The (Re)presentation of Gender History at National Historic Sites

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and
Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Master of Arts in Canadian Studies

Carleton University
Ottawa, Canada
May 21, 2010

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-68693-5
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-68693-5

Abstract

This thesis explores the relationship between heritage conservation and gender history in Canada, primarily through examples of three National Historic Sites in Montreal. By examining the critical connections between heritage conservation, gender history and memory studies, the author offers an analysis of existing connections and perceived gaps in order to build upon current representations. Using the 2000 *System Plan* of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada as a basis, this thesis explores how gender history is represented to the Canadian public through National Historic Sites. The Fur Trade at Lachine, the Boulevard Saint Laurent ('The Main') and the Hersey Pavilion are analyzed as existing sites and employed as supportive examples for future developments. This thesis argues for the development of an all-encompassing 'gendered approach' in order to sustainably address issues surrounding gender at all National Historic Sites and allow for a nuanced, intersectional and complex vision of Canadian history.

~Voor al of mijn voorouders, en de taltaloose vrouwen de stilzwigent waren.

Laat je stemmen horen.~

Acknowledgements:

Firstly, I wish to sincerely thank my two supervisors, both of whom provided indescribable support throughout this process. Pat, my Yoda, you patiently guided me through this journey, my continual dabblings in gender history and my seemingly revolutionary quest for change. You consistently calmed my fears, doubt and anxiety with encouraging words and a long laugh. Herb, for the last five years you developed and fostered my interest in heritage with continual patience and endless email responses. Without your invaluable help and connections, the 'gendered approach' would not exist.

I would also like to recognize the contributions of the other two members on my defense panel: Paul Litt and Brian Osborne. I am grateful for