocative of the emotions associated with the factual, literary, and mythical stories of Grand Pré (LeBlanc 2003 :83). As more visitors came, additional 'markers' appeared in the landscape: 'Evangeline's well' (late 19th century), exhumed coffins, metal 'blacksmith's tools', and a cross marking the location of the parish cemetery (1909) (Figure 3-7).



Figure 3-6 Grand Pré in the late 19th century. Fields, French willows, and the pastoral setting attracted visitors from around the world to *Evangeline's home*.

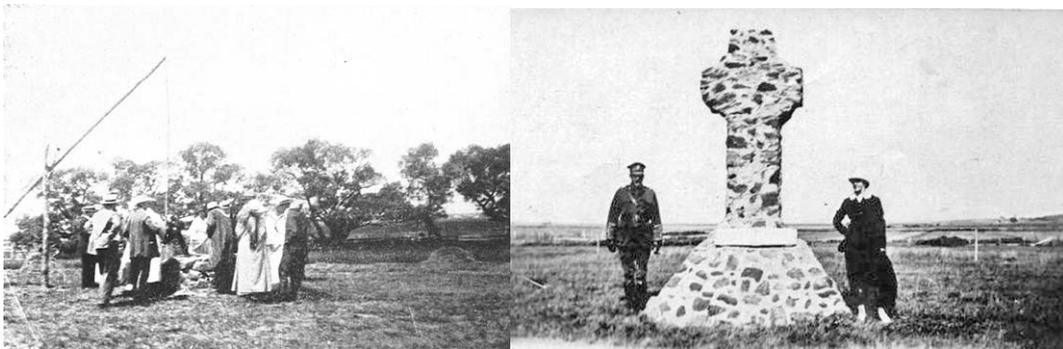


Figure 3-7 The first memorial objects appearing at Grand Pré: Evangeline's well in the late 19th century (left) and the cross marking the location of the cemetery (1909).

The event that sealed the fate of the place as symbol came in 1917 when land was acquired by the Dominion Atlantic Railway (DAR) from a local poet and businessman. John Frederic Herbin had been buying land for a decade and lobbying the authorities to protect and interpret the remains of the village of Grand-Pré. The DAR and its ancestor the Windsor and Annapolis Railway Company had pioneered the tourism industry in Nova Scotia by promoting the 'Land of Evangeline' and promises of a nostalgic step in time (MacDonald

2005). The company commissioned a well-known Canadian architect to design a Victorian-style garden, complete with a church and landmarks associated with the story of Evangeline (Figure 3-8). The Acadian community, through its association for mutual assistance, the Société mutuelle l'Assomption, was approached by the DAR to acquire a parcel of land on which to erect a suitable memorial. A committee was created to raise the funds necessary to acquire the land and build a commemorative church (LeBlanc 2003:117).

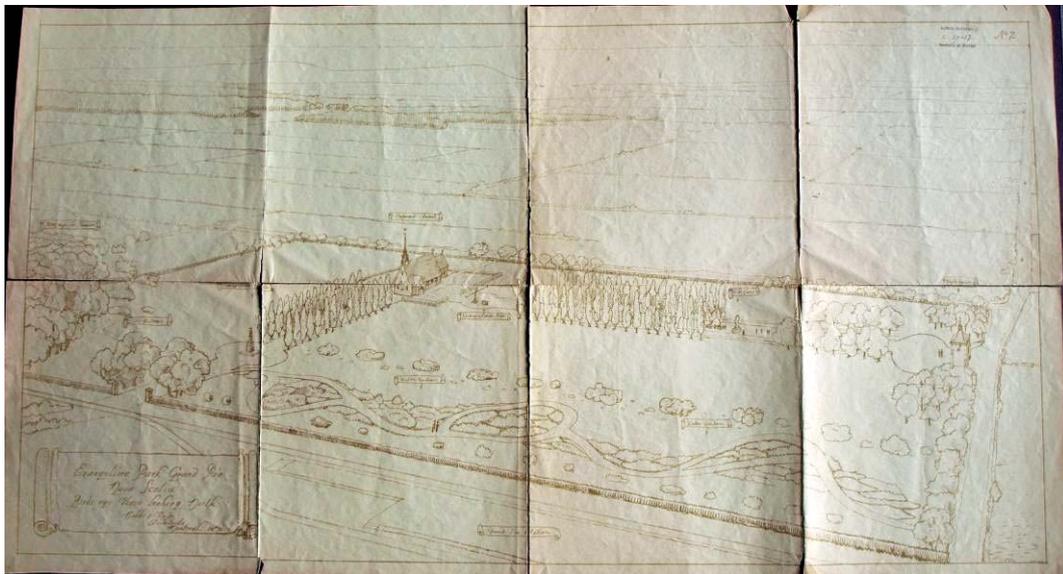


Figure 3-8 Plan for *Evangeline Park* by Percy Nobbs for the DAR. He designed a Victorian garden that situates the well, the cross, the statue, and the church in its pastoral setting.

In 1922, after an international campaign to collect funds, the Acadian community inaugurated the church at Grand-Pré thus unveiling the most important symbol of their return to their homeland (Figure 3-9). Other symbols were erected at the park and in the vicinity including a statue of Evangeline (1920), a statue of their patron saint *Notre-Dame de l'Assomption* (1923), and a cross to mark the location where their ancestors had boarded the ships during the Deportation at Grand-Pré (1924) (Figure 3-10).



Figure 3-9 Dedication of the Memorial Church at Grand-Pré in 1922.



Figure 3-10 Inauguration of the Deportation Cross close to Horton Landing. The Cross was relocated in 2005 to the actual Deportation location.

Since then, Grand-Pré has hosted the most significant events in recent Acadian history including events commemorating the Deportation (1930, 1955 and 2005) and cultural and social gatherings and the international diaspora (1921, 1930,

2004, 2011) (Figure 3-11). Each attracted tens of thousands of individuals of Acadian ancestry to the place symbolizing their homeland.



Figure 3-11 Acadian connection with Grand Pré over time, from top left, clockwise: 175th commemoration of the Deportation (1930); delegation of Cajun *Evangelines* (1936); Memorial mass for the 200th anniversary of the Deportation; same from the stage (1955).

In parallel, the local community while actively participating in providing the experience of the ‘Land of Evangeline’ and benefiting from the tourism attraction, nurtured its own sense of connection to the landscape.

In the late 1750s, the first ‘Planters’ (colonists) arrived in Nova Scotia from New England. Some 8000 arrived between 1759 and 1768 with the hopes of more and better land than what they had left behind (McLaughlin 2001 :12). Indeed, the New England colonies had become overcrowded and not enough land was

available for families to live comfortably (Longley 1988:15) and the next generation to carve out its own future. When Charles Lawrence, the Governor of Nova Scotia, offered land to anyone willing and capable to cultivate it, thousands applied, in particular from Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island.

The Planters were for the most part descendants from the Puritans and the Pilgrims, communities that had left England for religious, political, and economic reasons and the promise of 'planting' a new England in America. As colonists they were known for their hard work, thrift, independence, sobriety, and piousness (McLaughlin 2001 :12; Longley 1988 :17). Those qualities and the reasons their ancestors had left the Old Continent brought about a cultural change that distinguished them from British settlers, including a political structure, the town meeting, which was to become the precursor of self-government and democracy in North America (McLaughlin 2001 :12).

Hence when Governor Lawrence called, the Planters responded with enthusiasm and anticipation. Most would finally be able to leave overpopulated areas with little prospect of owning land or climbing the social ladder. They would expand New England beliefs and way of life to Nova Scotia. Within a couple of years of their arrival, they had recreated aspects of their life left behind through administration, religion and even place naming, with names such as Connecticut in Kings County or Rhode Island in neighbouring Hants County (Longley 1988 :28).

Many of the initial waves of settlers concentrated in Annapolis Valley (Gwyn 2010:24). Some had already scouted the location as members of the militia involved in the removal of the Acadians. For others, the reputation of extraordinary fertility of the marshes of the Bay of Fundy had enticed them to seize the opportunity of owning such land, despite their lack of knowledge of how to dyke and farm marshland. Acadian prisoners were drafted to instruct the Planters in the art of dyke building (Gwyn 2010:28-29). Within a few decades they became proficient and were able to expand on the work initially done by the Acadians.

In the case of Grand Pré, the first Planters landed in 1760 at Horton Landing and promptly established the townships of Horton, Cornwallis, and Falmouth. Whereas the Acadians had stretched their settlement along the marsh they had transformed, the Planters were instructed to establish a town plot, in the typical manner of British colonial settlements. This was seen as effective for defensive, social, and trade purposes (Longley 1988 :27). Grants were given to each settler based on the size of his family and included land in the town plot, on the hills, and on the marsh. As the threat from the French and the 'Indians' had subsided by the late 1770s, the Planters instead settled closer to the marshland, similar to the way the Acadians had settled (Longley 1988 :28).



Figure 3-12 Map from 1749 drawn up by the British Surveyor General shows the Acadian settlement spread along the dykeland. The numbered locations of towngrid-shaped settlements 'For Protestants' appear on this map, six years prior to the Deportation of the 'French Neutral' inhabitants.

The American Revolution saw the exodus from the New England colonies of inhabitants loyal to the British Crown. These Loyalists sought refuge north, with thousands arriving in the provinces of Canada as well as in Nova Scotia. Horton (as Grand Pré was known during this period) welcomed loyalist families as well as immigrants from the British Isles.

In the 19th century, the community of Horton had thrived and become a prosperous agricultural community (Gwyn 2010:77). Some of the descendants of the New England Planters were still farming the land while others had found their way back to New England (Longley 1988 :27-28). These remaining

families prospered from farming activities but also shipbuilding and trade. The dykes were expanded to the west thus almost doubling the size of the original transformed land. Landownership was consolidated in the hands of a few families and the settlement expanded. In addition, as mentioned earlier, the area was benefitting from the international attention paid to Longfellow's poem *Evangeline*. A tourism industry began to emerge and as a result the name Grand Pré never disappeared from the maps and collective consciousness.

By the 20th century, Grand Pré – Horton – Wolfville² was a well-known community whose prosperity and families' influence of New England Planter, Loyalist, Irish and Scottish ancestry, reverberated beyond its boundaries (Longley 1988 :28). A number of educational institutions were founded in this small but socially-active community, including the Horton Academy (1828), Acacia Villa School for Boys (1852), and a school for young women later known as the Grand Pré Seminary and the Female Department of Horton Academy (1858). Some of the families were important players in the business and political spheres of the province and the country, one of their sons, Sir Robert Laird Borden, even becoming the eighth prime minister of Canada.

Those of New England ancestry today have a strong attachment to the British history of the area as well as to their connections with New England. A collective memory which embraces the geographic connections created by the migrations of Planters as well as their values and institutions, remains alive in

² The community boundaries and names were not standardized until the end of the 19th early 20th century. As a result Horton encompassed the traditional Planter settlement as well as the town of Wolfville just a few kilometres west.

the families (Jaffee 2001), despite decades of marginalization of that history in academia and official history (Moody 2001:i).

Today's Grand Pré is a melting pot of cultural values and communities. After the Second World War, Dutch farmers immigrated to Nova Scotia and integrated into the local communities (Gerrits 1996). Much like their predecessors, that group came because of a need for farmers to work the land. They were leaving behind a country devastated by war, where few opportunities were available. All the groups associated with Grand Pré have their own understanding of history and have nurtured a memory within their group, and sometimes publically, of their triumphs and tribulations. Their attachment is tangible for the most part (Figure 3-13).

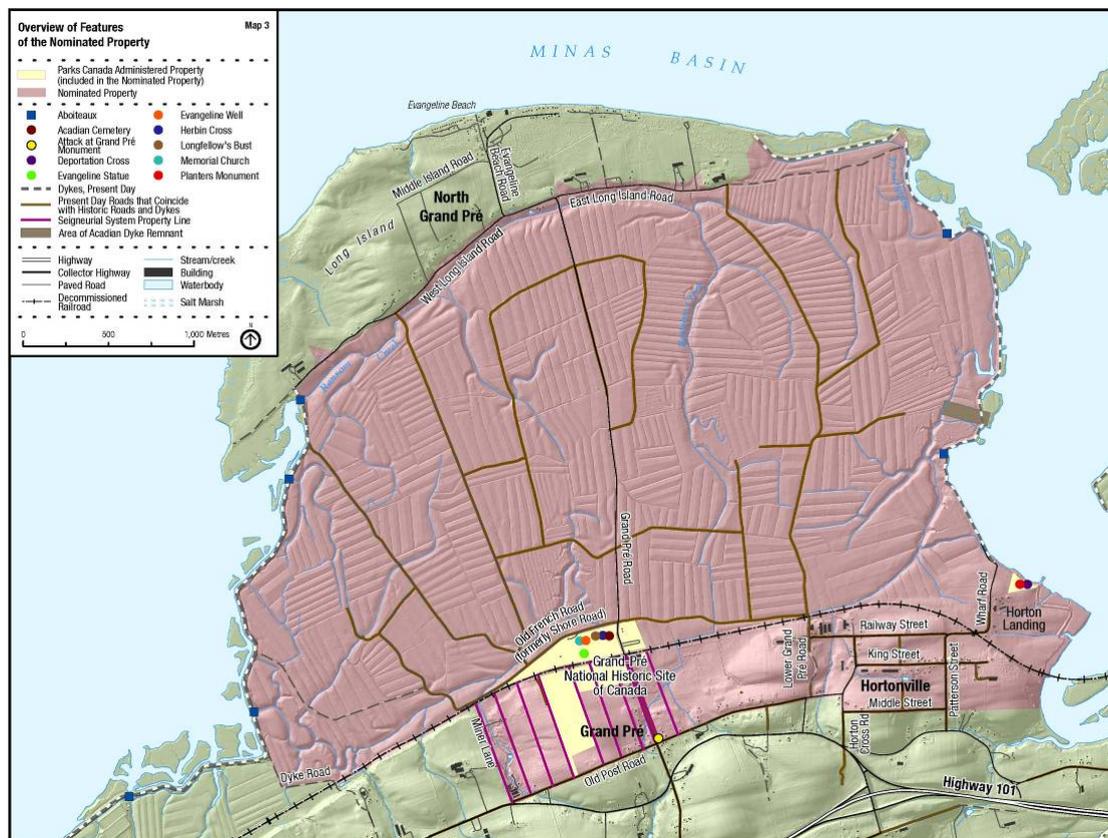


Figure 3-13 Map of Grand Pré and area locating the main cultural and natural features. The NHSC is light colours in the middle, Evangeline Beach is north, and Horton Landing in the Southeast corner. © Parks Canada

3.2. A Landscape Officially and Unofficially Recognized for its Value

The following section describes the officially recognized values associated with Grand Pré as well as the relationships between stakeholders and the processes that led to the designations and the management of these historic places. Each designation is the result of decision-making processes that may or may not have involved stakeholders. Some designations come with levels of protection to ensure their long-term conservation while others are commemorations with no effective management.

This section also introduces the Mi'kmaq as well as Acadian values associated with the landscape that have not been officially recognized and yet loom large in the understanding of what is significant about Grand Pré. The goal of these descriptions is to highlight the differences in approaches and the resulting impact on the definition of the role of governments and of stakeholders.

In addition to its cultural values, Grand Pré and its surroundings has been recognized for its natural values nationally (eg. the Boot Island National Wildlife Area in 1979) and internationally (eg. the Southern Bight and Minas Basin was designated as a Wetland of International Importance (or Ramsar) site in 1987). While these values are also present in the landscape and add to its complexity, the focus of this thesis remains on the cultural dimension so as to maintain a level of comparison of processes and designations.

3.2.1. The Land of Glooscap

The Minas Basin and the Grand Pré area are important for the Mi'kmaq as part of their traditional territory (Mi'kmaqi) and through its association with stories about the hero Glooscap. Glooscap is a mythical hero of the Wabanaki peoples of eastern North America which includes the Abenaki, the Passamaquoddy, the Maliseet, and the Mi'kmaq. He is considered as the first human, born from a lightning bolt thrown onto the sand of the Bay of Fundy by the Creator. He shapes the environment, battles evil, and brings knowledge to his people. His feats are accomplished in the Bay of Fundy and particularly in the Minas Basin. Cape Blomidon which stands in the backdrop of Grand Pré is a landmark in those stories, often identified as the place where Glooscap lodges. The tides themselves are evidence of his battles with magical animals (Spicer 1991).

The mythical stories are part of the relationship that the Mi'kmaq had with the landscape, the other being their life in it. For thousands of years, the Mi'kmaq and their ancestors lived on this land leaving evidence of their presence through fish weirs, temporary settlements, and burials (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :30-31). Until recently, Mi'kmaq families would come during the summer, establish a camp on Evangeline Beach to fish, gather, and hunt (Figure 3-14). There are numerous grasses and flowers important for Mi'kmaq ceremonies found around Grand Pré and as such the landscape as a whole retains a sacred significance.



Figure 3-14 Mi'kmaq summer camp at Evangeline Beach, Grand Pré in the early 20th century. © Nova Scotia Museum

The archaeology, the sacred aspects of the landscape, and the Glooscap stories have all been recorded by the Mi'kmaq and are used to educate youth about their identity as well as to raise awareness and assert traditional rights in the area. The details of the significance remain largely broad for non-Mi'kmaq as the Mi'kmaq, in the interest of protecting what is significant for them, restrict the amount of information made public.

Despite this layering of Mi'kmaq values, the definition of the boundaries of this place is fluid and largely intangible. It explains in part the lack of formal recognition through designation, since most processes require a clear boundary based on authentic evidence. This, however, does not impede the Mi'kmaq from having a sense of connection with the place.

3.2.2. Grand-Pré National Historic Site of Canada (NHSC)

The commemorative and tourism park created in the 1920s by John Frederick Herbin, the Dominion Atlantic Railway, and the Société mutuelle l'Assomption was sold to the Government of Canada in 1957. At that moment, different agendas collided to create tension between official and unofficial values.

The Société nationale l'Assomption, which had acquired the Memorial Church from the Société mutuelle l'Assomption the year before and represented the Acadian community as the main stakeholder group, stipulated a number of important elements at the time of the sale of the commemorative church and the land it was built on. Many conditions were set to ensure that the Government of Canada would allow the connection between Grand-Pré and the Acadian people to be maintained. These include the conservation of the monuments and objects, unrestricted access to the park and free access for cultural and political gatherings, and provision of interpretation in both French and English. This was based on the mutually agreed understanding that Grand-Pré was the historic homeland of the Acadian people commemorating the most tragic and heroic moments of its history and that the courage of that people needed to inspire future generations and enrich the fabric of the Canadian nation³ (Groupe Communication Plus 1996 :27).

³ Excerpt in French of the contract [...]

2. Le Gouvernement Fédéral s'engage à maintenir la chapelle-souvenir en bon état et à lui conserver son caractère. Les deux parties contractantes reconnaissent par les présentes que le Parc de Grand-Pré constitue le foyer historique le plus important du peuple acadien, qu'il rappelle ses heures les plus douloureuses et les plus héroïques et qu'il doit rappeler aux générations futures l'exemple d'un peuple courageux dont la culture et les actes enrichiront toujours davantage la nation canadienne.

3. Le Gouvernement Fédéral s'engage à reconnaître à la Société Nationale l'Assomption, à ses successeurs ou ayants droit, ainsi qu'au peuple acadien et à toute personne le droit d'accès au Parc-Souvenir de Grand-Pré à toute heure et en tout temps raisonnables. En plus, le Gouvernement Fédéral reconnaît à ladite Société, à ses successeurs ou ayants droit le privilège de se servir du Parc-Souvenir ou de la Chapelle à ses frais pour toute manifestation patriotique ou autre ralliement, fête ou célébration en rapport avec les principales étapes de l'histoire du peuple acadien.

After the transfer of ownership to the government, it was subsequently designated a national historic site in 1961 by the minister responsible following the advice of the HSMBC.

The process for its designation was the result of the site being discussed by the HSMBC internally. In 1955, the Government of Canada was approached by the DAR who was no longer interested in operating the park. The HSMBC prepared an agenda paper looking at the value of the park, the museum and the objects on display, as well as scenarios for acquiring it (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :20). It advised the Minister that “Grand Pré Memorial Park possesses historical features which would make it eminently suitable as a National Historic Park” (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :20). In addition, it was of the opinion that the Department could not permit the Société Mutuelle l’Assomption to operate the museum if the government were to acquire it. It is interesting to note that the agenda paper did not mention the memorial aspect of the park, instead focusing on its historical nature. Even that aspect was discussed sparsely, noting that the only feature associated with the Acadian village, was the original church of Saint-Charles-des-Mines, even though its location had yet to be determined (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :20). This designation as a site of national significance was important for the Acadians: it was part of the long process

4. Le Gouvernement Fédéral s'engage à maintenir dans ledit Parc-Souvenir un musée contenant des objets se rapportant à l'histoire acadienne et particulièrement une statue de Notre-Dame de l'Assomption et un exemplaire du drapeau acadien qui sont présentement dans ladite chapelle-souvenir.

5. Le Gouvernement Fédéral s'engage à donner audit Parc-Souvenir, à la Chapelle, au musée et aux autres édifices ou monuments qui sont présentement ou qui pourraient être érigés à l'avenir sur ledit terrain un caractère et une allure strictement bilingue. Ce bilinguisme se manifestera par l'emploi de guides bilingues par des inscriptions bilingues sur les pièces de musée et sur les écriteaux à l'extérieur, par toute la littérature qui sera disponible pour renseigner les visiteurs et enfin par tous les moyens d'extériorisation que l'on trouve normalement dans un parc national.

undertaken since the 19th century to ensure that the Deportation was recognized publically (LeBlanc 2003 :130).

In 1982, Parks Canada requested clarification to the HSMBC on the commemorative intent at Grand-Pré NHSC, meaning that the reasons for national significance were not explicit enough to guide the Department's work in protecting and interpreting the site. As a result, the HSMBC declared that

Grand-Pré National Historic Park is of national significance by virtue of the fact that the area was a centre of Acadian activity from 1682 through to the expulsion and there remains to this day a strong attachment among Acadians to this, the heart of their ancestral homeland [...] (HSMBC 1982)

In addition, the Department was directed to focus the interpretation at the park

exclusively with the life of the Acadian community, in the Minas Basin, up to the expulsion and be supported through additional historical and archaeological research, as required. In addition the Board encouraged the Atlantic Region, Parks Canada, to undertake to interpret these themes, on site, at a location other than the Memorial Chapel (HSMBC 1982).

This last direction was rescinded in 1995 to better address the other equally important "strong attachment among Acadians to this, the heart of their ancestral homeland" (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :22).

In parallel to the discussions surrounding the acquisition by the government of the park, the HSMBC was looking at the Acadian Deportation as a potential event of national significance. The event was declared of national significance in 1955 and a plaque finally erected in 2005, in Grand Pré.

While, as noted earlier, the discussion in 1955 about the value of the site did not include specific mentions of the memorial aspect, it is reasonable to believe that

there was nevertheless awareness, maybe even understanding, of the memorial value of Grand-Pré for the Acadians since in agreeing to the 1956 contract both recognized that this was the Acadian people's homeland. The agenda paper's focus on historic and archaeological values is indicative of the bias of the designation however. In addition, the Department's concern with tourism at the time ensured that the rationale to acquire Grand-Pré remained valid. Both the interest in the historical nature of the site and the tourism attraction were at play in the subsequent decades.

In the 1960s, new attempts to enhance the tourism offer included the short-lived plan to recreate an Acadian village by moving structures thought to be Acadian, such as the blacksmith's shop that still stands at the park, from other parts of the province and locating them at Grand-Pré (Figure 3-15). Nevertheless, hundreds of thousands of tourists flocked to Grand Pré every year to experience the Land of Evangeline and, for those of Acadian descent, as a pilgrimage to the home of their ancestors.



Figure 3-15 Recreating Grand-Pré: the blacksmith's shop was one of several buildings aimed at recreating an Acadian village. © Christophe Rivet

This dual identity did create some tension between what the Acadians felt needed to be done at their memorial site and the Department's priorities. The federal government was managing Grand-Pré following the same approach applied to all its sites. Interpretation and exhibits were now introducing other aspects of the Grand-Pré's history, such as the periods following the deportation and settlement of the New England Planters. In 1978, the Société nationale de l'Acadie is involved in numerous initiatives to assert Acadian identity, including plans to 'acadianize' Grand-Pré (Basque 2006). In 1982, in the course of preparing the first management plan for Grand-Pré NHS, the Acadian community reacted to this perceived shift in site identity and demanded that the Government of Canada address this concern (LeBlanc 2003:154). This was one of the motivations that same year to request the HSMBC clarify the reasons for national significance. The clarification included references that

echoed elements of the 1956 contract, in particular the memorial aspect which was described in the minutes as the “strong attachment among Acadians to this, the heart of their ancestral homeland” (HSMBC 1982). This recognition fulfilled one of the conditions in the contract although the direction in those same minutes that interpretation should focus on the life of the Acadians prior to their Deportation from Grand-Pré indicates that although there was awareness, there was still limited understanding of what the ‘strong attachment’ truly meant.

The Acadian community undertook another initiative to ensure that Grand-Pré’s identity was not lost. It convinced Parks Canada to create an advisory committee composed of influential members of the Acadian community from all four Atlantic Canadian provinces to advise the agency on the protection and interpretation of the Acadian historic sites it administered. In 1985, the *Comité consultatif acadien de Parcs Canada* (Parks Canada Acadian advisory committee) was created and remains to this day a key source of advice regarding the protection and interpretation of Acadian heritage (Roy 1997 :103).

While all these actions provided an opportunity for the Acadian community to get engaged in protecting its heritage, the stewardship of Grand-Pré remained an issue. From the Acadian perspective, they are the real stewards of Grand-Pré despite the role that they had assigned the federal government (Groupe Communication Plus 1996 :28). Consequently, in 1993 a multi-stakeholder committee was set up that included the Acadian community, Parks Canada, and representatives of the Nova Scotia government. The *Comité pour le redressement du lieu historique national de Grand-Pré* (Committee for the

rehabilitation of Grand-Pré NHS) aimed to address the challenges at Grand-Pré, to develop a vision and strategies to implement it, and to seek means to enhance the site. In 1995, it commissioned a report from a consultant to study the situation at Grand-Pré and identify realistic solutions for the site's development based on the needs in infrastructure and the expectations of the Acadian community (Groupe Communication Plus 1996 :6). The report looked at infrastructure, interpretation, visitation, finances, economic impacts, and partnerships. Its primary recommendations included the construction of a visitor and interpretation centre, improved paths, a botanical museum with plants from ancient Acadie, interpretation panels, and a website (Groupe Communication Plus 1996 :3-4). These recommendations underlined the desire by the Acadian community to enhance the quality of the visitor's experience at Grand-Pré NHSC, to develop a world class infrastructure and interpretation, and to strengthen the 'acadianness' of the site. The overarching vision was to ensure Grand-Pré's role as the 'heart of the Acadian people'.

The one aspect that is not discussed is the question of the collaboration between Parks Canada and the Acadian community to manage the site. The recommendations advocated for greater resources and better focus on the importance of the site to the Acadians, something that Parks Canada was unable to respond to the Acadian community's satisfaction. This was in part due to the mandate of the agency which focuses on visitors and Canadians as a whole. As a result, in 1997 the *Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse* (FANE) and the *Société nationale de l'Acadie* (SNA) created the *Société Promotion Grand-Pré Inc.* (SPGP) with the mission of "promoting Grand-Pré as

the symbolic and authentic place of the Deportations of the Acadians, at the national and international level” (from the SPGP website, <http://www.grand-pre.com/fr/objectifs-et-mandat.html> accessed on December 12th 2012).

In parallel to this change in vision for the historic site, two other significant events occurred in the 1990s which affected the management of the site. The first is the introduction of fees to access national historic sites and parks in 1998. This was part of a Government of Canada policy regarding cost-recovery and charging of services. The introduction of fees had an impact on visitation which dropped sharply in the years following – from 120,000 (1988), to 61,699 (2000), and about 30,000 today – in particular local visitors who were used to coming to the site to enjoy the park (Canadian Parks Service 1991 :41; Parks Canada Agency 2009:9).

The second was the development of a Commemorative Integrity Statement (CIS), a management tool developed to articulate each national historic site’s reasons for designation, identify the cultural resources, and communicate the key interpretive messages. The relationship between the integrity of the attributes and the idea that their presence is essential to value reflects a certain definition of authenticity and results in commemorative integrity once the site is designated. The latter concept is the cornerstone of cultural resource management at Parks Canada, and its specific meaning is articulated in the CIS.

A test of integrity was only partially applied at Grand-Pré since these criteria did not exist at the time of its designation. The HSMBC concluded that there was insufficient historical and archaeological information yet still considered it worthy of recognition (Parks Canada Agency 2011:20). It is consistent with the Government of Canada's greater interest in tourism attractions than in research and protection in the 1950s. Greater attention to integrity was only applied once the reason for designation was revised in 1982 and the commemorative integrity statement developed in 1997 and revised in 2010.

The CIS identifies the following reason for designation of Grand-Pré based on the minutes of the HSMBC meetings:

- It was a centre of Acadian activity from 1682 to 1755;
- It commemorates the deportation of the Acadians, which occurred at Grand-Pré in 1755;
- It commemorates the strong attachment that remains to this day among Acadians throughout the world to this area, the heart of their ancestral homeland and symbol of the ties which unite them (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :1).

This reason for national significance now reflects more closely the values of the Acadian community as expressed in the contract of 1956 and are by extension values that are shared by all Canadians.

The outcome of these changes in management, vision, official values, and resources was the transformation of the national historic site's operations,

interpretation offer, and infrastructure. The SPGP provided the leadership to work with Parks Canada and achieve the evolution that was deemed essential by the Acadian community. The process that began in the 1980s with the Acadian community's challenge of the federal government's management of the site reached a major milestone in 2003 with the inauguration of a new visitor and interpretation centre built on lands that surrounded the memorial gardens acquired by the federal government in 2002 (Figure 3-16). The renewed historic site was ready to host some of the most important celebrations of the early 2000s, including the World Acadian Congress in 2004, the commemoration of the 250th anniversary of the Deportation, and the Acadian Games in 2008 (Figure 3-17).

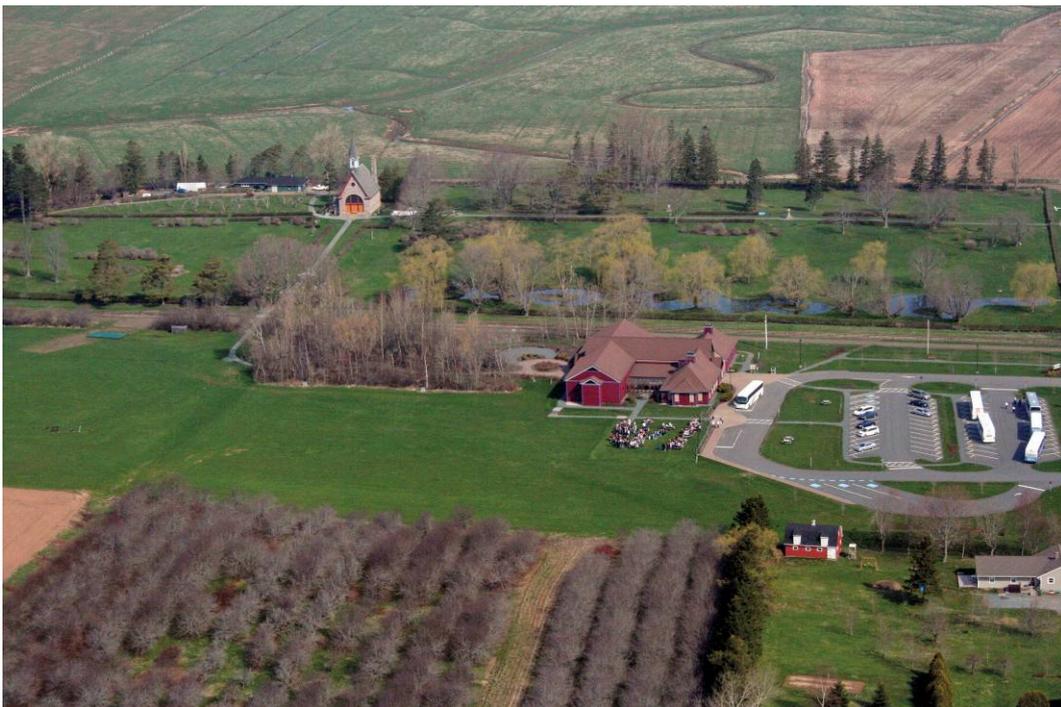


Figure 3-16 Aerial view of Grand-Pré NHSC showing the new visitor centre adjacent to the commemorative park. © Christophe Rivet



Figure 3-17 Manifestations of Acadian community identity at Grand-Pré. From top left, clockwise: gathering at Horton Landing on September 5th the day of the Deportation © François Gaudet; youth gathered at Grand-Pré NHSC for the Acadian Games (2008) © SPGP; 250th anniversary of the Deportation at Horton Landing (2005) © Christophe Rivet.

Today, the site continues to evolve. In 2010 and 2011, Parks Canada acquired additional lands surrounding the national historic site, almost doubling its size and enabling the agency to better protect its associated cultural resources and values (Figure 3-18). In addition, in 2011, the SPGP realigned its operations to focus on the promotion of the site and the design of activities, leaving Parks Canada to deliver the visitor services and interpretation programs.

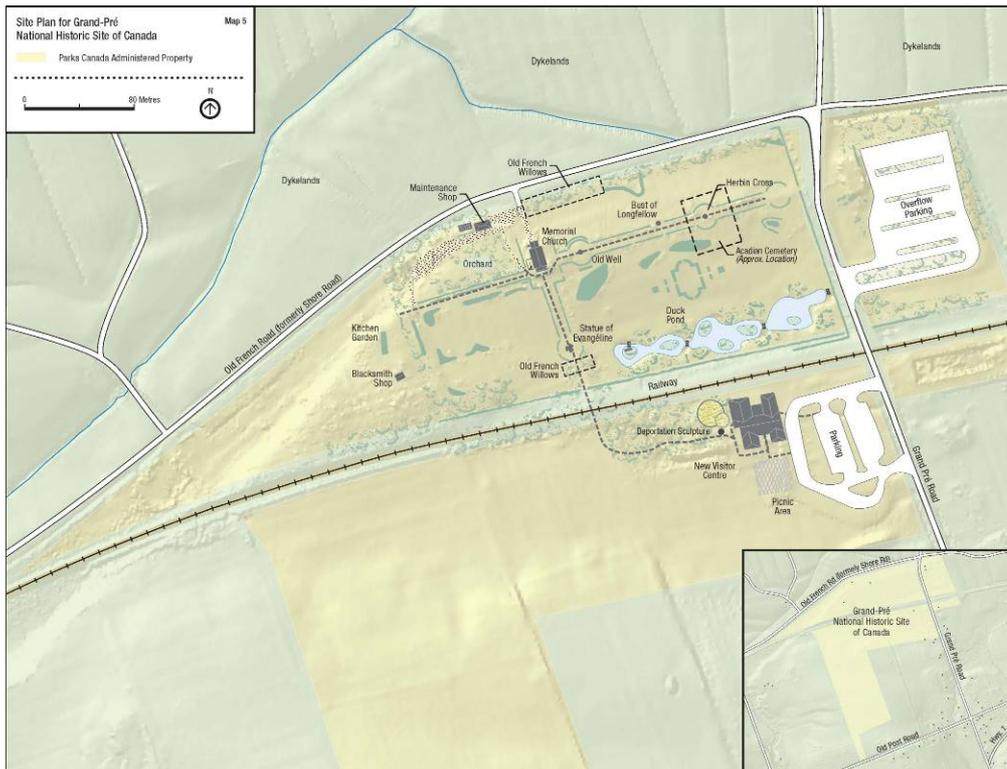


Figure 3-18 Site plan for Grand-Pré NHSC showing the commemorative park designed by Percy Nobbs in the middle, the new visitor centre, and lands acquired since 2008. © Parks Canada

What the designation process for Grand-Pré reveals is that the value attributed by the stakeholder group and the one recognized by the government were at odds. This led to tensions around the meaning and impact of management decisions on the authenticity of the place. These tensions emerged primarily because the stakeholder group considers it has a stewardship role at the heritage place and because the place itself continues to play a role in the group's sense of identity. It highlights the tensions between the government's role and the citizens' role in determining the relevance of these places.

3.2.3. Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC

In 1992, the Grand-Pré Historical Society submitted a request to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board to consider the designation of the “rural village of

Grand-Pré” as a historic district of national significance (Doull 1995 :1203). At the time, the HSMBC had already designated a few historic urban districts, but had never considered the question of commemorating rural historic districts.

An agenda paper prepared for the November 1994 meeting of the HSMBC, proposed a framework to assess submissions of places as potential rural historic districts. The paper articulates the discussion around the concept of cultural landscape, a concept that was gaining worldwide attention in the early 1990s, including at the World Heritage level. Unlike urban historic districts that focused on settlement patterns and concentrations of buildings, rural districts address land use, occupation, and ownership. In fact, the agenda paper makes the recommendation, adopted later by the HSMBC, to expand the principles and criteria applied to urban districts by looking at the characteristics of the place as a cultural landscape (Doull 1994:883). The proposed criteria offer an overview of what would be deemed important by the HSMBC and of national significance:

 criterion 1: a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of landscape components, which when taken together comprise an exceptional representation and/ or embody the distinctive characteristics of types, periods, or methods of land occupation and use, illustrating the dynamics of human interaction with the landscape over time.

 [...]

 criterion 2: a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of landscape components, which when taken together comprise an outstanding example of a landscape of technological or social significance.

 [...]

 criterion 3: a significant concentration, linkage, or continuity of landscape components which share common associations with individuals or events of national significance (Doull 1994:883-885)

Based on this framework, Grand-Pré was considered by the HSMBC under criterion 1 and 2. Grand-Pré was recognized as “the only large area of former

Acadian occupation, where the broad range of pre-expulsion historical patterns, [...] may be clearly legible” (Doull 1995:1232), those patterns being “the use of dyked, tidal marshland for the cultivation of grain and field crops and for seasonal grazing, the use of adjacent upland areas for orchards, gardens and house and farmstead sites, and the evolution of linear, dispersed village and house-site locational patterns”. It is also being recognized as “one of the largest single reclamation enterprises, developed incrementally as the increasing population required expanded productive farmland, and the growing work force in turn provided additional hands for the labour-intensive process of dyke building”. Moreover, it recognizes the fact the “the agricultural landscape created by the Acadian dyke program defined, and continues to define, the physical qualities and the agricultural practices of the area”. The HSMBC supported the conclusions of the agenda paper and recommended the designation of Grand-Pré as Canada’s first rural historic district of national significance to the Minister. It was designated Grand-Pré in 1995 because:

The area contains one of the oldest land occupation and use patterns of European origin in Canada, created by two cultural groups of significance and embodying distinctive characteristics of successive periods and methods of land occupation, which illustrate the dynamics of human interaction with the landscape. Further, through the continued use of dykelands and the survival of a land use pattern influenced by the associated agricultural practice, the area represents an outstanding example of a landscape of technological and social importance, created by the Acadians and modified by subsequent cultural groups. Finally, these cultural landscape qualities exist within a definable area which exhibits a high level of integrity and a minimum of urban encroachments or incompatible land uses (Minutes of the HSMBC, July 1995, *Grand-Pré Rural Historic District, Nova Scotia*).

Based on the definition of rural historic districts, which allude to the “[creation of] a special sense of time and place through significant concentrations, linkages and continuity of landscape components” (HSMBC 2008 :11), the integrity of the

Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC revolves around the relationship between concentration, linkages, and continuity to provide authenticity of place (Figure 3-19).

This designation was celebrated almost a decade later with the unveiling of the HSMBC plaque at Grand-Pré NHSC in 2004. The community was invited along with elected officials.

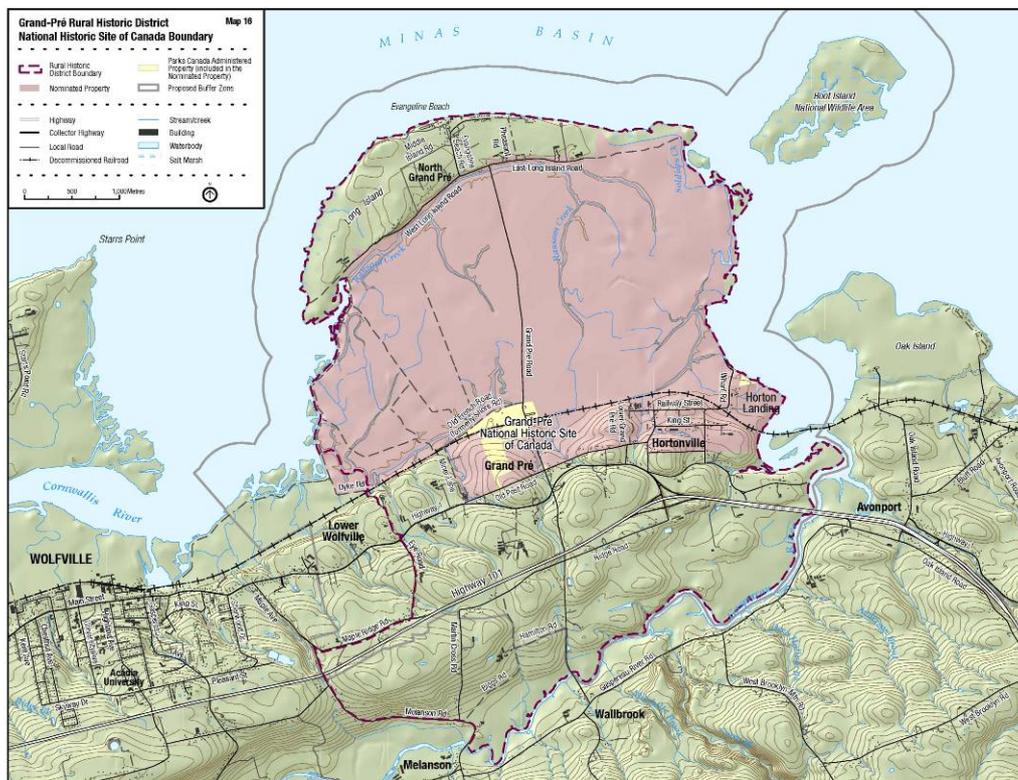


Figure 3-19 Map showing the boundaries of Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC. © Parks Canada

There are a few noteworthy differences in awareness and management regime between the designation of Grand-Pré NHSC and of Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC. Between the time of designation and the ‘plaquing’ of the event, the rural historic district was a little known fact in the community and more importantly amongst land managers. Indeed, since the process for designation

did not involve the community, other than the trigger for the process itself, there was little awareness of the analysis and subsequent designation. The federal designation was part of a larger strategy to protect the area which included designating a municipal heritage conservation district (Municipality of the County of Kings 1999 :1), but that intent was lost since the federal and municipal designations did not cover the same area or recognized the same values.

The more important difference is the fact that a designation of national significance is strictly commemorative and has no mechanisms of protection other than those that are owned and administered by Parks Canada. Consequently, while the designation recognizes the integrity of a traditional form of land occupation, the 'continued use of dykelands' for agriculture, and the minimal impact from 'urban encroachments or incompatible land uses', there is no mechanism to protect those values.

What the process for the designation of value for the Grand-Pré Rural Historic District reveals is that there is little tension between stakeholders and government when government has no role in protecting the heritage place. That lack of tension may also underline a lack of relevance in that a role for citizens in the protection will introduce a definition of relevance, whereas in the current situation, the government is the initiator of a discussion on the relevance of this rural district and imposes the heritage value.

3.2.4. Grand Pré Municipal Heritage Conservation District

In 1994, the Municipality of the County of Kings prepared a discussion paper on the potential interest and viability of creating a heritage district in Grand Pré and Hortonville. The paper aimed to “provide a framework for consultation with the residents of Grand Pré – Hortonville” in order to “first determine the level of interest in the community in heritage conservation” and if the community is interested to “determine the Terms of Reference for the heritage conservation program” (Municipality of the County of Kings 1994 :Forward).

In the preamble to the description of that objective, the paper notes that the community had been concerned with heritage conservation for a long time. Indeed, residents had “consistently gone on record in support of their area being designated as having unique heritage”, which led to council incorporating in the 1979 Municipal Planning Strategy (the first for the county), “planning policies unique to Grand Pré and complimentary policies adopted for the surrounding area to ensure the agricultural-rural character [was] encouraged to continue”. In 1988, residents once again indicated that further protection was needed resulting in a 1992 amendment involving “small adjustments in the type of uses and form of structures intended for the area, an increase in the minimum lot size, and the establishment of a Heritage Conservation District Overlay designation” (Municipality of the County of Kings 1994 :Forward). That last designation simply indicated that the county was identifying the Grand Pré area to be studied for future heritage conservation.

The study was initiated in 1992 with the 1994 discussion paper mentioned above as well as a working paper on the establishment of a heritage conservation district prepared in November 1994 for the Nova Scotia Department of Municipal Affairs, the Kings County Planning Advisory Committee, and the Grand Pré Historical Society. The purpose of that paper was to “develop a rationale for the establishment of a heritage conservation district at Grand Pré within the framework of the Nova Scotia Heritage Property Act and to outline some options for heritage conservation measures for discussion by the community”. Furthermore, it “intended to be a catalyst for community discussion and a step towards the development of a community-based conservation strategy” (Plaskett 1994 :1).

The working paper discusses value and engagement strategies. It states that “Grand Pré is highly significant from a number of historical, cultural, archaeological, and ecological points of view” (Plaskett 1994 :5) and proceeds to articulate them under five categories including historical associations, cultural landscape, scenic landscape qualities, and historic architecture⁴ (Plaskett 1994:5-12).

⁴ Excerpt of the report:

Historical associations and monumented sites:

- Grand Pré as a spiritual site for native peoples
- Grand Pré as the heartland of Acadia
- The Expulsion
- Evangeline
- The French-English conflict
- Horton Landing and the Planters
- Hortonville – the undeveloped colonial townsite
- Acacia Villa School
- The Borden monument (the HSMBC plaque to Sir Robert Borden, Canada’s eighth Prime Minister)
- Houses (associated with prominent local and national individuals)

The cultural landscape:

- Archaeological sites
- Field patterns
- Streets
- Trees

This analysis was an important exercise to raise awareness of the complexity and richness of the heritage value of Grand Pré and area. Interestingly, it does not propose a specific value, instead opting to suggest that there are numerous reasons for considering the area as potentially significant.

It is noteworthy that at the same time as the Municipality of the County of Kings was studying a district, the HSMBC was also looking at the potential national significance of the area. In both cases, the main stakeholder group that triggered the parallel processes was the Grand Pré Historical Society.

The working paper proposed a detailed process to council to assess interest from residents. It included the review of the report by council, the recommendation that the planning advisory committee and the historical society provide the leadership for this process, a survey of residents' opinion, the set up of a working committee, and a schedule for public information and feedback (Plaskett 1994 :93-94).

-
- Buildings
 - Other features (eg. Ruins of the wharves, ruins of the railway bridge, etc.)

Scenic landscape qualities:

- The dykeland
- Long Island
- The Park (the national historic site)
- Grand Pré village centre
- The farms to the west of Grand Pré
- The Hortonville Orchards
- Hortonville village
- Horton Landing
- Old Highway 1
- Highway 101 transition area

Edges and views

Historic architecture:

- Age of buildings
- Styles
- Churches
- Barns

Council received the report in winter 1994 and agreed with its recommendations, in effect accepting to move to the next step of the process. The working paper was sent to all residents in the area under consideration and a public meeting was organized by the Planning Advisory Committee to discuss possible direction. In 1995, an opinion survey was sent to residents of Grand Pré and area. The results were enlightening: there was significant support in the hamlet of Grand Pré where most heritage properties are located, and significantly less in the surrounding area. The argument in the surrounding areas was that the hamlet had readily identifiable heritage properties. Based on these opinions, council passed a resolution in November 1995 to prepare a draft conservation plan for the proposed district limited to the hamlet of Grand Pré. Furthermore, the resolution also stated that the plan should follow a principle of 'voluntary inclusion', meaning that only consenting owners would have to follow the direction set in the conservation plan (Municipality of the County of Kings 1999 :6).

While the study looked at many values, the end result is architecturally-based, despite attempts at highlighting the importance of the setting. The district was designated in 1999 as a cultural landscape reflecting the Acadian and New England Planter settlement pattern, the agricultural use, and the association with important events in history.⁵ The attributes of this value include architectural elements from the late 18th century to the present, settlement patterns, linear road systems, natural features such as a brook, and viewpoints. Interestingly, the boundaries of the heritage conservation district are set by the

⁵ <http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=16209&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012.

lot boundaries of the structures associated with the district, which in effect excludes much of the settlement patterns, agricultural setting, and field patterns.

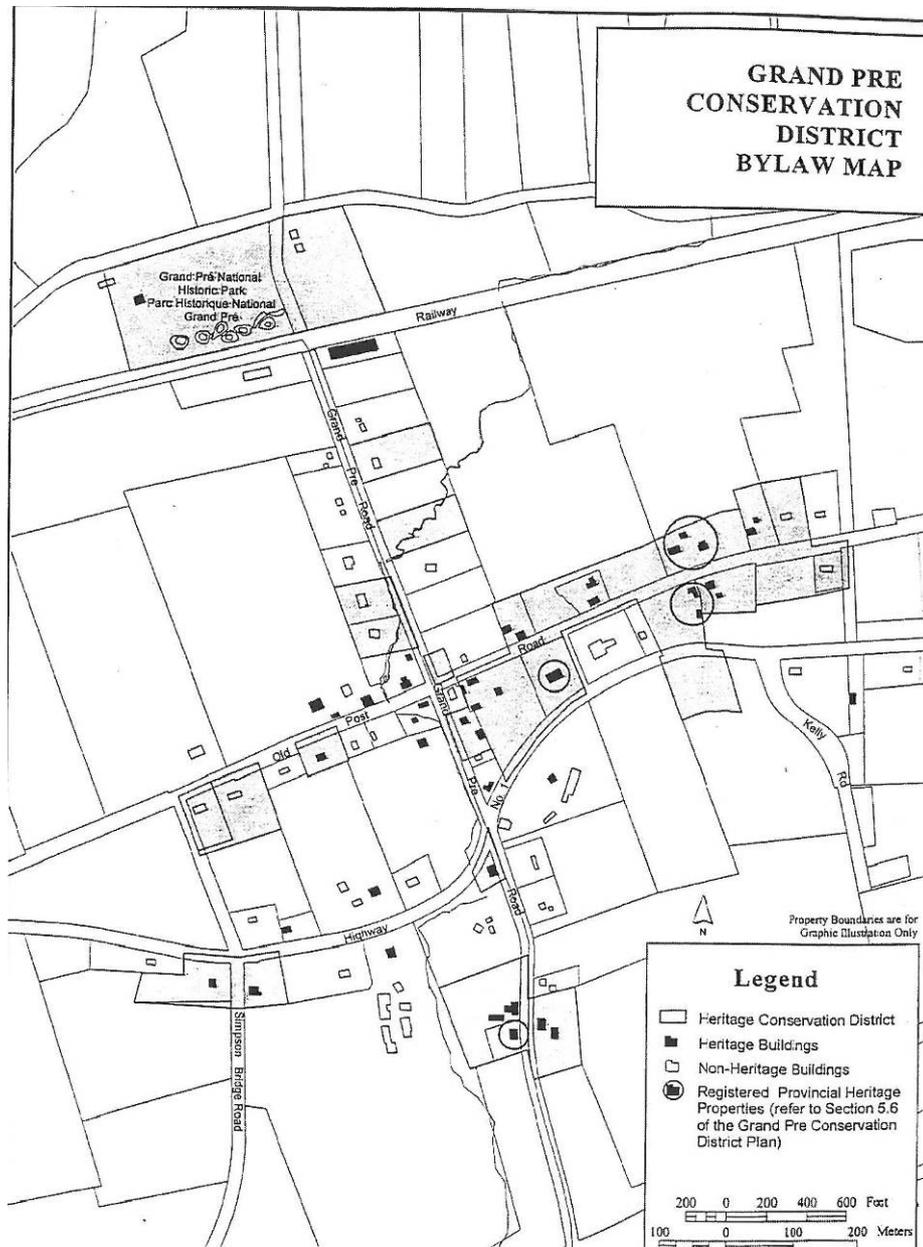


Figure 3-20 Map of the municipal heritage conservation district. Properties within the boundaries have to follow the appropriate bylaws. Owners can apply to be excluded from the district. © Municipality of the County of Kings

This set of values would appear to be relevant to the local residents since it stresses the agricultural use. However, it is revealing that of the forty-one properties within the area of interest of the district, the owners of only twenty-eight properties gave consent to be included and abide by the conservation

guidelines (data from the Municipality of the County of Kings, email correspondance, December 17th 2012). There is no mechanism in municipal by-laws to protect viewpoints, roads, settlement patterns, and natural features. There is provincial legislation to protect buildings and structures designated as part of a historic district, which explains the residents' hesitation to include their properties. The end result is a designation that is loosely defined and loosely protected, where government has not articulated the importance and where residents have not bought into its protection.

The municipal process did not apply a test of integrity or authenticity. Based on the report that was prepared for municipal council, the research concluded that there were numerous components that together cohesively illustrated a heritage environment of significance. However, the voluntary property owner inclusion clause and the lack of regulations render the concern with integrity secondary.

3.2.5. Buildings, Events and Persons that were Recognized and are Associated with the Landscape

The designations described previously highlighted a layered and complex definition of the heritage landscape of Grand Pré. A number of other forms and types of heritage are commemorated nationally, provincially and locally in Grand Pré that may not be as well celebrated.

There are three events of national significance that are commemorated by an HSMBC plaque: the Attack at Grand-Pré (1747), the Dispersal of the Acadians (1755), and the Coming of the New England Planters (1760). These remain

relevant to the sense of identity of the Acadian community and of the local residents that have New England Planter ancestry. Sir Robert Laird Borden, eighth Prime Minister of Canada, was born and raised in Grand Pré and is recognized as a person of national historic significance.

The Covenanters' Church is recognized both nationally and provincially. As a national historic site it focuses on its architectural value because "[its] simple frame and rectangular form church is characteristic of the 18th-century New England meeting house"⁶. It was designated by the Province of Nova Scotia because "[it] is valued as the oldest extant Presbyterian Church in Canada. It is also valued for its relatively unaltered form and meeting house style"⁷. It is used only on special occasions.

The provincial government has recognized four houses as being of significance. The Borden house is significant because of its association with the eponymous Prime Minister. The Jeremiah Calkin House is valued "because it is one of the oldest known buildings erected by the New England Planters in Nova Scotia and it is the earliest surviving house in the Horton Township. It is also valued because it has been so well restored since being saved from demolition"⁸. GowanBrae is recognized for its architectural value as well as for its historical function as a locally well-known hotel that attracted internationally famous

⁶ (<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=12343&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012)

⁷ (<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=7325&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012)

⁸ (<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=6791&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012).

individuals⁹. Finally, the Stewart House is also recognized for its architectural value and its association with the same family for over two hundred years¹⁰. The provincial process of designation of buildings and places applies a test of integrity that is case specific. Research and the consensus of the Minister's Advisory Council on Heritage Property provide the articulation of integrity. This approach applies to the provincially-designated buildings at Grand Pré. The archaeological resources are excluded from this test since the Special Places Protection Act applies to all resources deemed to be of archaeological value.

The last form of recognition is a plaque erected by the Wolfville Historical Society on the location of the former Acacia Villa School, an important local institution founded in 1852. It provided a practical business and maritime education to the sons of farmers and mariners.

These events, people, and places of significance were recognized over the past century by different jurisdictions with varying levels of public engagement in their designation. Only the provincial designations are accompanied by a legal protection. Each property is in private hands and is not accessible to the public.

3.2.6. The Landscape of Grand Pré World Heritage Site

The inscription of the Landscape of Grand Pré on UNESCO's World Heritage List in June 2012 is the most recent heritage designation. The following section of the case study describes the process of preparing this designation. The

⁹ (<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=3432&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012)

¹⁰ (<http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=6294&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012)

World Heritage process is complex, rigorous, and labour intensive in ways that the other designation processes are not, reflecting a set of requirements that is different from the ones applied for a national and provincial designation. It was also focused on engaging stakeholders in the process instead of simply consulting them. There is a benefit to providing a detailed narrative for this process since the dynamics at play were more intricate and consequential. As a result, it offers insight on the progress of awareness and support for values and the protection of the heritage place.

The process for inscription began with the inclusion of Grand-Pré on Canada's Tentative List. The main stakeholders involved in the process for Grand-Pré included the Acadian community, the HSMBC, the Grand Pré Historical Society, and the Nova Scotia Government. Their proposal concluded that

- (iii) Grand-Pré is an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition as expressed in the persistent settlement and land use patterns created by the Acadians;
- (iv) It is an outstanding example of a landscape which represents the impact of the European Clash of Empires of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century on a colonial people;
- (vi) The Deportation is an event of outstanding universal significance in its effects on peoples in North America, France, and most particularly the ongoing Acadian community (Parks Canada Agency 2004:13)

This articulation of value underscores that the Acadian story was considered by Canada as potentially having outstanding universal value. It is one that is traditionally strongly associated with Grand-Pré and therefore may be intrinsic to the place. The other element highlighted by this value is the idea of continuity and living environment, as expressed by the ideas of 'cultural tradition', 'persistent settlement and land use patterns', and the 'ongoing Acadian community'.

When considering the description of the nominated property on the Tentative List, these ideas are in fact reinforced:

Grand-Pré is the emotional and spiritual centre for the Acadian people, and the most important lieu de la mémoire.

Grand-Pré consists of archaeological sites from the 17th to the 20th centuries, evolved cultural landscapes, and commemorative sites associated with the homeland of the Acadian people. It is pre-eminently associated with the Acadian way of life, notably the dyked marshland that Acadians reclaimed from the sea and developed into the granary of all Acadie, and with the tragic forced removal and subsequent migrations of the Acadians to eastern Canada, the Anglo-American colonies, Spanish Louisiana, the West Indies, South America, and Europe, thus creating *un pays sans frontières*. Remnants of the 17th and 18th century Acadian landscape, plus 20th century memorials to the Acadian people, today speak to a society's ascent, destruction and revival (Parks Canada Agency 2004:12-13)

The list of tangible evidence stresses the Acadian connection and the time span between the 17th century and the 20th century, however skimming over the 19th century.

This proposed outstanding universal value and property presented a number of significant challenges. Despite the list of tangible evidence, there was no clear articulation of the place itself. It was evident that the national historic site was included, but the inclusion of other elements was ill-defined. There was a suggestion that dyked marshland may be important but the expressions 'way of life', 'cultural tradition', 'evolved cultural landscapes' and 'persistent settlement pattern and land-use' suggest something broader. In addition, this raised the question of the definition of a 'way of life' and its tangible evidence. Since the World Heritage Convention protects tangible heritage, this could not be overlooked. Finally, the suggestion that the nominated property was the

emotional and spiritual centre of the Acadian people raised the question of definition of the Acadian people, the location of their present communities, and suggested yet again something intangible with ill-defined boundaries.

The suggestion that the Deportation of the Acadians is an event of outstanding universal value was problematic. World history is rife with events of forced removal, deportation, forced displacement, or 'clearances' all terms used to refer to a population being removed from its homeland under duress. The line in the description relative to the memorials "speak[ing] to a society's ascent, destruction and revival" provided avenues for a value associated with the Acadian experience of their forced removal as a potential universal value. The challenge was compounded by the fact that the question of the events surrounding the Deportation, their impact and severity, remains a sensitive topic in the Acadian community.

Another issue was both political and intellectual; how could a nominated property be proposed and protected by local residents when their story – the arrival of the New England Planters, the hard work of the subsequent generations of farmers that enable the visitor today to recognize elements of the Acadian landscape – is ignored in the proposed value? This was a challenge to be undertaken with a methodical process to define value and seek broad support beyond the Acadian community.

Following the release of the Tentative List, the Acadian community was eager to proceed with the preparation of a nomination proposal and was putting pressure

on Parks Canada to begin the process (personal communication, Claude DeGrâce). This began in earnest in March 2007 when some forty stakeholder groups were invited by Parks Canada to attend a meeting at Grand-Pré NHSC to discuss the next steps. The main questions were three-fold: who will lead this process? What resources were needed? How will stakeholders be engaged? (Parks Canada Agency 2007)

These questions were difficult to tackle because of the number of stakeholders and the variety of interests represented. Those who were able to attend the meeting were a representative sample of the key groups of interest. They included the Acadian community in New Brunswick and in Nova Scotia, the Société Promotion Grand-Pré, the 'friends' of Grand-Pré, the historical society, the municipal elected officials, the farmers, the tourism industry, the three levels of government, the economic development agency, and the Mi'kmaq. Many of those who attended commented on the fact that it was the first time they could remember where such a diverse group of interests were brought together to discuss the future of Grand-Pré (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)). This last comment was both seen as a positive and a negative. While opportunities could arise from a forum of such diverse interests, it attracted considerable attention to a small community.

While Parks Canada senior officials announced at that meeting the investment of considerable resources in expertise for the project, they were clear that the agency was not going to lead the process. From the agency's perspective, this was not just about the national historic site. Even if the process were to

determine that the proposal was about the national historic site, local and stakeholder support was an important consideration for the submission (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)). Other government organizations were more cautious. The provincial government had just finished investing in the world heritage submission of the Joggins Fossil Cliffs and its resources were limited. The municipal councillors had reservations about the cost and the potential impacts on the community of a successful inscription (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)).

The heritage community and the Acadians were enthusiastic about this process. It was an opportunity to support the recognition of the heritage value of Grand Pré and certainly seeking the highest honour in the heritage world was a means to meet their respective agendas (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)). The economic development agency (the Kings County Economic Development Association, now the Kings Regional Development Agency) was interested in the long-term view of supporting sustainable economic activities including tourism in Kings County. a World Heritage designation was perceived as an exceptionally attractive strategy (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)).

At the end of the meeting, participants agreed on a number of points in response to the three questions about leadership, resources, and stakeholder engagement. It was decided to create an advisory board that included the key stakeholders. Parks Canada provided the project management capacity as well as an array of other professional support. Finally, the process would only go ahead after having held a public meeting in Grand Pré with the residents about

a submission for World Heritage designation and gauge the initial support for proceeding with the proposal (Parks Canada Agency 2007 a)).

By early 2008, a structure for an advisory board was agreed to. The board included the Acadian community, the local community, the heritage community, the three levels of government, the Kings RDA, the Mi'kmaq, the tourism industry, the marsh landowners, the farming community, and the Planters (Nomination Grand Pré January 2008). The Acadian community and the Kings RDA, representing the local interests, were co-chairs of the board. The board's mandate was "to provide the strategic direction for the Grand Pré cultural landscape UNESCO World Heritage List nomination proposal" (Nomination Grand Pré 2009). The responsibilities included "a) To provide strategic direction for the proposal; b) To ensure that stakeholders are appropriately engaged; c) To obtain the support of relevant authorities; [...]" This structure, mandate, and set of responsibilities reflected a vision of collaboration and shared stewardship for the project and the nominated property. From the onset, decisions on direction were going to be the result of consensus building and interest sharing. That same year, in 2008, the group chose a name for itself, Nomination Grand Pré, and developed communication tools. The most useful and unifying tool was the tag line, *One land. Many stories. A shared legacy*. It came to epitomize the values of the project, the way of operating and the vision.

Throughout this early stage of development, governments were defining their own roles. Parks Canada had already positioned itself early on as the provider of expertise, which was to prove to be quite substantial and critical to the

stability of the project. The federal government was also involved in funding through the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA), the federal regional development agency. The provincial government provided some expert resources, particularly archaeologists and marshland management expertise, and significant funding. Some five provincial departments were at the table which was both an opportunity, in that it gave a measure of the complexity of the proposal and the resources needed to succeed, as well as a challenge, as it also demonstrated an initial lack of coordination between departments. Finally, the municipal government provided funding to hire expert resources to support the project. The default position adopted by all levels of government was to provide the resources to support Nomination Grand Pré that would lead this project.

Meanwhile stakeholders were also working to define their role. The Acadian community was represented by numerous organisations, both local and regional, at the March 2007 meeting. The challenge was to identify the group or groups that firstly would ensure legitimacy of the decisions of Nomination Grand Pré on behalf of the Acadians, and secondly would provide the means to engage the community at large. The community decided that the Société nationale de l'Acadie, the national body representing the interests of Acadians, would co-chair the board and the Société Promotion Grand Pré would sit on the board and provide resources.

The local community was a much more complex challenge. The broad area of interest included four communities – the hamlet of Grand Pré and the three

communities of Hortonville, North Grand Pré, and Lower Wolfville – that did not typically come together to discuss issues of common interest. While the common denominator is the presence of farming families in all four communities, the demographics and history of these communities highlight major differences: the hamlet of Grand Pré has a number of residents that are retired professors from the neighbouring university, Acadia University in Wolfville as well as many individuals that are not native to the area. By contrast, many residents in North Grand Pré and Hortonville belong to families that have farmed the land for close to nine generations and are descendants of New England Planters or later Loyalist settlers. North Grand Pré is host to a number of cottagers that come to the area for a few months a year. Finally, there is an important community of Dutch farmers that came after the Second World War in all four communities (Municipality of the County of Kings 2008). This diversity was less a challenge than the evident lack of unity, a fact that became clear to those that attended the initial public meeting in November 2007.

At that meeting, the community decided to form a Grand Pré and area community association to support the proposal but more importantly to present the voice of the area's residents (Nomination Grand Pré 2007 (November)). The two priorities of the association were to find the individuals that would sit as community liaison on the Nomination Grand Pré board and secondly to prepare a municipal community plan. The selection of individuals came as a result of a public call for volunteers and a community vote, the whole process having been facilitated by the Kings RDA. Two community members were chosen. As soon as they were designated, voices were heard that they did not represent the

community. This was a first sign that community cohesion and the legitimacy of the project in the community were going to remain a significant challenge.

The municipal plan was suggested by Nomination Grand Pré. The goals behind this proposal were three-fold: protection, engagement, and community stewardship. First, it would define the municipal zoning and development priorities for Grand Pré and area which would include the nominated property when the latter would be defined in due course. Second, Nomination Grand Pré had committed to providing the resources to define the plan and reflect the direction developed by the community, unaltered, in the nomination proposal. This was an important trust-building commitment to make by Nomination Grand Pré that was essential to confirm the empowerment of the local community. The community had a chance to discuss a common vision for itself and the landscape, an exercise that would do much to build a sense of shared stewardship.

The remaining stakeholders found their role in the process. The farming community and the New England Planter associations delegated to groups already involved. Others got involved to make sure they had a strong voice in the direction of the project, such as the Grand Pré Marsh Body, the association of dykeland owners who together administer the fields.

While the intent of Nomination Grand Pré was to recognize every stakeholder group as equal and legitimate decision-makers, it was faced in fact with different

stakeholder groups that did not have an equal desire, perception, and capacity to be engaged in that fashion.

The nomination proposal process involved much more than preparing a dossier. It equally invested resources in education about the process itself, in raising awareness about the values of Grand Pré, as well as in acquiring reliable information about the property and its attributes through stakeholder engagement and contribution to the knowledge base. Finally, stakeholders also needed to be engaged to gain their support.

At the onset, the members of the ad hoc committee that preceded the advisory board, committed to transparency, inclusiveness, honesty, and accountability throughout the process. Trust and engagement were crucial to success with such a number of stakeholders involved and the uneven level of trust that existed between those groups.

Accountability was going to be achieved by having representatives of stakeholder groups, designated by them, sitting on the Advisory Board. This would ensure that the key stakeholders who were most affected by the proposal had the ability to make decisions about the direction of the project, as well as get first hand information about progress. In addition, both government and stakeholders would sit together on the board with only the stakeholders having voting rights. This reinforced the responsibility of stakeholders.

Transparency and inclusiveness were going to be achieved by having an open process. Openness meant that working groups and committees were set up to develop the key components of the nomination proposal which included an open invitation to stakeholders to participate or observe the discussions. In addition, all information produced by the project was publically accessible. A website was set up early on along with a quarterly newsletter distributed to all local residents. Finally, a number of activities such as exhibits, conferences, community events, and youth contests, were organized by stakeholder groups under the auspices of Nomination Grand Pré.

Three main concerns were expressed, mainly by the local community. Those were related to authority, impacts, and values. These concerns were heard as early as the first meeting with the community that took place in November 2007 (Nomination Grand Pré 2007 (November)).

The primary concern was about government imposing new regulations and legislation on the community. The perception that UNESCO would be a new layer of government and that they would tell the people of Grand Pré how to live was prevalent. This was coupled with a perception that a World Heritage designation meant the introduction of new legislation that would preclude change including the imposition of architectural guidelines. This concern was in part due to the experience from the designation of the municipal heritage district described earlier in this chapter where residents were deeply divided on the subject of heritage and preservation (personal communication Marianne Gates,

November 2007). Some residents were pushing for heritage protection, while others did not welcome restrictions on their property.

This concern was addressed by communicating that UNESCO does not impose legislation as that is adopted locally¹¹. In addition, Nomination Grand Pré provided funds to hire a planner and assist the local residents in developing a municipal plan for the four communities of Grand Pré, North Grand Pré, Hortonville, and Lower Wolfville. This was to be independent from the World Heritage process and focus on the local reality and needs of the communities. There was a commitment made that the direction developed in the plan would shape the management plan for the proposed World Heritage site and would be included verbatim.

A second main concern was that the designation would have a negative impact on the lives of the residents. There was a perception that hordes of tourists would descend upon Grand Pré which would affect the tranquility of the community. The perception that a designation would freeze Grand Pré in time was a concern to the farming community who expressed the need to adapt to market forces by practicing modern agriculture (Nomination Grand Pré 2009). Finally, the perception that a designation would increase property taxes resulting in locals not being able to afford living in their own community was a worry in part as a consequence of the changes that had been observed following the World Heritage designation of another location in Nova Scotia, Old Town Lunenburg in 1995.

¹¹ <http://nominationgrandpre.ca/faq.html>, accessed December 12, 2012

These concerns were tied to broader questions about the future of rural communities and these ones in particular. In this case, it was impossible for anyone to say with certainty what the community would look like after a designation since each case is unique. Nevertheless, to address these apprehensions, Nomination Grand Pré facilitated a conversation between residents of Grand Pré and those from existing World Heritage sites in Nova Scotia. People from Joggins and from Lunenburg were invited to a town hall meeting in Grand Pré to discuss the benefits and challenges of a World Heritage process. In addition, Nomination Grand Pré commissioned studies on the economic benefits of a successful World Heritage designation¹², on the impact on property value¹³, and on socio-economic and cultural impacts¹⁴. The residents were engaged in data collection for these studies. The results were made public and information sessions were organized to answer questions.

The third main concern was that the designation would alter the character and identity of the place by stressing the Acadian story over all the other values. Indeed, for some members of the local community, this was believed to be an opportunity for the Acadians to reclaim their land. One resident voiced his opinion during a public meeting that “Grand Pré had been British longer than it had been Acadian”, which needed to be recognized and respected (comments made by local resident at a March 12, 2009 public meeting). It is noteworthy that most residents initially believed that the project was about proposing the

¹² <http://nominationgrandpre.ca/Documents/Documents/gp/UNESCO%20Economic%20Impact-%20FINAL%20Report.pdf>, accessed December 12, 2012

¹³ <http://nominationgrandpre.ca/Documents/Documents/gp/UNESCO%20Economic%20Impact-%20FINAL%20Report.pdf>, accessed December 12, 2012

¹⁴ <http://nominationgrandpre.ca/Documents/Documents/gp/Final%20Report%20-%20February%2024%202010.pdf>, accessed December 12, 2012

national historic site which would not be consistent with a concern about the Acadians reclaiming the farmland. In parallel, the Acadian community felt that the designation might overwhelm their values and Grand-Pré would lose some of its “Acadianness” particularly with the interpretation and the function of the visitor centre (personal communication Gérald C. Boudreau, January 2010). The submission triggered strong emotions and polarizing positions in the local community. The trust-building exercise that needed to occur was not only between the community and Nomination Grand Pré, but between communities of interests as well.

The outcome of these strategies was a significant decrease in suspicion about the process. Many residents felt that their apprehensions had been addressed. While unanimous support was never attainable, a majority of residents were aware of the main aspects of the proposal and were able to participate in influencing change in the community. The process and its outcome – a designated protected area – was made relevant both by the concerns raised and by the strategies employed to engage those most affected by change.

As part of the process, working groups were set up to address values and management. In January 2009, the working group that had worked to identify a proposed outstanding universal value tabled its report at the meeting of the advisory board. It was the conclusion of many debates that discussed the merit of various potential arguments. During the process, the working group, composed of archaeologists, historians, geographers, biologists, naturalists, Mi'kmaq elders, and local volunteers, studied Grand Pré through five lenses:

the natural 'lens', the Acadian, the Planter, the Mi'kmaq, and the local community (Nomination Grand Pré 2009 :4). These lenses were applied to allow an in-depth analysis of the potential values. Each stakeholder group was able to present the most complete and up-to-date information about those values to the entire working group who then debated the merit in light of a broad scientific and comparative context. The objective was to try to seek consensus based on the criteria set in the *Operational guidelines*.

The result was quite an evolution from the criteria articulated in the Tentative List (Table 3-1). It identified the tangible evidence tied to the proposed value which in turn helped draw a boundary for the nominated property. It included the dykeland, the national historic site, and the settlement on the upland. The working group also had developed further the idea that the Deportation had outstanding universal value. The suggestion was that the ability of the Acadian community to overcome that event had value more than the event itself. Finally, the criteria tried to relate more clearly to the reality of Grand Pré and of the stakeholder groups that had a connection to the place. The first criterion touched upon the tradition of transforming intertidal lands placing its origin during the Acadian period. The second recognized the continuity of that tradition, the fact that it had retained its original elements, emphasizing the agricultural identity of the place. The third highlighted the Acadian memorial aspect (Nomination Grand Pré 2009 :26-29).

Although these criteria were well received, there were still comments about the local community not being represented, this despite the previous warning that

the articulation of outstanding universal value may not reflect in the end every aspect, if any, of local identity. Throughout the following year and a half, these criteria served to guide the rest of the work. At the same time, they were being tested in discussions with and reviews by numerous international experts.

The end result was yet again, an evolution of the original idea outlined in the Tentative List and consolidating it in two criteria. The first criterion argued the value of the agricultural landscape that results from the human interaction with the highest tides in the world highlighting the combination of technology, method, and community structure to describe that interaction. The second criterion articulated the value related to collective identity and community cohesion. The Acadian story was the example to support the idea of collective identity rather than the value itself (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :69-70).

The statement of value reflects the outcome of a process that was open and focused on the requirements set in the *Operational guidelines*. Many different perspectives were heard and debated to arrive at a consensus around the most articulate argument of outstanding universal value. However, throughout the exercise a number of other values emerged. These were expressed by individuals and groups that actively participated in the project in workshops, working groups, or public consultation exercises. How then to address them in the nomination proposal? Acknowledgement of these values in the final document was an essential conclusion to the trust-building exercise undertaken since the beginning. The solution was to weave those community stories into the historical context of the proposal, as well as to craft the criteria so that they

conveyed convincingly the proposed outstanding universal value while alluding to the contribution of key stakeholder groups. This is particularly evident in criterion five that describes the agricultural landscape with statements such as 'ensure the livelihood of the local community today' and a 'thriving agricultural community' (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :69). There were nevertheless many stories about the place that did not make it into the proposal in order to ensure a clear and convincing argument.

After focusing on value, the project turned its attention to management. The determination of boundaries was a delicate exercise balancing the need to meet the requirements of integrity and authenticity set in the *Operational Guidelines* and the ability to manage the nominated property. This last aspect was influenced by the number of landowners included within the boundaries and the resulting financial responsibilities. Indeed, it was clear from the onset that the nominated property would in large part be privately owned which meant that governments would have limited power, except where they owned the land, to impose regulations on individual landowners. The tighter the boundary around a solid argument that supported the proposed value, the better it was going to be for Nomination Grand Pré to make a case with the local community to work with authorities to protect it.

The proposed outstanding universal value brought attention to specific elements of the landscape. These were the marsh, the memorials, and the settlement. While the two first elements were easily circumscribed, the settlement was much more complex. Whereas the Acadian settlement originally was

concentrated along the uplands with some farms located along the rivers, the New England Planter settlement took place along the uplands, over the hills, and within a town plot. Later expansions spread further over the hills and along the rivers. Since the proposed argument for the agricultural aspect of the landscape suggests a “traditional settlement which is representative of human interaction with the environment”, the definition of that settlement, and its integrity and authenticity, was key.

There were two heritage places already designated to consider. The largest one, the rural historic district of national significance, covered tens of thousands of acres of farmland and the four communities. The lack of legal protection for that national designation made it difficult to entertain. The municipal historic district focused on buildings and only those located within the hamlet of Grand Pré, thus excluding the remains of the Acadian landscape and subsequent phases of evolution.

In the end, the boundaries of the nominated property were drawn up based on the values and the physical evidence necessary to demonstrate integrity and authenticity. That evidence was gathered by studying archival and archaeological evidence to identify what would qualify as the ‘heart’ of the Acadian settlement and the Planter settlement. The area that included the memorials as well as a representative sample of the current settlement was included. Finally, a representative sample of today’s community was identified by superimposing the Planter landscape and the Acadian landscape on the current settlement.

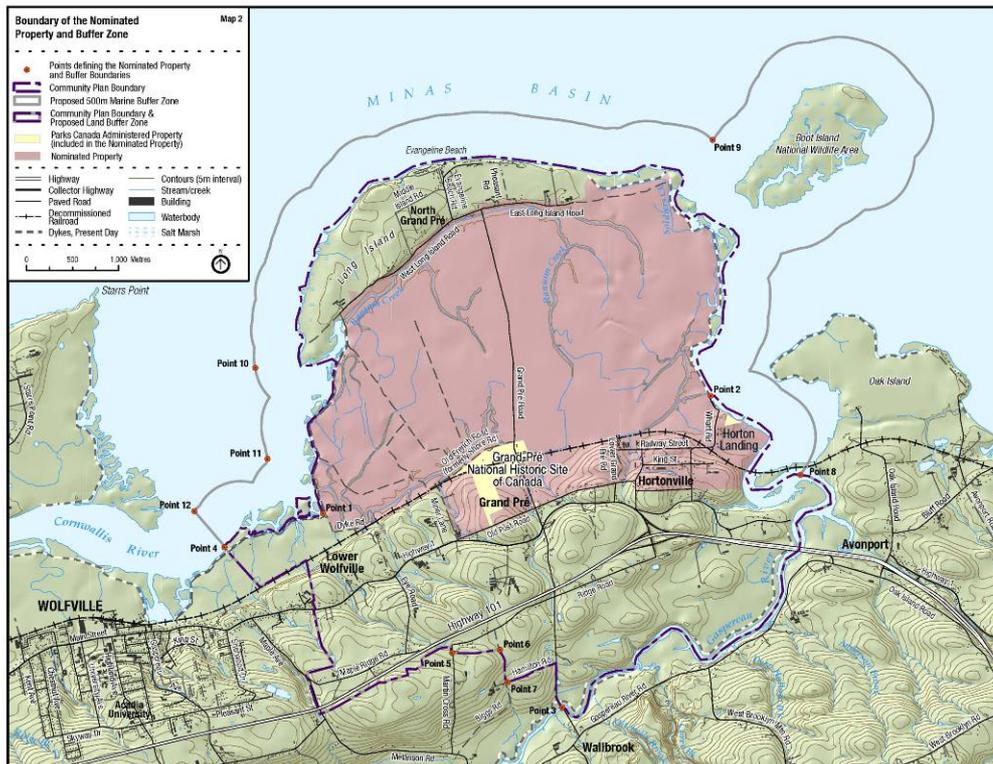


Figure 3-21 Boundaries of the World Heritage Site (in dark pink) and its buffer zone (grey line) at time of submission. © Parks Canada

The boundary is set around the area of the landscape where all these periods overlap. It ensures the integrity and authenticity of the proposed outstanding universal value by including all the attributes that speak to that value. It also reflects a process that engaged residents in revisiting assumptions about their surroundings defining them in light of the knowledge acquired throughout the nomination process.

	Value	Process and support	Decision-makers
Tentative List	<p>Criterion (iii): Grand-Pré is an exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition as expressed in the persistent settlement and land use patterns created by the Acadians;</p> <p>Criterion (iv): It is an outstanding example of a landscape which represents the impact of the European Clash of Empires of the 17th century and first half of the 18th century on a colonial people;</p> <p>Criterion (vi): The Deportation is an event of outstanding universal significance in its effects on peoples in North America, France, and most particularly the ongoing Acadian community</p>	<p>Consultation Ministerial decision</p> <p>Strong support in the Acadian community</p> <p>Limited awareness in the local community</p>	Government and experts
OUV report	<p>Criterion (iii): The intact dykeland at Grand Pré is an exceptional example of the distinctive Acadian tradition of turning wetlands into highly fertile farmland.</p> <p>Criterion (v): The enduring settlement and land-use pattern on the Grand Pré dykeland and upland is an outstanding example of a distinctive 17th and 18th-century community-based approach to agriculture in North America.</p> <p>Criterion (vi): Through its evocative memorials to a people who overcame a tragedy of forced migration, the Acadian Deportation, Grand Pré is a symbol of hope, perseverance, and pride for all humanity.</p>	<p>Public engagement Working group</p> <p>Strong awareness</p>	Experts and stakeholders
Submission to UNESCO	<p>Criterion (v): Grand Pré is a vibrant agricultural landscape, carved out of its harsh coastal environment three centuries ago by Acadian settlers. Working collectively, they applied an ingenious system of dyking and drainage to hold back the highest tides in the world, created extraordinarily fertile farmland, and began a tradition of collective management. This land reclamation system and this management tradition continue to ensure the livelihood of the local community today. The Landscape of Grand Pré is an outstanding example of a thriving farming community that interacts with its environment by using a successful land reclamation system and management tradition that predate the introduction of engineered drainage systems.</p> <p>Criterion (vi): Owing to the imposing presence of the dykelands, the Memorial Church and other memorials, and its enduring use by the Acadian people, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the most important <i>lieu de mémoire</i> for the Acadians, an evocative example of a homeland symbolically and peacefully reclaimed by a diaspora that has triumphed over hardships. The legacy of the Acadian people overcoming the tragedy of a forced removal, the <i>Grand Dérangement</i>, their renaissance, and the ongoing efforts of reconciliation are embodied in the Landscape of Grand Pré. Here, Acadians share their common heritage, reaffirm their identity, and continue to build their sense of community in a spirit of peaceful reconciliation with history. The Landscapes of Grand Pré provides a poignant and powerful living example of the universal human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation.</p>	<p>Public engagement Working group Experts</p> <p>Strong support in the Acadian community</p> <p>Support in the local community</p>	Experts and stakeholders
UNESCO decision	<p>Criterion (v): The cultural landscape of Grand Pré bears exceptional testimony to a traditional farming settlement created in the 17th century by the Acadians in a coastal zone with tides that are among the highest in the world. The polderisation used traditional techniques of dykes, aboteaux and a drainage network, as well as a community-based management system still in use today. The resultant rich alluvial soil enabled continuous and sustainable agricultural development.</p> <p>Criterion (vi): Grand Pré is the iconic place of remembrance of the Acadian diaspora, dispersed by the Grand Dérangement, in the second half of the 18th century. Its polder landscape and archaeological remains are testimony to the values of a culture of pioneers able to create their own territory, whilst living in harmony with the native Mi'kmaq people. Its memorial constructions form the centre of the symbolic re-appropriation of the land of their origins by the Acadians, in the 20th century, in a spirit of peace and cultural sharing with the English-speaking community.</p>	<p>Expert review Committee decision</p> <p>Support to be determined</p>	World Heritage Committee and Experts

Table 3-1 Evolution of the proposed OUV from the Tentative List to the final decision by the World Heritage Committee.

The debate around boundaries initiated the broader conversation about management. This essential part of any World Heritage nomination needed to take into account the legislation, policies, and management regimes of three levels of government. Each had their own direction: Grand-Pré NHSC had a management plan, the Grand Pré and area was developing a community plan, and the provincial government had policies for the management of the dykeland and of heritage. The submission needed to demonstrate that there was a coherent management environment to ensure the conservation of the nominated property. Consequently, a working group that included the three levels of government, local residents, Acadian representatives, the dykeland owners, and technical experts, was formed with the objective of developing a single management plan. The plan had a vision and principles to coordinate the work of all those involved with the management of the nominated property.

The working group tackled a range of issues including human induced and natural pressures, land use, tourism management, and conservation. After months of workshops and consultation, the working group produced a draft management plan that provided direction on all these matters (Nomination Grand Pré 2011). The most significant element, was the direction to establish a management body or 'stewardship board' co-chaired by residents and by Acadians to coordinate the activities within the nominated property.

The nomination was submitted in February 2011 and after 18 months of evaluation by various international experts from ICOMOS and others advising the World Heritage Committee, the latter inscribed the Landscape of Grand Pré

on UNESCO's World Heritage List in June 2012 (World Heritage Committee 2012). The outstanding universal value was once again revised when the World Heritage Committee rendered its decision. It emphasized the agricultural landscape and the importance of the commemorative landscape for the Acadians, thus strengthening the value of the place to the Acadian people. The committee's wording excluded many of the intricacies discussed between stakeholders at the time of the submission. Authenticity is characterized through archival and archaeological evidence, as well as oral evidence and contemporary testimonials from stakeholders that have a connection to the place. As of the moment of inscription, the Stewardship Board took over the responsibility of managing the WHS and protecting the outstanding universal value as defined by the World Heritage Committee.

Conclusion Part I: The Relationship between Value, Stakeholder Engagement, and Relevance

The different types of formal recognition of value exhibited at Grand Pré cover a wide range of ways of determining value and engaging stakeholders in that determination. Their comparison highlights the relationship between value, stakeholder, and relevance. There are five general observations on this relationship that can be drawn from this case study.

Stakeholders have been involved at different milestones and varying degrees in the designation and management of the heritage places in the case study. In the case of national historic site designations, the public may submit places for designation. Grand-Pré NHSC was not the result of a request from the public. However, there was already at the time an active stakeholder group that had agreed to its designation and had signed a contract to transfer ownership to the government. This relationship and the responsibilities of the parties in managing the site continue to be negotiated to this day. The rural district of national significance was submitted by the local heritage society with little involvement from other residents and no management responsibility. The municipal district was the result of some residents requesting the designation, a number of studies being produced to identify the value, and a municipal decision that limited government regulation and stakeholder involvement in management. Similarly, stakeholders were engaged unevenly in the management of these various historic places. The Acadians feel a responsibility to care for Grand-Pré

while there is uneven sense of stewardship from local residents in managing the rural landscape or the heritage district.

There is no correlation between the scope of value and the level of engagement. It may have been expected that the broader the reasons for designation, such as for a World Heritage Site, the more detached the stakeholders would be from the value and thus of the management. In fact, even at a local level citizens can feel disengaged and unwilling to participate in the management of a heritage environment.

The assessment of value is time sensitive. It reflects the understanding and beliefs of the people and the society involved in identifying a place as heritage. While sites are designated with a certain sense of value and significance, and with a view for them to be relevant for eternity, value is always assigned in the present. The recognition of Acacia Villa as an important site for the community is bound to lose its original meaning as the context for assessing the importance of education in Grand Pré in the 19th century becomes a clinical fact in history books rather than an appreciation of the achievement.

This suggests a fourth observation: value is an expression of relevance and is based on a framework of social and cultural parameters. As these parameters evolve and change with time, so would value and relevance. However, in an environment where that value is set and maintaining its integrity is paramount for those involved in its management, there is an increasing risk of losing relevance. In other words, heritage places are designated for a specific value

that is expected to sustain the test of time, but that premise is only possible if one of the agents – whether governments or citizens – nurtures the social and cultural parameters that will maintain the places' relevance. That test of time is articulated in the idea of authenticity since it is that idea that expresses the leading thread connecting the past to the present into the future. The case study suggests that there is a correlation between the attention paid to articulating authenticity at the time of designation and the meaningfulness of the place for stakeholders.

This leads to a final observation. The sites that are perceived as relevant by stakeholders may not be significant for the reasons they were designated. Similarly, sites that are perceived as significant will engage stakeholders in their management in a way that creates tension with the responsible authorities. This is because a government's role is to define the significance from the perspective of an idealized community – the nation, the province, the municipality – whereas an individual's role is to define significance from the perspective of the community to which it belongs. Grand-Pré NHSC is an eloquent example of that tension where the Acadian community considers the site as their most important symbol of identity, whereas Parks Canada considers it as a site of significance for all Canadians.

In conclusion, this case study raises questions primarily about the role of government and that of citizens, and the connection between value, authenticity and relevance. In addition, it suggests that where government maintains a commemorative intent, the relevance of those places is based on history and

may not reflect contemporary values. On the contrary, where stakeholders maintain a commemorative intent, the values may be rooted in history but reflect a collective memory which evolves in response to contemporary values. The first will be categorized in this study as a historic place while the second will be looked at as a *lieu de mémoire*, a place of memory.

Part II: Historic Places as Places of Heritage

This part looks at the nature of certain types of heritage places and their relationship with institutional agendas and community needs. More specifically the first chapter in this part discusses historic places, or heritage places as objects for which meaning and function is ascribed. This provides the framework for a discussion in the following chapter about the genesis of the theory of heritage conservation and the way it continues to influence practice, legislation, and government interventions. Particular attention is paid to the official recognition process, determination of use, and authenticity as they are important factors in stimulating relevance. With this discussion, it becomes apparent that process is only part of the means to generate relevance, that values-based conservation may not be applicable to all forms of heritage places, and that the state's role has resulted in defining relevance for its agenda.

4. Chapter Four: Objects in the Landscape

As the Grand Pré case study illustrates, heritage is a label assigned to objects and places that a community deems significant through a designation to differentiate those objects and places from their surroundings.

In this chapter, this differentiation is discussed by relying on early and recent theoretical positions stressing how certain places are valued with an emphasis on 'sacred' spaces. This theoretical approach is useful in thinking about heritage places. It sets the foundation to discuss differentiating places where valuation is generated by the state as a political entity from those where a community ascribes meaning. I propose that there are two non-mutually exclusive forms of heritage places: one is a historic place and the other is a *lieu de mémoire*. In each case, the role of government (outside agent) and that of the individual and community (internal agent) varies to the point where interests sometimes intersect or compete. In this chapter the emphasis is on the government and expert mechanisms and the definition of heritage places as objects, or historic places.

4.1. Perception of Space as 'Sacred'

The world is not uniform. To make sense of the world, we organize our surroundings by assigning uses and creating relationships between ourselves and place.

This is a premise that theorists that believe in underlying systems governing societies, such as structuralists and essentialists, have adopted to explain the presence of places of worship, sacredness, taboo, and other 'special' places. For historian of religions and philosopher Mircea Eliade, the world is organized to isolate the sacred that unites us as humans with the gods, the higher powers. He begins his essay *Le sacré et le profane* (1957) with the premise that "for the religious individual, *space is not homogenous*; there are interruptions, breaks: there are elements of the landscape that qualitatively different from others¹⁵" (Eliade 1957: 25)

For Eliade, spatial organization is essential to the perception of 'an absolute truth' (Eliade 1957 : 26), one that anchors in a single location the beginning of all times, and the break in the chaos that governs the rest of the universe (Eliade 1957 :32). In essence, these spatial components are the beginning, the focal point of a community's attention, the axis around which the world grows and is organized (Eliade 1957 :26).

To prove his premise, he opposes it to the profane experience. In that case, space is homogenous and neutral, there is no qualitative difference between

¹⁵ Pour l'homme religieux, *l'espace n'est pas homogène*; il présente des ruptures, des cassures : il y a des portions d'espace qualitativement différentes des autres.

components, since it cannot be divided and organized (Eliade 1957 :26). However, even for the most non-religious individual, Eliade claims that there are values that influence that individual's perception of space into organizing his experience in the world in terms of places that are 'special' and 'unique' (Eliade 1957 :27). This proves, according to him, that the tendency to organize space is rooted in a primitive religious approach to the world and the place of the individual in that world (Eliade 1957 :27). The Acadian diaspora's experience at Grand-Pré illustrates that desire to identify a centre to anchor their world. Irrespective of an attachment to the entire territory of their homeland, however defined, Grand-Pré stands out as a sacred space.

Eliade sees the sacred as manifest and seized by human communities to organize their space, while others, like historian of religion Jonathan Z. Smith, observe instead that communities actively sacralise their space to make sense of the world. He argues in his essay *Map is not Territory* (1978) "what we study when we study religion is one mode of constructing worlds of meaning, worlds within which men [sic] find themselves and in which they choose to dwell... through the use of myths, rituals and experiences of transformation" (J. K. Smith 1978: 290-291).

Smith opposes the concepts of 'locative map of the world' to 'utopian map' to categorize the separate spaces. Locative requires a centre that exerts attraction (J. K. Smith 1978: 292) whereas utopian expresses the desire to break free from established physical and societal boundaries (J. K. Smith 1978: 309). He suggests that a third map, the 'illusiv map', where the tensions are negotiated

to 'play between incongruities' (J. K. Smith 1978: 309). His argument that space is made sacred through ritual rather than ritual expressing the sacred is the main thrust of his thinking on the organization of territory. The emergence of a heritage place at Grand Pré occurred through ritual. Before Longfellow's poem and the notoriety it brought to Grand Pré, it was the location of one of the important Acadian settlements and certainly one of the main areas from which Acadian families originated. Its association with the Deportation was not what changed its status into a heritage place. It is rather the introduction into Acadian and non-Acadian collective consciousness and its appeal as a destination for tourists first and then for the political, religious, and academic Acadian elite that transformed it into a place of significance.

Marxist theory introduces the power play between classes as a source of territorial delineation. French philosopher Henri Lefebvre in his essay *La Production de l'espace* (1974) offers three motivations for spatial organization as what is perceived (*le perçu*), what is represented (*le conçu*) and what is conceptualized (*le vécu*) (Lefebvre 1974 : 52). These motivations are present in the individual's as well as the community's creation of space. A community, based on its social structure and values, creates space and is challenged by the physical constraints of that space to alter its values. Others (Chidester and Linenthal 1995) have added that sacred places are contested environments, locations of struggle and competition, a result of the physical and imaginary imprint in the landscape of the hierarchical power play within society. This may not be the case in all circumstances, as exemplified by the sharing of Horton Landing for ceremonial purposes by the Mi'kmaq, the Acadians, and the

descendants of the New England Planters (Figure 4-1). But those arguments nevertheless demonstrate the more profane realities that influence the definition of 'sacred' space rather than the expression of higher realities manifesting themselves in space as argued by Eliade (Chidester and Linenthal 1995 :17).



Figure 4-1 Sharing a place of relevance at Horton Landing. Mi'kmaq Chief, Acadian community member, and local resident attending the July 28 commemoration event in 2012.© Victor Tétreault

Whether the sacred is in the nature of all humanity or is a human social construct to bring order to the world, both perspectives are useful in considering the act of creating heritage places. Both arguments assert humanity's aim to create order by assigning value. The difference between arguments lies in one position suggesting an intrinsic value, where heritage value is embodied in the

nature of the object or place, while the other suggests an extrinsic value, where heritage value is assigned to an object or place. In fact, it is most useful to consider that both occur at varying degrees and sometimes simultaneously with differing results.

Geographers and anthropologists have come to similar conclusions. Tim Hall and Iain Robertson while studying the memorialisation efforts of the Highland Clearances on the Isle of Lewis concluded, that “the aim is to transform an otherwise unremarkable landscape into a psychic terrain; symbolic spaces that fix, or attempt to fix, collective remembering and act as prompts for a shared identity” (Moore and Whelan 2007 :33).

The act of creating landmarks is one that mirrors Eliade’s ‘creation of the world’ as it expresses the need to anchor one’s existence in space to be able to connect with the deeper meaning of the world, labelled ‘sacred’ by some, ‘truth’ by others, and in the context of cultural studies ‘identity’. It also reinforces the argument of the human activity of creating that space for social purposes.

The sacralisation of space is coupled with a sacralisation of time which Eliade describes as follows:

For the religious man [sic], time is like space neither homogenous nor continuous. There are intervals of sacred time, times of festivals (in general they are periodical); on the other hand, there is profane time, ordinary temporal duration marked by acts without religious significance. Between these two types of time, there is a solution of continuity; through ritual the religious man can pass from the ordinary temporal duration to sacred time without danger¹⁶ (Eliade 1957 : 63).

¹⁶ Pas plus que l'espace, le Temps n'est, pour l'homme religieux, homogène ni continu. Il y a les intervalles de Temps sacré, le temps des fêtes (en majorité des fêtes périodiques); il y a, d'autre part, le Temps profane, la durée temporelle

According to Eliade, the main function of sacred time is to re-experience the genesis through ritual. If taken in a non-religious context, the idea of ritual is to experience the deeper meaning of community and identity. As mentioned earlier, from Jonathan Z. Smith's perspective, the relationship between ritual, time and place is one where the ritual act is instigated by humankind to generate sacred time and place. As he puts it "ritual is, first and foremost, a mode of paying attention. It is a process for marking interest. [...] It is this characteristic, as well, that explains the role of place as a fundamental component of ritual: place directs attention" (J. K. Smith 1987: 103).

When applying these ideas of sacredness to heritage places, these emerge as those spaces that interrupt the homogeneity of the present space. They stand out as significant and as a connector to the past, like Eliade's idea of sacred spaces being connectors to communicate with the gods, locations of the experience of suspension of time and of the beginnings (Eliade 1957 :36). Or like Smith's idea that they are places where communities focus through ritual. In a modern western setting, the homogeneity of urban and rural environments is interrupted by areas for which special measures exist to preserve the natural or cultural value. All spaces are equally assigned a function in the landscape in order to fulfill a purpose in the life of its residents. The exception is those places that stand out where a collective experience occurs involving a mental and emotional connection is experienced through ritual, such as Grand-Pré NHSC

ordinaire dans laquelle s'inscrivent les actes dénués de signification religieuse. Entre ces deux espèces de Temps, il existe, bien entendu, une solution de continuité; mais par le moyen de rites, l'homme religieux peut « passer » sans danger de la durée temporelle ordinaire au Temps sacré."

both for visitors and for the Acadians. There is a desire to separate it from its surroundings and protect it.

These places are landmarks in the landscape that connect the present with the past, or at least an idea of the past. Much like sacred places, they become focal points of identity, guides where the individual and the community try to experience the life of the ancestors, the historical event, or the value that defines them (Eliade 1957 :60). By identifying these places, the people aim to recreate in part the work and the values of their ancestors in order to emulate their values and anchor its identity in a time and space continuum (Eliade 1957 :34). It also aims to establish differences, contrasts between 'now' and 'then', and the simultaneity but not coexistence of two worlds (J. K. Smith 1987: 110).

4.2. The Nature of Objects

Spatial organization is also a means to compartmentalize information and values to make sense of the world. Similarly, the idea of the past is compartmentalized into discreet locations bound by limits beyond which value leaves no imprint in the landscape. As such, it lends them to being treated as objects to be imbued with meaning, consumed, and collected.

The idea of defining and identifying heritage has its origins principally in antiquarianism and in the interest of scientists and the elite in collecting objects (Trigger 1989 : 48). It owes its genesis to monuments, structures that were erected for commemorative purposes (Schnapp 1993 :18). This ancestry firmly

establishes heritage places, at least in the Western European tradition, as tangible objects that can be spatially defined. Furthermore, it also suggests that, like in any collection, the individual component may be extraordinary in itself, but it is also its essential role as part of an ensemble that makes it worthy to keep and maintain. In light of this, a discussion on the nature of objects, more precisely the relationship between individuals and objects, serves to define historic places. This allows a focus on the means by which individuals and communities conceptualize that which they deem significant. In addition, this discussion serves to highlight the socio-cultural behaviour that resulted in the creation of places of historic significance.

Anthropologist James G. Carrier argued in his essay *Gifts and Commodities: Exchange and Western Capitalism since 1700* (1995), that the concept of object had been analyzed by sociologists and anthropologists in terms of two broad categories: one as status symbols and the other as signs. In this, Carrier largely highlights Max Weber's and Thorstein Veblen's work on status and consumption, and Marcel Mauss on semiological systems (Carrier 1995 : 2-9).

The object as status symbol is a characteristic of social interactions that has been discussed at length by many sociologists, anthropologists and historians. Sociologist Max Weber in his discussion on social stratification was one of the first to describe the relationship between objects and social status in asserting that "status groups' are stratified according to the principles of their consumptions of goods as represented by special 'styles of life'" (Weber 1946 :193). Sociologist Thorstein Veblen, instead, speculated that there was a

marked difference between this relationship in mass societies and one in smaller societies based on the fact that anonymity, as experienced in mass societies, drives the individual to conspicuous consumption to proclaim his or her status (Carrier 1995: 3).

The behaviour of consumption is tied to what Carrier designates as “objects that bear a personal identity” (Hoskins 1998 :195). These objects, referred to by Carrier and others as possessions, reflect the social standing, the personal history of their owner, and the concept of ownership in individual societies. Anthropologist Janet Hoskins notes that anthropologist Igor Kopytoff argued that “one could speak of the “cultural biographies of things” because each object is a “culturally constructed entity endowed with culturally specific meanings and classified and reclassified into culturally constituted categories”” (Hoskins 1998 :197). Hoskins instead further explores the nature of these objects by focusing on the relationship between the individual and those objects talking about them as biographical objects. The way they are appropriated by the owner and imbued with his or her identity makes them biographical (Hoskins 1998 :195). It is not the object’s physical characteristics that are defining in making them biographical. Rather, it is the connection to the individual through the story of its creation, the individual skills and traditions imprinted in its making, its association with an event of personal significance, its connection to a wider network of cultural meaning, and other such intimate stories.

This idea that each object is a “culturally constructed entity endowed with culturally specific meanings” is close to the other category described by Carrier,

where objects are semiological systems or signs. Anthropologist Marcel Mauss studied gift exchanges in various societies, which he detailed in his famous essay *Essai sur le don* (1923), noting that objects are far more than their material components or their rarity. The motivation behind giving stems from the objects being an extension of the individual who provides that gift (Mauss 1950 :194). This suggests that objects are carriers of meaning and identity.

This concept was later explored in greater detail by a number of sociologists and anthropologists. Anthropologist Annette Weiner in her essay *Inalienable Possessions: the Paradox of Keeping while Giving* (1992) suggests that the relationship between the significance of an object and the identity of its owner creates a history that is unique to that object.

What makes a possession inalienable is its exclusive and cumulative identity with a particular series of owners through time. Its history is authenticated by fictive or true genealogies, origin myths, sacred ancestors, and gods. In this way, inalienable possessions are transcendent treasures to be guarded against all the exigencies that might force their loss (Weiner 1992 :33).

What Hoskins notes in her commentary of Weiner's concept is that these 'possessions' may in the context of life-transforming events and sometimes even simply emotional moments, "deviate" from their expected trajectory and come to be invested with personal meaning" and become "filled with idiosyncratic meaning" (Hoskins 1998 :195) making them in the eyes of the owner absolutely irreplaceable.

Mircea Eliade believed in the presence of sacredness in the world to describe a 'supra identity' connecting individuals. Certain objects serve as evidence and

bridge between the world and that sacredness and thus act as connectors between individuals. In his essay *Traité d'histoires des religions* (1949), he coined the term 'hierophany' (*hiérophanie*) to describe the manifestation of the sacred in certain objects and places. He suggests that it is something beyond human beings' influence, is absolute, and defies reason. Indeed, in his introduction to *Le sacré et le profane* (1957), he acknowledges that in modern societies it may be difficult to grasp that for some societies, sacredness is manifest through inanimate objects such as stones and trees (Eliade 1957 :17). However his interpretation is that what is venerated is not the stone or tree itself rather it is the expression of the sacred that it conveys (Eliade 1957 :17). Eliade adds in doing so, the object does not cease to be itself but, for those to whom it is sacred, it is transformed into "a supernatural reality" (Eliade 1957:18).

While Eliade's interest lies in demonstrating the presence of the sacred in the world, his idea that objects have greater meaning than the one which is assigned to them based on their physical characteristics is echoed in other disciplines.

Historian Krzysztof Pomian in his essay *Collectionneurs, amateurs, curieux: Paris-Venise XVIe – XVIIIe siècles* (1987) describes objects as fitting in two categories: useful and meaningful or 'semiophores' (*sémiophores*) (carriers of meaning). Pomian studies these categories in the context of collections, trying to understand the paradox arising from special objects included in collections having lost a market value (e.g. a drinking cup sold in stores) based on their function and having acquired a trade value (e.g. an 18th century silver drinking

cup belonging to a famous historical figure sold at auction) based of the meaning they carry. He defines a collection as “a set of natural or artificial objects, temporarily or permanently maintained outside of the realm of economic activities that are subjected to a special protection (eg. museum attendants) in a purposefully outfitted enclosed space and is subjected to the gaze”¹⁷ (Pomian 1987:18). What Pomian stresses in his definition is that collectible objects are set aside from other regular activities to gaze at their meaning. The 18th century silver drinking cup from a famous historical figure is on display for people to look at and make meaning of the connection to that individual.

The status of meaningfulness comes with the transition of an object from having value in an economic sense to having value as an object of trade (valeur d'échange). He posits that these 'semiophores' have value in a collection because they serve as intermediaries between the audience and an invisible world, “semiophores are objects that are useless, but represent the invisible, meaning that they carry meaning, are not handled and manipulated, but is subjected to the gaze. As such, they are not subjected to wear”¹⁸ (Pomian 1987: 42). Because the silver drinking cup described earlier is no longer used as a drinking cup but is looked at, it will not wear out from drinking from it.

¹⁷ Tout ensemble d'objets naturels ou artificiels maintenus hors du circuit d'activités économiques temporairement ou définitivement, soumis à une protection spéciale (exemple : gardien de musée) dans un lieu clos aménagé à cet effet et exposés au regard.

¹⁸ Les sémiophores sont des objets qui n'ont point d'utilité, mais représentent l'invisible, c'est-à-dire sont dotés d'une signification, n'étant pas manipulés, mais exposés aux regards. Ils ne subissent pas l'usure

Pomian also suggests that the dichotomy usefulness – ‘semiophore’ can apply to individuals that represent an invisible or a greater meaning, such as kings, popes, and heads of state. Their status embodies a deeper meaning and they surround themselves with objects that evoke that. This leads Pomian to conclude that collections are the result of social status (Pomian 1987: 45).

Objects play a role in the interaction between individuals of a community to define them collectively, a point that sociologist and philosopher Pierre Bourdieu addressed in his essay *Le sens pratique* (1980). In it, he expresses what he perceives to be an inalienable relationship between object and observer, where the object is defined by the observer and in return affects the definition of the observer himself. The collective connection comes from the concept of *habitus*, a shared set of values and behaviours acquired over time that regulates socialization between individuals of a community. Objects can be manipulated and imbued with meaning through that set of values resulting in a personal as well as collective experience of the significance of those objects. The way meaning is assigned and is shared with others is shaped by the experience, knowledge, and social reality of that observer (the agent) (Bourdieu 1980 :58).

Sociologist and philosopher Jean Baudrillard focused his attention instead on the values ascribed to objects from the perspective of consumption rather than strictly production. In his essay *Le système des objets* (1968), he introduces four categories of values: functional value, exchange value, symbolic value, and sign value. The first two categories echo perspectives articulated by Mauss, whereas the two other values further explore the ideas discussed by Pomian

and Bourdieu previously. This attention to value provides an opportunity to multiply the assignment of meaning to an object, an approach that has been echoed when looking at heritage objects and places specifically.

Baudrillard's contribution is to consider that the economic approach to function in objects is limiting because it does not take into account the social motivations that underlie the acquisition of objects. For him,

*'functional' does not refer to something that is adapted to a goal, but rather that is adapted to an order or a system: functionality is the ability to integrate into an overall system. For an object, it is the possibility to evolve beyond its strict 'function' towards a second function, to play a part, to become an element of combination, of adjustment in a universal system of signs*¹⁹ (Baudrillard 1968 :89).

To use the same example as earlier, the silver drinking cup that belonged to a historical figure plays a part in evoking that person's life when included in a collection of objects once owned by him or her. The cup is no longer strictly illustrative of the ability to drink, it introduces a series of meanings about that individual's social status, beliefs, and character.

Indeed, Baudrillard argues that the four categories of values play a role in a system, and that it is the interplay of those values that describe best the relationship between an object and the subject (*sujet*). This is precisely because in a relationship that involves consumption, the object is not only used but also owned (*possédé*), which demonstrates that objects are means for the subject to have a practical as well as an abstract or subjective perspective of the world. It

¹⁹ *"fonctionnel" ne qualifie nullement ce qui est adapté à un but, mais ce qui est adapté à un ordre ou à un système: la fonctionnalité est la faculté de s'intégrer à un ensemble. Pour l'objet, c'est la possibilité de dépasser précisément sa "fonction" vers une fonction seconde, de devenir élément de jeu, de combinaison, de calcul dans un système universel de signes".*

is this last perspective, which when applied to an object that no longer has a practical use, justifies its collection (Baudrillard 1968 :121).

Like Pomian then, Baudrillard believes that objects that no longer have a use, function, practicality, may acquire meaning which is subjective. It is also that subjective meaning which overrides any use it may have had prior, provides a filter to identify and retain objects that fit within that subjective universe of value, and results in a desire to consume and collect. A collection, in that light, is a never ending project in the eyes of a collector (Baudrillard 1968 :122).

Finally, Baudrillard comments on the antique object by presenting it as the perfect example of an object whose role is exclusively to signify, in this case, the past (Baudrillard 1968 :104). It can no longer be used for everyday functions other than to signify the passage of time.

One last point that was touched upon by Pomian, Baudrillard, and Hoskins and requires further attention is the matter of the relationship between the object and time. The main idea that they suggest is that there is a difference in that relationship between an object subjectively imbued with meaning and one that is strictly functional. Hoskins opposes the biographical object as 'old', 'worn' and 'tattered' as it ages and is used by its owner, to the commodity whose nature is to be 'eternally youthful' and 'replaced' (Hoskins 1998 :8). Similarly Baudrillard notes that the fascination for what is ancient is the result of an admiration for the survival of the object and a sign of a former life (Baudrillard 1968 :117). In both cases, it is the subjective meaning of the object through the perception of time

and through what Weiner referred to as the “cumulative identity of the object” that play a role in its collection and its maintenance.

To the idea of linear accumulation of meaning through time, Pomian adds the concept of transformation of the object through time. For him, ‘semiophores’ have a history that differentiates them from an abstract version of history because of their materiality. They are visible, therefore time sensitive and subject to the effects of time. Time may damage them, change their location and their meaning but they remain ‘semiophores’ throughout that history. Or else, time may make them lose their function as ‘semiophores’, become strictly useful objects (*des choses*) or worse be discarded (Pomian 1999 :226-227). Pomian suggests in effect a fluid transformation of the object from usefulness to ‘semiophores’, that can be reversed, that can be experienced numerous times in the history of an object, and that is dependent on the relationship between the subject and the object.

The description demonstrates the complexity of meanings and relationships between the subject and the object. Objects, in certain circumstances such as gift giving, are an extension of the individual (Mauss) and are at once appropriated by the owner and imbued with his or her identity (Hoskins). Furthermore, they are culturally-constructed with culturally-specific meanings (Kopytoff). Objects carry a meaning (*semiophores*, *hierophanes* and other similar concepts) which gives them a double identity: one as an object in the everyday world contributing to it through its function and use and another as a manifestation of something outside of the profane everyday world with no use

but a function (meaning playing a role in a system) as a universal symbol (Eliade, Pomian and Baudrillard). This is particularly the case for antiquities which serve as a functional reminder of the passage of time (Baudrillard). Objects are also both used and owned which provides the subject with a practical and abstract sense of self. Their substance and meaning is affected by time: they accumulate and change meaning through personal experience (Hoskins and biographical objects) providing it with subjective significance (Hoskins and Baudrillard). That significance fluctuates and changes through time as the object responds to new subjects, identity altering events, and the effects of time on their materiality (Pomian and Bourdieu). Objects as possessions that maintain meaning through time and are extensions of the individuals that have created and owned them, invite a desire to preserve them against pressures that might trigger their loss (Weiner and Kopytoff). Biographical objects anchor the owner in time and space (Hoskins).

Four main points can be outlined from this overview. The first point is that *objects have meaning tied to their function but also to the relationships that stem from their use*. This characteristic is crucial to understand the nature of the definition of objects. It creates a necessary balance between an 'innate' function (i.e. what is this useful for?) and an 'ascribed' function (i.e. what is its role in the subject's social function?) that reflects individual as well as collective perceptions. The second point is that *objects may have meaning beyond their function or use*. This characteristic introduces the role of the object as part of a system that allows a relationship with notions of sacredness, time, identity, and other abstract cultural concepts. It sets the role of the object as a bridge

between the real world and the 'perceived' world. The third point is *that the importance of non-useful objects may change through time through the subjective value that led them to being collected*. This characteristic stresses first that objects are important as commodity and second as collectable, the latter being valued based on a subjective perception of value. Moreover, that value may evolve as its definition by the subject changes or as the collection grows. Finally, the last point is that *time alters the significance of objects*. This realization acknowledges the tangible effects of time on the materiality of the object as well as the effects of time on the perception of meaningfulness of the object, as a '*semiophores*', an '*hierophane*' or any other form of carrier of meaning.

5. Chapter Five: Historic Places as Objects

This discussion on the meaning of objects is applicable to monuments and is relevant to the understanding of the relationship between subject and heritage places. Indeed, the genealogy of monuments, or more precisely historic monuments and sites, links it to the emergence of archaeology, museums, and cabinets of curiosities (Schnapp 1993; Trigger 1989). As such, then, the monument emerges as a type of object that echoes many of the ideas by Eliade, Bourdieu, Baudrillard, Pomian and others.

Monuments have been erected as status symbols in all complex societies. Archaeologist Bruce Trigger in a paper titled *Monumental architecture: a thermodynamic explanation of symbolic behaviour* (1990) sought to highlight this cross-cultural uniformity to demonstrate *contra* post-processualism claims that some human behaviour is shared amongst many cultures (Trigger 1990: 119). The relevant aspect of Trigger's paper is the correlation that he identifies between erecting monuments, the presence of complex societies, and the marginalization of function over symbolism. Trigger demonstrates through numerous examples that complex societies erected monumental architecture, structures that had in common "their lavish scale and the expertise that highly skilled specialists devoted to their construction and decoration" (Trigger 1990: 121). In addition, "most special purpose buildings were larger and more massive than their functions would have required" as exemplified by temples, public amenities, palaces, tombs, and other such massive architectural undertakings. He notes that

these buildings were the creations of an upper class that controlled much of the surplus production of their societies and had the political power to utilize surplus labour to carry out major, non-utilitarian construction projects. They no doubt rationalized such constructions as serving various practical and supernatural ends. Moreover, they would have viewed theological goals, such as serving and winning the favour of the gods, as being highly practical (Trigger 1990: 122).

Trigger agrees with anthropologist Peter J. Wilson when the latter claims that through the association of the elite with monumental architecture that displayed both 'permanence' and 'perfection' (Trigger 1990: 122), power was expressed tangibly rather than strictly symbolically. This, in Trigger's view, is a classic example of Thorstein Veblen's concept of conspicuous consumption, where the use of extraordinary amounts of energy are channelled to create goods beyond what is necessary.

Trigger's paper stresses the symbolism of monuments as tangible manifestations of social status and of the elite in a centralized and highly stratified society, an argument that was also echoed more recently by Chidester and Linenthal in their study of sacred spaces (Chidester and Linenthal 1995 : 17). Yet, similar dynamic occurred in later socio-political structures perhaps demonstrating his earlier assertion that this behaviour is evidence of cross-cultural uniformity (Trigger 1990: 119).

The emergence of nation-states and their need for unifying symbols saw the evolution of monuments from social status symbols to demonstrations of the power of the people. Historian Chris Brooks in an essay on historicism and the nineteenth century asserts that significant events in the history of European communities in the 18th century triggered a rupture with the past. The industrial

revolution was the catalyst in Britain for that rupture, while in France it was the French Revolution and its spill over effect to other continental European nations (Brooks 1998 :5). That rupture created a sense of discontinuity which needed to be filled (Brooks 1998 :3) with a logical sequence of events to explain the present:

It is discontinuity not continuity that brings historical consciousness into being. And discontinuity is the precondition for imaginative reconstruction, for inventing the past in the sense of both making it up and discovering it. Once invented, the past becomes available for deployment in terms of the now: as caution or inspiration, as contrast or analogy, as a measure of how far we have advanced, or how far we have declined (Brooks 1998 :3).

This 'invention' of the past in the context of social and cultural upheaval required two significant conditions for its success: an idea and tangible evidence. For the first condition, the idea of the nation, its characteristics, and its nature is put forth by the events surrounding the rupture: a change in social structure will build a story around the ancestry of those individuals and groups that triggered, led, or emerged victorious from the upheaval. However that idea is abstract: the French nation, for example, is perceived as an entity associated with common values and aspirations, one that is independent of any single symbol and that cannot be defined by a single individual (as opposed to the idea that the nation is embodied by the king).

Almost a century after the Revolution, the influential philosopher and historian Ernest Renan articulated a convincing and landmark idea of a nation in a conference he gave at the Sorbonne with the following words:

What constitutes a nation, [...], is to have collectively accomplished great things in the past and to have the desire to accomplish new ones in the future. [...] A nation is a soul, a spiritual principle. There are two things, that in fact are one and the same, constitute that soul, this spiritual principle.

One is in the past, the other is in the present. One is the common ownership of rich legacy of memories; the other is the present consent, the desire to live together, the will to continue to nurture the heritage passed on intact. Man [sic.], gentlemen, is not improvised. A nation, as for the individual, is the outcome of a succession of past efforts, sacrifices, and dedication. Ancestor worship is of all the most rightful; our ancestors have made us who we are²⁰ (Renan 1882:26).

In Renan's words, the nation is an entity that is the result of history. However, the articulation of that history and genealogy is, despite early attempts at defending it as 'natural' and innate to a group, a political act. As geopolitical entities progressively aligned themselves with ideas of nation throughout the 19th century, a discourse of the character of the nation and of its symbols is crafted by the state. Finally, while this discourse defines the present nature of the nation and its components, it requires a connection to the past and to the future for it to be meaningful to the individuals that compose the nation.

5.1. A National Collection of Historic Places

As the first condition of the invention of the past is fulfilled through the creation of an idea, the second condition, that of tangible evidence, completes it. Much like the relationship outlined earlier between a subject and an object, the collector and the collection, the nation-state acts as the collector and requires a collection of evidence to embody its idea. A significant trigger in beginning this collection came with the French Revolution. Monuments were being targeted by revolutionary troops as symbols of tyranny, since most of them were associated

²⁰ Ce qui constitue une nation, [...], c'est d'avoir fait ensemble de grandes choses dans le passé et de vouloir en faire encore dans l'avenir. [...] Une nation est une âme, un principe spirituel. Deux choses qui, à vrai dire, n'en font qu'une, constituent cette âme, ce principe spirituel. L'une est dans le passé, l'autre dans le présent. L'une est la possession en commun d'un riche legs de souvenirs; l'autre est le consentement actuel, le désir de vivre ensemble, la volonté de continuer à faire valoir l'héritage qu'on a reçu indivis. L'homme, Messieurs, ne s'improvise pas. La nation, comme l'individu, est l'aboutissement d'un long passé d'efforts, de sacrifices et de dévouements. Le culte des ancêtres est de tous le plus légitime; les ancêtres nous ont faits ce que nous sommes."

to the *Ancien Régime*. Appalled by their systematic destruction, Henri Grégoire, a legislator, called for an end to vandalism, a term he coined, and prepared a report for the people's assembly to protect them as symbols of national pride (Grégoire 1794 :26) and to provide equal access to works of art and science (Grégoire 1794 :23). This report and the decree that followed paved the way for the protection by the state of objects that were important to the nation.

The first European nation-states proceeded with setting up 'national museums' in the late 1790s and early 1800s: Alexandre Lenoir opened the *Musée des monuments français* (1795) in France, and Rasmus Nyerup and Christian Jürgensen Thomsen created the *Kongelige Museum for Nordiske Oldsager* (1819) in Denmark (Trigger 1989:74-77). These institutions applied the discipline acquired by collectors and scientists to understand the object of their study: devising a method to study the object, collecting information about it, and observing patterns resulting from that information to then place that object in the continuum established for the collection. In that context, the object is a source of knowledge to understand, contextualize and compare. The goal of the collection is to gather evidence about the idea of nation. The context is society and collective identity through history.

The role of the monument in a nation-state is consistent with the one ascribed to individual artefacts and works of art. It is an object that, as part of a collection, conveys an idea that is meaningful to the collector. It is also tangible evidence of the idea of the nation, its past accomplishments and its current identity as it relates to its history. Monuments are important as sources of

knowledge about collective identity and the past, and as such are symbolically important. However, the monument is also a much more powerful conveyor of these meanings because of their immovable presence in the public landscape. Because of those qualities, they now stand as 'strong and loud voices' of the idea of the nation where once monuments publicly celebrated the power of the elite.

The concept of monuments as structures erected to commemorate an event was transformed by the national self-consciousness of the early 19th century to include the idea that certain structures, as evidence of past collective achievements, are monuments to the collective identity. In France, the interest in national collections had gathered significant momentum in the 1800s to turn the authorities' attention towards buildings. In 1830, François Guizot, the minister of the interior and also a respected historian, wrote to King Louis XVIII to argue for the creation of a service responsible for the inventory and protection of 'les monuments historiques'

As numerous and varied as those of neighbouring countries, [the historic monuments of France] do not belong to specific isolated phases of history, they form a complete set without gaps; from the druids to today, there is no memorable period of art and of civilisation that hasn't left monuments in our country to illustrate and explain it²¹ (Recht 2003).

For Guizot, the motivation to protect these monuments came from being factual evidence of the past, allowing the representation and the understanding of the different periods of history. Moreover, he was convinced that each period had

²¹ Aussi nombreux et plus variés que ceux de quelques pays voisins, [les monuments historiques de la France] n'appartiennent pas seulement à telle ou telle phase isolée de l'histoire, ils forment une série complète et sans lacune ; depuis les druides jusqu'à nos jours, il n'est pas une époque mémorable de l'art et de la civilisation qui n'ait laissé dans nos contrées des monuments qui la représentent et l'expliquent."

left evidence to be found across the land and that as such they can be identified to make a complete story. Within months, an *Inspecteur général des monuments historiques* was named with the goal

to travel all the departments of France, assess on location whether monuments have historical or artistic merit, gather all the information related to the dispersal of titles or of accessory objects that can bring clarity to the origin, evolution or destruction of each building..., to explain to owners and to title holders the interest of the buildings whose conservation depends on their care, and stimulate, by directing it, the zeal of all the councils of *départements* and municipalities, so as to ensure that no monument of incontestable worth perishes from ignorance or haste,... and so that the good will of authorities and individuals is not wasted on objects unworthy of their care²² (Recht 2003).

The national collection of monuments thus began identifying markers of history and identity throughout the landscape.

From 'monument historique' to 'patrimoine', these objects were 'discovered' with meaning. In the words of historian François Hartog, "heritage is the gathering of visible objects invested with meaning (semiophores) that a society gives itself at some point²³" (Hartog 2003:166) a definition that stresses the subjectivity of the exercise, the public motivation, and the investment of meaning by an outsider. That public motivation, as noted in Guizot's mandate for the *Inspecteur* is not only in the identification but also in its protection and preservation.

²² Parcourir successivement tous les départements de la France, s'assurer sur les lieux de l'importance historique ou du mérite d'art des monuments, recueillir tous les renseignements qui se rapportent à la dispersion des titres ou des objets accessoires qui peuvent éclairer sur l'origine, les progrès ou la destruction de chaque édifice..., éclairer les propriétaires et les détenteurs sur l'intérêt des édifices dont la conservation dépend de leurs soins et stimuler, enfin, en le dirigeant, le zèle de tous les conseils de département et de municipalité, de manière à ce qu'aucun monument d'un mérite incontestable ne périclite par cause d'ignorance et de précipitation...et de manière aussi à ce que la bonne volonté des autorités ou des particuliers ne s'épuise pas sur des objets indignes de leurs soins."

²³ le patrimoine est la réunion des objets visibles investis de signification (sémiophores) que se donne, à un moment donné, une société"

The creation of the position of *Inspecteur général des monuments historiques* in France, and similar positions before and after in other European states (Jokilehto 1999), was one concrete manifestation of the awareness of the 'ancient' by the state, the latter to be understood as the collective idea of nation. It was part of a larger 'movement' that included legislation as well as the articulation of philosophical tenets supporting architectural interventions on those monuments. In other words, that awareness came with an understanding that conservation work on the 'object' could not be performed without consideration for its essence as an 'ancient object'.

It is not useful here to elaborate on the evolution of architectural conservation as a discipline. The subject has sufficiently been covered (Jokilehto 1999). However, a few notes on the influence of John Ruskin, Eugène Viollet-le-Duc, and Alois Riegl and their definition of the nature of monuments, their use, and their preservation are required to make sense of the path followed by the discipline. All three authors treat the monument as a carrier of meaning but their views differ as to how that meaning is assigned and the influence on the preservation of the matter.

Architect John Ruskin believed that ancient monuments have a spirit that should be carefully approached by modernity. In his seminal work the *Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), Ruskin argues for a series of 'lamps' to guide the work of architects. One of these 'lamps', the Lamp of Memory, invites the practitioner to respect the antiquity of the monument, the message of the passage of time, and its role as a marker of time and of memory:

For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, not in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness, [...], which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity. It is their lasting witness against men, in their quiet contrast with the transitional character of all things, in the strength which, [...], maintains its sculptured shapeliness for a time insuperable, connects forgotten and following ages with each other, and half constitutes the identity, as it concentrates the sympathy, of nations [...] (Ruskin 1857 :155)

Ruskin's argument is rooted in the respect for past deeds, quality workmanship, and the spirit that inspired the creation of these monuments. This idea is as much the result of the discontinuity and loss of traditional skills experienced during the industrial revolution as it is of the awareness of history that emerged in the 19th century. For the first time, there is a realization that all objects and events from the past once disappeared cannot be replaced (Choay 1992 :119). His respect for the past can be interpreted as an articulation of definition of community that transcends time. It allows him to claim a responsibility for present generations to ensure the integrity of that legacy, as he states that

It is [...] 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 partly to those who built them, and partly to all the generations of mankind who are to follow us (Ruskin 1857:163).

The dead were as much part of the present community as the unborn; they are part of the continuous legacy of values and traditions that define a community. This view was a clear defence against demolition and restoration. Furthermore, he believed that proper care and maintenance of monuments would be sufficient to avoid restoration and retain their ancient spirit. Without restoration, only the elements of the building untouched by modern hands would be apparent and admired, but would also be subject to the effects of time leading to their inevitable complete disappearance (Choay 1992 :119). He advocated

that, should new elements be introduced to stabilize a building and make it safe for use, those elements should be distinguishable from the ancient element. Finally, Ruskin, and much more eloquently one of his followers William Morris, argued that the 'original' state sought by the proponents of restoration was "as impossible as to raise the dead" since a building as it stood in the present was the result of a succession of events in time, which in itself constitutes the value of that building (Choay 1992 :119). In essence then, Ruskin influenced the practice of conservation by emphasizing the passage of time as a value and the idea that the material elements of buildings needed to be preserved as such to respect the work of previous generations of builders and architects. For Ruskin, Morris and other followers, the past is required to be maintained alive through preservation (Choay 1992 :121).

At the opposite end of the spectrum, French architect Eugène Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc was the chief practitioner of restoration. His approach reflected the methods applied to natural sciences by considering architecture as the expression of the history and values of society (Dupont 1966 :10). Each architectural style found its origin in the style that preceded it, each monument required to be addressed in the historical and societal context it reflects, and each monument needed to be considered in its structure, as a whole. As such, a medieval building had to be considered as an 'ensemble' meaning everything that went into building and furnishing. This was consistent with the medieval notion that every object was an object of art and that all those involved in building, decorating, enhancing, and furnishing a structure contributed to the completeness of the 'ensemble'. They worked in harmony under the direction of

a master of works who had sufficient knowledge of each profession involved to understand how each could contribute to the 'ensemble' (Dupont 1966 :11). In Viollet-le-Duc's mind, the conservation architect was the modern master of works who like his predecessor needed to understand each skill involved. In light of this doctrine, the practice of conserving old buildings involved confirming the period and style of each component of a building, taking detailed records and drawings of the structure, ornamentation, materials, and recognizing the successive modifications, alterations, additions, and improvements made over time.

Viollet-le-Duc, contrary to Ruskin, believed in the need to define modern architecture and introduce a new style. Ancient monuments were indicators of the void to be filled and their restoration served to create 'educational tools' for reference by current and future architects (Choay 1992 :121). In emphasizing architecture as an 'expression of history', Viollet-le-Duc is thinking about the present and the future. His aggressive restoration of buildings reflects a definition that aims to create historical evidence of a period without consideration for its own historical nature assigned by the passage of time "to restore a building means to recover it in a complete state that may have never even existed at any point in time"²⁴ (Choay 1992 :122).

Finally, his work was set with an eye towards contemporary use, at times incompatible with the original use of the structure, in order to justify government intervention in the name of public interest.

²⁴ restaurer un édifice, c'est le rétablir dans un état complet qui peut n'avoir jamais existé à un moment donné"

Viollet-le-Duc's approach influenced the work of countless architects in France and elsewhere in Europe throughout the 19th century and early 20th century. While highly criticized for his perceived destruction of monuments, it could be argued that his methods nevertheless became the foundation of proper conservation practice with its insistence on understanding the monument and recording it before intervening. Viollet-le-Duc defined the ancient monument as an object that had a contemporary use and meaning. Its treatment then, required a reflection as much anchored in its past identity as in the contemporary understanding and value.

While the two architectural schools of thoughts focused on the definition of historic monuments for the purpose of preserving or restoring them, it was only in the beginning of the 20th century, that greater attention was paid to the social behaviour and meaning surrounding historic monuments. Art historian Alois Riegl spent his career studying artistic and historic objects and monuments through considerable experience as a museum conservator. In 1902, he was appointed chair of the Austrian historic sites and monuments board and was mandated to prepare new legislation to protect monuments. The following year, Riegl produced a draft legislation which included an introductory essay titled *Der moderne Denkmalkultus*, where he analysed the historic monument as a social and philosophical object (Choay 1992 :129). For him, it is only through the understanding of the significance of the historic monument as assigned by society that an appropriate approach to preserving them can be applied.

Riegl was first to suggest a clear distinction between the nature of a monument and that of the historic monument. The first was created deliberately (*gewollte*) with an intended message and audience at the onset, while the second was not intended to become a monument initially (*ungewollte*). It became such after the fact, through the lens of, amongst other professions, the historian who selected it from a large building stock forming the contemporary landscape (Choay 1992 :21).

He introduced two broad categories to make sense of the meaning of historic monuments. A first category of value, 're-memoration' (*Erinnerungswerte*), highlights how monuments are tied to the past and trigger the memory of past events. The second category, 'contemporaneity' (*Gegenwartswerte*) highlights the present value of monuments. These categories reflect the necessary distinction between values for history and art history, and artistic value, the collection of facts for knowledge, versus the subjective perception and appreciation.

As a sub-category of the 're-memoration' value, Riegl identifies the value of antiquity to describe not only the age of the monument but also both the evidence and the perception of the passage of time that it triggers in the observer. That value is immediately and universally perceived. As a sub-category to the 'contemporaneity' value, he suggests a value of use to distinguish historic monuments from archaeological remains and ruins. This argues that for historic monuments to maintain a social value, a use has to be ascribed, beyond the scientific value of an archaeological site and an antiquity

value of a ruin. Finally, Riegl distinguishes two sub-categories to the artistic value; one is 'relative' as it articulates the artistic elements from the past that can still be appreciated in the present, and the other is the 'new' value which confirms the observation that for most what is new and intact has greater importance than what is old and incomplete (Choay 1992 :130-131).

These categories bring to light the often contradictory meanings assigned to historic monuments. But this is not irresolvable for Riegl who argues that the conservation of each monument needs to be dealt with on a case by case basis, reflecting on the building's specific condition, and social and cultural context. Riegl introduced for the first time, through his analysis, the idea that values are assigned to historic monuments and that they guide as much as the material and craftsmanship of its components, its preservation (Choay 1992 :131). In this respect, Riegl's contribution highlights the idea of relevance as expressed through the values assigned by society to the historic monument.

Ruskin, Viollet-le-Duc, and Riegl approached the preservation of monuments based on a definition stemming first from the antiquarian tradition of collecting objects, and second from a romantic fascination for medieval architecture. The ideas and the treatment of historic monuments were thus influenced by the definition of the object as well as an aesthetic sensitivity that is framed by those two elements. As the definition of heritage expanded beyond the idea of historic monument, the principles surrounding its treatment required an evolution that was slow in coming.

5.2. Professionals and Practices to Conserve Historic Places

Almost a century after Ruskin published his views in the *Seven Lamps of Architecture*, the practice of conserving historic monuments had become common place and was inscribed in legislation in much of Western Europe and the United States. The word 'heritage' was being introduced as a synonym of 'historic monument' or 'ancient monument' and the practitioners of conservation took steps to codify their discipline arriving thus at a consensus on the various principles in use at the time. In 1931, the First Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments met in Athens to adopt seven general principles of conservation and restoration as well as general conclusions to guide preservation and restoration work. These principles, while they focused principally on monuments, were adopted and expanded on for other forms of 'ancient and historic' structures. The charter's main ideas regarding the nature of monuments and the responsibilities to protect them are that 'problems of preservation of historic sites are to be solved by legislation at national level for all countries', the 'loss of character and historical values to the structures' is of prime concern, and that 'historical sites are to be given strict custodial protection'. In addition to this consensus, the attendees concluded that governments (the *states*) have a primary responsibility and are invited to prepare inventories and implement legislation. Individuals need to be educated by governments to respect monuments "as the best guarantee in the matter of the preservation of monuments and works of art" (First Congress of Architects and Technicians of Historic Monuments 1931: par. vii b)). The Athens Charter is a statement from the discipline that governments and experts are the solution to heritage preservation and that sites, like objects, should be preserved as

physical evidence of the past. This is the clearest articulation of a top-down model for the protection, preservation and restoration of heritage an approach emulated in other international agreements, such as the Pan American *Treaty on the Protection of Artistic and Scientific Institutions and Historic Monuments* (Roerich Pact) of 1935 and its message of the supremacy of preserving historic monuments, museums, and works of art over the strategic military needs.

In the decades following the Second World War, and in the face of mounting pressure from reconstruction in Europe and development, the movement to preserve the evidence of the past gained greater public attention. Conservation architects, archaeologists, and other professions that dealt with the tangible evidence of the past, were actively engaged in the shaping of legislation and policy for urban and territorial planning. In the 1960s, a number of landmark events occurred that had an influence on the definition of heritage and the means to preserve it. In 1964, the Second Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings met in Venice to further discuss the principles of conservation. The result was the *Venice Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites*, the document that outlines in detail the principles of proper conservation activities. Contrary to the Athens Charter, the Venice Charter attempts to articulate the principles of conservation in the face of development pressure by discussing the setting, maintenance, and use. It is also prescriptive in the treatments, or means to conserve and restore, that are deemed to be appropriate. The similarities with the Athens Charter are that the role of government and experts is maintained as those ultimately responsible for conserving sites and monuments, and the “intention in conserving and restoring

monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence”, a statement which reiterates a certain ‘objectification’ of heritage (Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings 1964:art.3).

The same year, the relocation of the temples of Abu Simbel and Philae under the auspices of UNESCO, although consistent with the accepted definition of historic monuments as works of art and evidence of the past, broadened the scope of the value of heritage by including the international community in a project that involved preserving outstanding monuments. This initiative set the course for international cooperation in heritage protection. It prepared the groundwork for an international agreement which was adopted in 1972 by the General Assembly of UNESCO as the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage* commonly referred to as the *World Heritage Convention*. This is the first major conservation document that focused primarily on the concept of heritage, rather than strictly monuments, as it defines cultural heritage as monuments, groups of buildings, and sites that have in common outstanding value from the point of view of history, art, aesthetics, anthropology, or science (UNESCO 1972:art.1).

Since the drafting of the Venice Charter and the World Heritage Convention, a series of international charters were developed by the *International Council on Monuments and on Sites* (ICOMOS), the organization that was formed in 1965 following the Second Congress of Architects, to guide the practice of conservation. The charters adopted before the 1990s emphasize a definition of

heritage that is objectified, with nuances about the meaning, as well as the role of government in protecting heritage (Table 5-1).

The common characteristics in those definitions include a predominance of architectural and designed elements referring to the idea of ‘monument’, the characterization of the object as having historical or artistic value, and the emphasis on the documentary nature of heritage. In terms of significance, they state that ‘monuments’ express a meaning ascribed to them at the time of their creation, both by the cultural group and its individual creator. The role of government remains absolute in authority and responsibility. There is no explicit mention of a role for stakeholders, implying instead that citizens are receptors of awareness-raising and education programmes to ensure the protection of ‘monuments’ from the impact of visitation and development. They are not described as active agents of the definition and preservation of historic places.

ICOMOS Charter	Definition of heritage	Significance	Role of Government
Historic Gardens (Florence Charter – 1981)	“A historic garden is an architectural and horticultural composition of interest to the public from the historical or artistic point of view”. As such, it is to be considered as a monument.”(art.1) “A historic site is a specific landscape associated with a memorable act, as, for example, a major historic event; a well-known myth; an epic combat; or the subject of a famous picture.”(art.8)	“As the expression of the direct affinity between civilisation and nature [...] the garden thus acquires the cosmic significance of an idealised image of the world, a “paradise” in the etymological sense of the term, and yet a testimony to a culture, a style, an age, and often to the originality of a creative artist.”(art.5)	“It is the task of the responsible authorities to adopt, on the advice of qualified experts, the appropriate legal and administrative measures for the identification, listing and protection of historic gardens [...] It is also the task of the responsible authorities to adopt, with the advice of qualified experts, the financial measures which will facilitate the maintenance, conservation and restoration, and, where necessary, the reconstruction of historic gardens.”(art.23)
Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter – 1987)	“Beyond their role as historical documents, these areas embody the values of traditional urban cultures.”(preamble)		“In order to be most effective, the conservation of historic towns and other historic urban areas should be an integral part of coherent policies of economic and social development and of urban and regional planning at every level.”(art.1)

Table 5-1 Overview of the pre-1990 ICOMOS Charters

In the 1990s, heritage conservation charters began to shift to expand the definition of heritage and of the role of government. In particular they began articulating a relationship between governments and citizens that transcends the potential impacts of public access to those sites. The first charters to signal that change were both related to archaeology (Table 5-2 and Table 5-3) starting with the definition of heritage and of its significance. It occurred simultaneously with a shift in roles and responsibility between governments and stakeholders.

The definition of heritage remains anchored in the idea of heritage being tangible documentary evidence of the past and providing a 'narrative of historical development'. However, there is also a clear trend towards an expanding typology of historic places to assert the role of intangible and current perceptions of values where cultural heritage is a 'spiritual resource' used and understood differently. The expression of significance suggests that historic places have multiple values because they are meaningful for individual and collective identities; they are tied to a sense of 'pride and affection'; and they play a role in demonstrating cultural diversity for the purpose of bridging differences. The *Charter for Underwater Heritage* makes the assertion that "everybody is entitled to draw upon the past in informing their own lives, and every effort to curtail knowledge of the past is an infringement of personal autonomy" (ICOMOS 1996 : preamble) a statement that may be understood in the context of private underwater shipwreck salvagers than of individual enjoyment of heritage. The *Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites* makes a bold statement that the identification and conservation of historic places are the result of 'choices'. Finally, both the

definition and significance, in the charter on archaeological heritage in particular, single out indigenous relations issues as a major contextual consideration as the indigenous people of the Americas, Australia and New Zealand in particular, have specific rights and knowledge.

This shift in perception is signalling the increased attention paid to values in conservation thinking, one that heralded the development of practices and principles of 'values-based conservation'. This concept focuses on a broad typology of sites and recognizes that historic places may each express multiple values. In recognizing that diversity, it sets the stage for a dialogue between government and stakeholders who are perceived as cultural knowledge holders for the definition and conservation of historic places. The post-1990 international charters maintain a role for government that relies on appropriate legislation to control activities and establishing conservation strategies. That role, however, is enhanced by responsibilities for stakeholders to become active agents in protection and conservation, as governments are invited to seek and encourage "local commitment and participation", "active participation by the general public [as] part of policies for the protection", "inclusiveness", and "[facilitate] the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities". The charters are addressed to decision-makers with an underlying assumption that those are government authorities. As such, the charters maintain largely the existing 'balance of power' between government and stakeholders.

ICOMOS Charter	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (Lausanne Charter – 1990)	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (Sofia Charter – 1996)	International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999)
Definition of heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic record of past human activities. (preamble) Part of the material heritage for which archaeological methods provide primary information".(art.1) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archaeological heritage which is in, or has been removed from, an underwater environment. (preamble). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Material and spiritual resource, providing a narrative of historical development."(principle 1.1)
Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The heritage of all humanity and of groups of peoples, and not restricted to any individual person or nation.(art.3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Everybody is entitled to draw upon the past in informing their own lives, and effort to curtail knowledge of the past is an infringement of personal autonomy.(preamble) Contributes to the formation of identity and to people's sense of community. (preamble) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Differing levels of significance, some with universal values, others of national, regional or local importance.(principle 1.2) Have intrinsic value for all people as an important basis for cultural diversity and social development.(principle 2.1)
Role of Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Land use must be controlled and developed in order to minimise the destruction of heritage. (art.2) The provision of information to the general public is an important element in integrated protection (art.2) Local commitment and participation should be actively sought and encouraged as a means of promoting the maintenance of the archaeological heritage. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No statement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Respect the rights and interests of stakeholders and rights holders over their own land and its significant sites. They should be involved in all aspects of the process of heritage place management for tourism .(principle 4.1)
Role of Stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The participation, and in some cases, the responsibility (art.6) of indigenous groups is essential for the protection and preservation (preamble) of their historic places. It may be appropriate to entrust responsibility for the protection and management of sites to indigenous peoples.(art.6) Academic researchers, private or public enterprise, general public (preamble) cooperate The protection of historic places should be considered as a moral obligation and a collective public responsibility. (art.3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No statement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Support the long term survival of heritage."(principle 1.3)

Table 5-2 Overview of the post-1990 ICOMOS Charters

ICOMOS Charter	Charter on the Built Vernacular Heritage (1999)	Charter on Cultural Routes (2008)	Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008)
Definition of heritage	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The physical form and fabric of buildings, structures and spaces, and the ways in which they are used and understood, and the traditions and intangible associations(Principles in conservation 5). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Any route of communication which is physically delimited and is characterized by a dynamic and historic functionality to serve a specific purpose. (definition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A place, locality, natural landscape, settlement area, architectural complex, archaeological site, or standing structure that is recognized and often legally protected as a place of historical and cultural significance. (definitions)
Significance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Occupies a central place in the affection and pride of all peoples (preamble) It is a focus of contemporary life and at the same time a record of the history of society. (preamble) It is the fundamental expression of the culture of a community, of its relationship with its territory and, at the same time, the expression of the world's cultural diversity. (preamble) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Represent interactive, dynamic, and evolving processes of human intercultural links that reflect the diversity of the contributions of different peoples to cultural heritage. Present shared dimensions which transcend their original functions, Offer an exceptional setting for a culture of peace based on the ties of shared history as well as the tolerance, respect, and appreciation for cultural diversity that characterize the communities involved. (preamble) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Material remains and intangible values of past communities and civilisations . (preamble)
Role of Government	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Recognise the right of all communities to maintain their living traditions, to protect these through all available legislative, administrative and financial means and to hand them down to future generations. (general issues 3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Establish a system of coordinated legal measures and appropriate instruments that guarantee that it will be preserved and its value and significance highlighted in a holistic fashion. (methodology 3) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No statement
Role of Stakeholders	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Involvement and support of the community, continuing use and maintenance. (general issues 2) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Public awareness, and participation of the inhabitants of the areas which share the route." (methodology 6) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Facilitate the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programmes.

Table 5-3 Overview of the post-1990 ICOMOS Charters (continued)

In addition to these international charters, some ICOMOS national committees articulated their culturally specific views on the principles of the Venice Charter. *The Burra Charter: The Australia ICOMOS Charter for Places of Cultural Significance* was a groundbreaking document whose original scope when it was adopted in 1979 was limited to Australia. It since has resonated internationally as government agencies around the world adopted or endorsed it in its 1999 revised form. The success of the Burra Charter lies in four aspects: it defines key terms that the Venice Charter introduced without defining; it makes use of the expression 'cultural heritage' as the term to describe the object of conservation; it stresses stakeholder involvement in the protection of heritage; and it acknowledges cultural relativism in the definition of value (Australia ICOMOS 1999 :guidelines). The 1999 revision emphasized value, encouraging even the 'co-existence' of values at sites (Australia ICOMOS 1999 :art.13, guidelines p.22), as a guiding principle of conservation in concert with fabric since it "is embodied in the place itself, its setting, use, associations, meanings, records, related places and related objects" (Australia ICOMOS 1999: art.1.2, guidelines p.22). The Burra Charter remains one of the few doctrinal documents in heritage conservation that has effectively introduced a role for stakeholders from their perspective rather than retaining the traditional role of governments. The Burra Charter is a major doctrinal document in the practice of values-based conservation because it articulates the purpose and process to determine value and conserve it.

The trend that was becoming apparent in the international charters was also having an impact on the World Heritage List. The World Heritage Committee

began to raise questions about the balance of the World Heritage List as early as 1984 (World Heritage Committee 1994 :1). A thorough debate about this issue culminated in 1994 with a study to better understand the composition of the List and perceived imbalances. This *Framework for a Global Study* revealed serious imbalances with significant overrepresentation of European, Christian, and 'elitist' architectural sites (World Heritage Committee 1994 :3-4). The most serious conclusion was reached with the admission that living cultures were dramatically underrepresented and for the ones that were, their architectural value enabled them to make onto the List. The prime obstacle to including these cultures was the dichotomy between culture and nature thus distancing their accomplishments and value from their natural environment (World Heritage Committee 1994 :4).

This was an enlightening and worrisome conclusion for a group whose mandate was to protect the "world heritage of mankind as a whole". The root of the imbalance lay in part in the process and interpretation of definitions. The List was out of step with recent advancements in thinking about heritage and was based on a 'monumental' concept of the cultural heritage when much of the "scientific knowledge and intellectual attitudes" had embraced a more complex and multifaceted understanding of the relationship between cultures and their environment (World Heritage Committee 1994:2-3).

This acknowledgement that times had changed since the idea of protecting the world's heritage emerged in the late 1960's, was the opportunity for the World Heritage Committee to set a course for the World Heritage List of the 21st

century. As a follow up to ICOMOS' study, it launched in 1994 the *Global Strategy for a Balanced, Representative and Credible World Heritage List* as a means to recognize the diversity of the world's heritage and adopt policies and mechanisms to reach that objective. While it generated mixed results, it succeeded in introducing ideas once confined to field practice and academia, into international policy. These ideas required the adoption by the World Heritage Committee to make their way into the practices of national heritage agencies if at least only for the properties being nominated.

5.3. Historic Places as Objects of the Past in the Present

The conclusion of this overview is that the way heritage is understood and managed by Western countries and other countries that have adopted similar approaches, largely remains within the framework defined in the early days of national discourses about heritage.

This is in part because the concept of historic monument is a Western invention (Choay 1992 :21). From historic monument to cultural heritage, these expressions continue to refer to, as articulated by architectural historian

Françoise Choay

[...] a legacy to be enjoyed by a broad community of people with international scope and constituted by continuous accumulation of diverse objects united by a common belonging to the past: works and masterpieces of fine art and applied art, works and products resulting from all the knowledge and know-how of humankind²⁵ (Choay 1992:9)

²⁵ [...] un fond destiné à la jouissance d'une communauté élargie aux dimensions planétaires et constitué par l'accumulation continue d'une diversité d'objets que rassemble leur commune appartenance au passé: oeuvres et chefs-d'oeuvre des beaux arts et des arts appliqués, travaux et produits de tous les savoirs et savoir-faire des humains .

This definition reinforces the notion of 'collected objects' and its relationship to an idea about the past of a community.

These historic places, which include historic monuments as well as the ever expanding typology of objects and places of value, are identified and protected as part of a broad idea of what constitutes the heritage – or collection of places – of a nation as defined by the regulatory authority. They are places to be managed as physical evidence of historical facts and their 'collection' and preservation is essential to maintain the integrity of this view of the history of the people. As objects, they have specific parameters of shape and size – i.e. boundaries – as well as specific meaning. They are delineated in space and differentiated from their surroundings.

While recent approaches to heritage management have accelerated the meaningful inclusion of stakeholders and other citizens in the definition and preservation of historic places, the legal and policy framework, as evidenced by international charters and legislation, maintains the role of the government as the originator and the warden of historic places on behalf of the people.

I have already argued that collectable objects have lost their primary use and have accumulated layers of meaning in relation to their creator and to the succession of owners. Their function is defined by the role in collective and individual memory. These characteristics evoke obvious parallels with the definition of historic places. Like Hoskins' 'biographical object', historic places have value because of the accumulated layers of experience that tell the story

of the 'owners' – the people or group that created them – and they 'anchor the owner to a particular time and place'. Like Pomian's objects, historic places are '*semiophores*', objects that have a meaning that transcends time but are also affected by it, both in their materiality and their significance. They are extensions of the people, or at least the idea of nation, that created them, and are culturally constructed. Finally, and probably most importantly, the meaning that is ascribed to them overrides any use they may have had originally, because they function as part of a system of values, ideas, and objects whose sole purpose is to represent an intangible notion of identity. That identity is located in time and space by historic places.

Ancient and historic monuments were observed and treated as objects by those who cared for them. Ruskin advocated for the recognition of the "passage of time as a value and that the material elements needed to be preserved" a statement that acknowledged the object and its meaning. Viollet-le-Duc considered that monuments had to have a contemporary use and meaning, stressing the ideas of use and function of the object as well as its evolving meaning based on changing values. Riegl described a series of values ascribed to monuments in addition to identifying the deliberate and unintentional motivations for their creation.

As today's legislation and the definition of places of historic significance aims to broaden the interpretation of significance and heritage, the mechanisms in place to protect and the principles behind their management may not be appropriate. The relationship between object and subject as Baudrillard noted is

different than what was experienced even half a century ago in Western cultures. The role of government has significantly been transformed in ways where it does not play as central a role in defining identity and where citizens expect to be more actively engaged in decisions that affect them. Finally, in most Western countries, the fabric of the nation is much more layered and acknowledged to be layered by authorities than before.

6. Chapter Six: Collective and Individual Relationships with Historic Places

As the conservation movement attempted to codify the value, boundaries, and conservation of those 'objects', the authority of the state and of experts increased and as a result highlighted tensions between what they viewed as heritage places and what communities experienced.

This increase in authority results in the imposition of meaning and use on historic places as a mechanism for regulating its conservation. The following section explores this imposition, making use of the case of Canada as an example, in the way in which it defines and affects relevance.

6.1. Historic Places as Imposed Relationship

In Canada, legislation that regulates the designation includes specific definitions of what constitutes 'heritage' to be recognized by the government on behalf of the people it represents. They are at times defined as objects of value qualified as historic, scientific, archaeological, or architectural. These designations objectify these historic places, whether sites or resources such as archaeological resources, by assigning a boundary (shape and form) and a meaning (signifier). Finally, that legislation typically identifies government obligations around their protection and preservation.

While in some cases, the public is invited to submit proposals for designation and participate in crafting the direction for their conservation, it is hardly an

open process. This is a result of the ministers having the ultimate responsibility of reporting on the condition of the historic places and the resources dedicated to their care to their respective legislative assemblies. This reality establishes a relationship between the community and the historic place that is imposed by government as representatives of a community, and without necessarily being the result of the community's involvement.

The characteristics of this relationship affect the relevance of historic places and are tied to values at the time of designation, behaviour leading to their conservation, and type of experience. In this framework of imposed relationship, relevance is stronger or weaker as it reflects the gap between existing social values and the reasons for designation. It is influenced by the ability for stakeholders to be part of decision-making and guide the outcome when designating historic places.

Relevance manifests itself by the individual or collective acceptance to change their social and personal behaviour in order to conserve the historic place. In other words, if a place is deemed important, measures will be put in place individually and collectively to preserve its integrity and authenticity. In an imposed relationship, the state typically adopts legislation to influence social behaviour and conserve historic places. In the case of Canada, where much of the heritage legislation is provincial, all provincially-commemorated historic places are protected, including limits on activities, uses, and changes. However, at the federal level, not all national historic sites are protected, only those owned and administered by Parks Canada. Most national historic sites are

cared for but maybe not as 'historic places', rather simply as places. Their destruction is possible, in particular when there is little popular opposition. This is a demonstration of the essential connection between commemoration and protection as well as the non-exclusive authority and capability of government to care for historic places.

Relevance in an imposed relationship is perceived as an individual experience of learning about a supra definition of identity and culture rather than a collective experience of identity and culture. For example, a visitor individually approaches a historic place through its interpretation programme to learn about the history and culture of the associated community but is not performing at any given time a collective expression of identity (Figure 6-1). The latter is consistent with the definition of historic places as collected objects reflecting an idea of the history and nature of the community, where the idea and the collection are performed by the state. It also exposes the absence of causal relation between experiencing a historic place and belonging to the community that identified that place. That gap is two-fold: any visitor can come to a historic place and have an experience; any member of the community can experience a historic place without relating to it and its values. This raises the question: what is the role of the state in nurturing relevance?



Figure 6-1 Learning about the Deportation of the Acadians: visitors interact with guides and interpretive panels inside the Memorial Church at Grand-Pré NHSC. © Christophe Rivet

Some, like J.B. Harkin in Canada, believe that the state sets the stage for collective identity to be experienced by displaying these historic places and making them publically accessible. Harkin envisioned that national historic sites “should be used as places of resort by Canadian children who, while gaining the benefit of outdoor recreation, would at the same time have the opportunity to absorb historical knowledge under conditions that could not fail to make them better Canadians” (Taylor 1990 :29). While the purpose of national historic sites as ‘playgrounds’ may be specific to Canada, the idea that visitors and other users would ‘absorb historical knowledge’ is an assumption made at most historic places, because following the logic of the collected object, these places contain facts as well as an idea of the community. Therefore, the value of the object (the reasons for designation) needs to be communicated, interpreted, and learnt for the subject (i.e. the member of the community) to understand that idea.

6.1.1. Designations and Relevance at Grand Pré

The case study of Grand Pré, and its mix of designations as commemorations and designations as historic places, illustrates the characteristics of the imposed relationship and their correlation to the relevance of historic places.

All designations in Grand Pré are imposed relationships. The federal designations, which include events, persons, as well as sites of national significance, have been part of the landscape since the early years of the national commemorative programme: the Attack at Grand Pré (1924), Sir Robert Laird Borden (1938), the Dispersal of the Acadians (1955), the Coming of the New England Planters (1958), Grand-Pré (1961), the Covenanters' Church (1976), and the Grand-Pré Rural Historic District (1995) (Figure 6-2).



Figure 6-2 Including Grand Pré in a national narrative through official plaques. Top left, clockwise: HSMBC plaques commemorating the Battle of Grand Pré, the Expulsion of the Acadians, and the Grand-Pré Rural Historic District. These plaques formalize a process of imposed value onto a place. © Christophe Rivet

Of these designations, only three are sites and only Grand-Pré NHSC is protected by virtue of being administered by Parks Canada. All designations

have significance to a particular group or individuals, but as a national programme of commemoration that identifies sites of importance to all Canadians, the expectation is that these sites are relevant to all Canadians. The mandate is more explicit for Parks Canada as administrator of Grand-Pré NHSC.

If we look closely at applying the first characteristic of the imposed relationship which is the gap between social values and reasons for designation, the context of inscription and the level of involvement of stakeholder groups in their designation have varied greatly over time. In the early days of national commemoration, the HSMBC would recommend designations based on the interest of its members and the idea of Canada and Canadians that was prevalent at the time (Pelletier 2006). As described earlier, the bias was strongly in favour of military themes and the French and British rivalry in settling North America. Designations in Grand Pré make no exception to that bias since the early designations are within that mindset. The Covenanter's Church was designated after the HSMBC had expanded its criteria to include architecturally-significant structures in the 1950s. Finally, the designation of the rural district signalled the introduction of a new category of sites for the board.

While each designation reflects an expanding notion of heritage and thus presumably of values attached to those forms of heritage by society, each commemoration firstly may not be reflecting closely the values of society at the time of designation and secondly may not necessarily continue to resonate with society through time. In the first case, the suggestion is difficult to demonstrate

in the absence of actual data to measure social values versus values at times of designation, but the democratization of heritage throughout the 20th century with the introduction of new forms of historic places, supports that suggestion. In the second case, the absence of connection with certain historic places, as suggested by declining levels of visitation, physical neglect, and minimal administrative presence to manage them, suggests a loss of relevance. Although these measures lack the quantifiable and qualifiable evidence to conclude in a loss of relevance, their association with the ideas of 'people caring about a place' and its correlation with government investments in those places, is sufficient to conclude that values and relevance do not have an absolute symbiotic relationship.

The first tangible record of a stakeholder group influencing the designation of a site appears in the process of designating Grand-Pré. The minutes of the HSMBC (1955) indicate that both the Acadian community and the DAR approached the government of Canada to seek the transfer of ownership of the site to the government as well as recognition as a national historic site (Parks Canada Agency 2011:20). The HSMBC was not convinced about the historic value, but nevertheless recommended the transfer to government ownership with the consideration that the park would be a suitable attraction to become a national historic park, one would surmise along the lines of Harkin's vision of playgrounds of learning (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :20). The almost simultaneous events of signing the contract of transfer between the Acadian community and the government of Canada, and of the designation as a national historic site, mark the limitations in public influence and a fork on the road of

relevance. On the one hand, the contract articulated values that were dear to the Acadian community on the other, the designation ignored those values. This became the source of tension between the two parties until the clarification of the reason for national significance in 1982 more closely reflected the values of the Acadian community. In addition, the perception of value by the Acadian community was never altered, essentially evolving in parallel to the national designation. This event not only confirmed a discrepancy between the values of the community and the values as determined by the government, but also confirms the changes that occur when the process takes into consideration more carefully those values.

6.1.2. Protection and Relevance at Grand Pré

While levels of visitation or awareness of the historic place may be indicators of relevance, support for its conservation and the acceptance to change behaviour so as to effect proper protection is a stronger manifestation of relevance. This is because it illustrates the idea described earlier, that certain places are deemed, as Eliade suggested, 'sacred' or, from a less religious perspective, sufficiently distinguishable from the surrounding landscape due to their significance. Of the seven designations of national significance, the person's designation, Sir Robert Laird Borden, is located near the house where he was born. The house is not of national significance but is provincially designated. The events – the Attack at Grand-Pré, the Dispersal of the Acadians, and the Coming of the New England Planters – are commemorated near or at the location of the event. All three designations, despite not being treated as sites by the authority, are associated

with tangible traces of the event, in the form of military artefacts, destroyed settlement features, burials, and settlement patterns.

The protection afforded each historic place is uneven and is not necessarily correlated with a measure of relevance. Grand-Pré NHSC is afforded the highest protection by virtue of being owned and administered by Parks Canada. The level of involvement of stakeholder groups, as observed in public consultation exercises, varies from high, for the Acadian community, to medium for local residents, to low for the broader public. The further physically removed from the historic place, the less the stakeholders are involved in providing feedback, with the exception of those who belong to the Acadian community at large. Although the consultation aims to provide an opportunity for public input, ultimately the final direction is decided by the agency based on its capacity and the minister's responsibility. It is not an open process where the public decides on the priorities. This limits the engagement of individuals and communities as they rely on the government agency to carry out the public interest. In addition, the protection is effective only as far as Parks Canada's authority extends and on the lands it owns. The site's surroundings, which are regulated by municipal by-laws, do not include provisions to protect it, although zoning is coincidentally sympathetic with the aims of protecting it.

The events of the Dispersal of the Acadians and Coming of the New England Planters require little protection. However, descendants of the culturally-affiliated groups – the Acadians and the New England Planters – continue to promote the maintenance of the plaques and commemorate the events. More

recently, the Acadians commemorated the 250th anniversary of the 'Grand Dérangement' (the Dispersal) in 2005, and the descendants of the Planters commemorated the 250th anniversary of their ancestors' arrival in 2010. In both cases, efforts to enhance the commemorative locations and to raise awareness were undertaken. Within the Grand Pré area, there are a number of historic features associated with each group. Over the years, archaeological research has revealed the presence of Acadian as well as Planter artefacts and features. In addition, there are still standing buildings dating back to the first generation of the Planter settlement. Their protection has elicited different reactions from each community: while the Acadian community demonstrates an enthusiasm and willingness to preserve the tangible evidence of their heritage (Rivard 2006) the local residents and descendants of the New England Planters are interested but are concerned with the potential impacts on their ability to build and change the structures according to their needs (Nomination Grand Pré 2009 a)).

The event of the Attack at Grand Pré, at the time of its designation, was considered an important event in the military history of Canada, one that had been the inspiration of literary works and even a radio play called "Raid on Grand Pré" (1931). It was particularly significant for those of British ancestry as the event is remembered as a stinging defeat and a bloody confrontation. In 2011, a private landowner who owned the plot of land said to contain the remains of the British officers killed during the battle undertook to build his retirement home (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 a)). Local residents alerted the authorities, some alarmed about the construction work desecrating the tombs of heroes, others concerned about the potential heritage resources. Once the

owners learnt about the concerns, they worked with the authorities to mitigate potential impacts. Although no human remains or archaeological resources were found, the situation highlighted the interest in that heritage from some local residents.

The rural historic district is the most recently designated and the largest site of national significance. As a national commemoration, it is not protected by federal legislation, which leaves other levels of government and individuals the responsibility to conserve it. Its heritage value comes from the centuries of human settlement characterized by the dyking of intertidal lands and their use exclusively for agriculture. Some of the key character-defining elements include the agricultural use, the settlement pattern, unimpeded views of the dykelands, the road patterns, and traces of past settlements²⁶. Except for the protection of archaeological resources, most other character-defining elements and the heritage value would be managed by municipal by-laws. In this instance, the maintenance of the agricultural use, of the low density, and of some of the views, is included in the municipal plan for the purpose of maintaining the agricultural activity and the quality of life of the local residents. This intent was reiterated in the secondary plan prepared in 2010 (Municipality of the County of Kings 2011). The national designation did not influence the direction. There is in fact a coincidence of interest for the time being. In other words, although the values associated with the historic district resonate with the local community, it is not the fact that it is of historic value but rather it is because of its association with the way of life.

²⁶ <http://historicplaces.ca/en/rep-reg/place-lieu.aspx?id=15751&pid=0>, accessed December 12, 2012

Finally, the Covenanters' Church (or Covenanter Church) is the third site of national historic significance in the Grand Pré area (Figure 6-3). Like the rural district, it does not benefit from federal protection since it is privately owned. However, it was also recognized for its provincial significance and is protected under the Nova Scotia *Heritage Property Act* since 1988. The church remains consecrated but services are limited. The congregation is quite small and is part of the nearby town of Wolfville's pastoral charge since 1995. The United Church of Canada, the current owner, has taken great care of the building and the grounds. In 1998, an ad hoc committee was created to prepare a long-term plan including the continuation of worship, the maintenance of the building, and sources of the funding (Adamson 2002). While the congregation is small and worship is limited, the church maintains great relevance for the community and the United Church of Canada, as demonstrated by the ongoing use and care invested in the building.



Figure 6-3 Covenanters Church NHSC or Covenanters Church provincially designated heritage building. © Christophe Rivet

The community of Grand Pré and area includes provincially- and municipally-designated structures which are protected under the Nova Scotia *Heritage Property Act*. This protection limits the ability for every Nova Scotian to enjoy that heritage in three significant ways. Firstly, properties can only be designated with the consent of the owner; secondly, they remain in private hands if they are already owned by an individual; and thirdly they may be deregistered should the owners apply to the authorities. These properties are part of a publically accessible inventory; however they are seldom physically accessible (Special Places Protection Act 1989). This is the case for four of the five provincially-designated properties in Grand Pré. Only the Covenanters Church is publically

accessible. These designations illustrate an imposed relationship: the government determines the value based on internal analysis and the advice of the Advisory Council on Heritage Property. This qualifies as an 'imposition' since the public is not involved in determining value, although the owner when applying for registration may articulate a proposed value. In addition, the value is focused on architectural, historical, or cultural associations. The 'imposition' is constrained by the rights of the owner regarding designation (registration), access, and deregistration but in its substance this relationship maintains the authority of government to define heritage. The provincial designation of the four houses is public knowledge and the current owners are proud stewards of these properties. Interpretation is limited to a brochure prepared by the local historical society.

The only municipally-designated heritage in Grand Pré is the heritage conservation district. Protection is afforded under the Nova Scotia, *Heritage Property Act* which carries in essence the same roles and responsibilities as for provincial properties with a few exceptions. Most notably, the districts are the result of a lengthy process between the proponents and the municipality which involves public consultation. In the case of Grand Pré, the process began under the impetus of the Grand Pré Historical Society (Municipality of the County of Kings 1999). The issue was divisive in the community, pitting those that wished to preserve the integrity of the hamlet of Grand Pré and those who did not wish to have additional restrictions on activities and development. The municipal council adopted the creation of the heritage conservation district in 1999 following the preparation of a significance study. In this case, while the definition

of the heritage conservation district is imposed by the authority, the extensive consultation and engagement of citizens led to a tailored approach to conservation where inclusion in the district is done on a voluntary basis. The most interesting observation about relevance and the imposition of the relationship in this case is that the desire to manage change, either through restricting development or allowing unbridled development, is a gauge of the relevance for local residents. It is different from what may be enjoyed by visitors to Grand Pré.

The last designation to discuss is the World Heritage site status. In that instance, the designation is also the result of an imposition by a body external to the community. There are some significant differences however with the previous designations as a result of the process. As discussed earlier the nomination proposal included a broad representation of the individuals and groups that had connections with the site. They were involved in defining the value as well as providing the direction for the place's conservation. Much effort was made throughout the process to identify those values that would be relevant to humanity as a whole based on the values that were experienced by the stakeholder groups. The engagement of those same stakeholders in developing management plans was an opportunity to reflect on how best to conserve these values. This in return enhanced the understanding of each other's experience of the place, and strengthened the commitment to conserving it.

In conclusion, the idea that historic places are the result of an imposed relationship is an important characteristic of the measure of relevance that stakeholders have for these places. The level of involvement in defining the heritage and managing it varies significantly depending on individual jurisdictions, as shown in Grand Pré. However, they are all iterations of the same concept: governments have the primary role and responsibility towards the definition and management of heritage through legislation aimed at protecting objects of public interest. As such, the level of engagement of stakeholders in their protection is uneven. In fact, the imposition of the relationship by government raises concerns that it will restrict the use and enjoyment of private property. This is true with certain conditions for provincial and municipal designations in Grand Pré but not for federal. In the case of the municipal designation, the public was involved in crafting the boundaries and the by-laws regulating activities.

This imposed relationship presents two challenges: one is of original relevance and one of ongoing relevance. The original relevance relates to the question of relation to social and cultural values at the time of designation. In some cases, there is a clear disconnect emerging from a lack of consideration for those values by the designating authority. In other cases, the process of designation does not allow for the involvement of stakeholders. The ongoing relevance relates to the ability of the reasons for designation to adapt to evolving social and cultural perceptions of value.

This challenge remains because of the difficulty of revisiting official designations, in part because of hesitations that values held dear by the public are not factual historical values. This static definition of value assumes the perpetuity of the reasons for significance of these historic places and continuity in reflecting the identity of Canadians, Nova Scotians, and residents of Grand Pré. The values of these places will not change because the nation, people, community will not change. It is a statement of individual experience of collective identity – i.e. as a member of the community, I experience the character of my community through these places – rather than collective experience that defines identity.

Lastly, the challenge of ongoing relevance is also the result of legislation restricting the role of stakeholders in the management of these properties. Even in the case of provincial and municipal designations, where the owner is solely financially responsible for the integrity of its property, the stakeholders, in other words the community rather than the individual, do not play a role in the stewardship of historic places.

6.2. The Use of Historic Places

What use do heritage places have in society?

The first is education. Historic preservation supplements the written word. [...] Secondly, historic preservation exists for the purpose of recreation. [...] Thirdly, historic preservation exists for inspiration. Patriotism, [...] is installed and strengthened by gaining a better insight into who we are as a nation, whence we came, and where we are headed. [...] There is today a fourth reason for historic preservation. This is the putting of historically and architecturally valuable sites and buildings to economically viable uses (Poinsett 1973:7).

These arguments by American preservationist David N. Poinsett were made in 1973 just as the heritage movement, one that benefited from national legislation, policies, charters and soon even an international convention, was in full bloom asserting its presence in the public debate about development and the environment. Heritage conservation advocates have always had to make a case for the protection of heritage. French *Inspecteur* Ludovic Vitet, then touring France to assess the condition of its monuments, wrote in the early 1830s to Minister of the Interior Guizot:

The mayors, the priests, parish administrators and especially the municipal councils, are giving me a hard time. It is impossible to reason them and if you do not equip me with a piece of legislation, within ten years there won't be a single monument left in France, as they will all have been destroyed or defaced...²⁷ (Recht 2003)

The values of association with national identity and knowledge about the nation's past motivated their identification and protection, also providing an argument for use: these objects were essential to self-awareness as a nation. An interest in architectural value followed adding to the set of potential values for historic monuments. It was equally as elitist and exclusive but it paved the way to broadening the debate about the essence of historic monuments, their use and their relevance.

The use of heritage places by communities has bearings on the demonstration of relevance. The meaning of 'use' requires a broader interpretation to allow for a better assessment of the sources of relevance for specific stakeholders. In

²⁷ Les maires, les curés, les fabriciens et surtout les Conseils municipaux me donnent bien du mal. Impossible de leur faire entendre raison et, si vous ne m'armez d'un bout d'article de loi, d'ici à dix ans il n'y aura plus un monument en France, ils seront tous ou détruits ou badigeonnés...

effect, who uses heritage places explains who relates to it. The use of heritage places is discussed under four broad categories that should be understood as intertwined: *knowledge and education, recreation, experience and inspiration*. These represent the generally accepted uses of heritage places, as they appear in professional charters and legislation.

Historic monuments were used as documentary evidence of the community's past and in some instances of architectural styles to be investigated and communicated. French architectural historian Françoise Choay described this use as the propaedeutical role (i.e. setting the stage for future developments) of historic monuments and ensembles, referring both to their role as foundation for identity as well as for architectural development (Choay 1992 :141). Their use as learning objects derives from their historical and architectural value.

The use of designated heritage places specifically for recreational purposes began with the emergence of the tourism industry in the late 19th century. In the case of Nova Scotia, tourism played an important role in the development of the province as early as the first part of the 19th century, beginning in Grand Pré.

Canadian historians Ian McKay and Robin Bates studied the commodification of the past through the emergence and growth of tourism in Nova Scotia. Through their study, they note the inherent contradictions in the public branding of the province in the 19th century meant to appeal to a number of different audiences: journalists and politicians were promoting the colony as young and forward looking, while entrepreneurs developed an infrastructure and successfully

branded the Annapolis Valley as the *Land of Evangeline*, touting it as “an Old World site peopled by quaint peasants” (McKay and Bates 2010:76). For the authors, this success is understandable in the context of the rise of industrial capitalism in New England and the perception of change and historical disconnect that accompanied it. As they put it, “New Englanders projected dreams and fantasies rooted in their own social and political conflicts onto Acadia” and wanted to connect with a bygone era (McKay and Bates 2010:77). Whereas their ancestors saw in Acadia their antithesis – Catholic, French, and militaristic – they now looked at *Acadie* to evoke an idealized agrarian past familiar to them.

This observation convincingly demonstrates that recreation and inspiration were strong motivations behind the emergence of heritage and tourism in Nova Scotia. The industry expanded in ways so that by the mid 20th century, Evangeline was no longer the main draw instead being replaced by assertive ‘tartanism’ (McKay and Bates 2010 :255). The essence of the power of attraction of these heritage places was to use them as oasis of tranquillity and places of inspiration for a middle class in need of both.

At the federal level during the same period, Harkin and his vision for national historic parks played a major role in including the idea of recreation at historic places. However, as others have noted, the idea of recreation has evolved in the past century (K. Smith 1999:115). Where recreation in Harkin’s mind for example, may have meant walking, climbing, hiking, and picnics, today includes paragliding, cross country, and biking. The modern recreational activity has also

accelerated the pace of the visit. In addition, today's recreational activities can be practiced in varying weather conditions which changes the experience and also impacts the sites differently. Finally, it is also worth noting that much like the environmental deficit and its impact on people's value of natural parks, there is, at least in Canada, a historical deficit where the general population has lost its connection with history through lack of knowledge about significant events, places and people (Historica Dominion Institute - Ipsos Reid 2008). The premise of a century ago of a learning playground is challenged by these new realities. However, Poinsett's statement that historic places "are fun" is one that 21st century historic places manager continue to define in response to ever changing definitions of fun, with the expectation that 'having fun' and acquiring knowledge at historic places can still go hand in hand.

Part of the impetus for the conservation of historic monuments and for considering them as learning playgrounds relies also on their perceived aesthetic value. However, while their use may be driven by the aesthetic value of the structures and their setting, in itself it does not justify their designation and therefore that use is not derived from its historic nature. Furthermore, definitions of aesthetics change with time, making that criterion an unreliable defining feature for triggering or maintaining relevance.

Use is considered an important factor to take into account when conserving and managing a historic place. As already mentioned, Parks Canada considers use as part of its mandate, principally use as enjoyment and as places of discovery (Parks Canada Agency 2002). This translates in policies regarding the

management of cultural resources that support that mandate and makes it a helpful case study to deconstruct the question of use at historic places.

Parks Canada's *Cultural Resource Management Policy* makes reference to the need for acceptable uses but without specifically articulating them. The policy acknowledges the challenges of managing national historic sites because of the requirement to balance protection and access. The description of these challenges underlines the perceived uses of these places: these places are to be accessible to visitors for them to learn about their historic value and to come into contact with the remains from the past. The caveat on the appropriateness of presentation at sites that are sacred underscores the fact that some sites are sacred without necessarily recognizing the use that this status may promote (Parks Canada Agency 1994 :101).

The cornerstone of the application of the policy is the idea of historic value. In defining cultural resources, the policy stresses the relationship between material qualities and intangible qualities, as they are "a human work, or a place that gives evidence of human activity or has spiritual or cultural meaning, and that has been determined to be of historic value" (Parks Canada Agency 1994 :101). The historic value is the one defined by the HSMBC at the time of designation, and interpreted and assigned when evaluating each resource located within the designated area. If that value considers cultural and spiritual associations then the management of the site will focus on nurturing those associations to maintain the commemorative integrity. This is not to say that other uses are forbidden: it simply asserts that these are the priorities and any other proposed

new uses needs to be respectful of the historic value. This approach underscores the close relationship between value and use.

Of the five principles that guide the application of the policy, the principle of public benefit is the most explicit about uses of national historic sites:

Public benefit of cultural resources will be most appropriately achieved by the protection and presentation of that which is of national historic significance

[...]

Appropriate uses of cultural resources will be those uses and activities that respect the historic value and physical integrity of the resource, and that promote public understanding and appreciation.

[...]

In the interest of long-term public benefit, new uses that threaten cultural resources of national historic significance will not be considered, and existing uses which threaten them will be discontinued or modified to remove the threat (Parks Canada Agency 1994 :103-104)

What this principle states about use is that it is tied to public benefit; the latter being described as protection and presentation, clearly sets limits to uses and activities so that historic value is preserved. It also clearly articulates a purpose that although assumed to be relevant to all Canadians will in fact be relevant to those that carry out those activities, which, depending on what is acceptable, includes culturally-affiliated community, researchers, tourists, and conservation experts. Finally, public benefit is seen as one that is not time sensitive, meaning that these places are preserved for present and future generations of Canadians which is the justification for limiting the types of uses and activities. The practice of taking into consideration historic value in any decision affecting the cultural resources reinforces the limits imposed on their use.

Of the five activities tied to cultural resource management, three set the stage for what constitutes acceptable activities: research, conservation, and presentation. These are traditional articulations of uses that are compatible with historic places as places of knowledge and education.

The provincial and municipal governments consider use as defined by legislation which focuses on the documentary evidence. Under the *Heritage Property Act*, they are designated because they have ‘historic, architectural or cultural value’ (Heritage Property Act 1989). In the context of designations under the *Special Places Protection Act*, they are designated because they have archaeological or historical value (Special Places Protection Act 1989 : art.2 a)). There are four sites of cultural value protected under the *Special Places Protection Act*, including the remains of the Acadian settlement of Belleisle. Furthermore, the purpose of this Act is “to promote understanding and appreciation among the people of the Province of the scientific, educational and cultural values represented by the establishment of special places” (Special Places Protection Act 1989 : art.2 c)) This is translated into a permitting system for research at these places which by extension becomes their primary use. Under the *Heritage Property Act*, the ongoing occupation of the structures is the main use: since designated buildings remain in private ownership, the government in fact encourages a use that is not disruptive of its traditional use. As of 2011, the *Heritage Property Act* has undergone a revision to expand the definition of value defined as ‘heritage value’, meaning:

The aesthetic, historic, scientific, cultural, social or spiritual importance or significance for past, present or future generations and embodied in character-defining materials, forms, locations, spatial configurations, uses and cultural associations or meanings (Nova Scotia Legislature 2010).

This definition, which is taken directly from the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*, broadens the scope of significance to rely on cultural and social perspectives of value which by extension accepts a broader spectrum of uses. It is focused on values-based conservation matters where the tangible is affected and therefore considers use a matter of preservation of the historic place. The key precept it promotes is that ensuring the use of a historic place supports its conservation. If use is part of its value then it should be retained. If there is no relationship with its value, then a use compatible with that value should be determined (Parks Canada 2010:4).

The last sentence hints at relevance by suggesting that use guarantees the existence of the historic place, however it does so in terms of preserving the physical remains and the value. There might still be a gap between the reasons for the designation and the relevance. People will not primarily enter a designated building because of its value, but rather because of its use. That use may or may not be related to the heritage value. For example, the GowanBrae house in Grand Pré is valued for its Classical Revival style and its former use as an inn. Its current use as a private residence is consequently not related to its style or past use (Figure 6-4).



Figure 6-4 GowanBrae provincially-designated property. Its value is related to its architecture and past use as an inn. Today, it is a private residence. © Christophe Rivet

The direction provided in the *Standards and Guidelines* as well as legislative definitions of acceptable use generally mirrors that which is provided in international charters. These charters have generally advocated for uses that are compatible and respectful of the value of the heritage places. They have however evolved from a use that maintains them as objects, i.e. observation, research and appreciation, to consider them as part of a living social and environmental landscape. The Venice Charter considers ongoing use as one of the principle tenets of proper conservation practice:

The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is therefore desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building. It is within these limits only that modifications demanded by a change of function should be envisaged and may be permitted (Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings 1964: art.5)

The tone of the precept is one of caution: although the conservation of monuments is made easier by ongoing use and is desirable, it must not affect

the physical attributes of the historic structure. The statements are even more restrictive in the Florence Charter as they advocate for restricted access (art. 18), allowing only peaceful and meditative activities so as to not pervert the nature of the garden (art. 19), concentrating less compatible activities outside of the boundaries of the garden (art. 20), ensuring the precedence of maintenance activities over use (art. 21), and setting rules for visitors to ensure the ‘spirit of the place is preserved’ (art. 21). The Washington Charter makes no reference to use other than its support of the principles set in the Venice Charter. These charters consider the relationship between subject and object as one of observation and appreciation in order to learn about the past (Table 6-1 and Table 6-2).

ICOMOS Charter	Venice Charter (1964)	Historic Gardens (Florence Charter – 1981)
Appropriate use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The conservation of monuments is always facilitated by making use of them for some socially useful purpose. Such use is desirable but it must not change the lay-out or decoration of the building (art.5). 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Historic gardens are designed to be seen and walked about. Their nature and purpose is to be peaceful places conducive to human contacts, silence and awareness of nature. Occasional use for festivities should be clearly defined to enhance the visual effect of the garden instead of perverting or damaging it. Separate areas appropriate for active and lively games and sports should be laid out adjacent to the historic garden, so that the needs of the public may be satisfied in this respect without affecting its conservation. Taking care of the garden must always take precedence over the requirements of public use. All arrangements for visits to historic gardens must be subjected to regulations that ensure the spirit of the place is preserved.

Table 6-1 Articulation of appropriate use in international charters before the Cultural Tourism Charter

ICOMOS Charter	Charter for the Conservation of Historic Towns and Urban Areas (Washington Charter – 1987)	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (Lausanne Charter – 1990)	Charter for the Protection and Management of the Underwater Cultural Heritage (Sofia Charter – 1996)
Appropriate use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> No statement 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The protection and proper management of archaeological heritage is essential to enable archaeologists and other scholars to study and interpret it. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Archaeology is a public activity Underwater cultural heritage contributes to the formation of identity

Table 6-2 Articulation of appropriate use in international charters before the Cultural Tourism Charter (continued)

The restrictions reach a zenith with the Lausanne Charter where use except by archaeologists is not considered, other than alluding to indigenous peoples having their own relationship with sites. Their use, suggesting that it is their primary use, is for research and data collection. In this charter, the emphasis is on sites being determined as archaeological by an archaeologist which by extension means that a use is imposed on them. As a complement to the Lausanne Charter, the Sofia Charter on underwater archaeology reiterates the same restrictions save for its statement on the public nature of archaeology and the role that sites can play in community identity.

The restriction in use described in these charters intimate that there is a general public use often associated with historic places that may conflict with the appropriate use. Historic gardens, monuments in their setting, and public structures can often function as spaces for public congregation and activities. They are spaces, when administered by a public institution, which are generally protected from development and distinct from the more mundane activities of a community thus attractive as public spaces. Yet, both the concern with protection and in some instances the administration by a public body limit their accessibility. Grand-Pré NHSC despite it being administered by a government agency and being in its essence a commemorative garden is not open year-round and has an entry fee. These are public spaces only to a point.

Beginning with the Charter on Cultural Tourism, a subtle shift occurs in the discussion about use in international charters where heritage places are not only places of learning but also places of experience (Table 6-3). This

acknowledges that individuals have their own personalized interaction with places of significance, finding meaning within their own personal cultural and life experience. Although the Charter reiterates that heritage places exist for learning of the past, they are also places of discovery of cultures and values. This means that there is diversity of uses that reflect cultural values, an acknowledgement that impacts on the tourist's experience and on the work of site managers. The Charter on Cultural Routes takes a different stance by emphasizing the role of heritage places in supporting the social and economic activities of the cultural groups tied to these. This angle is primarily due to the nature of cultural routes which have traditionally served that purpose.

Finally, the most recent international charter, dealing with interpretation and presentation, while concerned primarily with those matters, positions them within a broader scope of uses. In its objectives, it identifies seven principles on which interpretation and presentation programs should be based. The seven principles capture the traditional uses (eg. "facilitate understanding and appreciation" meaning that heritage places are about knowledge and education) as well as recent considerations (eg. "encourage inclusiveness" meaning that heritage places are used by a variety of stakeholders for different reasons). It also includes the principle of "respect the authenticity" which guides managers to communicate the site's values and protect them from adverse impact. That principle seals the need to recognize cultural diversity and its spectrum of values and uses applied to heritage.

ICOMOS Charter	International Cultural Tourism Charter (1999)	Charter on Cultural Routes (2008)	Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites (2008)
Appropriate use	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Members of the host community and visitors to experience and understand that community's heritage and culture at first hand. • Material and spiritual resource, providing a narrative of historical development. • The needs and wishes of some communities or indigenous peoples to restrict or manage physical, spiritual or intellectual access to certain cultural practices, knowledge, beliefs, activities, artefacts or sites should be respected. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A Cultural Route can be used to promote an activity of social and economic interest of extraordinary importance for stable development. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Facilitate understanding and appreciation of cultural heritage sites • Encourage inclusiveness in the interpretation of cultural heritage sites, by facilitating the involvement of stakeholders and associated communities in the development and implementation of interpretive programmes.

Table 6-3 Articulation of appropriate use in international charters after the Cultural Tourism Charter

The attention paid to authenticity was a turning point in heritage conservation. It recognized cultural distinctiveness and its expression in heritage places. The international discussion on the subject was captured in the *Document of Nara* and resulted in a framework for its evaluation (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 : art.13).

In the document, “use and function” of the heritage places appear as a consideration to determine the value, a change of perspective that constitutes an evolution from “making use of them for some socially useful purpose” as directed in the Venice Charter. The shift also leads to considering uses other than as places of knowledge and education. In other words, if a cultural group assigns a specific use to a place, that use becomes an attribute of the value recognizing thus the role of these places in its way of life. This is what the HSMBC accomplished in Grand-Pré in 1982 when it recognized the strong attachment of the community for the site.

In summary, the definition of appropriate use of heritage places in the international charters has evolved. However, their essence as places of knowledge and education remains throughout the different charters. It reinforces the perception that there is a 'meaning' associated with the 'object' that needs to be understood. The evolution has allowed nuances to appear: visitors and those who come into contact with heritage places come to experience the different cultural values embedded in those places not just learn about them. The main catalyst of that evolution is the dual concern with value and authenticity which imposed a respect for cultural diversity. By the time the charter on interpretation and presentation was adopted by ICOMOS, considerations about the role and use of historic places definitively included matters of knowledge, economics, experience, and sustainability. Recreation and other uses as public spaces remains neglected.

It is in fact surprising that overall the international charters, legislation, and policies avoid discussing relevance. Beside the recurring statements about heritage places being "witnesses to historical events", "expressions of cultural diversity", "records of past human activities", "community pride" and other similar concepts, there is little said about why those places are relevant from the perspective of the communities. The Charter for Cultural Tourism synthesises a complex articulation of relevance by relating it to value and use:

It records and expresses the long processes of historic development, forming the essence of diverse national, regional, indigenous and local identities and is an integral part of modern life. It is a dynamic reference point and positive instrument for growth and change. The particular heritage and collective memory of each locality or community is irreplaceable and an important foundation for development, both now and into the future (ICOMOS 1999:introduction).

These arguments echo concerns that the heritage conservation discipline is trapped in an “elitist intellectual and aesthetic mold” (Stipe 1972:2) that needs to be shed in order to bridge the gap between what the conservation doctrine deems appropriate uses of these places, and what stakeholders recognize as appropriate uses. The first consideration would be to recognize heritage places as the public places they are, meaning open and accessible spaces of public exchanges. Indeed, the idea of using heritage places for knowledge, education, recreation, and inspiration confirms their role as public places: here the visitor is exposed to messages about the significance of these places, their role in history, and the lessons that they may teach for future generations. This is, after all, the purpose behind their designation; a discussion about identity and collective destiny.

The different historic places in Grand Pré exhibit similar complexity of use. The Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC is used as an agricultural and living landscape, but not because it is designated. The heritage value has no impact on its use since there is no legislation, federal or otherwise, to guide use as a historic place. The Covenanters’ Church is used by the congregation as a place of worship and as evidence of the history of the church in the area. The heritage district and the provincially-designated houses and structures are used for living purposes but again without direct correlation with the designation. The common denominator between these designations is that they all fundamentally convey a sense of history and their primary use is tied to knowledge and education. For some sites, this may be limited to public access to the information and a commemorative plaque, but their designation, value, and use as historic places

is tied to the collection of objects that speak to an idea of the community of interest.

Grand-Pré NHSC may be an exception in this set of designations. Its use is much broader and contrasts the government mandate on one side and the stakeholder community's interests on the other. From Parks Canada's perspective, the site is a place of knowledge and recreation, where visitors come to understand the history and enjoy the setting and the activities offered on location. This is evident in the articulation of priorities in successive management plans which emphasises the preservation of commemorative integrity, the development of interpretation, and more recently the facilitation of visitor experiences. From the Acadian community's perspective, this is their *lieu de mémoire* a shrine to their collective past and accomplishments, a symbol of their resilience, and a witness to their cultural vibrancy. This was articulated in the contract signed between the government and the Acadian community but was overlooked and understated by government until the value was corrected in 1982. It was and continues to be a source of tension. For the Acadian community, the use of this heritage place is tied to identity. Grand-Pré is explicitly a place of experience and inspiration much more than just history. The tension also arose from this perceived and sometimes real conflict of uses. The use as a *lieu de mémoire* contrasts with the historic place's use and demonstrates the necessity to distinguish between both (Figure 6-5).



Figure 6-5 Learning about the Acadians and the Deportation at Grand-Pré NHSC (left) and experiencing the Acadian *lieu de mémoire* at Grand-Pré (right) © Christophe Rivet

These designations are aimed at defining self and community. However, the self awareness as an individual and as a member of the community is dependent on the knowledge of the values and existence of the reference system for them to be relevant in defining identity, on *habitus* in other words. Unless the social and cultural values in contemporary society continue to include the ‘codes’ to understand and appreciate the idea behind the designation, their ability to experience them in a way that strengthens a connection to place and people is jeopardized. Either new values are introduced or they are forgotten, thus becoming irrelevant to the targeted audience. They have not lost, however, their usefulness for research and knowledge acquisition.

In this case again, Grand-Pré NHSC appears to play a role in identity through experience and inspiration with results differing between the mandate of the Parks Canada Agency and the interests of the Acadian community. For the agency, its mandate is to facilitate experiences and enhance the connection to place of all Canadians and visitors. For the Acadian community, the site is the heart of the collective identity, a place where individuals come to experience the

fundamental aspects of Acadian history, culture, and pride. Most non-Acadian visitors, based on feedback collected over the years in the guest books and the visitor information surveys are able to relate to the human experience depicted at the site and expressed in the cultural demonstrations at the site (Parks Canada Agency 2009 :10).

Much of my discussion on heritage places up to this point has skirted the relationship between visitors and these places. The complexity of defining visitors is apparent in the documents that guide the doctrine of heritage conservation and in policy documents in Canada. Visitors in fact are more often addressed in research and charters as tourists. Both expressions, visitor and tourist, reflect a category of people that does not distinguish between those who have a connection to the place for cultural reasons and those who come to learn or discover. In fact, that distinction may illustrate the perception that heritage places are essentially places of learning and discovery both sensory and intellectual. The Cultural Tourism Charter discusses accessibility to the host community and to visitors because “[...] domestic and international tourism is among the foremost vehicles for cultural exchange [...]” (ICOMOS 1999 : principle 1). Parks Canada’s policies talk about ‘visitor experience’ and being relevant to all Canadians. The agency has adopted the “Canadian Tourism Commission’s Explorer Quotient (EQ), [...] to match visitors with the experiences they are seeking [and] identify visitor needs, interests, and expectations based on their personal values and travel motivations”²⁸.

²⁸ http://www.pc.gc.ca/voyage-travel/qe-eq/qe-eq_e.asp accessed December 12,2012

The perspectives, both the Cultural Tourism Charter's and Parks Canada's, reinforce the idea of tourists as outsiders, individuals, and consumers rather than insiders and part of a collective. Tourists are interacting with these places to experience a culture and its values, to learn about them. However, there is also a level of appreciation that visitors consume these places according to their own values and needs, for recreation purposes. As sociologist Tim Edensor points out in his book *Tourists at the Taj* (1998), some influential theories about tourism highlight the parallels with pilgrimage. Landscape architect Dean MacCannell for example posits that tourists are in search of 'authenticity' a quality that may have been lost in their own reality. Their desire for authenticity leads them on a pilgrimage to visit each significant site, like "compulsive collectors of supposedly important objects and places" (Edensor 1998 :3), a compulsion that allows the individual to proclaim his or her status in an otherwise anonymous society (Carrier 1995:3). Other theories suggest that tourists participate in a form of ritual inversion, where they escape profane sense of time and place to experience something outside their world (Edensor 1998 :4). These theories, Edensor contends, are overgeneralisations of experiences that are in fact much more individualistic.

Edensor's own views are that certain sites – which he terms symbolic sites – "may engender a deep level of engagement amongst groups of people to whom the site is nationally, religiously or politically significant. Certain sites are so 'full' of meaning that they cannot be rendered superficial through their commodification" (Edensor 1998 :6). This important idea leads, however, to the conclusion that not all sites are 'full' of meaning, that only some sites 'engender

a deep level of engagement', and that these sites may have two parallel levels of experience, one for the insider and one for the outsider. The pilgrimage from the Deportation Cross to the Memorial Church in Grand-Pré attracts both Acadians and non-Acadians, but the first re-enact the experience of their ancestors while the others participate in a cultural experience. This also allows me to suggest that, in the context of heritage sites, sites that are designated for historic value are in their essence about learning and not necessarily about experiencing a transformation or an identity. Many historic sites do not offer themselves as places of experience and commodification by government or other agents will not make them tourist sites of experience. Much like the 'collecting state', tourists collect these historic places as objects with the purpose of potentially enhancing their understanding of the society they are interacting with through these places. This is a situation that is observable as much for an outsider as for a citizen of that country since the 'idea of the nation' as defined by the state through its designation programme may be disconnected from the citizen's (as a tourist) own reality. In the case of Grand Pré, there is much proof of this: of all the designations, the only place with which tourists can currently experience a place 'full' of meaning is Grand-Pré NHSC. In this 'tourist place', two messages are evolving in parallel and are led by two vastly different agents: one is the national historic significance as managed by the government and the other is the Acadian cultural value as expressed by the Acadian community. In the cases of the other designations, visitors can interact with them as historic places only, without contact with multiple values and cultural meaning.

All historic places do not lend themselves to a diversity of uses, but all of them lend themselves to a use through knowledge and education. This conclusion provides the primary argument to justify the conservation of historic places as places designated to represent a historical development in the evolution of the community. In addition, they may be useful for recreation, but that 'usefulness', like the one for identity, inspiration, and experience, is not necessarily tied to the designation and the objectification of places. The latter derives from other societal needs. The interests and motivations of those who visit and those who are related to them are different. For the first group, relevance is measured in terms of their consumption of the place (did they enjoy their visit? Did they learn something? Will it be memorable? Did they experience something personal?). Authenticity is a characteristic sought after to support their experience as consumers. For those connected to the place, relevance is measured in terms of the authenticity of the collective experience (is this place meaningful to their identity? Do I care about this place as mine?). This distinction serves to further highlight the essence of historic places as places that are objectified and consumed and the need to define the heritage places that provide an authenticity of collective experience as somewhat different.

6.3. Defining the Authenticity of Historic Places

Much of the discussion on the definition, conservation, and relevance of historic places is tied to a discussion about authenticity. This is the quality that confirms their legitimacy as historic places. The question of authenticity has been at the heart of the matter since the beginning of the conservation movement, albeit not explicitly (Starn 2002 :4). As the meaning of heritage itself is implicitly tied to a

certain idea of authenticity, it has been hotly debated between practitioners and theoreticians for over a century, famously opposing, as we have seen, the views of Ruskin to Viollet-le-Duc's. But authenticity was not an end in itself but a practical concern tied to the work required to preserve or restore (Starn 2002 :4).

This section focuses on the iterations of definitions in the heritage conservation movement, their key similarities and differences, and the way they relate to considerations of relevance. This last aspect aims to demonstrate that depending on how authenticity is defined and expressed, the value of heritage places may have greater or lesser relevance for stakeholders.

The succession of international charters dealing with cultural heritage offers useful insight into how the concept has been developed in the past four decades. The Venice Charter is the first statement on historic preservation that makes explicit reference to authenticity:

Imbued with a message from the past, the historic monuments of generations of people remain to the present day as living witnesses of their age-old traditions. [...] It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity (Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings 1964: preamble)

The argument introduces the charter, positioning it as the cornerstone of the conservation of historic monuments. It sets the relationship between 'message from the past', the fact that historic monuments maintain contemporary meaning ('remain to the present day'), and them being 'living witnesses of their age-old traditions' as the foundation of the 'full richness of their authenticity'. Although, as historian Randolph Starn concluded, discussions about authenticity in the

conservation of historic monuments make their appearance in the context of post-war European rapid change and development and should not be seen as a sudden appearance of a new criterion. The 1960s call for Progress and Development required an equally authoritative and universal call for continuity, or Authenticity (Starn 2002 :7).

Later charters have expanded on the concept. The Florence Charter describes the authenticity of a historic garden as “[depending] as much on the design and scale of its various parts as on its decorative features and on the choice of plant or inorganic materials adopted for each of its parts” (ICOMOS 1981 : art.9) and as taking “precedence over the requirements of public use” (ICOMOS 1981:21). The Washington Charter refers to the need to protect urban patterns, relationships between buildings and spaces, appearances of buildings, relationships with the setting, and functions of the different parts of a town so as to not compromise the authenticity of historic urban areas (ICOMOS 1987 : principles and objectives 2). The Lausanne Charter makes reference to authenticity in the context of reconstructions, calling for evidence collected from multiple sources in order to achieve that authenticity (ICOMOS 1990 : art.7).

The Charter on Cultural Tourism introduces the concern from the angle of the experience rather than conservation. In the charter, “the retention of the authenticity of heritage places and collections is [deemed] important” since “it is an essential element of their cultural significance, as expressed in the physical material, collected memory and intangible traditions that remain from the past” (ICOMOS 1999 :art.2.4). Coming from the same angle, the Charter for

Interpretation also is concerned with protecting the historic fabric and cultural values of a historic place from physical and other pressures stating unequivocally that “authenticity is a concern relevant to human communities as well as material remains. The design of a heritage interpretation programme should respect the traditional social functions of the site and the cultural practices and dignity of local residents and associated communities” (ICOMOS 2008 : principle 4, art.1). This most recent charter introduced the idea that authenticity is a matter of ‘traditional social functions’, ‘cultural practices’ and ‘dignity’, a combination of qualifiers that are descriptive of the stakeholders’ perspective as well as of the relationship between a place and the people connected to it.

The word does not appear in the Burra Charter but the concept nevertheless underlies the direction provided. Its emphasis on multi-disciplinarity, stakeholder involvement, and holistic understanding of cultural significance as well as its focus on conserving cultural significance, depend on credible and truthful information to make the right choices. Authenticity is understood as a matter of interpretation specific to the realities of the heritage site being conserved based on its attributes and sources of information.

The Venice Charter introduced the matter of authenticity and the World Heritage Convention tested its implementation. The Convention itself does not explicitly refer to authenticity, but the *Operational Guidelines* include a provision for nominated properties to “meet the test of authenticity in design, materials, workmanship or setting” clarifying that “authenticity does not limit consideration

to original form and structure but includes all subsequent modifications and additions, over the course of time, which in themselves possess artistic or historical value” (World Heritage Committee 1977:art.9). That last consideration was removed from subsequent versions of the *Operational Guidelines*.

Except for the addition of the characteristics of cultural landscapes in the 1994 version, the matter of authenticity is not modified in the document until 2005 to include the recommendation of the *Nara Conference on Authenticity in Relation to the World Heritage Convention*. The *Nara Document on Authenticity* was a landmark moment in the evolution of the theory and practice of heritage conservation. In the words of Knut Einar Larsen, Scientific Coordinator of the Nara Conference, “the Nara Document reflects the fact that international preservation doctrine has moved from a Eurocentric approach to a post-modern position characterized by recognition of cultural relativism” (Nara Conference on Authenticity 1995 : xiii), in other words a meeting that transcended the traditional European objectification of heritage places and inserted itself in the larger discussion of balancing the World Heritage List. Larsen then concludes that the conference demonstrated that “the search for authenticity is universal, but recognizing that the ways and means to preserve the authenticity of cultural heritage are culturally dependent” (Nara Conference on Authenticity 1995 : xiii).

The document begins with a statement outlining a universal motivation for pursuing authenticity:

In a world that is increasingly subject to the forces of globalization and homogenization, and in a world in which the search for cultural identity is sometimes pursued through aggressive nationalism and the suppression of the cultures of minorities, the essential contribution made by the

consideration of authenticity in conservation practice is to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994: preamble)

The preservation of authenticity at heritage places is a hedge against ignorance and discrimination. It is a duty, not just good practice, because it serves the greater goal of heritage conservation to bridge differences and respect diversity. It also clearly states the precedence of knowledge and facts above all. While cultural diversity introduces a diversity of values and interpretation of values, authenticity guarantees that heritage places represent *truthfully* and *credibly* those values and interpretations.

The document revolves around three axes: cultural diversity, values, and authenticity. On cultural diversity, the emphasis is on the acknowledgement and respect for cultural diversity in its tangible and intangible form, the respect for all cultural expressions as equal and legitimate, and finally the statement that the 'cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all' (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 : art.5,6,7,8). These aspects serve as principles to support the analysis of the value of heritage places. The document asserts, summarizing forty years of conservation, that "conservation of cultural heritage in all its forms and historical periods is rooted in the values attributed to the heritage" (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 : art.9). There is a subtle shift though: the word 'value' in its plural form recognizes that there are multiple values and the word 'rooted' asserts the origin and justification of heritage conservation as being those values. This approach is consistent with the shift towards values-based conservation that has dominated heritage conservation since the 1990s.

As for authenticity, the document links it closely with the ability to understand the values in that the information sources need to be understood as ‘credible and truthful’ in order for the values to be assessed (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 :art.9) and for the historic place to be conserved appropriately (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 : art.10). As cultural values are best understood within their cultural context, the determination of authenticity requires firstly the preservation of the sources of information as much as the heritage place with which they are connected. Secondly, it means to avoid passing judgement on another group’s determination of authenticity (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 : art.11, 12) since cultural values are relative. Nevertheless, the document concludes by offering pointers of authenticity that may be used within specific cultural contexts:

Depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, its cultural context, and its evolution through time, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors. The use of these sources permits elaboration of the specific artistic, historic, social, and scientific dimensions of the cultural heritage being examined (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994: art.13).

There are two things that this statement seems to suggest. The first is that sources that may be assessed as credible and truthful are tangible – form, design, materials, substance, location, setting – as well as intangible – use, function, traditions, techniques, spirit and feeling. This articulates the relationship between the object and the subject in a way that supports in part the traditional definition of heritage places but otherwise expands on it by placing people as active agents of meaning. The second suggestion made by the statement is that authenticity relates to the artistic, historic, social, and

scientific dimensions of cultural heritage. It suggests that the definition of heritage is based on those four qualifiers and places a cultural value as part of the test of authenticity rather than a value of heritage itself. The subjectivity of cultural values is associated with cultural diversity and hence to judgement of authenticity.

The *Document of Nara* also makes an important contribution in articulating the relationship between people and heritage. It is one of the clearest statements of responsibilities of governments and stakeholders for heritage places:

Responsibility for cultural heritage and the management of it belongs, in the first place, to the cultural community that has generated it, and subsequently to that which cares for it. However, in addition to these responsibilities, adherence to the international charters and conventions developed for conservation of cultural heritage also obliges consideration of the principles and responsibilities flowing from them. Balancing their own requirements with those of other cultural communities is, for each community, highly desirable, provided achieving this balance does not undermine their fundamental cultural values (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994: art.8).

It represents a significant evolution from a role that had been consistently described in international charters and doctrinal documents as government being the authority to protect, stakeholders being involved, and visitors being managed. The responsibilities are inverted in this statement introducing the idea of stewardship over ownership. This distinction will be discussed later, but it is important to note at this stage that this evolution in thinking about authenticity has led to perceiving responsibility towards heritage places in a different light which has by extension had an impact on the thinking about relevance. In other words, defining authenticity as being core to the definition of heritage and the

practice of conservation, led to a better understanding of the role of people in heritage places.

The *Declaration of San Antonio* (1996) is a North-American response to the *Nara Document*. It approached the question of authenticity from angles which reflect the reality as defined in the Americas. The main observations from that declaration concerned matters of relationship between people and heritage.

Authenticity as it relates to...	General statements on authenticity (excerpts from the Declaration)
Identity	The authenticity of our cultural heritage is directly related to our cultural identity.
History	An understanding of the history and significance of a site over time are crucial elements in the identification of its authenticity.
Materials	The material fabric of a cultural site can be a principal component of its authenticity
Social value	Beyond the material evidence, heritage sites can carry a deep spiritual message that sustains communal life, linking it to the ancestral past.
Dynamic and static sites	The heritage of the Americas includes dynamic cultural sites that continue to be actively used by society, as well as static sites such as archaeological sites no longer used by the descendants of their builders
Stewardship	The heritage of the Americas is characterized by very heterogeneous patterns of ownership and stewardship [...]Both the communities and the constituted authorities must be provided the means for the correct knowledge and evaluation of the heritage, its protection and conservation, and the promotion of its artistic and spiritual enjoyment, as well as its educational use.
Economics	The authenticity of heritage sites lies intrinsically in their physical fabric, and extrinsically on the values assigned to them by those communities who have a stake in them.

Table 6-4 Summary of the Declaration of San Antonio regarding authenticity and heritage in the Americas

The *Declaration of San Antonio* makes the statement, that “cultural resources [have] true values as perceived by our ancestors in the past and by ourselves now as an evolving and diverse community” (ICOMOS national committees of the Americas 1996 : art.1). It posits an intriguing idea: that values perceived in the past survive the test of time to be recognized as such today. The question of relevance challenges directly that idea since there are historic places that are

no longer understood as significant. But the suggestion brings about today's respect for the values of the past, in other words that there is a need to respect the fact that past societies attributed value to those places.

There are paradoxes within the document with regard to authenticity. Compared to the statement about the "true values as perceived by our ancestors" and the responsibility of the nation "where the heritage has passed into the common holding of a nation" (ICOMOS national committees of the Americas 1996 : recommendations, art.8), the challenge of ensuring the assessment of significance by those associated with it is great. If no one cares but the nation, how can we speak of authenticity? If 'our ancestors' put value on cultural heritage, can we confirm that the value is accurate and credible? Certainly oral tradition is a key element in that confirmation, but it cannot presuppose that it expresses a 'true value'. That statement is reinforced in the section on social value:

Historic research and surveys of the physical fabric are not enough to identify the full significance of a heritage site, since only the concerned communities that have a stake in the site can contribute to the understanding and expression of the deeper values of the site as an anchor to their cultural identity (ICOMOS national committees of the Americas 1996: art.4).

That statement is crucially important in linking authenticity of a place to the people that created it and find it significant. It asserts that relationship by tying the meaning of the object to the subject that created it and assigned value. It also suggests that its meaning is exclusive which raises the question of the purpose and value of heritage places, particularly those that are "passed in the common holding of the nation".

The *Declaration of San Antonio* emits judgement on the matter of responsibility for maintaining authenticity. It notes that many local authorities lack the means to properly care for heritage places, that sometimes the culturally-affiliated communities no longer exist, and that cooperation between all levels of government, stakeholders and owners is essential to resolve these issues (ICOMOS national committees of the Americas 1996 : art.6). This position states essentially that some people and groups need experts to advise them. It adds to the confusion of the *Declaration's* message about the role of government, the importance of involving stakeholders, and the assumption that stewards may not assign a value of their own.

The *Declaration* points to another challenge of maintaining relevance: populations and stewards of the land are sometimes unaware of the values of certain aspects of their environment because either the knowledge is lost or resources are unavailable to make a comprehensive assessment.

The *Declaration of San Antonio* stresses points that are crucial to articulating authenticity in a way that links it to relevance. The most striking point is the one that relates to ownership and the role of governments. It argues for a stronger articulation of the importance of stakeholder involvement in all aspects of heritage identification and management. It questions the statement that the 'cultural heritage of each is the cultural heritage of all' and that the responsibility to the management of that heritage falls first on the community that generates it. For the *Declaration*, if the community that created the heritage place is still active in its care, then it is the responsible group; otherwise, the state is

responsible. Ultimately, it invites modifications that include a definition of cultural context, namely “a) that which created it; b) that to which it currently belongs; and c) the broader cultural context to the extent possible” (ICOMOS national committees of the Americas 1996: recommendations, art.11). These comments reflect potential incongruities in the *Declaration of San Antonio* regarding ownership and stewardship, the responsibility of the state in managing heritage places and the democratic participation of stakeholders in that process.

Despite these and other varying positions, the *Document of Nara* was perceived by the World Heritage Committee to be a universal and acceptable take on authenticity as it was integrated into the revised *Operational Guidelines* in 2005. In including this direction on authenticity, the revised guidelines provide guidance in a way that supports a trend in conservation towards greater consideration for multiple values, inclusion of stakeholders’ knowledge and values in the management of heritage places, and respect for diversity. It sets an idea into practice thus influencing governments and practitioners around the world.

Authenticity does not appear explicitly in Parks Canada’s policies or Nova Scotia’s legislation. The concept that encompasses the concern for authenticity in the national commemoration programme is *commemorative integrity*. The attributes of integrity identified by the HSMBC at the time of an evaluation (HSMBC 2008 :5) are virtually identical to the elements guiding the test of

authenticity as it appeared in the *Operational Guidelines* prior to 2005 (World Heritage Committee 2002 : par.24 b) i).

As a result, and as part of the legislated mandate of Parks Canada, commemorative integrity is required to be maintained. As described earlier, a *Commemorative Integrity Statement* (CIS) is prepared for each national historic site administered by Parks Canada. The definition and understanding of authenticity as commemorative integrity is strictly determined by tangible and concrete attributes. There are limited or no opportunities to discuss authenticity of traditions, techniques, spirit and feeling, and other sources of authenticity. These tangible and concrete attributes exclude much of the contribution of living cultures and beliefs. People can easily be excluded from those places, which is evidence of how the articulation of authenticity can affect relevance.

In the case of Grand-Pré, the three sites of national historic significance have different articulations of commemorative integrity. Only Grand-Pré national historic site has a formal outline since it is the only site administered by Parks Canada. However, irrespective of the agency's statement of integrity, the fact that the Acadian community is still actively involved in the management of the site provides the foundation for a separate definition of authenticity (Figure 6-6). In other words, whether the government defines integrity in a way that includes people and their values is almost irrelevant at Grand-Pré because people are engaged and provide an authenticity of values to the site. There is no formal articulation of integrity for the rural historic district or for the Covenanters' Church. In the first case, since the site is not managed, the matter of

authenticity is irrelevant. No group or organization is concerned with the 'health and wholeness' of the rural district which has an impact on the relevance for local residents and other stakeholders. In the second case, the members of the congregation define the authenticity according to their own values since they recognize the significance of the structure and maintain its use.



Figure 6-6 Commemorative integrity at Grand-Pré NHSC is ensured when the value of the Herbin Cross is 'whole and healthy' (left) © Christophe Rivet; the authenticity of Grand-Pré is maintained when the Acadian community retains a connection with the Herbin Cross (right).

In the case of provincial and municipal designations, there is no formal framework to assess authenticity. Since the responsibility to maintain the properties once they are designated is left in the hands of the owners, albeit with the approval of authorities, the integrity of the structure as it was when it was designated is of greater concern than authenticity. The visitors that travel through Grand Pré and enjoy the architectural value of the provincially-designated houses in their setting may easily be duped by changes that are not 'authentic' without affecting their perception of authenticity and enjoyment of the values. Who would know since there is no one to convey and no way to experience, other than visually, those values and their authenticity?

This survey of the concept of authenticity confirmed the diversity of perspectives on its meaning, the various levels of attention brought to identifying and managing it, and the role authenticity plays in including or excluding stakeholders from the management of heritage places. As a result, it also confirmed that defining and managing authenticity has an impact on the relevance of heritage places. Authenticity is at once a synonym of pedigree and provenience, and an expression of the intangible perception of truth and ability to establish a credible bridge for the individual experience between the present and the event, people, place that is commemorated. In the words of archaeologist William D. Lipe “physically, cultural resources participate in both the past and the present. Their authenticity is the basis for creating in the contemporary viewer the subjective knowledge that he has experienced a contact with the past that is direct and real, however incomplete that experience may be” (Lipe 1984 :4). Authenticity is thus intrinsically linked to the subject’s perception of value of the object that is collected and cared for.

Conclusion of Part II: The Relevance of Historic Places

This section aimed to demonstrate that there is a framework of reference that has guided and in many instances continues to guide the definition of heritage places. It is the legacy of the interests and sensibilities of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European minds behind the creation of national museums and monuments, as well as the establishment of legislation to protect heritage. They were steeped in the tradition of scientific collectors and their cabinet of curiosities, an approach to organizing objects and studying them methodically that was the basis for the development of the scientific method for analysing the world. They were immersed in the individual and collective awareness that emerged as a result of significant social and cultural changes experienced in Europe at the time.

These places I defined here as historic places, because their primary purpose is to “[provide] a narrative of historical development” (ICOMOS 1999 : principle 1). They are primarily about the facts of history and their dissemination. That purpose is defined by the government or other forms of authority through its commemoration programme. The processes followed by the institutions identify and define the objects of significance to the community which may or may not reflect that which is deemed significant by the community. The intent is to craft and confirm an idea of the community’s collective identity and, like monuments, impose it in the landscape through the ‘erection’ of historic places. The parameters of heritage preservation are still set within the collector – collection mindset which as was demonstrated, alienates those who do not understand

the value behind the collection. It stresses the importance of preserving the authenticity and integrity of the 'object', both the material and the value. The institution's role is to educate the public on those values with the belief that the individual then understands and appreciates his place in that history and seeks to be part of a community with a collective memory:

The importance of genuine public understanding, appreciation and enjoyment of cultural resources will be recognized. The understanding of cultural resources requires knowledge that goes beyond a simple knowledge of the physical properties of the resources (Parks Canada Agency 1994 :104).

The determination of authenticity is embedded in this process since the methodical approach to confirming authenticity also confirms them as historic places.

This framework of reference was functional as long as governments played a central role in citizens' lives, that governments reflected a nation and was mandated to articulate the character and history of that nation, and individuals were willing participants in building that idea. Today's countries, at least the Western countries, are increasingly challenged in empowering citizens in decisions, in reflecting a diverse community, and catering to increased individualism as a result of globalization and consumerism.

This framework illustrates Laurajane Smith's point about authorized heritage discourse by contextualizing some of the mechanisms of definition of heritage. However, it also nuances the power play that Smith argues is occurring between the elite and the people in two important points. It first demonstrates that a greater public engagement in the process of designating these places,

which occurs in democratic societies, can balance out the pressures of an elite imposing a version of history. An example of that success is the Acadians' influence in changing in the official significance of Grand-Pré NHSC in 1982. Secondly, the authorized heritage discourse is not always the result of nefarious intentions from the powerful; knowledge, process, and experience come into play and sometimes politics does not. The process of developing the statement of outstanding universal value for the Landscape of Grand Pré demonstrates the complexity of the exercise and the changes resulting from a broad involvement of stakeholders and experts in it. The end result, although not radically different from what was submitted, still shows the influence of expert knowledge in articulating the value and the absence of political influence in inscribing the site on the World Heritage List. The authorized heritage discourse associated with the inscription on the List results in a minority group (the Acadians) being successful in having their history recognized internationally.

The evolution of the doctrine of heritage conservation since the coming into force of the World Heritage Convention confirms an awareness that the tenets of that doctrine may not be entirely suitable to the reality of the 21st century. The ICOMOS charters, the international agreements, and the practice of heritage conservation have progressively recognized the shifting nature of heritage and attempted to address the philosophical framework required to manage it appropriately. They consolidated various influences – namely monuments as memorials, stylistic restoration, modern conservation, traditional continuity – which some historians of the conservation movement suggest evolved in parallel rather than sequentially (Jokilehto 1999 :301). In fact the evolution of

the thinking may be better understood as a layering of values rather separate categories. Few of the different perspectives have been denied over time, but rather they've accumulated like layers of principles in the various iterations of charters and conservation documents.

The premise with these changes is that the accumulation of historic objects over the past century can be managed according to these updated approaches. However, the intent behind their official recognition and their nature often do not lend themselves to being managed that way. For example, the conservation of historic places that were designated and acquired by government for tourism purposes may be stunted by limited historic value. Grand-Pré was acquired by the federal government in the 1950s for the purpose of fostering tourism. Based on its original intent, the place itself had limited historic value (Parks Canada Agency 2011 :20). Much like the layering in the approaches to heritage conservation, there is a layering of types of sites reflecting the values of the time. The question remains then: what to do with those heritage places if people do not relate to them? Is there still a relevance that justifies their conservation?

Identifying them as historic places gives them an identity and places them firmly in a continuum of levels of public awareness of heritage and conservation theory. They belong in today's set of heritage places as places of history, knowledge, and education. They can be managed according to the fundamental principles of heritage emphasizing material, value, and knowledge much like objects in a collection. Their relevance lies in their historical nature and in their role as memorials of past values and ongoing understanding of history. They

are factual monuments to be maintained as such. Their conservation through values-based approaches is successful because it relies on a value articulated officially and on the preservation of material elements. It also works well because value is a central element of the designation process and is equated with relevance.

In that perspective, a definition of relevance, at least for historic places, must include value, knowledge, and material elements. The relevance of historic places focuses on its role in the authorized heritage discourse as part of a collection. Authenticity is sought based on credible and truthful information, in other words verifiable and measurable sources of information. The use of these historic places may be important to the conservation of tangible elements and by extension to their official value, but not to all values. Furthermore, use as discussed in charters is a concern that is primarily associated to structures and is an important argument to justify the conservation of a historic place outside of government control. Their use though may not reflect their value. Finally, the most significant characteristic that affects the relevance of historic places is their ability to survive the test of time. In that respect, because they are fixed values set within a specific social context, their ability to respond to an evolving sense of place and identity is compromised. Historic places such as national historic sites and world heritage sites are meant to identify a value that will resonate with everyone in perpetuity. As illustrated with the case of Grand Pré, that is certainly not the case.

The argument for the relevance of historic places largely reflects institutional agendas, politics, and science explained as public benefit. It attempts to reach out to the broader public by considering appropriate use and engaging stakeholders in the definition of value. Those attempts remain constrained by the legal and professional framework of heritage conservation which supposes that government is the steward of those places on behalf of the entire community and that experts can provide the appropriate direction for conservation and use. This in the end makes for a narrow perception of relevance chiefly for experts and heritage interest groups.

In that light, the relevance of historic places is the ability to fit into a government narrative about identity and to be retained as an archive of that narrative for researchers. The primary target of that relevance is the community, but the lack of flexibility in defining the value and the imposition of an articulated value too often render it ineffective.

Part III: *Lieux de Mémoire* as Places of Heritage

This part discusses the nature of heritage places when communities identify and care for them and when governments are not the agent generating heritage. How are they different from historic places? Firstly, there are those places defined by government that have expanded on the traditional definition of heritage; the cultural landscapes, the vernacular heritage, sacred sites, and other places of 'living heritage'. Secondly, there are those places that have appeared organically over centuries under the impetus of community needs and expressions of identity.

The next chapter introduces this other type of heritage place as well as ways of looking at authenticity and use based on that definition. It aims to understand how the mental image of the world as mapped out by communities identifies those places that are essential. It is in part a look at the internal mechanisms of 'world creation' as discussed by Eliade, Smith, Lefebvre, Chidester and Linenthal in previous chapters. The essence of their differentiation from historic places revolves around the nature of authenticity, use, and people's engagement.

The more recent trends in heritage conservation have recognized the potential presence of multiple values at heritage places and for the part played by communities in identifying social and cultural values. Core to such a discussion is the role of memory in a community's and its members' sense of history and identity.

This part also explores the way perceptions of identity are expressed in defining and conserving heritage places. While it may be concerned with similar attributes of historic places, such as authenticity and the uses of these places, heritage places that are the result of a collective memory of history articulate those attributes differently and assign them a different weight. *Lieux de mémoire*, places of memory, heritage, and other such modern qualifiers of the phenomenon have all influenced the current perception of the value of those places with which people connect.

The concept of *lieu de mémoire* stems from French historian Pierre Nora's work.

The *lieux de mémoire*²⁹ are both intellectual and sensual, which makes them interesting but also very complex. They are simple and ambiguous, natural and artificial, available to be experienced by all senses and at the same time extremely abstract. They are *lieux* in three etymological senses – material, symbolic, and functional – but simultaneously a various degrees. A purely material site, such as an archive, only becomes *lieu de mémoire* once it has been invested by imagination with a symbolic aura. A purely functional site, such as a school manual, a will, a veterans' association only becomes one if it becomes part of a ritual³⁰ (Nora 1997:37)

The key words of Nora's definition are that *lieux de mémoire* appeal to the senses, to an *imagined* (meaning perceived) value, are *symbols*, and are subjected to a *ritual* in order to qualify as such. Nora offers a definition that

²⁹ The title of the published English translation of Nora's essay cites 'realms of memory' to translate *lieux de mémoire* while much of the text uses the French expression instead. For the sake of consistency throughout my essay and with the understanding that my definition of *lieu de mémoire* only encompasses a part of Nora's concept, I will continue to use *lieu de mémoire*.

³⁰ Les lieux de mémoire appartiennent aux deux règnes, c'est ce qui fait leur intérêt, mais aussi leur complexité : simples et ambigus, naturels et artificiels, immédiatement offerts à l'expérience la plus sensible et, en même temps, relevant de l'élaboration la plus abstraite. Ils sont lieux, en effet, dans les trois sens du mot, matériel, symbolique et fonctionnel, mais simultanément, à des degrés seulement divers. Même un lieu d'apparence purement matériel comme un dépôt d'archives, n'est lieu de mémoire que si l'imagination l'investit d'une aura symbolique. Même un lieu purement fonctionnel, comme un manuel de classe, un testament, une association d'anciens combattants, n'entre dans la catégorie que s'il est l'objet d'un rituel.

captures a broad range of 'things' that can be 'places of memory': songs, institutions, books, dances, and monuments.

In Nora's view, heritage is manifest through objects that carry meaning for the community that generates them and creates a sense of belonging. Earlier, I referred to such objects by the words used by Eliade, Baudrillard, and Pomian: they are alternatively 'hiérophanes', 'sémiophores', and carriers of meaning. These expressions convey the phenomenon that objects categorized as such remain functional objects in the present – secular world but acquire simultaneously a function as bodies of meaning and value. They are bridges to a supra-identity a sense of self that allows the individual to connect with a community. Nora's *lieux de mémoire* though are distinct from other signs and symbols because they are unique, they are without equivalent and cannot be compared:

In contrasts to all historical objects, *lieux de mémoire* do not have referents in reality; or rather that they are their own referents, pure signs. This does not suggest that they are without content, physical presence or history, on the contrary. What makes them *lieux de mémoire* is precisely what allows them to escape history. The *lieu de mémoire* is a *templum*: it is distinct from the indeterminate continuum of the profane, in space, in time or both. It is a circle within which everything counts, everything is symbolic, and everything is significant. In that sense, a *lieu de mémoire* has a dual nature: it is a hermetic excess, defined by its identity and summed up by its name but at the same time open to an infinite variety of other meanings³¹ (Nora 1997:43).

³¹ A la différence de tous les objets de l'histoire, les lieux de mémoire n'ont pas de référents dans la réalité. Ou plutôt ils sont à eux-mêmes leur propre référent, signes qui ne renvoient qu'à soi, signes à l'état pur. Non qu'ils soient sans contenu, sans présence physique et sans histoire; bien au contraire. Mais ce qui en fait des lieux de mémoire est ce par quoi, précisément, ils échappent à l'histoire. *Templum* : découpage dans l'indéterminé du profane – espace ou temps, espace et temps – d'un cercle à l'intérieur duquel tout compte, tout symbolise, tout signifie. En ce sens, le lieu de mémoire est un lieu double; un lieu d'excès clos sur lui-même, fermé sur son identité et ramassé sur son nom, mais constamment ouvert sur l'étendue de ses significations.

His primary objective in coining the term was to conceptualize history differently in response to an era infatuated with commemorations and celebrations of events or what he called a 'bulimia of commemoration' (Nora 1997 :977). The approach of *lieux de mémoire* argues that memory can be extirpated from any object to reveal connections between contemporary events, understand the various perspectives at the time of the event, and expose the deep symbolic meaning of that event in the collective memory (Robitaille 2008 :H3). Nora did not intend for his concept to become part of the political vocabulary: from a tool to study history, his concept has been appropriated by the state to become the motivation behind commemoration (Robitaille 2008 :H3).

In discussing *lieu de mémoire* in this thesis, I introduce a different interpretation of the concept by focusing on places and their relationship with people through emotions. The parallels with Nora's definition include the emotional dimension, the fact that they are alive and meaningful today hence not forgotten, and their presence in the contemporary landscape. However, Nora's interest was to understand them while mine is to define relevance to conserve a place that is significant in a community's collective memory. The physical location in the landscape, the active connection between people and place, and the expression of collective memory are more important in a definition of *lieu de mémoire* for this thesis.

7. Chapter Seven: Perceiving Memory in the Landscape

Memory and history are intimately related in their function. As author Milan Kundera reflected on in his novel *La plaisanterie*, history is a fragile abstraction that relies on memory to exist and humanity's own self-awareness depends on it:

[...] History is no more than a frail thread of what is remembered stretching above an ocean of things forgotten but time presses on and will usher through the thousands of years that the limited memory of the individual will be unable to grasp; then, centuries and millennia will fall away, centuries of works of art and of music, centuries of discoveries, of battles, books, and it will be dire, because mankind will lose the sense of self, and its history, elusory will shrink to a few schematic meaningless symbols³² (Kundera 1985:421).

Kundera expresses memory as tangible evidence of humankind's values, accomplishments, and nature. Memory forms a story that narrates the community's identity but only in stressing some events to forget most, which it sometimes achieves through marking of the landscape with commemorative monuments. In the following sections, I discuss the forms of collective self-awareness that create a sense of community so as to highlight the differences between heritage places based on historic knowledge and those based on memory. The goal is to introduce the notion of *lieux de mémoire* as biographical places and an understated form of heritage place.

³² L'Histoire n'est plus que le grêle filin du souvenu au-dessus de l'océan de l'oublié mais le temps avance et viendra l'époque des millénaires avancés que la mémoire inextensible des individus ne pourra plus embrasser; aussi des siècles et des millénaires tomberont par pans entiers, des siècles de tableaux et de musique, des siècles de découvertes, de batailles, de livres, et ce sera mauvais, parce que l'homme perdra la notion de soi-même, et son histoire, insaisissable se rétrécira à quelques signes schématiques dépourvus de sens.

7.1. 'Imagined Communities' and Collective Memory

What makes a community? What makes us recognize ourselves in someone else? These questions are central to the creation of heritage places as these places exist to reflect a collective understanding of what is significant. Renan's definition of nation as rooted in the need to share a past and future with others serves as a useful premise to demonstrate that places deemed significant by communities are the tangible expression of a connection to time and space by individuals who share that desire for a common purpose.

Since the 19th century, the word 'nation' has dominated political and social discourse and has established itself as the prime justification for the creation of states. Countless works have covered the topic of nationalism, its definition, manifestation, and impacts. French philosopher Ernest Renan's definition of a nation described earlier is penned as a classic definition. The second part of his definition, which is less quoted, is no less interesting, as he sees the idea of nation as "having common glories in the past, a common will in the present; [...] the nation is a great solidarity, supported by the feelings of sacrifices made and of those that we are prepared to make again. It implies a past; it nevertheless amounts to a tangible fact articulated in the present: consent, the clearly expressed desire to continue living together"³³ (Renan 1882:26-27).

Renan's description of the nation articulates some of its fundamental characteristics: the sense of belonging to a community is akin to a spiritual

³³ Avoir des gloires communes dans le passé, une volonté commune dans le présent; [...] Une nation est donc une grande solidarité, constituée par le sentiment des sacrifices qu'on a faits et de ceux qu'on est disposé à faire encore. Elle suppose un passé; elle se résume pourtant dans le présent par un fait tangible: le consentement, le désir clairement exprimé de continuer la vie commune.

experience of connecting with past achievements and present collective aspirations. This is why Renan believed that the knowledge of history and commemoration of past accomplishments (*le culte des ancêtres*) was crucial to the sense of community, an idea that was consistent with the views of other intellectuals and government officials of his time. The idea of a nation (*la conscience morale qui s'appelle nation*) (Renan 1882 :29) is thus linked to heritage places. The idea of sharing, based on Renan's views, is the main characteristic that brings people together to form a community. In that, perhaps there may be a deeper motivation for individuals to identify themselves as part of a community and the idea of nation is only one manifestation of that need.

Political scientist Benedict Anderson coined the term 'imagined communities' in an eponymous essay published in 1983 to define a nation (Anderson 1991 :6). His use of the word 'imagined' focused on the perception of shared values as "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" (Anderson 1991 :6). By community, Anderson explained that "the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship" which explains the willingness to die for that nation, thus echoing Renan's idea of sacrifice (Anderson 1991 :7). This sense of communion and comradeship as the foundation for the nation is a creation for Anderson which he opposed to the more cynical views of Ernest Gellner that nations are an invention – as in fabrication – that overshadows the existence of 'true' communities (Anderson 1991 :6). Both Gellner and Anderson demonstrate that nationalism is a modern self-awareness that finds its roots in the disruptions of

the 18th and 19th century: for Gellner it is industrialism and for Anderson it is the result of cultural and social changes brought about by the Enlightenment.

Amongst Anderson's sources of this self-awareness are religion and time. As he indicates, religious community was in its prime the principal frame of reference for identity, comparable to nationality today (Anderson 1991 :12). Wars, international relations, and domestic affairs were governed by a sense of belonging to a community of belief. All communities, in particular what Anderson refers as great classical communities, "conceived of themselves as cosmically central, through the medium of a sacred language linked to a superterrestrial order of power" (Anderson 1991 :13). The dissemination of the sacred language through ritual, Latin for example in Roman Catholic liturgy, created a sense of belonging to a larger community of belief in the tenets of the religion and served in instances to unify peoples with different languages and cultural practices. The reason behind this sense of unity comes from the hierarchy that was established as a result: very few people were literate and could share the word of God with the masses. The majority could not speak Latin but understood the mystery of the word of God as expressed in that language. Therefore, a hierarchy was established with the literate elite as an intermediary between the word of God and the larger community. These elite shared a common conception of the world and a common set of practices to express it which in effect were the basis for the creation of a much larger community (Anderson 1991 :15). This led Anderson to conclude that "the fundamental conceptions about 'social groups' were centripetal and hierarchical, rather than boundary-oriented and horizontal" (Anderson 1991:15).

The second element is time. The sense of time is socially determined and there is no unique intuition of time shared by humanity (Whitrow 1988 :10). Society determines the parameters of time based on its accumulated experiences and its own understanding of the world. Even within societies the definition of time may evolve in response to changing needs. For example, Anderson argues, the mediaeval mind had no concept of history or time as an endless series of relationships of cause and effect, whereas the 19th century saw the emergence of minutely structured time based on what mechanical clocks could measure and the imperatives of industrial development (Anderson 1991 :23). Nevertheless, a shared concept of time introduces a shared sense of purpose, since it is the cultural environment that forms the framework to make sense of the present. Indeed, as science historian and mathematician Gerald J. Whitrow noted in his essay *Time in History* (1988), “we experience a feeling of duration whenever the present situation is related by us either to our past experiences or to our future expectations and desires. There is no evidence that we are born with any sense of temporal awareness, but our sense of expectation develops before our consciousness of memory” (Whitrow 1988 :5). The perception and definition of time is thus imposed by a cultural environment through language and social structure. It is conceivably not innate to individuals.

Time is also related to a sense of community through its role in the narration of the community’s history. A shared sense of time allows a shared sense of origins and (trans)formative events that explain the present. In secular societies that are conscious of history, a linear concept of time where effect follows a cause presumably provides the chain of events to identify the first cause, the

beginning of its history. This conception of time emphasises serial progression and a succession of events marking the transformation of society, thus building a narrative for the community. Sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel describes different forms of narratives used to recount history, which stress the multiplicity of forms that in themselves reflect perceptions of time. Narratives can express linear and multilinear perceptions of history such as progress and decline, evolution by steps or by branches, gradually or through dramatic changes (Zerubavel 2003 :14-36).

As had been noted previously in this thesis, the changes of the late 18th and early 19th centuries triggered a sense of historical discontinuity which contributed to the emergence of the idea of historic monuments and of their preservation. Zerubavel addresses both historical continuity and discontinuity as forms of narratives. The first form recognizes that in reality the time continuum and its division between past and present is arbitrary and therefore they are not separate entities. Historical continuity in fact addresses the perception of the present as “a *cumulative*, multilayered collage of past residues continually deposited through the cultural equivalent of the geological process of sedimentation” (Zerubavel 2003 :37). That continuity is perpetually under pressure from social, cultural, political and technological change which explains movements to preserve tradition, nostalgia, and the fear of losing one’s identity (Zerubavel 2003:38).

The means to achieve a sense of continuity is realized through mental bridging where memory overlooks temporal gaps and creates the illusion of historical

continuity (Zerubavel 2003:40). In contrast, historical discontinuity aims to “help transform actual historical continua into series of seemingly unattached, freestanding blocks of time” (Zerubavel 2003 :82). Discontinuity is characterized by a sense of transformation where one’s history is affected by defining moments, turning points, and benchmark episodes. These major events punctuate the sense of time by identifying highpoints and periods to organize time. Holy days create the “moral distinction between the sacred and the profane” in the same way that “distinct historical ‘periods’ help articulate mental discontinuities between supposedly distinct cultural, political, and moral identities” (Zerubavel 2003 :85).

This artificial organizing act is specific to each culture, identifying those foundational and transformational moments that shape the sense of belonging to a community. While the organisation of time along those moments is not exclusive, meaning that others outside the particular community can learn and understand it, the relevance is specific to that community as it carries with it a series of symbols of identity. Similarly, in religious societies the cyclical understanding of time focuses on a re-experience of the origins and the events. Most significant perhaps in creating that sense is the perception of simultaneity or the awareness that in the present the individual is conscious of the existence within the same social and cultural environment of someone else (the idea of communion) whose identity remains unknown (Anderson 1991 :35).

The sense of time strengthens the sense of community as it requires collective action. When Eliade discusses the organization of space and time, he

introduces, albeit indirectly, the notion that sacredness unites a group of people in the act and belief of creating the world (cosmos) from chaos. This is not an individual act, it requires a collective effort and perception of how to organize the world and to what end. For sacred time it is essential, as part of the ritual, to belong to a community that identifies the moment of creation (the origins) as well as the cycle that allows a connection with that moment and other transformative events of the community. These experiences and beliefs only exist because they are shared by a group and as Anderson points out “[the] conception of temporality in which cosmology and history were indistinguishable, the origins of the world and of men essentially identical” have influenced societies for millennia (Anderson 1991:36). The belief in cosmogony is accompanied by acts that manifest the place and structure of origin. Eliade describes in *Le sacré et le profane* the act of planting a pole by Australian Aborigines as creating the world and revealing the truth (Eliade 1957 :23). The *axis mundi* connects different times, different realities, and different people to a single place because the individuals share the belief in those realities. It can be repeated as often as it is required to create a world for a number of individuals with common beliefs thus not only introducing a beginning ‘moment’ to their world and associating it to a sacred beginning, but also the relationships between them in the present. Together they created their world and need to maintain their relationships in order to maintain that world, otherwise chaos may ensue. Others, like Lefebvre and Smith, take another view where the world is less ‘vertical’ than suggested by Eliade, and more layered – locational versus utopian, center versus periphery – as a social construct.

Irrespective of a definite understanding of sacred space, the important point to consider in this discussion is that the essence of the experience of heritage places may find its roots not just in the discontinuity experienced in the 18th and 19th centuries, but also in the experience of the 'sacred' as an expression of collective belief in origins and relationships, what early 20th century sociologist Maurice Halbwachs articulated (Halbwachs 1968) as collective memory. Indeed, as suggested earlier, memory clearly plays the key role in the sense of time and place, thus also playing the key role in the sense of community.

The structures of narration and perception of time are intimately linked to the function of memory. Memory is the interaction between forgetting and remembering, erasing and conserving. With this in mind, a selection exercise is undertaken in order to decide on what should be retained, one that can be both conscious – as in identifying national holidays – and sub-conscious, this at times resulting from a trauma. Philosopher Tzvetan Todorov in his essay *Les abus de la mémoire* (1995), notes in that context that the selection process offers a distinction between the act of recovering the memory and its subsequent use (Todorov 1995:15). However, he also underlines their connection since there is evidently a use in mind prior to the selection in order to set the criteria for that act of selection, up to justifying unsavoury uses of memory. Like time, memory is under pressure from progress and science, the latter a discipline that does well by questioning assumptions and traditions. Memory often justifies, sometimes feeds, other times creates tradition, and is therefore perceived to be in conflict with progress. In this, there is a fundamental divide argued by authors such as Todorov, Nora, and Lowenthal,

that traditional and pre-industrial societies use memory to maintain continuity and tradition whereas industrial and modern societies replaced memory with history to demonstrate evolution, change, and progress (Nora 1997 :24). This then seems to oppose memory to history.

Memory is an egocentric act that requires a context. First, the act of memory is enabled and thus biased by the individual. Saint Augustine posited in his *Confessions* that the preeminent way to understand oneself is to explore one's memory

And I come to the fields and spacious palaces of my memory, where are the treasures of innumerable images, brought into it from things of all sorts perceived by the senses. [...] There also meet I with myself, and recall myself, and when, where, and what I have done, and under what feelings. There be all which I remember, either on my own experience, or other's credit (Augustine 1853:188).

Saint Augustine's perception of memory is sensory, intellectual, and emotional. His perception was further articulated in that the object of memory is processed by the individual and retained as an image. It is the image that is recovered. That recovery is the result of a thought in response to present situations, thus the past is always present. Saint Augustine concludes that the past is in the present through memory:

Thus my childhood, which now is not, is in time past, which now is not: but now when I recall its image, and tell of it, I behold it in the present, because it is still in my memory [...] present of things past, memory; present of things present, sight; present of things future, expectation (Augustine 1853 :237).

These ideas were further explored in later centuries especially with the emergence of disciplines that focused on the self, human relationships, and beliefs, such as psychology, anthropology and sociology.

Krzysztof Pomian in his essay *Sur l'histoire* (1999) reiterates the fact that memory is essentially a result of perception stressing that the individual is at the centre of the memorial experience. Firstly, he observes that memory resides in the individual. In many traditional and pre-industrial societies, individuals are tasked to be the guardians of the memory of the community, retaining as well as recounting through ritual, poetry, songs, and other mnemonic mechanisms its origins and significant events (Pomian 1999:227). Secondly, the individuals' role is framed by their own ability to perceive and their social context. The individual is the sensory conduit through which information in the form of ideas, events, and environment is perceived. This is how stories, the emotions attached to the story, and an image of the place where those stories occurred are acquired, to then be stored in the individual. That action essentially dissociates the information from the present until it is solicited again for a present need. Memory will allow the individual to reintroduce that information into the present by communicating and expressing it. However, it is not the past that is reintroduced: it is an image of the past as captured, interpreted, and communicated by an individual. The process is dependent on the individual's own set of emotional and intellectual biases as shaped by society. As Pomian points out

[Memory] results from the interaction of the sensory instrument unique to the individual that perceives – but inseparable from a conceptual and emotional shaped in part by its social environment – with the world it perceives and that always has some structure. [Memory] does not allow itself to be separated from the thoughts, beliefs, behaviours internalized by the individual in the course of his socialization so as to insert itself in its identity. This is why, within a given social framework, each individual perceives its own way: in general, without being aware, it makes a selection from among the elements in the world that surrounds it according to its needs, concerns, and interests as well as according to the characteristics of

those elements, some imposing themselves with greater strength than others³⁴ (Pomian 1999:272).

These observations show that the act of creating memory is subject to the influence of emotions, the senses as well as of the social environment. Todorov further argues that individual will plays a role along with the ability to reason, create, express consent, and seek freedom (Todorov 1995:22).

Memory requires a context: the social and cultural environments in which it evolves and the interactions between two subjects that trigger it. That framework was articulated as collective memory by Maurice Halbwachs, in his essay *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (1925) to distinguish it from individual memory (Halbwachs 1952:196). The concept, which he explores further in a posthumous essay titled *La mémoire collective* (1950) aims to explain the way communities remember as well as forget events, expressing a convention about the particular community's identity and beliefs.

As Halbwachs argues the relationship between the individual and the community is marked by the need to belong. Memory plays a role in fulfilling that need: while the individual creates the memory, his interaction with others triggers it, thus creating a bond

But our memories remain collective, and they are reminded to us by others, despite the fact that they are events only experienced by us and objects only seen by us. The reality is: we are never alone. It is not necessary for other individuals to be present and be materially distinct from us: we always

³⁴ Elle résulte d'une interaction de l'appareil sensoriel propre exclusivement à l'individu qui perçoit – mais inséparable d'un filtre conceptuel et affectif façonné pour une part par son environnement social – et du monde qu'il perçoit et qui possède toujours une certaine structure. Elle ne se laisse pas séparer de la pensée, des croyances, des attitudes intériorisées par l'individu au cours de sa socialisation au point de s'intégrer dans son identité même. C'est pourquoi, à l'intérieur d'un cadre social donné, chaque individu perçoit à sa manière : il opère, en général, sans en être conscient, une sélection parmi les éléments du monde ambiant en fonction de ses besoins, de ses préoccupations, de ses curiosités et aussi en fonction des propriétés de ces éléments mêmes dont certains s'imposent avec une force plus grande que celle des autres.

carry with us and in us a number of individuals that do not mix³⁵ (Halbwachs 1968:5).

He contends that interaction generates an exchange of views which facilitates the inclusion of the individual in the group. In return, the group influences the way the individual remembers the event and may add the perceptions of each member of the group to the reconstruction of that event (Halbwachs 1968:7). From this, Halbwachs concludes that memory can be retained and transmitted without any of the members of the group having been present at the particular event being remembered. This allows communities to address the fact that the groups that experienced and witnessed an event deemed important to remember do not remain intact. Time affects the existence of the group and the relationships. Consequently, either the memory fades with the group disappearing or it is passed on because its significance has meaning to a broader set of carriers of that memory. This suggests in his terms that individual memory is not essential since remembering the event that was witnessed does not guarantee its survival in time. It is in fact much more essential to remain within the group that triggers the memory:

It is not sufficient to recreate piece by piece the image of a past event to gain a memory. That reconstruction needs to occur based on common information or concepts found in our mind as well as in the minds of others as they shift from theirs to ours and vice versa, which is only possible if they were part and continue to be part of the same society³⁶ (Halbwachs 1968:12).

³⁵ Mais nos souvenirs demeurent collectifs, et ils nous sont rappelés par les autres, alors même qu'il s'agit d'événements auxquels nous seuls avons été mêlés, et d'objets que nous seuls avons vus. C'est qu'en réalité nous ne sommes jamais seuls. Il n'est pas nécessaire que d'autres hommes soient là, qui se distinguent matériellement de nous : car nous portons toujours avec nous et en nous une quantité de personnes qui ne se confondent pas.

³⁶ Il ne suffit pas de reconstituer pièce à pièce l'image d'un événement passé pour obtenir un souvenir. Il faut que cette reconstruction s'opère à partir de données ou de notions communes qui se trouvent dans notre esprit aussi bien que dans ceux des autres, parce qu'elles passent sans cesse de ceux-ci à celui-là et réciproquement, ce qui n'est possible que s'ils ont fait partie et continuent à faire partie d'une même société.

This idea echoes what Renan was describing with regards to the nation: one is part of a community if a common set of past references, current interpretative framework of those references, and a path for the future of that identity are shared.

Halbwachs' definition of the collective memory although fundamental has some limitations. Nora suggests in fact that collective memory, like individual memory, is a layering of memorial deposits reflecting the complexity of identity (Nora 1997 :647-658). This recognizes, in the spirit of Bourdieu's *habitus*, the multiplicity, interconnectedness, and sometimes even conflict between different layers of identity each carrying its own memory. Sociologist Joël Candau, like Todorov, emphasizes forgetting as the main characteristic. The regulating dynamics between individuals and the community aim to ensure that certain events are not remembered:

Collective memory is certainly more the sum of things forgotten than of things remembered as the latter are first and foremost the result of individual process while the former have in common the fact that they were forgotten. Society finds itself united less by what it remembers than by what it has forgotten³⁷ (Candau 1996:64).

With this argument, Candau concludes that there is greater certainty of demonstrating that something has been forgotten than remembered. This certainty, it is possible to presume, is achieved because of the gathering of evidence to the contrary through such research as history.

³⁷ La mémoire collective est sans doute davantage la somme des oublis que la somme des souvenirs car ceux-ci sont avant tout et essentiellement le résultat d'une élaboration individuelle alors que ceux-là ont en commun précisément le fait d'avoir été oubliés. La société se trouve donc rassemblée moins par ses souvenirs que par ses oublis.

Another element brought up by classicist Moses I. Finley in his collection of essays *The Use and Abuse of History* (1975) is that repetition is key to the act of collective 'remembering' unlike personal memories which may be awoken suddenly. Indeed, the collective act of reiterating common narrative serves to validate it, renew it, and repurpose it to reflect present needs. Finally, Candau concludes that there is no clear distinction between individual and collective memory, which, he points out, psychoanalysts had concluded before. The 'naked individual', one that has no baggage, does not exist because every individual is born and evolves within a social framework (Candau 1996 :67), an expression Candau believes is much more useful at describing the guidance provided by the group. For him, Halbwachs' collective memory falls short of explaining how individual memories can coalesce to constitute that collective memory and how it effectively transmits itself whereas social frameworks clearly illustrate a phenomenon of parameters and references for memory to be shared and develop a sense of community (Candau 1996 :68).

In conclusion, what I aimed to highlight with this overview of elements that contribute to creating a sense of community, are the relationships between time and space which form the foundation of that sense. While the perception and meaning of time and space have evolved over time, these are engrained in human behaviour as a means to make sense of identity. As historian André Leroi-Gourhan noted in *Le geste et la parole* (1964) human communities have a universal desire to develop a common memory that projects their identity in the ancient past (Leroi-Gourhan 1977:13).

The recognition that communities are imagined and that they create a narrative for themselves through a social framework is essential to understand the manifestation of heritage. The framework may change with time recognizing then that the social construct is what is important in creating the tangible.

7.2. Places of Memory and Biography

The sense of history is as much a social construct as the sense of community. That sense is perceived as history or heritage, two concepts with marked differences in the way they are treated. They require a sharp distinction in treatment, because they serve a different purpose (Lowenthal 1998 :104).

The difference has been the source of intense debate, but David Lowenthal's work is useful in the way it crystallizes the role of emotions, knowledge, and of the expert in justifying the distinction. In his book *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (1998), he articulates three main complaints typically made against heritage:

For one, they see self-praise and xenophobic passion fomenting nationalist and other strife. Abundant evidence substantiates such charges. [...] Heritage is said to be too manifold to be meaningful, too trivial and vulgar to be worthwhile, and too sullied by commerce to remain sacred. However populist, heritage is seen by some as still a pawn of powerful elites who bend it to nefarious ends. Such complaints, while not baseless, seem to me exaggerated and self-contradictory. The third set of grievances is that heritage falsifies the True Past, with real history succumbing to the chauvinist, shallow, vulgar, commercial, and mendacious perversions just noted. Such critiques embody two common assumptions. One is that history does or should retrieve the past in its actual entirety. The other is that heritage subverts this worthy aim. Both these assumptions are mistaken (Lowenthal 1998 :104).

Lowenthal demonstrates that the historian's work of accumulating objective facts is no longer believed as true within the discipline while the public

continues to hold that perception. This is because of the recognition that the process of uncovering the past is actually to interpret it, as influenced by the biases of the social and cultural environment of the historian. The information available is also only capturing a fraction of all events of the past and is subject to the bias of the recorder (Lowenthal 1998 :116). Finally, not being immersed in the social and cultural framework of the past, it is difficult to gauge the totality of the past which further affects the interpretation (Lowenthal 1998 :115). The greatest distinction between the practice of history and that of heritage is that history is trying to tell the truth while being aware of the weaknesses of the endeavour as “[...] truth in heritage commits us to some present creed; truth in history is a flawed effort to understand the past on its own terms” (Lowenthal 1998:119).

The distinction is reinforced by a belief that testable truth is the hallmark of history while heritage is a declaration of faith and is not a testable or even reasonable account of the past. Lowenthal asserts that “the idea of history as universal, and universally accessible, is widely endorsed. [...] other kinds of history – tribal, exclusive, patriotic, redemptive, or self-aggrandizing – are, by and large, heritage masquerading as history” (Lowenthal 1998 :120). He contends that history aims to reduce bias whereas heritage nurtures it to achieve the goal of the community to express its identity and worth (Lowenthal 1998 :122).

To add to his attempts at delineating history and heritage, Lowenthal argues that history has to remain remote while heritage nurtures a personal connection.

Heritage firstly requires participation where history cannot be engaged in since it is past and done. Secondly, it requires a means to be exclusive so as to justify its transmission. Thirdly, it thrives through vagueness and despite factual errors (Lowenthal 1998 :136).

History tells all who will listen what has happened and how things came to be as they are. Heritage passes on exclusive myths of origin and continuance, endowing a select group with prestige and common purpose. History is enlarged by being disseminated; heritage is diminished and despoiled by export. History is for all, heritage for ourselves alone (Lowenthal 1998 :128).

This view is consistent with those expressed in a previous book where history is a foreign country, in other words different from us today, whereas heritage is familiar because we are invited to relate to it.

The main argument for differentiating history from heritage from Lowenthal's conclusion relies on the application of a method to analyse the evidence from the past. History applies a method, with all its faults, but heritage is unconcerned with that matter. Does it prove the superiority of history?

Material relics are scrutinized, memories retrieved, archives examined, monuments restored, re-enactments performed, and historic sites interpreted with painstaking precision. Heritage apes scholarship with factoids and footnotes to persuade us that our legacy is grounded in irrefutable evidence. It is all in vain, for two reasons: first, heritage by its very nature *must* depart from verifiable truth; second, adherents of rival heritages simultaneously construct versions that are equally well-grounded (and equally spurious) (Lowenthal 1998 :250).

His conclusion is even grimmer than an attempt at confirming history's superiority. In fact, I would argue that his assertion is dubious: heritage does not *need* to depart from verifiable truth if it supports the sense of belonging, understanding of the past, and imagined landscape of the community. On the

contrary, it may seek even greater legitimacy by being anchored in scientifically proven evidence. There is no other reason why the fabrication of history and heritage by ill-intentioned power-seeking groups and individuals attempts to use historical methods to prove their claims. In some cases, when we do not want to listen to history or wish to forget, memory and heritage are the only tools left to ensure that something is not forgotten, even if it is imperfectly true, it is authentic.

Nora drew similar conclusions about the differences between history and heritage (memory) albeit with a less negative view of them.

[...] memory is life, always carried by living groups and as such is in a permanent state of evolution, [...] susceptible to long periods of latency and to sudden reawakenings. History is the always problematic and incomplete reconstruction of that which no longer exists. Memory is always a phenomenon of the present [...] history is a representation of the past. Because it is emotional and magical, memory only accommodates the details that reinforce its perceptions [...] History because it is a non-religious and intellectual activity, calls for analysis and critical discourse. Memory locates remembrance in a sacred context; history uncovers it and turns whatever it touches into prose. Memory emerges from a group that it welds together, which is to say, as Halbwachs has before, that there are as many memories as there are groups, [...] History, on the contrary, belongs to everyone and no one, and therefore has a universal vocation. Memory is rooted in the concrete, in space, gesture, image and object. History is only anchored on continual temporalities, evolutions and relations between things. Memory is absolute and history is always relative³⁸ (Nora 1997 :24-25).

³⁸ [...] La mémoire est la vie, toujours portée par des groupes vivants et à ce titre, elle est en évolution permanente, [...] L'histoire est la reconstruction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus. La mémoire est un phénomène toujours actuel [...] l'histoire, une représentation du passé. Parce qu'elle est affective et magique, la mémoire ne s'accommode que des détails qui la confortent; [...] L'histoire, parce que opération intellectuelle et laïcisante, appelle analyse et discours critique. La mémoire installe le souvenir dans le sacré, l'histoire l'en débusque, elle prosaïse toujours. La mémoire s'installe dans un groupe qu'elle soude, ce qui revient à dire, comme Halbwachs l'a fait, qu'il y a autant de mémoires que de groupes [...] L'histoire, au contraire, appartient à tous et à personne, ce qui lui donne vocation à l'universel. La mémoire s'enracine dans le concret, dans l'espace, le geste, l'image et l'objet. L'histoire ne s'attache qu'aux continuités temporelles, aux évolutions et aux rapports des choses. La mémoire est un absolu et l'histoire ne connaît que le relatif.

For Nora as well, memory is about faith while history is about fact and banalities. However, Nora also observes that memory is about multiplicity, diversity, and concrete manifestation, essential distinctions that suggest that memory remains a powerful element of everyday life and of the sense of community.

While others agree that a significant distinction between history and heritage (or memory) lies in the burden of proof (Pomian 1999:291), there is in fact an underlying motivation to both heritage and history: they are politically motivated with varying degrees of resistance to that pressure. Pomian argues that perception has a greater role on memory and collective memory than history, which he then concludes provides a greater role for emotions and the impact of politics (Pomian 1999:333-334). The criteria that historians use to identify events of historical significance are subject to scrutiny which confers on them a perceived level of objectivity or at least scientific method. Pomian also suggests that historians can be removed from the object of their study because of a relatively dispassionate agenda behind the endeavour. One important conclusion that he draws is that the older the event, the greater the distance between memory and history and inversely the closer the event the smaller the gap between both (Pomian 1999:336). The reason for this observation is related to the ability to relate to the event.

However, in part as sociologist David Boswell argues (Boswell 1999 :13), the most useful perspective on the political nature of heritage is the fact that there can be multiple, opposing, and complimentary histories developed in a single

community and that they are created socially as a balance of power between its different components. One such balance, as argued by historian Eric Hobsbawm, reflects hierarchical relationships which are established through collective memory to assert the power of the elite over the rest of the community (Hobsbawm 1992 :13). History and its specific methods of inquiry, which historian Raphael Samuel demonstrates in his essay *Theatres of Memory* (1994), maintain a dominance of message from a closed circle and its most notable effect is to be detached from reality and hence irrelevant to most (Samuel 1994:4). This is the idea that history is written by the powerful, by the victor, by the elite in order to build an argument over time justifying their social status or the current state of affairs, thus in effect influencing collective memory and relationships between events recorded in history. Reality in this case is 'what truly happened' and since not everything that 'truly happened' is recorded in history, the resulting effect is that most cannot relate to something that hasn't happened to them or their family. From that perspective, one can then conclude that places of heritage could only stand to be relevant from a false sense of history.

On the contrary, Samuel contends that history is the most meaningful when it reflects the work and the knowledge of many (Samuel 1994 :8), an idea that closely resembles the sense of collective memory. Finally, Samuel argued for this inclusive history because different sources of information, such as memory, serve to bring to light the stories of those that history did not talk about such as minority groups, women, and the working class. Todorov introduced a similar point where he considered that memory is a valid form of evidence and a

protection against totalitarian regimes and revisionist history or imposed history (Todorov 1995 :12). If the event is not forgotten and that memory is shared by a community, it serves as evidence of the true events of the past against lack of other forms of evidence or denial. This is the strength of heritage and collective memory: the events that matter most to the sense of community and identity are celebrated within that group until they may be revealed by history. Nora observed that phenomenon as being the result of a free and democratic society and the end of the traditional role of the state of keep an official history:

what today is commonly referred to as memory, [...] is instead the advent of a historical conscience of a lost tradition [...] a tradition that official history had in no way felt the need to take into account because the national group most often built itself upon its suppression, its silence, or the fact that it had not surfaced to emerge in history. It is however a tradition that these groups, now in the process of being integrated in the national history, feel the urgent need to reconstruct [...] because it is an essential element of their identity. This memory is in fact their history³⁹ (Nora 1997 :4704).

Heritage, contrary to Lowenthal's assertion, does not just glorify the community: it can also remember the darker moments if the community so chooses to define its identity, as evidenced by the conservation of Cambodian political camps, German concentration camps, and slavery plantations in the United States. In those instances, heritage serves as lessons and do provide an opportunity to demonstrate collective achievements and values. They also show how values change which becomes paradoxical when the official reasons for designation do not change.

³⁹ Ce que l'on appelle aujourd'hui communément mémoire, [...] est au contraire l'avènement d'une conscience historique d'une tradition défunte [...] une tradition que l'histoire officielle n'avait nullement éprouvé le besoin de prendre en compte parce que le groupe national s'était le plus souvent construit sur son étouffement, sur son silence, ou parce qu'elle n'avait pas affleuré comme telle à l'histoire. Mais une tradition que ces groupes désormais en voie d'intégration à l'histoire nationale éprouvent, eux, le besoin urgent de reconstituer [...] parce qu'elle est constitutive de leur identité. Cette mémoire est en fait leur histoire.

Acts of commemoration are the tangible manifestation of the political nature of heritage. Nora suggests that there has been an acceleration of acts of commemoration in modern times, one he observed in France in particular but that he believes may be true elsewhere. For him, the discontinuity experienced after the revolution in France provoked a need to commemorate, at an accelerated pace over time and culminating today in a modern 'obsession' with commemoration (Nora 1997:4688). The acceleration is one aspect of the phenomenon but its transformation is the most dominant characteristic. The 'classical model' of commemoration was the prerogative of the nation-state and of its unifying purpose. It maintained a hierarchical notion of power and identity relying on a unified vision of history, clearly favouring certain classes and excluding others. As this unifying purpose eroded away, it gave way to a multiplicity of notions of history each vying for a tangible place in the social and political commemorative landscape. The transformation resulted in a dismantling of that order and the end of centralized and simultaneous commemorations (Nora 1997 :4692-4693).

Nora concludes that the responsibility to commemorate has exploded. The role of the state has been marginalized in the face of the numerous interests in civil society that wish to make a political statement through their own individual commemorative efforts:

It's the dynamics of commemoration itself that has been inverted, the memorial model that has prevailed over the historic model and with it a new, unpredictable and whimsical use of the past. It is a past that has lost its organic, absolute, and constraining character. What matters is not what it imposes on us; it is what we bring to it. [...] It is the present that creates the instruments of commemoration, that seeks out dates and figures to commemorate, that ignores or multiplies them, sometimes artificially manipulating dates [...] and sometimes accepting dates [...] but altering its

significance. History proposes but the present disposes, and what happens often differs from what was intended⁴⁰ (Nora 1997:4696).

Nora, a proponent that history is at the service of memory, argues that the loss of the state's supremacy in commemoration is the result of changes that began in the 1970s: the loss of rural France to a predominantly urban nation, the emergence of a political culture that was closer to the people (more populist perhaps?) thus breaking with an image of the distant leader, and other subtle economic and social realities that have resulted in a democratic notion of the past and the present. Although Nora's assessment is specific to France, these reasons can be extrapolated to define social and economic changes occurring in other parts of the world, echoing for example Parks Canada's assessment in justifying the renewal of its programmes to assess relevance (Parks Canada 2008). The shift described by Nora could well be described as historical narration entering a reflexive phase of autobiography.

The shift in commemoration reaffirms the link between memory and identity. As historian John R. Gillis notes in his introduction to *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (1994) "commemorative activity is by definition social and political, for it involves the coordination of individual and group memories, whose results may appear consensual when they are in fact the product of processes of intense contest, struggle, and, in some instances, annihilation" (Gillis 1994:5). He also notes, like other authors previously mentioned, that

⁴⁰ C'est la dynamique même de la commémoration qui s'est inversée, le modèle mémoriel qui l'a emporté sur le modèle historique, et avec lui, un tout autre usage du passé, imprévisible et capricieux. Un passé qui a perdu son caractère organique, péremptoire et contraignant. Ce n'est pas ce qu'il nous impose qui compte mais ce que l'on y met. [...] C'est le présent qui crée ses instruments de commémoration, qui court après les dates et les figures à commémorer, qui les ignore ou qui les multiplie, qui s'en donne d'arbitraires à l'intérieur du programme imposé [...] ou qui subit la date [...], mais pour en transformer la signification. L'histoire propose, mais le présent dispose, et ce qui se passe est régulièrement différent de ce que l'on voulait.

there are different perceptions of times expressed in a given community, and where elite memory was focused on setting temporal and physical boundaries to describe its memory – i.e. specific dates and territorial ambitions – popular memory was not concerned with those matters. Proximity of the event in time and space and direct relevance to a perceivable identity is the goal of popular memory (Gillis 1994:6). Like Nora, Gillis asserts that there was an acceleration of commemoration after moments of upheaval in the 18th and 19th centuries and that initially “commemorations were largely for, but not of, the people” (Gillis 1994 :9). However he notes that in the early 20th century “as national memory practices became more democratic, they also became more impersonal” giving the example of the war dead being commemorated with a single ‘unknown soldier’ (Gillis 1994 :11). He signals this moment as defining in the importance given to national commemoration, particularly starting in the 1960s. By then, national commemoration was drawing to a close which supports Nora’s observations. Memory is done “at times and place of our own choosing” and “has simultaneously become more global and more local” (Gillis 1994 :14).

Gillis suggests, like Nora, that the nation is no longer the reference for the sense of the past, and that the dismantlement of national memory is reaching the smallest social component possible: the individual (Gillis 1994 :18). Individuals are interested in their own history, the ‘existence’ of their own ancestors, the ones they can know by name.

This democratization of heritage however requires benchmarks in time that are much broader than the personal benchmarks to make sense of the past. As a

descendant of a French farmer from central France who fought in the trenches of the First World War, I also need to make sense of the events of the war, to understand the personal history behind the letters sent to my great grandmother as well as the stories I heard from my mother, about his physical injuries and his ability to farm after the war. There is an undeniable relationship between the national memory and the popular or personal memory that makes them relevant both to the individual and to the community.

That relationship makes *lieux de mémoire* unique and they cannot be replaced or reproduced. As social constructs, they have been imbued with meaning by the community in ways that the simple mention of their name makes them real. In that respect, as communities are imagined, places and objects – *lieux de mémoire* – stand out to populate the imaginary landscape. The concept of imaginary landscape is discussed further later in this thesis but suffice it to say at this point that *lieux de mémoire* are reflective of a human tendency to organize the landscape by assigning symbolic meaning (or sacred meaning) to places. Unlike historic places though, their function leads them to play a role as much in the ‘real’ landscape as in an ‘imaginary’ landscape and their use by a given community is evidence of that. *Lieux de mémoire* are the manifestation of the deeper and more complex sense of belonging, somewhat echoing Renan’s conclusion that a nation is a moral conscience (Renan 1882 :29).

Lieux de mémoire are more usefully understood as biographies, even autobiographies, of the communities which allows a parallel with the need to tell a story and explains their emergence as the work of the community’s soul.

Lieux de mémoire are about the people, those who do not exist in 'official' history, and those that do not recognize themselves in that history. Minorities are producers of such places but in fact all groups that nurture a sense of identity distinct from a national identity may identify such places. It responds to a need to experience a common past and a common destiny, a communion of belief and sharing of values. *Lieux de mémoire* are exclusive to the community which is a logical conclusion of their role as anchors of the sense of belonging and of their purpose for a specific community. Like memory and collective memory, these places serve an egocentric need.

The place is not about making sense of history however; it's about making sense of the present and the future. This is why, I believe, that the matters of truth and authenticity at *lieux de mémoire* that are so derided by and suspicious to Lowenthal are ill-fitted to places like these. A *spirit of place* is a *lieu de mémoire's* authenticity, an important gauge of its ongoing relevance. Like collective memory, these places are generated by perceptions and emotions which make them dynamic reflections of identity. A spirit of place then is fundamental to maintaining them alive and because of the layering of meaning through time combined to the interconnectedness of the generations that have considered this place relevant, *lieux de mémoire* are autobiographies of the communities, written by them for themselves.

8. Chapter Eight : Uses of *Lieux de Mémoire*

As discussed earlier, international charters and government policies often address the use of heritage places in terms of scientific use (research), contemporary use of buildings and spaces, and public access. These, however, are not the primary uses of *lieux de mémoire*. These heritage places are about identity.

Their use in nurturing that identity makes that concern much more fundamental to preserving them. They are about *symbols, senses, and ritual*. The evidence is manifest through use as places of ritual and of public debate. As places of ritual, *lieux de mémoire* appeal to the senses to nurture their function as symbols of a collective memory. This makes them exclusive. Those same characteristics provide a context for their use as places of public debate: while visitors may interact with the place as with historic places, in other words to learn, they are engaged in the place through the symbolism, the ritual, and senses which makes them suitable for debating social issues. Finally, *lieux de mémoire* are places where *imagined landscapes* and what I would call *real landscapes* intersect, offering a layering of meaning that makes it inclusive.

8.1. Rituals and the 'Sacredness' of *Lieux de Mémoire*

The maintenance of a site requires both physical caring – for example the rubbing of rocks or clearing of debris – and the performance of items aimed at caring for the spirit housed at it. Without these maintenance processes the site remains, but it is said to lose the spirit held within it. It is then said to die and all those who share physical features and spiritual connections with it are then also thought to die. Thus, to ensure the well-being of life, sites must be cared for and rites performed to keep alive the dreaming powers entrapped within them (Payne 1988:72).

This description of Australian Aboriginal maintenance practices at sacred sites eloquently distinguishes these sites from other parts of the landscape and is, in many respects, not that different from *lieux de mémoire* as articulated in the previous sections. Like for sacred sites, *lieux de mémoire* exist only as a result of the interaction between people and place and the use they make of that place for their cultural and social needs. The analogy with sacred sites has been made both for historic sites fitting a nationalist discourse as for *lieux de mémoire* (Anderson 1991; Nora 1997). In both instances, the common denominator is the idea that ritual, in other words the performance of special activities and actions to keep the significance-meaning-spirit of the place alive, defines both the place where it is performed and the people that perform it.

Some authors have lamented the loss of the sense of sacredness of the land in Western cultures and the related disappearance of sacred sites which has effectively severed the links between the past, present, and future of living communities (Hubert 1994 :12). The phenomenon may not have wholly disappeared but has evolved with the evolution of the sense of space and time: communities may relate with a place irrespective of its natural qualities but the natural features are still required to recognize the place as 'sacred' and to perform the rituals that maintain it as such. In other words, a place is recognized as 'the right one' because of either oral tradition or historic and archaeological evidence that confirm it based on its location in the landscape. *Lieux de mémoire* are, like sacred sites, located in a specific landscape as geographers Tim Hall and Ian Robertson observed when alluding to the transformation of a

landscape into a psychic terrain that prompts the shared identity (Robertson and Hall 2007 :33).

Lieux de mémoire are associated with rituals to affect the perception of time and is evidence of this creation of an *imagined landscape*. The ritual is a manifestation of a connection with the place itself as well as for what it symbolises. Since that meaning may evolve according to the needs of the community that created the *lieu de mémoire*, the main characteristic is *metamorphosis*, evolution through transformation to reflect the identity of the community.

If it is true that the fundamental purpose of the *lieu de mémoire* is to stop time, interrupt the work of oblivion, to set a state of things, to immortalize death, to materialize the intangible to [...] capture the most meaning in the least signs, it is clear, and this is what makes them fascinating, that the *lieux de mémoire* can only exist because of their ability for metamorphosis to respond to the constant appearance of new meaning and its unforeseeable ramifications⁴¹ (Nora 1997:38).

The trinity of their symbolic nature, the ritual performed at or about the place, as well as their association with an *imagined landscape* demonstrates that it is the active interaction by people with them that distinguishes *lieux de mémoire* from historic places. *Lieux de mémoire* are individual landmarks of communion where stages in history are commemorated, transformed, and experienced to maintain the sense of identity. In this case, the idea of community is constantly refreshed in its expression at these heritage places.

⁴¹ Car s'il est vrai que la raison d'être fondamentale d'un lieu de mémoire est d'arrêter le temps, de bloquer le travail de l'oubli, de fixer un état des choses, d'immortaliser la mort, de matérialiser l'immatériel pour [...] enfermer le maximum de sens dans le minimum de signes, il est clair, et c'est ce qui les rend passionnants, que les lieux de mémoire ne vivent que de leur aptitude à la métamorphose, dans l'incessant rebondissement de leurs significations et le buissonnement imprévisible de leurs ramifications.

Moses Finley's argument of the importance of repetition in collective remembering is echoed in the discussion of ritual. Rituals are not only important in revealing and experiencing the sacredness of a place, but their repetition is what ensures that the sacred places continue to be identified as such in the landscape. Eviatar Zerubavel links pilgrimage, which would qualify as a ritual, to the places of collective memory because, he argues, they are "designed to bring mnemonic communities in close "contact" with their collective past" (Zerubavel 2003 :42). But more importantly, he stresses that

Constancy of place is a formidable basis for establishing a strong sense of sameness. Even as we ourselves undergo dramatic changes both individually and collectively, our physical surroundings usually remain relatively stable. As a result, they constitute a reliable locus of memories and often serve as major foci of personal as well as group nostalgia (Zerubavel 2003:41).

Ritual serves the same purpose. In a changing world, rituals such as pilgrimages, gatherings, and other public events of collective identity provide constancy and are also a basis for establishing a sense of belonging. They bring to the fore the high points of that memory by designating a place (a *lieu de mémoire*) and a time (an event of collective memory) that materializes the sense of collective identity.

Rituals are a type of 'performance', an expression at times used to describe heritage. Following sociologist Gaynor Bagnall, archaeologist Laurajane Smith identified 'performativity' as an important characteristic of remembering in exploring the uses of heritage (L. Smith 2006:66). Bagnall noted in her observations that heritage sites offer an environment where visitors can reminisce, meaning that they emotionally relate to the information being

communicated and material evidence of the past displayed (Bagnall 2003 :88-91). Visitors are not passive or neutral when coming into contact with heritage because their own personal stories come into play in analyzing the information. Smith applies other sociological performance frameworks to the act of heritage preservation itself and to commemoration (L. Smith 2006:68-69). In the first case, she underlines the work by sociologist and anthropologist Sharon Macdonald about heritage creation noting that

the whole processes of cultural heritage management and museum curation are sustained cultural performances in which certain cultural values and identities are continually rehearsed and thus preserved. Moreover, the performance of preservation and curation is itself a performative statement which constructs the objects or 'props' utilised in this performance as 'heritage' (L. Smith 2006:68).

The view offered here is that the concern with identifying and preserving heritage is a cultural value statement and thus a form of performance. This makes sense in the context of historic places where an idea of the nation is constructed. The collection of places (or objects) is a collection of 'props' used for the enactment of national identity. In those places, visitors learn about life in the 'old days'. What about *lieux de mémoire* though? These places are not about historic knowledge. What kind of re-enactment takes place there?

The second element of MacDonald's performance framework – commemoration – is a more convincing answer to those questions. In that context, the performance focuses on the maintenance and transmission of values, collective memory, and relations to power (L. Smith 2006:69). The ritual is based on strong emotions which are meant to be shared by all those participating. However, what is described as a relationship between performer and audience

requires clarification in the case of *lieux de mémoire*: the performance is for the benefit of the community that shares a collective memory, not for outsiders. This is where part of the difference between historic places and *lieux de mémoire* lies. In the first case, there is no special time created to engage in the ritual which makes it a personal performance while in the second case it is essential to have a collective experience to perform the ritual which requires a specific time.

Thus performance at historic places is as much about consumption as it is about relating to personal experiences, while at *lieux de mémoire* performance is about transcending the personal experience. Furthermore, performative behaviour through commemoration is intentional and is reflective, meaning that the action performed in turn affects change on the performers so as to alter their perception of the event (West and Bowman 2010 :279). This idea echoes the earlier discussion about the nature of the object by Baudrillard and Bourdieu confirming that the essence of a relationship object/ subject or object/ performer/ audience is characterized by the two-way communication beginning by the *intent* of an action as thought and enacted by the performer, followed by the *perception* by the targeted audience, and the *effect* of the audience's response on the performer. The object is central to this form of communication by focussing and channelling it.

This reflexivity is possible and effective first because of its reliance on *emotions* and then because it engages the senses thus allowing an *embodiment* of the message (West and Bowman 2010 :280). These two characteristics have long

been the subject of the theory of marketing and interpretation because they are crucial to engaged communication. In anthropology and sociology, these have been useful to understand performance and social interactions (Turner and Bruner 1986; Schechner 2003) but little attention has been paid to their role in the heritage experience. While understanding how these characteristics affect the individual sense of relevance of heritage places is useful, the focus of this discussion is about understanding the collective experience and hence the role of these characteristics in maintaining the use of *lieux de mémoire*. If historic places are distinct from *lieux de mémoire* so are the emotions and the ability to embody the experience. At *lieux de mémoire*, emotions are the means to communicate the collective memory and to engage the place's community members in the experience of maintaining, transferring, and nurturing that collective memory. They are one manifestation of the presence of intangible values, tied to a collective cultural association with a place, as opposed to the tangible values which are the main focus of historic places.

Lieux de mémoire are defined by a specific relationship between time, space, and people that relies on emotions and perceptions. Rituals bring in emotions and 'faith-building' activities that allow a repetition of culturally specific behaviour. To perform the ritual you must believe and as a result of your performance, your belief is strengthened. The heritage conservation discourse puts great emphasis on sacred sites as character-defining heritage places for traditional societies (Carmichael, et al. 1994; ICOMOS 1990; Australia ICOMOS 1999). The same discourse seems to suggest that this is only applicable to those groups as for the more developed and secular societies – i.e. Europeans

and North Americans – the ‘sacred’ connection with the natural landscape has disappeared (Hubert 1994 :12). As I mentioned earlier, I do not believe that to be entirely the case. While the ‘modern’ societies may not have a spiritual reverence for and bond with nature, place and the natural features of the landscape play a role in experiencing a sense of collective identity. This is possible when a passionate approach to the place is nurtured because emotions provide an alternative to a rational understanding of identity. Hence the ritual is the primary conduit for these emotions and its participatory nature allows the embodiment by all those involved of the sense of collective identity. While there might exist differences in opinion within a single group and between groups about the significance of *lieux de mémoire* (like for sacred sites), they nevertheless create consensus by existing as places of ritual, otherwise the group itself would not exist (Carmichael, Hubert and Reeves, Introduction 1994:2).

8.2. The *Imagined Landscape* and the *Real Landscape*

The ritual brings people together to experience collective identity. It sets a framework in time (repetition of time) and space (repetition of action in a specific place) to allow the experience. What is the nature of that experience? I have suggested some important parallels with collective experiences of the sacred, one being the bridging of different worlds. The *lieu de mémoire* may be looked at as a form of *axis mundi* connecting the past, present, and future or simply as what Jonathan Smith has described as a centre with incredible attraction. However, the connection is with an idealized form of the sense of identity and of the past since collective memory is a socially-constructed discourse of that past.

The function then of *lieux de mémoire* is not only to create imagined communities but to connect them to *imagined landscapes* or an idealized perception of the past, present, and future landscape, one that does not exist in reality but only in the minds of those who belong to the community.

Sight may be regarded as the prime conduit in the sensory connection to the intellectual construct of landscape. The gaze, to be more precise, is the entry point because, as Foucault demonstrated in his *Naissance de la clinique* (1963), it is the result of a complex composition of social and cultural values that lead to a relationship of power with that which is observed. The observer, in Foucault's case the doctor, in observing a patient is influenced by the knowledge accumulated in training and by experience while the patient is experiencing the illness by the pain and emotions. In effect, it confirms that through the gaze, the observed is disconnected from what is truly happening in front of him at a specific instant.

This concept has since been applied to a wide range of disciplines interested by the relationship between individuals and their surroundings, including the study of cultural heritage and tourism. In the latter case, the tourist gaze is an experience sought as much as one that has motivated the creation of heritage places.

John Urry, in an eponymous book, bases his analysis on Foucault's study of the medical gaze, stressing the relativity of the experience: "there is no single tourist gaze as such. It varies by society, by social group and by historical

period. Such gazes are constructed through difference. By this I mean not merely that there is no universal experience that is true for all tourists at all times. Rather the gaze in any historical period is constructed in relationship to its opposite, to non-tourist forms of social experiences and consciousness. What makes a particular tourist gaze depends upon what it is contrasted with; what the forms of non-tourist experience happens to be” (Urry 2002 :1).

The tourist gaze is a means to decipher and make sense of the world and as such is a means to create an *imagined landscape*. Ian McKay in his essay *History and the Tourist Gaze: the Politics of Commemoration in Nova Scotia, 1935-1964* provides a vivid illustration of this phenomenon. He describes the events and individuals that guided the development of the heritage commemoration programme in the province. In it, he traces the emergence of the programme in part to the existence and success of a federal commemoration programme but more interestingly, he states that “it was for the Tourist Gaze — that is, not just what actual tourists looked at, but what any potential tourist might find "camera-worthy" and interesting — that much of what came to be conceptualized as the Nova Scotia Heritage was constructed” (McKay 1993:104). As he points out in a later essay, the successes of private initiatives such as the DAR’s with the *Land of Evangeline*, influenced other initiatives in the province and eventually convinced the government to get involved (McKay and Bates 2010:77-78). The interesting aspect of McKay’s commentary is the dual assumption on the part of those creating the heritage that firstly the visitor’s experience is defined by sight, which triggers romantic perceptions of the past and secondly that they actually knew what visitors were

looking for and what they would see. What is 'camera-worthy' conveys a sense of aesthetics that suggests common understanding of what is sought and what needs to be found and captured by camera.

This kind of tourism experience is at once an opportunity for exoticism and familiarity, one that is driven by the desire to discover new things while appreciating it based on our own frame of social and cultural references. Even when going away, one cannot escape the social structure and its system of values and the gaze is proof of that (Urry 2002 :1).

The tourist gaze is guided. As the Nova Scotia example illustrates, a deliberate exercise of 'heritagization' of the province was underway to feed the expectations of 'old world charm' nurtured by tourists and to structure their experience to discover the essence of Nova Scotia. Grand Pré fell into that dynamic, where the visitor would develop a mental image of Acadie through a physical displacement to actual places (i.e. the Land of Evangeline), but the experience itself, seeing Evangeline and her Acadian compatriots reenact their experience, would make it real. This way of visiting the past, is identical, because in effect merged, to the contemporary tourism experience where the tourist experience involves gazing at notable places and collecting everyday cultural signs that result in completing an anticipated journey of discovery (Edensor 1998 :120). As Urry points out, the consumption of heritage by tourists plays a significant role in determining what is heritage and how to set it up for consumption.

The tourist gaze is external; it is by nature distinct from the subject that is gazed at in order to maintain the ability to transform the *real landscape*, the one guided by the senses, from the *imagined landscape*, the one guided by the mental image of one's world constructed by social, cultural, and other values.

This is why parallels that have been made between tourism and ritual pilgrimage actually gloss over the limitations of the tourist experience. Tourists never actually leave their socio-cultural frame of reference since it serves as a benchmark to see 'otherness'. In that respect, any transformative experience resulting from an interaction with a place and culture occurs within one's already established identity. The gaze from outsiders is limited by their own frame of reference and hence cannot fully absorb the sacredness of a place of pilgrimage identified as such by a cultural group distinct from itself. This limitation is extended to the relationship with the past through heritage places, as the gaze relies on what is seen (i.e. the object) to invite the imagination of what once happened around these objects with the underlying message that it *did once happen* (Bruner 1994).

The distinction also echoes the arguments made by historians in explaining firstly the distinction between history and memory, but also the necessity to maintain that distance. This indicates that, as for the personal and social gaze of the tourist, the same argument can be posited for the heritage professional. The gaze of the heritage professional, be it an archaeologist, architect, or conservation specialist, is guided by knowledge and experience and is, as a requirement, detached from the essence of the object of study. But as argued in

previous sections, that gaze imposes a selection of what is of heritage value and with the aspiration of preserving all history and memory; it confines many aspects to oblivion.

Heritage places, in the form of monuments particularly, attempt to evoke an ideal past by imposing their presence in the landscape and to immerse again those that gaze at them in this ideal (Choay 1992 :17-18). As Smith and others have indicated (Jordanova 1989 :33), heritage professionals participate in reinforcing history as a collection of objects with the result that “various kinds of *social* experiences are in effect ignored or trivialised, such as the relations of war, exploitation, hunger, disease, the law, and so on” (Urry 2002 :102). In effect, the professional’s gaze has an influence on the value of a place, as well as on the ability to act on its preservation and appreciating the ‘other’s’ values. Historic places fall within that realm of places where the imposition of value is the result of the external gaze and hence one’s ability to relate to it is constrained by one’s ability to share the same gaze, which is impossible.

The tourist gaze imagines a landscape, perceives its values, and believes it experiences something of the ‘other’. It is searching for signs, ones that speak to the ‘somethingness’ – typical behaviour, exemplary scenes, traditional gathering places – of a particular culture; the Acadianness of Grand-Pré, an authentic kitchen party, a typical procession to commemorate the Deportation (Figure 8-1) (Culler 1988:156). That search for ‘exoticism’, something that stimulates the senses and is mysteriously undecipherable, becomes an invitation to partake in a stage setting, where far from being passive in the

audience, the gazer triggers the performance and becomes part of it, as Urry notes:

Tourism has always involved spectacle. [...] Because of the importance of the visual, of the gaze, tourism has always been concerned with spectacle and with cultural practices which partly implode into each other. Much tourist activity has been thoroughly anti-auratic. [...] it has been thoroughly based on popular pleasures, on an anti-elitism with little separation of art from social life; it has typically involved not contemplation but high levels of audience participation; and there has been much emphasis on pastiche, or what other might call kitsch (Urry 2002:78).



Figure 8-1 Signs of 'Acadianness': ceremony at Horton Landing to mark the National Day of the Deportation of the Acadians. The display of the Acadian flag and colours by Acadians at this public event invites the tourist to witness 'Acadianness'. © Christophe Rivet

The tourist gaze interacts with a real landscape to generate the imagined one. Its reality comes in the form of objects to be seen and of senses being engaged, with, as argued until now, the gaze being predominant. But that reality is subjective as indicated because the gaze is looking for signs. The real landscape is real inasmuch as it can tangibly be experienced through the senses and it can be shared simultaneously yet differently by different people.

Can the same be assumed for the 'internal gaze', the gaze from Foucault's patient, the one that 'experiences' the event rather than observes it?

That 'community gaze', meaning the gaze of someone from within a cultural group, is initiated by a similar desire to nourish an *imagined landscape*. Similar to the tourist gaze, the community gaze is looking for elements in the *real landscape* that will evoke the mapping of the *imagined landscape*. The Nova Scotia experience is a case in point, where bureaucrats identified historic places as tourist destinations but also to create a story for Nova Scotians themselves:

in the Nova Scotia case, a carefully orchestrated promotion of the province based on an imagined Golden Age spoke (and still speaks) eloquently to a dependent society confronting the massive cultural changes incorporated in "modernity". [...] The need to understand one's own life as a "coherent narrative" connected to the larger social story of "our people" is widely shared by individuals in the west [...] The story of Nova Scotia's Golden Age, as constructed by bureaucrats and promoters in the 20th century, was a coherent narrative with a clear sense of beginning and ending, central characters and peripheral figures, heroes and villains. An elaborate mnemonic web of mansions and museums, plaques and forts, road signs and historical romances was woven by the provincial state and its organic intellectuals, partly to please tourists and partly in response to a public hungry for a reassuring "presence of the past" (McKay 1993:104).

The 'community gaze' requires reality to confirm the authenticity of its *imagined landscape*. It does so by contrasting and comparing with the 'other' to achieve a credible sense of reality, an idea pursued by Edward Said with his concept of *imaginative geography* (Said 1979 :49). The *real landscape* is only 'real' because it extends into the *imaginative geography*, a mental construct that distinguishes what is 'ours' from 'theirs' from a self-centered perspective (Said 1979 :54). The appropriation of that landscape as 'ours' is complete when the objective spaces of that landscape are imbued with qualities and emotions

(Said 1979 :55). The starker the difference with the ‘other’, the clearer is the definition of ‘us’.

I would argue, that Said’s *imaginative geography*, much of it imposed by outsiders, finds its counterpart in the concept of *imagined landscape*, the idea that each community self-defines its ‘home’ and makes sense of the landscape by appropriating it through emotions, qualities, and arbitrary measures of distance. The Acadian experience is a vivid demonstration of this. Acadians were deported to the four corners of the world and yet today still retain a sense of space (*Acadie*) and identity (*Acadians*). *Acadie* is not a country, it has no boundaries, yet Acadians have a sense of the extent of their *imagined landscape* bound by where communities are located and what objects in that landscape (eg. cemeteries, churches, archaeological remains) meaningfully represent their values and identity. They have no ‘capital city’ but in Grand-Pré, they have a heart, a place where their *imagined landscape* takes shape, spreading to far-flung places, unreachable to most but recognizable as theirs.



Figure 8-2 Marking the imagined landscape: the Deportation Cross at Grand-Pré (left © Christophe Rivet) is a symbol used to mark the locations associated with the Deportation (middle: in St-Pierre-et-Miquelon islands, France © Société nationale de l’Acadie) and with Acadian communities (right: St-Martinville, Louisiana, USA © Acadian museum) thus marking the Acadian landscape worldwide and confirming Grand-Pré as its heart.

So it is that the *community gaze* instructs the *imagined landscape* in searching and finding the objects of 'somethingness', that only those belonging to the community not only recognize as their own; they are affected and transformed by it. The tourist gaze looks for 'somethingness' as a difference; the community gaze looks for 'somethingness' as a bond with others and *lieux de mémoire* are those objects that construct and manifest the *imagined landscape*. These types of landscapes are the result of a complexity of socio-cultural factors that require deconstruction to understand their meaning and the place of *lieux de mémoire* in them. In essence, in order to understand the relevance of a *lieu de mémoire*, it is essential to make sense of the *imagined landscape* to which it belongs.

This perspective has implications on the conservation of *lieux de mémoire* particularly their 'use'. International charters discuss the 'use' of heritage places by stressing that conservation should make "use of them for some socially useful purpose" (Second International Congress of Architects and Specialists of Historic Buildings 1964:art.5). The benchmark is the elusive idea of 'compatible use', a test that is met based on a balancing of values and preservation of the tangible character-defining elements. This is perfectly acceptable in a discussion about structures, buildings, monuments, but mostly ill-fitted to a discussion about landscapes, archaeological sites, or other non-structural heritage places. It raises the questions: if a structure is no longer used, is it relevant? If it is no longer used, is it not because it has disappeared from the *imagined landscape*? Should efforts be made to conserve something that is no longer part of the *imagined landscape*? Answers to these questions are not straightforward. A structure may have lost meaning in a particular *imagined*

landscape but may retain one in another. It may have lost relevance, but by bringing attention to it, it may again enter the *imagined landscape* (Figure 8-3). This type of reflection is precisely what values-based management seeks to undertake by recognizing multiple values.



Figure 8-3 The discovery of archaeological remains of the 18th century Acadian settlement is an opportunity to introduce them into the contemporary *imagined landscape* of Acadian identity. © Christophe Rivet

However, when addressing the use of *lieux de mémoire* the importance of de-constructing their role in the *imagined landscape* is crucial to maintaining them as *lieux de mémoire*, not for their tangible aspects, but rather for their function in the landscape. This is where the community gaze needs to be given greater credence to define value and use; otherwise, the professional's gaze or the tourist gaze would rely on a detached observer's set of values rather than being within the *imagined landscape* in which the *lieu de mémoire* plays a role. The use of *lieux de mémoire* is defined by their location in the *imagined landscape* which is culturally- and socially-relative and specific to a community.

A *lieu de mémoire* is imbued with emotion and qualities that give it its function and it serves as an emotional landmark in the *imagined landscape*. Through ritual it is created to mark the *real landscape*, through the senses it is perceived and emotionally charged to enter the *imagined landscape*. The use of *lieux de mémoire* exists in the *imagined landscape* as much as in the *real landscape*. It is created based on its function not as a space, but rather a component of a system of values tied to the perception of self by a given community. It is a fragile determination of use entirely dependent on the strength of the relationship between a community and the place.

9. Chapter Nine : *Lieux de Mémoire* as Places

The deconstruction of the *lieu de mémoire* has up to this point focused on articulating its values and uses and the relationship with the communities that organically create them. It demonstrated the central function of ritual in its generation as well as its attribution of value and use. The ritual's purpose is to embody an *imagined landscape* and affirm collective identity at *lieux de mémoire*. What the study of historic places demonstrated is that in order to be manipulated as part of a collection, a place had to be circumscribed in space and time, it required boundaries. This in effect encapsulates the value, the essence of the place in order to convey its meaning to an audience and carry it through time.

What kinds of places are *lieux de mémoire*? Do *lieux de mémoire* require the same attention to boundaries and purpose? To answer that question, I am borrowing from the concept of cultural landscape since it too emphasises the relationship between people and place as a fundamental element of its definition. I also find useful to consider *lieux de mémoire* for the purpose that they serve for affiliated communities, which is a forum of public expression of values. Considering *lieux de mémoire* as public spaces is a specific characteristic that defines and distinguishes them from historic places. The collective memory imposes the public nature on *lieux de mémoire*, albeit not necessarily open to all at all times, that historic places do not have to comply with, hence the possibility that historic places can be in private ownership.

9.1. Social and Cultural Activities, Boundaries and *Lieux de Mémoire*

The concept of cultural landscapes took the heritage conservation world by storm in the 1990s. Its application within the World Heritage programme and the creation of the *European Landscape Convention* solidified its adoption, or at least consideration, in national heritage conservation programmes. These two influences are the benchmarks I am using in this discussion.

The concept of cultural landscapes, although not exclusive to World Heritage, has been greatly shaped by the application within that context. In 1992, the World Heritage Committee adopted the recommendations of an expert panel to include the concept of cultural landscapes in the *Operational Guidelines*. The intent was to address the lack of recognition of the interplay between natural and cultural values, a perceived gap in the criteria (Fowler 2002 :18). As a result of that change, the World Heritage process found itself at the forefront of an emerging way of deciphering the environment and began to tread somewhat unfamiliar waters in heritage conservation.

It is geography that offered an understanding of the relationship between people and their environment, as British-American geographer Denis E. Cosgrove explains it, “the recognition within geography that it is human intervention in the processes shaping the world we see which differentiates it into distinct areas, was fundamental from geography’s earliest days as a formal discipline” (Cosgrove 1998 :260). That perspective informed the articulation of three distinct categories for the World Heritage Committee to consider: the clearly defined landscape, the organically evolved landscape, and the associative

cultural landscape (World Heritage Committee 2008). The two last ones merit that we pay attention to the actual definitions as they have echoes of the approach to *lieux de mémoire*:

An **organically evolved landscape** results from an initial social, economic, administrative, and/or religious imperative and has developed its present form by association with and in response to its natural environment. Such landscapes reflect that process of evolution in their form and component features. They fall into two sub-categories:

- a **relict (or fossil) landscape** is one in which an evolutionary process came to an end at some time in the past, either abruptly or over a period. Its significant distinguishing features are, however, still visible in material form.
- a **continuing landscape** is one which retains an active social role in contemporary society closely associated with a traditional way of life. It is continuing to evolve while, at the same time, it exhibits significant material evidence of its historic evolution.

An **associative cultural landscape** is a landscape with definable powerful, religious, artistic or cultural associations with the natural element rather than material cultural evidence, which may be insignificant or even absent (World Heritage Committee 2008:appendix 3).

These definitions introduced an anthropological view of the human intervention in the landscape even willing to consider intangible aspects at work in a landscape with no apparent human-made objects.

In the work of the World Heritage Committee, cultural landscapes are understood to capture symbolic values, such as a spiritual relation to nature, as well as human activities such as traditional techniques of land use. They could be 'industrial', 'pastoral', 'religious', 'agricultural', or 'urban'. They are qualified for the activities and the human interactions on display. They "are illustrative of the evolution of human society and settlement over time, under the influence of the physical constraints and/or opportunities presented by their natural environment and of successive social, economic and cultural forces, both external and internal" (World Heritage Committee 2008 :par.47). The definition

is useful in that it seeks to identify places where ‘forces’ exerted ‘influence’ on ‘human society’ and its ‘evolution’. However, the limitations of that definition are that the sites are ‘illustrative’, in other words it is through an observer’s eyes rather than the community’s that the identification is made and value is confirmed. While the argument for cultural diversity, for example through the application of the principles of the *Declaration of Nara* in assessing authenticity, mitigates too strict of an outsider’s perspective, it remains that the assessment requires the approval of outsiders that are influenced by their knowledge, experience, and criteria.

The European Landscape Convention, that the World Heritage Committee saw as complimenting its efforts (World Heritage Committee 1997) and others saw as much more respectful of cultural diversity and as addressing the elitist character of the World Heritage process (Fowler 2002 :6), offers insight into their purpose and character. As the preamble states, “the landscape has an important public interest role in the cultural, ecological, environmental and social fields, and constitutes a resource favourable to economic activity and whose protection, management and planning can contribute to job creation”, it “contributes to the formation of local cultures and [...] is a basic component of the European natural and cultural heritage”, and that it is “a key element of individual and social well-being” (Council of Europe 2000: preamble). In addition to this preamble, the Convention defines landscapes as “an area, as perceived by people, whose character is the result of the action and interaction of natural and/or human factors” (Council of Europe 2000 :art.I.1). These statements are much broader as in effect, the entire territory can be understood as such. It

intimates the role of preserving landscapes as an approach to land use planning, socio-economic benefit, and sustainable development.

In its guidelines on the implementation of the convention, the Council of Europe adds unequivocal clarification as to its own understanding and objective in protecting landscapes. They are not assets but are part of the physical space and as such their protection includes the conservation of the tangible dimensions and the quality of life of its inhabitants. The sustainable development of both the environment and the people is supported by the emotional and sensory connection that people have with the landscape (Council of Europe 2008 : art.I.2).

The differences of focus between the *Operational Guidelines* and the interpretation of the *European Landscape Convention* are stark. The first is very much focused on the interplay of culture and nature and exceptional examples of human experiences in environments. The second is aimed at removing the strict object-based parameters of heritage conservation by focusing on the lives of people in that landscape and the interplay in shaping one another. It strives to focus less on the tangible evidence in the landscape and more on the sensory and emotional perceptions of people in defining it.

The similarities between the concept of cultural landscapes, as understood in those two perspectives, and *lieu de mémoire* include the attention paid to the interaction between a community and its environment. The *European Landscape Convention* in particular recognizes the emotional and sensory

dimension of landscapes, whereas the World Heritage Committee settles for a more conservative understanding around values (eg. artistic, spiritual, and intellectual) to describe them. These landscapes are understood to be associated with social and cultural systems which define the livelihood and identity of a community

landscapes also exist in people's memories and imaginations and are linked to place names, myths, rituals and folklore. In people's minds there is rarely a clear distinction between the visible and invisible – or tangible and intangible components of the landscapes (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009:22).

Despite that statement, the World Heritage Convention binds the World Heritage Committee to interpretations of cultural landscapes that need values, authenticity, integrity, and boundaries. As a result, while mental maps are in effect part of the social and cultural construct that generates cultural landscapes, the process of inscription deconstructs those mental maps to focus on what is of 'outstanding universal value'. The *European Landscape Convention* may be closer to avoiding this kind of imposed spatial organization.

There are three main differences between a *lieu de mémoire* and a cultural landscape. The first begins with the definition of a *lieu de mémoire*. Its evolution is influenced by predominantly internal, social and cultural forces since its creation is the result of a mental organization of the space (*imagined landscape*) that is specific to the values and beliefs of a given community. The differences between Grand Pré the World Heritage Site, Grand-Pré the national historic site and Grand-Pré the Acadian *lieu de mémoire* illustrate this.

What the World Heritage Committee understood of the value is this:

Grand Pré is the iconic place of remembrance of the Acadian diaspora, dispersed by the Grand Dérangement, in the second half of the 18th century. Its polder landscape and archaeological remains are testimony to the values of a culture of pioneers able to create their own territory, whilst living in harmony with the native Mi'kmaq people. Its memorial constructions form the centre of the symbolic re-appropriation of the land of their origins by the Acadians, in the 20th century, in a spirit of peace and cultural sharing with the English-speaking community (World Heritage Committee 2012).

In seeking an 'outstanding universal value', the articulation of the cultural landscape stressed 'remembrance', the tangible elements in the landscape and broad humanistic values of peace, cultural sharing, and resilience. Let us contrast with the national historic site's wording regarding memorial value:

It commemorates the strong attachment that remains to this day among Acadians throughout the world to this area, the heart of their ancestral homeland and symbol of the ties which unite them (HSMBC 1982).

This is much closer to what the Acadians defined as being their value in the contract with the Government of Canada in 1956:

[...] the Grand-Pré Park is the most important historic place of the Acadian people as it evokes the most tragic and heroic moments of its history, and that it needs to remind future generations of the courage of a people whose culture and actions will always continue to enrich the Canadian nation⁴² (Groupe Communication Plus 1996 :27).

The national historic site articulation of value is the result of pressure from the Acadian community and was only confirmed in 1982, almost thirty years after having been designated. In that respect, the wording is similar and stresses its

⁴² Les deux parties contractantes reconnaissent par les présentes que le Parc de Grand-Pré constitue le foyer historique le plus important du peuple acadien, qu'il rappelle ses heures les plus douloureuses et les plus héroïques et qu'il doit rappeler aux générations futures l'exemple d'un peuple courageux dont la culture et les actes enrichiront toujours davantage la nation canadienne.

role as the most important site for the Acadian people and alludes to the emotions and qualities that they perceive themselves.

The second difference is that cultural landscapes tend to be described based on the activities that characterize them irrespective of a necessary relationship to collective identity. Their prime interest for heritage conservation of sustainable land-use may be agricultural, urban, industrial or otherwise highlighting a specific component of society. The Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC is a good example of the focus as it is commemorated for the antiquity of its European land-use and settlement pattern, for the agricultural techniques, and in the blending of natural and built features (Doull 1995). It addresses a way of life – dyking and farming – but there is no elaboration on the Acadian value, the memorial landscape, or the intangible values associated with it. Grand-Pré NHSC, which is part of the rural district, fulfills that dimension, independently from the rural district. The Landscape of Grand Pré WHS on the other hand alludes to intangible commemorative values being associated with the entire landscape of dykelands, hills, roads, and archaeological sites. However, those values are concentrated in the tangible memorials as an expression of connection to the landscape.

The third difference is that *lieux de mémoire* stand out as significant places in the *imagined landscape*. *Lieux de mémoire* can be cultural landscapes but the reverse is not absolutely true. The European convention, in a way, aims to identify the *imagined landscape* rather than elements of it that stand out. Conversely, the World Heritage process tends to compartmentalize the

landscape based on determination of value, authenticity and integrity, thus missing the broader picture of the way a community views its *imagined landscape* as well as the multiple conflicting perspectives on the place.

This last point raises the matter of determining when one is entering that space that is culturally significant. A landscape is experienced through senses and movement triggered by elements that compose it. As one walks a path, hikes a hill, climbs a slope, or pauses at a vista, our individual and collective memory is triggered by a specific landscape and what it evokes: beauty, history, spirituality, nostalgia, all sorts of feelings, thoughts and impressions crafted by our own cultural framework. As Simon Schama puts it in his essay *Landscape and Memory* (1995) “neither the frontiers between the wild and the cultivated, nor those that lie between the past and the present, are so easily fixed. Whether we scramble the slopes or ramble the woods, our Western sensibilities carry a bulging backpack of myth and recollection” (Schama 1995 :576). Schama’s observation stresses that no landscape is left untouched by humankind, that there is a cultural imprint left in the landscape or in the mind of the observer to make sense of the landscape. It also stresses that there is no clear delineation that translates a cultural landscape into a distinct environment; there is no doorstep to another space. Cultural landscapes are about the connection between humans in their environment, nature and culture which means that it cannot be circumscribed, boxed in. This perspective is alluded to in the *European Landscape Convention* since it addresses territory as a whole rather than components of the landscape to protect.

This fluidity of boundaries is incompatible with the World Heritage approach that seeks to identify a significant space for its conservation based on values. Boundaries need to be drawn in order to protect a specific place of value. The considerations of authenticity and integrity are identical to those applied to other forms of cultural heritage and guide the drawing of boundaries since “the extent of a cultural landscape for inscription on the World Heritage List is relative to its functionality and intelligibility”. Should it be impractical to include the entire landscape or should the criteria of authenticity and integrity not be met for the entire area, a “sample selected must be substantial enough to adequately represent the totality of the cultural landscape that it illustrates” (World Heritage Committee 2008 : annex 3, par.11). Finally, “the physical fabric of the property and/or its significant features should be in good condition, and the impact of deterioration processes controlled. [...] Relationships and dynamic functions present in cultural landscapes, historic towns or other living properties essential to their distinctive character should also be maintained” (World Heritage Committee 2008 :par.89). Cultural landscapes can thus be circumscribed because functions and relationships can be read in a definite space and there is physical fabric in support of these. This approach continues a tradition of objectifying heritage by assigning meaning and boundaries to differentiate it from what is not significant around it.

Lieux de mémoire are not objectifiable nor are they broad landscapes of function and relationships. They are specific places of function and relationships within an *imagined landscape* and are better understood as destinations towards which communities are attracted as part of a ritual, a pilgrimage, or a

survey of their *imagined landscape*. They are points of contact between the *real landscape* shared by all and the *imagined landscape* shared only by the initiated, between an ideal and reality, past as perceived and the present as resulting from that perception. As destinations, *lieux de mémoire* stand out in the landscape without offering a threshold to cross but by exerting a more or less powerful attraction which directs attention, as well as stimulates a sense of arrival in a familiar place.

In the process of preparing the World Heritage nomination, a series of video recordings of visitors and stakeholders was carried out. The objective was to gather perceptions about the landscape of Grand Pré by asking broad and simple questions, one of them being: “what makes Grand Pré so special?” The answer that was provided most frequently by non-resident Acadians was a variation on the theme of home: “It is here that we are truly home⁴³” “Grand-Pré is everything. I can feel it in my guts, in my blood. It’s me⁴⁴” were emotional iterations of this sense of belonging to a place, knowing instinctively when they’ve arrived (compilation video available as of December 12th 2012 at <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=FL4rTqd5A90>). In the exercise that aimed to identify those character-defining elements that made the landscape meaningful for the Acadians, the elements that stood out were the dykelands, the church spire, Cape Blomidon, the Deportation Cross, and the statue of Evangeline (Nomination Grand Pré 2011). These were markers in the landscape that indicated arrival at destination.

⁴³ « C'est ici qu'on est vraiment chez nous » Suzanne Surette-Draper

⁴⁴ « Grand-Pré, c'est tout, j'ai ça dans les tripes, j'ai ça dans le sang, c'est moi » Gérald C. Boudreau



Figure 9-1 Markers in the landscape. The church spire, the dykelands, and Cape Blomidon signal the arrival home for Acadians. © Christophe Rivet

In essence, the concept of cultural landscape as it is applied in heritage conservation, has greatly improved the understanding of the role of communities within their environment as well as the internal community perspective as to what has value. It has acknowledged the sensory dimension of the heritage experience and embraced the need to preserve relationships as well as functions that give authenticity to a heritage place. Those are important components that enable a look at *lieux de mémoire* as living spaces. However, not all cultural landscapes are *lieux de mémoire* nor is the reverse true. What differentiates those two and matters most is the relationship between a community and a place, where one place serves as a destination for ritual and asserting collective identity and the other illustrates a community's way of life or a social, cultural function.

9.2. Contemporary Values and Debate at *Lieux de Mémoire*

Since *lieux de mémoire* are places of ritual celebration of collective identity and a point of contact between the *real landscape* and the *imagined landscape* they exhibit contemporary qualities, meaning there is relevance to current perspectives of the world and of identity. There is a constant refreshing of significance, discourse, and purpose ascribed to the place which may conflict or harmonize with other values present at the site. This makes *lieux de mémoire* inevitably suited for public debate about cultural identity and human experience.

I have stated before that *lieux de mémoire* are places that are primarily about the present and the future as opposed to historic places being principally about the past and the present. This statement is based on their nature, in particular their association with ritual, their expression of collective memory, and the role of emotions in performance. Rituals are performed to create them, meaning that every time a ritual is performed the significance of the *lieu de mémoire* is created in the present. These rituals are performed by a community with a sense of the challenges it is facing in the present and a need for unity to take them on in the future. Whether collective or individual, they rely on senses and emotions to charge these places with significance. In so doing, it reinforces the contemporaneous nature of the *lieux de mémoire* since emotions are rooted in present sensations, feelings, and perceptions. The Acadian community has embedded rituals in the year-round experience of the landscape in order to create it as part of the *imagined landscape*: Acadian days in July, National Day of Commemoration of the *Grand Dérangement* (July 28th), Acadian national day

(August 15th), commemoration of the deportation at Grand-Pré (September 5th) (Figure 9-2).



Figure 9-2 Ritual of remembering the ancestors and celebrating a vibrant community (National Day of Commemoration of the *Grand Dérangement*) © Christophe Rivet

These types of heritage places are dynamic spaces, constantly refreshed in their meaning, under the guise of continuity and history, to respond to contemporary needs and definition of identity. The latter is as much a source of relevance as the source of their potential demise: should the need disappear or the definition of identity exclude them, *lieux de mémoire* become desacralized and join the rank of places forgotten, indistinguishable from the rest of the landscape.

Lieux de mémoire are public spaces: their presence is a public statement and their significance triggers public debates. As a public statement, the *lieu de mémoire* is akin to the monument, a structure whose purpose is to intentionally

prompt a memory for present and future generations, and assert a version of history. They both evoke the past by means of emotions and are selected for a fundamental purpose of contributing to maintaining a community's identity. Alois Riegl termed this function the value of 're-memoration' but that observation, limited to intentional monuments, may be missing the deeper aspiration of the authors. Françoise Choay articulated that deeper aspiration when she notes that

for those that erect them as for those who receive their messages, the monument is a bulwark against life's trauma, a safety mechanism. The monument states, reassures, eases and staves off the effects of time. It vouches for the origins [...] it challenges disorder and the dissolving action of time on all things natural and artificial, it attempts to appease against the anguish of death and annihilation⁴⁵ (Choay 1992:15).

This desire to exist in history and to challenge the effects of time is a powerful motivation behind the erection of monuments, and in the case of *lieux de mémoire* where not all are monumental structures, is manifest through the ritual associated with a place as well as the tangible markers in the landscape. Joys and tragedies resonate through time because of the emotions attached to them, and similarly the tangible elements associated with them carry those emotions that are reignited through ritual. The desire to exist in history was a prime motivation for the Acadians: as they see it, they were destined to disappear as a result of their deportation but their will to survive inverted that trend. Their survival was strengthened by the symbols of collective memory they chose to unite them, including a motto, a flag, and an anthem. However, the one symbol

⁴⁵ Pour ceux qui l'édifient comme pour ceux qui en reçoivent les avertissements, le monument est une défense contre le traumatisme de l'existence, un dispositif de sécurité. Le monument assure, rassure, tranquillise et conjurant l'être du temps. Il est garant d'origines et calme l'inquiétude que génère l'incertitude des commencements. Défi à l'entropie, à l'action dissolvante qu'exerce le temps sur toutes choses naturelles et artificielles, il tente d'apaiser l'angoisse de la mort et de l'anéantissement.

that allowed them to exist in history by making it a public recognition of the Deportation and its consequences on the Acadian people is Grand-Pré. They did not initiate the association between Acadian people and Grand-Pré; Longfellow did through *Evangeline*. The Acadian religious and political elite seized the opportunity of the poem's notoriety to appeal to the community's unity by transforming Grand-Pré as a symbol of what was lost and the homeland they would return to (LeBlanc 2003:102). It was also an opportunity to publicize outside of the community the tragic events and the continuing struggle of the Acadian people. In that context, a memory that had essentially been oral found its way into a tangible and written collective memory, albeit by way of a fictitious character. In both instances, Grand-Pré became a *lieu de mémoire* whose purpose was to ensure that the events would never be forgotten both inside and outside the community. Like for all groups whose oral transmission of memory is the primary vehicle of commemoration, the struggle against a dominant version of history is a means to build and assert confidence (Le Goff 1988 :175). The subsequent formal commemorations, starting with the erection of monuments, then the national historic site recognition, and finally the World Heritage status, are part of a continuum of collective efforts to assert publically that history, to be part of history (address to the World Heritage Committee by Dr. Gérald C. Boudreau following the inscription of the Landscape of Grand Pré, June 30th 2012).

For the Acadian community, Grand-Pré became a place of transformation, where as a people they left the anonymity of a footnote in history to fully enter the narrative of history on their own terms, and where transformation continues

to occur in response to contemporary needs of collective identity. It is a place of definition as well as affirmation of 'Acadianness', an elusive concept that changes based on social and political realities of the time, but is nevertheless readily recognized by Acadians. This *lieu de mémoire* offers a public forum to debate the concept as well as to showcase it. In the case of Grand-Pré, Acadians have been holding political and religious events for decades as well as hosting academic conferences, in other words public activities organized to have a public discussion about history, identity, and memory (Figure 9-3).



Figure 9-3 Public display of identity and existence at Grand-Pré: events of the bicentennial of the Deportation. This happened a few years before becoming a national historic site. © Centre d'études acadiennes

This public statement of memory inevitably presents itself as a challenge to official history. It seeks to confront official history with the memory of events as they are passed on within the community and it does so with emotions as the vehicle. It prods the public discourse into listening if not accepting its version of

events, in effect introducing other values to the significance of a place. It only has two available methods of discussion: conflict or negotiation. In particular, for the diaspora of a community that has been removed from its homeland, it signals an intent to seek redress through a return to that land. As a result, *lieux de mémoire* can be places of conflict or places of sharing, certainly places where multiple values overlap to create tension or find a balance. They are contested because they are spatial, or in other words as geographers have argued space and the resources associated are limited therefore competition to control it is inevitable. Since these spaces and resources are scarce, they are the subject of a surplus of meaning:

As an arena of signs and symbols, a sacred place is not a fixed point in space, but a point of departure for an endless multiplication of meaning. Since a sacred place could signify almost anything, its meaningful contours can become almost infinitely extended through the work of interpretation. In this respect, a sacred place is not defined by spatial limits; it is open to unlimited claims and counter-claims on its significance (Chidester and Linenthal 1995 :18)

For the Acadian community, the intent was to symbolically return to their land with Grand-Pré epitomizing the homeland (Poirier 1917 :1). The reality of that desire is that it opposed it to the ownership and history of those who had since lived on the land. For the current residents, the dykelands and the hills at Grand Pré are their home. It is their livelihood and they take pride in their work of farming the land and preserving the dykes. Many have a two hundred year family history in Grand Pré. Like for the Acadians, this is their home, but the *imagined landscapes* of both groups intersect in the *real landscape* with an uneven level of emotional investment. Where Acadians perform rituals to assert their identity, local residents simply carry out their activities in effect living their identity (Figure 9-4). For the Acadians, this is a *lieu de mémoire* that attracts

and defines them wherever they may find themselves in the world. For the local residents, they give meaning and life to a rich cultural landscape. They cannot ignore each other because Grand Pré is a place of multiple meaning where everyone has a stake: Grand-Pré the national historic site and the Acadian lieu de mémoire; Grand-Pré the national historic site and *Evangeline* as the tourism attraction; Grand Pré the rural district and the maintenance of the agricultural way of life; and Grand Pré the shared World Heritage Site.



Figure 9-4 Local residents live their identity in the landscape. Farming activities and ongoing use of the dykelands define the sense of place and collective identity of residents. © Christophe Rivet

Lieux de mémoire are instruments of power and empowerment. They play a role in the assertion of power or in resisting power as they materialize a collective memory by introducing into broader public consciousness existing power relations, inequalities, other views about past events and current significance of those events (Le Goff 1988 :175; Chidester and Linenthal

1995:17). They are locations where *real landscape* and *imagined landscape* collide, where societal relations of power are revealed, and where different *imagined landscapes* intersect.

Those tensions take the form at Grand Pré of ownership of the land, a constant reminder that the Acadians were deported and the descendants of New England Planters and others now live on those lands. The absence of Acadian structures other than the dykeland is evocative of the effects of the Deportation and of the 'paradise lost' (Parks Canada Agency 2004 :12). The symbolic re-appropriation creates an equilibrium for the Acadians as it is a means to claim stewardship or an idealized ownership of those lands (Poirier 1917 :1). For the residents, in particular those whose family had settled Grand Pré since the late 18th century, the equilibrium may not be felt the same way as for the Acadians. The feeling is a mixture of understanding, suspicion, and doubt. Farmers are aware that they are working a land that once belonged to the Acadians but also feel that they have since owned it in their own right by building dykes and farming it. There is a sense of having inherited a legacy and pursuing a tradition without a sense of historical responsibility (personal communication by Charles Curry, July 2010). There is skepticism about the veracity of the emotions and the meaning of Grand-Pré, its sacredness; there is respect for it but limited understanding.

A hundred years ago or so, based on the accounts of their leaders, Acadians were invited to erect monuments in Grand-Pré:

this awakening of a painful past is not to be perceived as offensive for our friends and fellow citizens of foreign nationality. On the contrary, a spirit of

sincere brotherhood and peace oversees it. Furthermore, they are themselves extending the invitation⁴⁶ (Poirier 1917 :1)

It is difficult to assess fully the emotions felt by non-Acadians in inviting Acadians to symbolically reclaim Grand-Pré, partly the effects of *Evangeline* partly a sense of history. It was however sufficient to reassure Acadians that upon undertaking the erection of monuments at Grand-Pré, they “will once again be home, in Grand-Pré, owners of the ancient land, amongst our fellow citizens of foreign origin, now our friends⁴⁷” (Poirier 1917 :1). This mutual feeling led to a sharing of the contested landscape rather than competition, but that feeling has ebbed and flowed as a result of the powerful Acadian message associated with Grand-Pré which has overwhelmed other voices.



Figure 9-5 Sharing the landscape: plaque commemorating the arrival of the New England Planters (left) and Deportation Cross erected to mark the location where Acadians were gathered to board the ships (right). © Christophe Rivet

⁴⁶ Ce réveil d'un passé douloureux, n'a rien qui puisse froisser nos amis et concitoyens de nationalité étrangère. Tout au contraire, une pensée de sincère fraternité et d'apaisement y préside. D'ailleurs ce sont eux-mêmes qui nous y invitent.

⁴⁷ Cela fera que nous serons encore une fois chez nous, à Grand-Pré, possesseurs du sol antique, parmi nos citoyens d'origine étrangère, devenus nos amis.

The emotional character of the *lieu de mémoire* is a strength; it plays a role in locating the place, in performing the rituals, and in asserting its legitimacy. It is also the dimension that stimulates debate and *de facto* inserts their message into the broader public sphere and confirms these places as public spaces. The collective and individual pride, outrage, pain, shame, and other such emotions enable the conversations about the tragedies or joys embodied by those places. Their cultural exclusivity becomes universal inclusiveness through the tales of human experiences to which humanity as a whole can relate. In the case of Grand-Pré the story of the Deportation of the Acadians becomes one of forced migrations and survival. Outsiders may not share the collective memory of the event and thus embrace the significance of the place as part of the Acadian *imagined landscape*, but they may relate to or debate the experience of being displaced by war, resettling, losing one's family, and persecution. In this case, the lessons of history are powerfully conveyed by those who have retained the memory of the events. That memory, however imprecise, is the trigger for the emotions that feed the public debate.

9.3. The 'Authenticities' of *Lieux de Mémoire*

The last aspect of *lieux de mémoire* as places that requires attention is authenticity. This matter exposes heritage to the opprobrium of historians because of the claim that it is unconcerned with 'authenticity' and therefore is an unreliable source of knowledge. Heritage as one notably wrote is a declaration of faith (Lowenthal 1998 :121). However, this disdain, applicable to the places of heritage as much as to the concept itself, is not wholly well-founded because it

is necessary to define authenticity within the context of the purpose and character of *lieux de mémoire*.

For *lieux de mémoire* to exist, they need to be created through ritual for the purpose of making sense of the world. They are part of an *imagined landscape* reflecting its order and nature onto the *real landscape*. What matters in this context, is that the *lieu de mémoire* speaks to the ritual performed and to the *imagined landscape*, in other words that it asserts its connection to the genesis and to the nature of collective memory. The suggestion that *lieux de mémoire* are biographical places illustrates their layered and complex nature but also the idea that they tell the story of a beginning, a sequence of events evoking the character of the community, and an acknowledgement that each 'owner' of the place has put a personal emotional imprint. Through this reasoning, the matter of authenticity of *lieux de mémoire* is one of biography.

The biographical authenticity of a *lieu de mémoire* is assessed internally: the community evaluates the landscape so as to identify and characterize it in relation to the *imagined landscape*. This exclusivity of determination does not make the process impermeable to an outsider's scrutiny as long as the veracity of memory is accepted unconditionally. The biographical authenticity is primarily the one that determines the location as it is confirmed by the presence of certain tangible elements in the landscape as reference points. At Grand Pré, both the Acadian and the Mi'kmaq landscapes make use of that form of authenticity. For the first, the authenticity resides in locating the remains of the village that was destroyed by the British troops set next to a marshland on the

shores of the Minas Basin. This is the location where Acadians lived in paradise and where tragedy struck through the deportation of the inhabitants and the burning of the village. The modern Acadian community requires that genealogy starting with the genesis of the story and the emotionally loaded events to be located in the *real landscape* in order to anchor their present existence in a meaningful continuity. For the Mi'kmaq, the authenticity rests in Cape Blomidon and the forces of the tides in the Minas Basin in order to construct the world of Glooscap that defines them, have a focal point for their own genesis as a people, and have the confidence to address their current challenges. The biographical authenticity of *lieux de mémoire* articulates a layering of meaning over time, confirms their role as witnesses of the past, anchors in the present, and benchmarks against which future evolution is measured. More distinctly, biographical authenticity is the *belief* rooted in collective memory and tangible evidence that the events occurred and that a specific place witnessed them.

The belief begins with and reinforces the collective memory, stimulating emotions that reassure community members as participants in a ritual that they are in contact with the place of significance. This emotional authenticity is a key measure of the veracity and credibility of a *lieu de mémoire* because the sensory experience is what initiates the connection with a place and the ritual that surrounds it. It explains the emotional reactions that Acadians have upon arriving at Grand-Pré, sometimes shedding tears, sometimes sombre, and other times simply expressing joyful pride. It also explains the negative emotions when the place is threatened in its significance. An example of this reaction is the disregard for the Acadian values and aspirations by the Government of

Canada until it was pressured to reassess the national significance and develop the site's interpretation and infrastructure in the late 1990s.

Emotions have been a factor in defining and conserving heritage places since the early days of the discipline. These were often of a contemplative nature, bemoaning the passage of time, admiring the beauty of an architecturally impressive structure, humbled by the antiquity of monuments, wondering what the life of past generations was like. The emotions are very personal and have found their place in poetry and literature:

This is the forest primeval; but where are the hearts that beneath it
Leaped like the roe, when he hears in the woodland the voice of the
hunter?
Where is the thatch-roofed village, the home of Acadian farmers,
Men whose lives glided on like rivers that water the woodlands,
Darkened by shadows of earth, but reflecting an image of heaven?
Waste are those pleasant farms, and the farmers forever departed!
(Longfellow 1848:6)

Longfellow expresses the emotional power of Grand Pré, even though he had never been there. Despite this, his words resonate with anyone that knows the story of the Acadians and goes to Grand Pré. The *lieu de mémoire* itself is asking Longfellow's questions and provides the answers. It has inspired the quest by the Acadians to resolve these questions by symbolically reclaiming the landscape. Its emotional authenticity is the result of the collective memory of paradise lost, the inspiration of various personal emotions transposed to a community, and the channelling of emotions as part of the rituals related to the *lieu de mémoire*. Acadians remember that they were once deported from their homeland. They individually longed for a return and suffered the painful consequences of a transient life. Those emotions are part of the rituals through

re-enactments, the erection of monuments, and pilgrimages. They animate the desire for a distinct collective identity. The emotional intensity has been amplified by the collective memory of the events, whereas a casual observer of the landscape who is not a participant in the creation of the *lieu de mémoire* would feel what Longfellow articulated, a contemplative reflection rather than a painful sorrow. *Lieux de mémoire* require this emotional authenticity and intensity ascribed to objects of the past in order to exist; it distinguishes them from generally emotionless historic places.

The biographical and emotional components of authenticity of a *lieu de mémoire* are complemented by a last aspect, the memorial authenticity. This is the factor that describes the process of generating the collective memory with the assumption that it is ongoing, constant, and evenly intense. In other words, the community continues to engage with the *lieu de mémoire* so as to nurture its collective identity. Indeed, as Cioran points out, communities need to create a fictional narrative in order to exist:

Only a monster can have the luxury to see things as they are. But a community can only survive by creating fictions, nurturing and embracing them. Should it attempt to foster lucidity and sarcasm, to consider untainted truth, pure reality, it disintegrates and collapses. Hence its metaphysical requirement for fraud, its need to conceive, to invent, in time, a privileged timeline, a supreme lie that lends meaning to history which, objectively, seems to have none⁴⁸ (Cioran 1987 : back cover).

The *fiction* of memorial authenticity complements the *facts* of biographical authenticity and the *emotions* of emotional authenticity to complete the frame of

⁴⁸ Seul un monstre peut se permettre de voir les choses telles qu'elles sont. Mais une collectivité ne subsiste que dans la mesure où elle se crée des fictions, les entretient et s'y attache. S'emploie-t-elle à cultiver la lucidité et le sarcasme, à considérer le vrai sans mélange, le réel à l'état pur ? Elle se désagrège, elle s'effondre. D'où pour elle ce besoin métaphysique de fraude, cette nécessité de concevoir, d'inventer, à l'intérieur du temps, une durée privilégiée, mensonge suprême qui prête un sens à l'histoire, laquelle, regardée objectivement, ne semble en comporter aucun.

reference for appreciating the authenticity of *lieux de mémoire*. Without it, the emotions would be subdued and the tangible evidence would become insignificant in the eyes of the community because it is the intensity of the story (memory) that stirs the emotions about a place. Factual stories do not make good stories; embellished ones do, the ones that talk about a Golden Age, or a devastating tragedy. Is Grand Pré less important because historians know for a fact that it was not burnt down at the time of the Deportation? No, historically it isn't. Is the collective conviction that it was burnt down important to the narrative? Yes it is, because it emphasizes the attempt at annihilation and feeds into a perception of the intensity of the trauma and by extension the significance of the *lieu de mémoire*. It makes the symbol.

The *Nara Document on Authenticity* has consecrated the importance of authenticity by demonstrating the cultural relativity of the concept (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994:par.7, 11) and asserting its purpose as “to clarify and illuminate the collective memory of humanity” (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994:preamble, par.4). Much of the declaration alludes to the various perspectives of what constitutes authenticity, principally by focusing “on the degree to which information sources about these values may be understood as credible or truthful” (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 :par.9). The aspects of the sources of information are illustrative of the diversity of heritage itself, where form and design are as valid as spirit and feeling (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 :par.13). In sum, the Nara document equates the determination of authenticity with respect for cultural diversity. It was an important step towards enriching the processes of identifying and conserving heritage. It has proven

useful in effectively preserving the tangible aspects of heritage by considering its associated intangible values. However, this view of authenticity by focusing on cultural diversity perhaps misses some of the more sociological aspects of heritage, which I have tried to address in distinguishing historic places and *lieux de mémoire*. Nara's view of authenticity works well in respecting cultural diversity when cultural groups are clearly identifiable, an increasingly challenging assumption in this globalized world. For societies that are multi-cultural and westernized, one may wonder whether the question reaches an effective dead end. The authors of Nara's document acknowledge faintly that "the credibility of related information sources may differ [...] even within the same culture" (ICOMOS-UNESCO-ICCROM 1994 :par.11) without venturing into explanations about the reasons behind that possibility. How much cultural relativity is there in the same culture that it would generate a different measurement of authenticity? Are politics at play? Is it social diversity or something else? It is possible to bring forward the argument that the diversity of opinions within the same culture about the credibility of sources point in fact to a deeper underlying competition between the official and unofficial values of heritage, maybe even conflicts in group identity. Grand Pré offers a useful comparison between acceptance of the values of the Mi'kmaq for the landscape and those of the Acadians. The Mi'kmaq definition of the significance of the landscape is rooted in the mythological recounting of the feats of Glooscap. While not officially recognized by designation, there is now acceptance of these values which are authenticated through oral tradition. The interpretive panels at Grand-Pré NHSC are one example of this validation. The Acadian values which are also rooted in a certain mythology were not considered in the official

designation until 1982, and even then with a vague statement about the “strong attachment among Acadians to this, the heart of their ancestral homeland”. Which culture do Acadians belong to that they would have their values authenticated with more suspicion than the Mi’kmaq as an Aboriginal group? Acadians are indistinguishable in most aspects from the white, westernized, Christian North American component of society and yet identify themselves as a people. Can they view the world in ways that justifies their referring to Grand-Pré as the ‘mecca’ of Acadie (personal communication by Gérald C. Boudreau, May 2009), a destination for pilgrimages, and place imbued with mythology and emotions? They can and they do as was demonstrated, which makes it uncomfortable to grasp from a strictly traditional conservation approach. The sacredness of places seems to be regarded as part of the Aboriginal view of the world but less so for non-Aboriginal groups.

Yet, *lieux de mémoire* defy these distinctions and suggest that the direction provided by Nara’s document on authenticity should be carried out further and open it up to a framework that balances facts with fiction and emotions. Taken together, they provide an assessment of authenticity that is not only measured by the various aspects Nara’s document lists, but counterbalances it with the social and emotional aspects of people’s relation to heritage and in effect sets a more solid foundation for relevance. The international community of practitioners further pursued those ideas in 2008 at the ICOMOS General Assembly under the label of ‘spirit of place’. It issued a declaration to articulate the concept and its application in conservation. In many ways it reiterated the key conclusions of Nara on authenticity but with a stronger emphasis on

intangible values and the role of communities. It stresses the inseparable relationship between living communities and spirit of place, in the definition, conservation, and management of heritage places (ICOMOS 2008a:art.8,9). What it fails to recognize is that this applies only to some heritage places and not all, to *lieux de mémoire* and not to historic places. This lack of distinction nurtures confusion about how to define and conserve these places and is detrimental to a true empowerment of communities in conserving their heritage as conservation practitioners continue to apply the methods of historic places to entirely new paradigms.

The sense of place, spirit of place, or authenticity of *lieux de mémoire* is characterized by living communities expressing their present values and as such their emotions and fictional authenticities are credible and truthful as much as facts can be. They are concepts defined by present concerns, not the past, they are sensory experiences, and as such accept a multiplicity of definitions of authenticity that may be simultaneous or parallel, incompatible or compatible, and equal fact and fiction. They are the bridges between the individual experience of a place's significance and the collective definition because it finds its substance and origin in the present. Unlike Lowenthal's view of heritage and its imperfections (Lowenthal 1998 :121), the value assigned to heritage places comes as much from those imperfections as from 'credible and truthful information' both qualifying as forms of authenticity in their realm of belief. While heritage and history do rely on antithetical modes of persuasion as he argued, it is the result of the nature of those places, where the historic place is an idealized representation of the past and the *lieu de mémoire* is an idealized

manifestation of current identity and future aspirations. Furthermore, whether based strictly on facts or fiction, the past plays a role in these exercises of idealization that is founded on incompleteness and nonetheless does not compromise the authenticity. For historic places there is no absolute and complete picture of the past and that leads to our minds filling the gaps until other proof is revealed. For *lieux de mémoire*, the past is also incomplete because collective memory has selected and mythologized its past (Todorov 1995 :13). As Pomian noted, “an authentic narrative [...] can be based two ways. If in the present, it is based on knowledge, meaning on the historian’s gaze. If relating to the past, it is based on the trust the historian places in the witness, meaning on faith” (Pomian 1999:88). In either case, the measure of authenticity at *lieux de mémoire* has a direct effect on the measure of relevance since it is its manifestation.

Conclusion Part III: The Relevance of *Lieux de Mémoire*

This part picked up the idea detailed previously that historic places are one form of heritage place and demonstrated that *lieux de mémoire* are a distinct and identifiable form. By doing this, it attempted to answer Riegl's and others' question about the other factors on which relationship between memory and heritage relies.

The justification for this approach was two-fold. First, it needed to address why communities perceive certain places as significant and develop collective emotions about them so as to better understand their role in the conservation of these places. The conclusions highlighted that the social and cultural behaviour at play in the instance of *lieux de mémoire* is one of interaction between humankind and its surroundings, not just with or because of the natural environment, but with the world. *Lieux de mémoire* are part of the mental mapping in the *real landscape* of an idea of community, a component of a broader *imagined landscape* of an *imagined community* whose collective identity is expressed through tangible displays as well as ritual. The sensory experience is predominant, in particular through the *community gaze*, the insider-participant's interaction with the *real landscape* by the imposition of its *imagined landscape*. The sensory experience is furthermore strengthened by the way *lieux de mémoire* act as destinations, places of transit, arrival, and survey in the *imagined landscape*, thus raising the emotions necessary for the ritual to be performed. The sense of place, this sensory perception that a place

is deemed a true part of the *imagined landscape* and the collective memory attached to it, trumps the need to demonstrate authenticity of facts and place.

Secondly, it needed to demonstrate the necessity of treating them differently from a conservation and management point of view. The primary use of a *lieu de mémoire* is tied to the human interaction as described above: they are places of ritual associated with collective identity and tangible markers in the *real landscape* to manifest a community's *imagined landscape*. They are meant to reflect as well as transform the community serving as bridges with the mental map of the world, with the past, and with broader human experiences. Their value remains contemporary because of this interaction and thus they emphasize the present and the future conditions of the community above the reflection on the past. Because of that constant refresher they constitute ideal locations for dialogues around contemporary issues affecting society as whole, irrespective of their cultural affiliation. They are at once democratic and exclusive. They can offer this broad conversation and allow an external gaze to observe and take note of someone else's experience and make sense of it in their own reality. They are also hermetic since, as pointed out by Cosgrove "for the insider, there is no clear separation of self from the scene, subject from object" (Cosgrove 1998 :19) and this can only be experienced truly and fully by a community that has a relationship through collective memory with a given *lieu de mémoire*.

The relevance of *lieux de mémoire* is tied to the use made by the community, a fact that has the consequence of relying on the 'insider-participant' perspective,

retaining the connection between the community and the place, and adapting to the needs of the community and its interpretation of the function of the place in their *imagined landscape*. In effect, as a result, *lieux de mémoire* can appear as well as disappear, their meaning vary in intensity, because communities change and their members are not eternal. Significance, and therefore relevance, evolves through use.

10. Chapter Ten: Conclusion: Defining Relevance for Heritage Places

Heritage places are at once history and memory, imposed and organic, structured and fluid, about community and about the individual, universal and particular, authoritarian and democratic. It is all these contradictions that are at the source of tensions about how to define, manage, and conserve heritage places. Accordingly, understanding the different components of heritage places is crucial to a discussion about relevance. It is also the reason why creating a distinction between forms of heritage places is so useful in guiding principles and practices to resolve those tensions.

This understanding and this distinction are essential to building arguments about the conservation of heritage places or the development of a space in the landscape. They are also critical to define the role of government agencies and that of communities and individuals. Finally, it demonstrates the relationship between value, process, and relevance.

This last chapter is a proposal for a different way to practice heritage conservation. It is not a break with the past but I believe an evolution, only in part reflected in recent international charters, that is both the result of a better appreciation for cultural diversity and a necessity for sustainable environments and communities. Its aim is to expand, and in certain cases redirect, the focus on heritage conservation towards memorial values, function-based conservation, and democratic engagement of stakeholders.

10.1. Collecting Historic Places and Locating *Lieux de Mémoire*

Heritage places adopt different names – historic place, historic site, cultural resources or site – to refer to the single idea that some places are important evidence about the past, real or mythological. What I have argued in this thesis is that concern with heritage is a phenomenon deriving from a scientific and a social interest. Neither necessarily excludes the other, but each is an independent motivation in creating heritage places. The different ancestries reflect perceptions of time, space, and collective identity that have an effect on value, use, character, and role of agents.

10.1.1. *Origin, Use, and Conservation of Heritage Places*

Historic places are built around a sense of historical continuity, an uninterrupted sequence of causal and consequential events that began with a story of genesis. The organization of places in that sequence, applied with rigor or with a veneer of scientific method, builds a narrative of identity, purpose, and destiny that has satisfied the expectations of nation-states. By contrast, *lieux de mémoire* thrive on historical discontinuity, a sense of time paced by powerfully emotional events that are related by general attributes of ‘before’ and ‘after’, but that have created a narrative around collective successes and failures, victories and tragedies, downfalls and revivals. Facts and fiction are intertwined to create layers of meaning and assert them as ‘biographical places’ of the community. Both are valid representations of the passage of time and of storytelling. Both have influence on how individuals and communities define themselves. Each affects the way a heritage place is conserved in order to nurture and retain the sense of continuity or discontinuity that characterizes them. As it happens, few

sites fall clearly in one or the other type as usually they have some measure of both.

Similarly, space is perceived differently for each type of heritage place. For historic places that need to be part of a collection, boundaries are essential. The need to grasp, circumscribe, frame the idea in a tangible object is the prime impulse of historic place commemoration. Otherwise, it is difficult to assess whether a place is to be included in the collection of places that reflect our collective identity, to be handled and manipulated by an audience, and to be conserved. The fabric and what it expresses are wrapped up in a defined space ready to be consumed and experienced. For *lieux de mémoire*, space is fluid because it is the result of the contemporary and ongoing definition of the collective experience. Boundaries are less important in the interaction between people and place, because the space is a marker in the *imagined landscape* as well as a centre of gravity, an axis, a point in space with concentric circles of influence surrounding it that envelops the individuals experiencing the *lieu de mémoire*. Community ritual creates the centre of gravity which in return becomes a powerful attraction for communities. What that space is and what it stands for is constantly shaped by the dialogue within communities about their present condition and future aspirations.

Collective identity is the last perception that affects a differentiation between historic places and *lieux de mémoire*. In a historical continuity, collective identity is built around a sequence of past events that gave birth to a community, along a trajectory that is shaped by a common perceived or imposed sense of

purpose and destiny. Historic places celebrate the past and presume relevance in the present because of an assumption made by nation-states of a universal definition of collective identity. The narrative is one that focuses on 'who we are' based on 'what we've done' and 'what we can expect to accomplish'. Collective identity at *lieux de mémoire* is experienced in the recounting of events that form a narrative about 'what matters in defining us now' and 'explaining what we are seeking in the future'. *Lieux de mémoire* emphasise the celebration of present identity through ritual and nurture the dialogue required to trace a path for a collective future. It is not as much about the past, but more about present values and future aspirations.

These varying perceptions of time, space, and collective identity affect the determination of value, use, and conservation responsibility at heritage places. Value at historic places is ascribed through a formalized process and by authority. Some historic places focus solely on the municipal/ regional/ national value while others also accommodate a variety of views acknowledging that there might be multiple values competing for attention. However, the main impetus for the creation of an historic place remains the assumption that there is consensus as to what the value is for collective identity and that it fits within a framework that defines the identity of the community. In other words, the state recognizes places that fit within the narrative it has crafted at the time of the commemoration. It is also resistant to revisiting intent lest it affect the definition of collective identity or finds itself debating that definition; better to add than subtract from the collection even if it means less attention from government agencies. At *lieux de mémoire* there is no such dilemma. Their value is

constantly refreshed by the community and remains in tune with the perception it has of itself. It is less about consensus about why it is important than the ritual that gives birth to them, the place that *lieux de mémoire* have in the imagined geography, and their power of attraction. It has less tolerance for multiple values as they may challenge one's identity or conflict with it. Territoriality is part of the effort to conserve them.

It is also reflective of the uses that are compatible with the methods to ascribe value. Historic places as objects from the past are curiosities, sources of discovery and learning, statements about past accomplishments, and assertions about collective identity. They are emotionally neutral, save maybe for aesthetic values but those are subjective. This makes them fit for a variety of activities, a space to be used towards the discovery of the value in the spirit of Harkin's playgrounds of learning. The premise of conservation actions at historic places is to preserve the physical evidence, its integrity and authenticity to expose that value. In essence, it aims to retain the object and its meaning and expose them to the community.

The use of *lieux de mémoire* describes the aim of their conservation. As they are about relationships, collective identity, and a specific sense of geography, conservation actions focus on those elements, and more specifically on their sustainability. This concept, which aims to balance current needs and future availability of natural resources, is borrowed from environmental management (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009 :28). Some of its principles appear in heritage literature, in particular dealing with cultural landscapes. Their

application is interpreted in terms of their ability to maintain authenticity and integrity in a dynamic and changing environment, stressing that “decisions have to be made about which elements of the cultural landscape are (i) to be conserved at all costs, (ii) subject to limited change provided that the overall character and significance of the resource is maintained, and (iii) suitable for exchange in return for other benefits” (Mitchell, Rössler and Tricaud 2009 :28). *Lieux de mémoire*, because of their dynamic nature, are suitable candidates for the same approach which means that their conservation requires an understanding of their function in the *imagined landscape*, much like environmental sustainability is concerned with the entire ecosystem.

10.1.2. *Distinguishing Historic Places from Lieux de Mémoire*

The characteristics of historic places and *lieux de mémoire* described earlier provide enough evidence to articulate parameters to distinguish them. This is particularly useful when looking at heritage places already protected by government institutions. The prime characteristics are tied to significance, the role of the tangible evidence, the nature of the community associated with it, use, the nature of the people-place relationship, and the character of the heritage place itself.

The significance of a historic place is determined in terms of its value in illustrating past events. A place that is ‘exceptional’, ‘unique’, or ‘outstanding’ for architectural, historical, or other value speaks to an object associated with a specific moment in time. Grand-Pré NHSC “was a centre of Acadian activity from 1682 to 1755”, Grand Pré rural historic district NHSC “contains one of the

oldest land occupation and use patterns of European origin in Canada”, Horton Landing's commemoration of the arrival of the New England Planters, the Covenanters' Church architectural value are examples of this factual categorization of the past. Their determination is made by experts through research and imposed by a designating authority. They are associated with cultural groups inasmuch as they speak to their presence in the landscape and in time.

The significance of *lieux de mémoire* is determined in relation to its value of present use by a community for social and cultural purposes. Places where a community has an 'attachment', considers 'sacred' or 'significant', or part of its identity, are expressions of definition of that community. Grand-Pré NHSC “commemorates the strong attachment that remains to this day among Acadians throughout the world to this area, the heart of their ancestral homeland and symbol of the ties which unite them”. The Landscape of Grand Pré WHS “is the iconic place of remembrance of the Acadian diaspora”. These designations articulate the significance for the community, suggest an ongoing manifestation of that connection, and stress instead a present meaning. In these cases, because they are official designations, their determination was confirmed by experts, imposed by an authority, but it is the voice of the community that considers them significant which gives them an organic dimension. The argument is similar for unofficial recognitions of *lieux de mémoire*: the land of Glooscap and its importance for the Mi'kmaq is not officially recognized by a jurisdiction but there is understanding, awareness, and recognition that the area is significant to them. This is demonstrated, for

example, by the inclusion of that value in interpretation tools at Grand-Pré NHSC and in local tourism advertisement.

There are distinctions as well in the role of the tangible evidence. Whereas the historic place emphasizes the structure, the object, and associated features, the *lieu de mémoire* favours the place itself supported by significant features. Grand-Pré NHSC contains archaeological features and memorials that are character-defining elements of its value. Grand-Pré as an Acadian *lieu de mémoire* is significant because of the place itself and the story that surrounds it (Figure 10-1). Such features as the original church, the British encampment at the time of the Deportation, and the location where the Acadians embarked on the ships, are significant in that they support the memory of the events as the community remembers them. The place itself and its use in cultural, social, and political gatherings confirm it.



Figure 10-1 Investigating archaeological features at Grand-Pré NHSC. When an alignment of stones was unearthed next to the Memorial Church during a mitigation project, hopes were high that the original church had finally been discovered. For the national historic site, this was an additional piece of archaeological information to add to the interpretation. For the Acadian people, this was potentially the ‘Holy Grail’ of discoveries. © Christophe Rivet

Use is another element of contrast between both forms of heritage places. The historic place's conservation is concerned with preserving tangible evidence tolerating uses compatible with that objective. The *lieu de mémoire* is characterized by its function in the *imagined landscape* which may accept a wider range of uses as long as they do not interfere with its function. These would be uses that parallel the desecration of sacred spaces.

Finally, the nature of the communities associated with each form of heritage place and their individual character highlights distinct emotional and intellectual dimensions. Historic places are relevant to communities in search of facts and knowledge. Emotions are not instrumental in defining the relationship with a place that is objectified and its authenticity is a sense of place based on verifiable and truthful information. For example, archaeologists are interested in what Grand Pré can reveal about 18th century Acadian settlements. *Lieux de mémoire* nurture a relationship based on emotions and so the communities that are tied to them have an emotional motivation to maintain the connection. Community members are attracted and enter a place where specific elements support its significance and trigger the memorial experience. Its authenticity is a spirit of place felt and expressed through collective memory.

	Historic place	Lieu de mémoire
Significance	Past event – ‘eternal’ value	Present identity – contemporary value
Relationship	Imposed	Organic
Role of the tangible evidence	Structure, object, feature	Place with cultural triggers of the experience
Use	Compatible with tangible evidence to maintain the value	Compatible with the function it plays within the <i>imagined landscape</i>
Nature of the community	Academic, social, governmental – intellectual	Cultural, social, religious, political – emotional
Character of the heritage place	Objectified and factual – past and present	Alive, evolving – present and future
Authenticity	Sense of place	Spirit of place

Table 10-1 Comparison between historic places and *lieux de mémoire*

This proposed characterization of historic places and *lieux de mémoire* aims to stress the major differences that explain the points of view of the originators of those places. While there might be nuances and the absence of certain characteristics at these heritage places, the framework is still valid in tracing a path to understanding the nature of those two forms.

10.2. Authorized Heritage Discourse, Multiple Values, and Memorial Value

The concept of Authorized Heritage Discourse as developed by Laurajane Smith highlighted the power dynamic at play in heritage. This dynamic, however, is not unilateral. As the case study of Grand Pré demonstrates, while there is an effect of authority and control on the part of the state or the elite in officially accepting or rejecting a storyline, the path to official recognition is one that is significant for communities that have been denied a presence in history. For the Acadians, Longfellow introduced their story to the world. The recognition by the World Heritage Committee was the confirmation that the story, although not the same as Longfellow's, was true, that the international community had accepted it, and that their people would never be forgotten. They had entered history and that process of recognition is part of their identity.

The state's role as highlighted in the case study is to recognize or not the validity of a heritage narrative. There are weaknesses in this role as it submits that determination to the will of elected officials, bureaucrats and experts. Shortcomings with this approach include lack of sensitivity to cultural diversity, political agendas, and economic considerations. A number of examples of these biases were described in this thesis, including the study of the

representativeness of the World Heritage List, the relationship between tourism and heritage in Nova Scotia, and the lack of recognition for the Acadian values at Grand Pré following its transfer to the Government of Canada in 1956. These are examples of the consequences of a process of 'authorized heritage discourse': the authority's agenda supersedes other considerations.

That same weakness is also a strength in a modern democracy. Where the state can act as a social mediator by ensuring the rights of minorities are recognized, the 'authorized heritage' process leads, by extension, to cultural diversity, social integration, and respect. It is not absolute, but the state is the only entity representing all citizens as equal contributors to society. As such, recognition by the state is an affirmation of existence, contribution to society, and rights. The equal recognition by the Government of Canada of the Deportation of the Acadians and of the arrival of the New England Planters is an example of that balance.

This role is possible when the state relies on factual evidence and research to support its commemoration programme as a counterpart to the emotional and memorial dimensions of *lieux de mémoire*. The evolution of conservation principles and their ancestry rooted in scientific principles supports the proposition that, despite its abuses, the state's role is linked to a mandate of research. That approach gives it the capacity to manage complex places and perhaps arbitrate competing values.

As each heritage place is researched and understood, as more voices are invited into the process of commemorating significant places, additional values emerge with the consequence of creating layers of enriching or conflicting meaning. The case study illustrated that while each designation asserts an official value each is increasingly layered, possibly even crowded, with an assortment of values. This presents a challenge for relevance in that multiple values introduces the potential for soliloquies rather than dialogue if there is no opportunity and no responsibility on anyone's part to nurture the exchange. In this case again, the state can play the role of nurturing that exchange based on the premise that modern democracies ensure that all citizens have equal rights. It has a responsibility to protect multiple values as well as the broad collective (i.e. national, regional, or local) value. However, as a collector with its own agenda, the state can only focus on interpreting and valuing its own collective mandate. The interpretation and promotion of other non-official values are best accomplished by those for whom they are significant. This division of responsibilities recognizes the specific relationship between a place and a community and offers an opportunity for that community to express the significance and demonstrate relevance.

The community generates and controls the memorial value it ascribes to heritage places, it creates *lieux de mémoire*. It does not require state recognition to create them although in certain instances, such as in Grand Pré in the 1956 transfer to the government, recognition is a step along the path of acceptance of diversity and of the story by society. The emotions involved in determining value are the fuel for the sustained connection and relevance. Yet,

they are also the source of manipulation, extremism, conflict, and myopia, which is an argument brought forth by those who view memory and heritage with suspicion over the reassuring facts of historical research. It is a narrow view of the role of emotions: they need not be negative and on the contrary can be inspiring. In that case, they are essential in building and sustaining relevance, which is not to say that emotions should be created, but they should not be perceived with distrust. *Lieux de mémoire* retain their relevance as long as they evoke emotions.

In sum, the nature and the process of determining value demonstrate the relevance for the creator of the heritage place rather than reflect an absolute significance. The state or a community determines that a place is significant, therefore it is relevant. But it is exclusive not universal. The state operates, typically, outside the realm of emotions which makes it difficult to sustain an argument, for example, that a national historic site is relevant for all Canadians. It may be important, according to the state, that they be aware of its history, but they do not necessarily emotionally engage with it the same way a community is engaged with a *lieu de mémoire*. The official designation justifies government involvement but does not explain why people should care. Similarly, the emotional connection of communities with their *lieux de mémoire* is exclusive and demonstrates that people care.

Considering this, the practice of conservation has been on a difficult track in arguing relevance based on value. The idea of relevance implied in the word 'value' has been demonstrated to be non-existent in many cases, sometimes

subjective, and many times only tied to the criteria and mindset of the creator of the heritage place. Thus the test of time for those values, despite the role of facts in creating them, decides whether the community nurtures them as relevant or forgets them.

10.3. Values-Based and Function-Based Conservation

What then to make of values-based conservation? Is it an effective way of making decisions on the conservation of heritage places?

For historic places, it is an important evolution from more strictly material-based approaches. It has offered ways to recognize intangible elements of significance and the relationship between people and place. It has also, in many cases, clarified the rationale for designating places as significant by emphasising an understanding of the reasons for designation in order to make decisions about conserving them (Parks Canada 2010 :3). Government agencies benefitted from values-based conservation: the effort to articulate values facilitates conveying a collective narrative in a public manner, both through interpretation and the conservation of the tangible evidence. The approach responds well to a 'collectors' mindset because it defines the place in space and meaning.

Values-based conservation is reliant on an articulation of value, which in most cases means an official designation. These designations are a consensus, achieved or stated, on the significance of places and presuppose that because they are valuable, they must be conserved. Yet, the case study has shown that everything that is valuable cannot be conserved (e.g. the provincially-

designated properties in Grand Pré in private hands); things that are valuable are not necessarily conserved (e.g. the absence of protection for Grand-Pré Rural Historic District NHSC); not everyone agrees on value (e.g. the voluntary individual exclusion from the Grand Pré municipal heritage district); and people conserve what they find relevant.

Lieux de mémoire exist because they are relevant to a community. But what matters in conserving their relevance is not an articulation of value; it is an understanding of their function. Value tends to codify meaning. Use as described earlier, can be both a value (e.g. criteria of spiritual associations for World Heritage designations) and a conservation method but in neither case is the conservation of *lieux de mémoire* fully ensured. The value sets parameters that may limit the place's relevance to the community as it evolves. The determination of appropriate use to conserve the place may interfere with the uses that the community wishes to make. The sacredness and spiritual nature of Aboriginal sites is generally accepted with the result that there may be restrictions on their uses by non-Aboriginal people (e.g. Uluru-Kata Tjuta National Park in Australia) but in other circumstances, such as the one illustrated with Grand-Pré NHSC, the cultural community's sense of significance is misunderstood, even ignored.

Values are implied and evolving at *lieux de mémoire* without a requirement to codify them. The function of these places in the community's *imagined landscape* provides the direction for their conservation. Grand-Pré NHSC as the Acadian *lieu de mémoire* serves the function of being "the heart of their

ancestral homeland and [is] a symbol of the ties that unite them". The terms of transfer to the Government of Canada indicated that the Acadians considered Grand-Pré as their most important historical homeland, for which unimpeded access should be ensured to carry out activities that celebrate identity. These statements articulate function in the sense described by Baudrillard: these places play a role in a larger system of meaning. Function-based conservation focuses on understanding the system by mapping out the *lieux de mémoire* that compose that *imagined landscape* and describing the relationships between those places and between the community and those places through oral tradition and archival research. Practicing conservation from that perspective would bring to the fore concerns of sacredness and desecration, community needs and external experiences, and more significantly the question of relevance to that community. A *lieu de mémoire* is perceived as most relevant by those who believe it is at risk of being altered sometimes by the same authorities whose role is to protect it (Chidester and Linenthal 1995 :17). Grand-Pré as an Acadian *lieu de mémoire* has experienced this behaviour a number of times when the Acadian community believed that government actions threatened its integrity. It is an anthropological approach rather than an historical one and results in a community-centred interest in conserving these heritage places.

Conservation approaches have much to do with relevance. They affect the tangible evidence, the use, the relationships, and the long-term evolution of heritage places. In that light, the role of the state in conserving heritage places and the decisions made about their conservation are arguably more flexible

than the current paradigm (i.e. government protection by law and citizen consultation) suggests. The government has a role that stems from responsibilities of history and continuity. The accumulation of historic places that it administers must be conserved even if researchers are the only ones finding them relevant. This is a goal that should be realistic, i.e. minimal investments to ensure that integrity and authenticity are maintained. It is through that research and knowledge that, if communicated and access is facilitated, communities can appropriate them again to make them relevant from a cultural perspective and give birth to *lieux de mémoire*. Furthermore, their conservation must be values-based since it is the benchmark against which an assessment of integrity and authenticity can be made. In so doing, the place maintains relevance for researchers who contribute to carry the place's story into the future allowing *lieux de mémoire* the chance to emerge once again. Finally, *lieux de mémoire* must be conserved based on their function as articulated by the community in order to retain relevance. For heritage places that are both, like Grand-Pré NHSC and the Landscape of Grand Pré WHS, the emotional character of the *lieu de mémoire* is counterbalanced by the emphasis on facts of the historic place to produce the necessary tension to avoid excesses. One such example is the archaeological investigation of the settlement that confirmed that the village had in fact not been entirely burnt after the Deportation contrary to popular belief (Nomination Grand Pré 2011 :51). In fact, communities seek the historical authenticity to enrich their understanding of events, nourish their memory, and, together with oral tradition, satisfy their claim to existence.

10.4. Democratic Process for Public Benefit

The tension created by convergence of facts, memory, and emotions at heritage places that exhibit characteristics of *lieux de mémoire* and historic places is healthy. It allows dynamic exchanges that stimulate the definition of significance and expose the parameters of relevance. There are a number of conditions to be met to achieve these results, including an open process to define and conserve the place, a broad understanding of public benefit, and an understanding of the limits of government and individual authority.

Cornelius Holtorf raised a critical question about conservation: what does not move any hearts – why should it be saved? (C. Holtorf 2007) The answer provided by the case study at Grand Pré is two-fold: emotions justify conservation in the case of *lieux de mémoire*; and the absence of emotion tied to historic places is a safeguard against the excesses of memory and thus justifies conservation. The case study also shows that if the argument for conservation relies on a respect for the past without a demonstration of the place's role in the 'collection', its use in research, its function in the urban or rural landscape, or its emotional draw, the answer may be that it should not be saved. The example of the Grand Pré historic district and the voluntary exclusion of owners from that district, illustrates the limitations of arguments based on value when the demonstration has not been made that it can meet the above expectations.

It also raises the question: saved from what? The conservation movement was born and nurtured from a desire to save 'things' from destruction. A reaction to

the pressures of technological progress and socio-political upheavals, it viewed itself as a bulwark against uncontrollable change, ignorance, and individualism. And yet, its role, after almost two centuries, should be viewed more positively and progressively. It has successfully evolved from beginnings rooted in a vague 'national identity' to engaging various stakeholders in articulating their values. It has introduced a social mechanism of democratic engagement whose role is now to improve the quality of life of residents. The evolution is still following its course, but the trend is clear: conservation aims to be democratic and engage in the definition of public benefit.

Lieux de mémoire do not require saving, except in extreme situations: they are relevant. They may require 'saving' from government institutions and experts that attempt to impose meaning and uses, as illustrated by Grand-Pré NHSC. The main threat to the authenticity of Grand-Pré from an Acadian point of view was the way the federal agency was presenting and managing the place. This threat was considerably mitigated with a revision of statement of values and the creation of an Acadian advisory committee.

The democratic process itself raises questions about the legitimate voices of the community and about who is interested in the heritage place. Individual agendas can easily creep into decision-making if the community as a whole is not solicited and engaged. The various designations described at Grand Pré offered, for the most part, opportunities for the community or stakeholders to be consulted. In some instances, those were engaged, a distinction based on the amount of influence exerted on crafting the final result.

In the case of Grand-Pré NHSC the reasons for national significance and the management directions were influenced by stakeholder input. The Acadians pressured the Government of Canada in 1982 to revise the reasons which were one significant influence. The voice of the community was expressed by a number of Acadian organisations (LeBlanc 2003 :154). For the various management plans, the Acadian Advisory Committee serves as the conduit to get input from the Acadian community. Other groups are consulted on various topics. However, the influence in management plans is limited to what Parks Canada can implement with its existing resources and is trumped by the Minister. In this case, stakeholders are consulted rather than engaged which is within the definition of the agency's responsibilities towards citizens (Canada National Parks Act 2000).

The World Heritage nomination process was more complex and required actual engagement because the long-term conservation depended greatly on stakeholder participation. Thus, it was more sensitive to the legitimacy of the 'voices'. The preparation of a statement of outstanding universal value required the engagement of various perspectives: experts and non-experts weighed in on the merits of Grand Pré based on the World Heritage criteria. While the final articulation was made by the World Heritage Committee in its decision, the text submitted by Canada had reflected the dozens of perspectives involved. There had been dissonance though in preparing it, most notably from some local residents. The failure to include references to specific 19th century individuals and events of importance to the local community and the perceived emphasis on the Acadian dimension in the statement of value were understood as a

denial of plural value. These perceptions were probably the result of a level of distrust with the process, with the individuals representing the community, with a sense of loss of control, and a belief that when all things are said and done, the residents are the ones that are left with the responsibilities. To balance these concerns, a community plan led and developed by residents was put forth by the Municipality of the County of Kings. This exercise proved to be difficult but powerful in engaging residents in planning for the future of their community.

The World Heritage process raised questions about the validity of voices because despite the community representation on the Nomination Grand Pré advisory board, which had been the result of a call for participation, certain community members were adamant that they did not represent the community. The realization by the community that it needed a common voice and thus a community association was important. It set up a legitimate process for that voice to be expressed. Nevertheless, there were still opinions that the community was not sufficiently heard and represented.

The multiplicity of voices illustrates who finds what relevant. The case study of Grand Pré and the World Heritage proposal is instructive: multi-vocality was present in the leadership, partnerships, and engagement. The Acadian and local communities, the elected officials, and government departments were part of the leadership of the project, negotiating various agendas tied to cultural identity and politics. The partnerships were greatly determined by the interest in studying and promoting the landscape, thus expressing interest in research and economic benefits. Finally, the engagement of residents and Acadians revealed

an interest in community pride and development. The picture of relevance at Grand Pré is one where residents, the Acadian community, academics, government officials, elected officials, the business community, find this landscape relevant because it nurtures their identity, supports their long-term development, provides new data for research, and brings economic opportunities. This is a site that is relevant for many and not all at once, a manifestation of the importance of the democratic process in defining and conserving heritage places.

This introduces the last point regarding the democratic process which is the test of public benefit. Some of the first champions of heritage in Europe, such as Abbé Henri Grégoire and Mérimée, argued for the conservation of monuments as evidence of the nation's accomplishments and heritage. They stated that nefarious forces were at play to destroy evidence of the people's achievements and that the governments, as representative of the people's will, should enact measures to protect those monuments. The protection of evidence from forces intent on destroying them was seen as a public benefit. This purpose was maintained over time but other perspectives appeared to expand the definition. Those are apparent in legislation and professional charters where protection, research, and use are articulated as being of public benefit.

With the introduction of value and advent of modern democracies, public benefit becomes entangled with notions of usefulness and rights. Those, although not as prominent in the practice of conservation, nevertheless intersect with aspects of historic places and *lieux de mémoire*. For the former, research and use as

public spaces stand out. For the latter, public dialogue and strengthening of community identity are prominent. The notion of public benefit of heritage places is thus expanded beyond protection of evidence to their role in community well-being, urban planning, and discovery. The traditional roles of the state and of citizens have partly failed to catch up with this evolution as they continue to segregate the authoritative role of the state to protect from the passive role of the citizen to be consulted. The evolution would require the state to expand its definition of public benefit of heritage places to include economic, academic, and community development, recognize the authority and responsibility of stakeholders in materializing these public benefits, and propose a role of facilitator to achieve definitions of public benefits that respect the different components of society. It simultaneously requires stakeholders to embrace the responsibilities of stewardship.

The public benefit of conserving heritage places cannot solely focus on their relevance to contemporary society: notwithstanding the pressures of modernizing agendas, the state conserves ecosystems, archives, and infrastructure for future generations. It guarantees stability and a concern for long-term impacts and opportunities against short-term trends. Extending the same logic to heritage places, their conservation is a matter of public benefit by ensuring continuity and stability of knowledge and attention.

However there are two elements to consider: conservation based on value for future generations is not an absolute; and the rights of property owners may conflict with public benefit. In the first instance, the Grand Pré case study

demonstrated that value is not perceived the same over time and hence current relevance does not guarantee future relevance. However, it has also demonstrated that while a place may not be significant in the present, it may resonate in the future as in the case of *lieux de mémoire* (Figure 10-2). The state's role in making those places available for research and future discovery without investing considerable resources for conservation and interpretation is important not for the sake of research but for the knowledge it can contribute to present issues and for its ability to bring facts in a debate where emotions may be prevalent. It plays a role in respect for cultural diversity, minority rights, and social peace. The protection of Grand-Pré NHSC certainly achieves these goals without admitting it. In contrast, the state cannot be the sole guarantor of what constitutes a fact (Todorov 1995 :15): openness to scrutiny and outsiders carrying out research is essential and as shown, stakeholders carry out their own research to substantiate their claims.

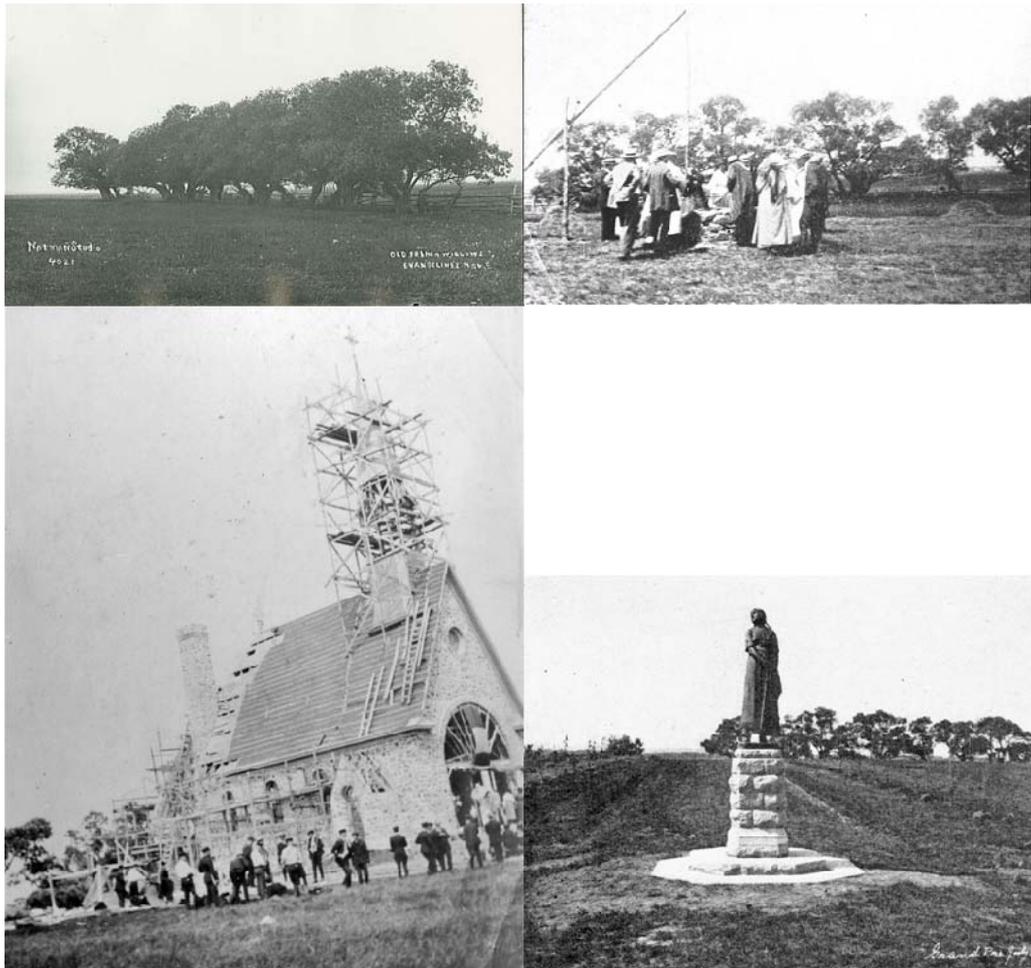


Figure 10-2 The transformation of fields with willows into a *lieu de mémoire* at Grand-Pré (top left, clockwise: circa 1870, circa 1880, 1920, 1922) © Nova Scotia Archives

The second element to consider in defining public benefit for the long-term is the difference between public and private ownership of heritage places. The contrast between the municipal historic district and the World Heritage nomination process is useful. The voluntary exclusion by landowners from participating in the municipal district suggests that not everyone shares the stated value. It also brings into question the validity of government intervention in protecting a heritage that is not perceived as significant enough for the state to acquire, for the community to collectively support, or for the landowner to feel responsible. The test of public benefit is not met. For example, the treatment of archaeological heritage within the World Heritage Site is protected by the state

but requires the owner's approval to investigate in advance. The owner is only responsible in the event of a discovery. There is collaboration between owners and the state as long as the burden of responsibility to conserve and protect is not the owners'. The Stewardship Board can provide expert support to an owner that is willing to accommodate advance investigation. There is a level of acceptance of public benefit with an expectation of collective support. The conclusion is this: the perception of relevance is a collective consensus and its consequences, i.e. designation as heritage, cannot be carried by individual members since the cost is prohibitive. Should heritage places be privately (i.e. by individuals) held? For historic places, there is an argument based on the characteristics described in this thesis to suggest that it should be the exception. Because of private ownership rules, at least in Canada, it is virtually impossible to claim that the significance will remain in perpetuity. In the case of *lieux de mémoire*, it would make no sense: these are relevant to the collective. Either the state ensures the protection or a community takes ownership.

This brings up the roles and responsibilities of government authorities and of communities of interest. The case of Grand Pré presents a variety of models around ownership, stewardship, protection, conservation, and interpretation (Table 10-2). The common denominator in the role of government is in protecting and to a certain extent conserving a heritage place. There is no distinction between historic place and *lieu de mémoire* in that instance. Where differences arise is in the ownership and stewardship. Ownership grants the greatest level of protection and stewardship offers a multiplicity of actors involved in the protection and conservation. While the legal authority remains in

the hands of the state, moral authority is arguably with the stewards. This is particularly important for *lieux de mémoire*. What value would Grand-Pré NHSC have to show should the Acadians not be allowed to perform their rituals, to display their cultural pride and show their “strong attachment to [...] the heart of their homeland”? The combination of protection and conservation for the state and stewardship and interpretation for the community is probably an ideal model for *lieux de mémoire*. It requires that the stakeholder community acquires the mean to be fully responsible stewards, not dependent on the state for its survival, and engage in its conservation as well as its general care. It recognizes the existing relevance for a particular community and its contribution to the place’s significance. For historic places, on the contrary, the role of the state is characterized by ownership, protection, and conservation with partners and stakeholders involved in the conservation and interpretation.

<i>Designation</i>	Grand-Pré NHSC	Grand-Pré rural historic district NHSC	Grand Pré municipal heritage district	Landscape of Grand Pré WHS
<i>Ownership</i>	State	Mostly private	Private	Mostly private
<i>Stewardship</i>	State Acadians	State Residents	Residents	State Residents Acadians
<i>Protection</i>	State	None	State in part – voluntary exclusion	State
<i>Conservation</i>	State	None	Private	State Private
<i>Interpretation</i>	State Acadians	None	Private	State Acadians Residents

Table 10-2 Comparison between key designations at Grand Pré of various forms of ownership, stewardship, protection, conservation and interpretation

The demonstration of relevance is close to the definition of public benefit, which by extension indicates that the measure of relevance is collective. However, it must be subject to an open democratic process to avoid the imposition of terms to define public benefit.

10.5. The Relevance of Heritage Places

This thesis began with the question: who cares about heritage? It aimed to deconstruct the multiple facets of relationships with heritage places and challenge the broad assumptions made by government agencies, legislation, and the practice of conservation about the reasons for conserving heritage places.

In the course of providing answers to these questions, this thesis offered that there are two distinct forms of heritage places, historic places and *lieux de mémoire*, which benefit from being addressed differently in their definition and conservation. Their nature leads to different perspectives on uses and roles for the state and communities.

In making that distinction, this thesis found that relevance is the product of emotions, mental images, as well as intellectual pursuit whose outcome is a collective relationship rather than an individual one. It also found that relevance is the result of definition, conservation, and engagement in heritage places with various degrees of responsibilities for the state and for communities. Finally, it stressed that contemporary social, cultural, political, and economic needs drive those within a timeframe that is different for historic places than for *lieux de*

mémoire: the first is about the past, the present and continuity; the second is about the present, the future and discontinuity.

Relevance for heritage places then is defined as the emotional, mental, and intellectual relationship with a community of interest to address contemporary needs and stimulate future developments. The word 'relationship' refers to uses, references, and reactions associated with a heritage place. The word 'community' alludes to social, political, cultural, and academic groups with a common purpose. 'Needs' may include aspirations, essential needs (eg. food production), and functional requirements (eg. public spaces). 'Developments' are cultural, economic, political, and scientific.

This definition does not attempt to explain how things are relevant but rather describes how things can be measured for their relevance and the involvement of components of society. The 'how' was analyzed throughout this thesis: a heritage place is relevant to the archaeological community as a location for archaeological research on an 18th century Acadian settlement; it is relevant to the Acadian community as the centre of their collective identity; it is relevant to the farming community as their livelihood (Figure 10-3). Relevance is not equated to value because the latter does not require the investment of resources and public attention to be valuable and because it requires a regular assessment. Relevance is the motivation that compels action. A heritage place is not constantly relevant.



Figure 10-3 Four aspects of relevance at Grand Pré. Top left, clockwise: archaeological relevance, historical and tourism relevance, agricultural relevance, and memorial © Christophe Rivet. Aerial © SPGP

If relevance is not a constant, then how is it apparent? Why should it have a role in determining the course of action for heritage places? The answers lie in their uses, either immediately or over time. An immediate use seeks to fulfill a pressing need, it *consumes* its value or the knowledge that can be acquired to enlighten current debates and provide cohesion to a community. It is distinct from the consumption of historic places by tourists because its impact is collective rather than individual. Furthermore, the idea is not to consume a product and then exhaust its use: it is instead to use it for immediate purposes while maintaining its meaning into the future. Relevance from that perspective is an integral part of the process of determining the course for heritage places: it secures the relationship between communities in the present.

The use of heritage places over time is a reflection of their relationship with progress. As discussed earlier, heritage places have emerged in reaction to development pressure, but their use over time is arguably a demonstration of successful integration in an idea of progress. Historic places used for research, to attract tourists, foster economic development, and to improve the quality of life of residents are examples that feed into an argument of improvement, growth, and enhancement. *Lieux de mémoire* as places nurturing community cohesion, stimulating public debate, and expressing collective aspirations are building blocks of a long-term vision for community development. This demonstration does not apply to all places of value which is why relevance is important in deciding on conservation measures: it presents an argument within a current social and economic context for the retention of a heritage place and its evolution in the future.

As the world becomes more global and more complex, as development continues to accelerate, and as the fabric of countries and the demographic profile of societies shift, heritage places are at risk of losing their meaning and uses as they have been ascribed over time. This risk is an invitation to strengthen the relationship between people and places, to put in place mechanisms to achieve this through legislation, policy, the mandate of government agencies, civil society, and conservation practices. The limitations of the current approaches are apparent: the debate around public benefit has been skirted for too long and the 'cause' of heritage has suffered from a lack of relevance. More than ever, society needs places that serve as anchors and inspiration, stimulate debates, and invite cohesion and congregation, places

that interrupt the sense of homogeneity in time and place imposed by globalization. More than ever is it necessary to differentiate facts from memory yet remain open-minded about that which truly distinguishes them. The generation of heritage places will continue into the future and competing agendas will conflict; those are certainties. The thirst for knowledge, the improvement of community well-being, the expression of cultural diversity as well; the latter is a better measure of the relevance of heritage places.

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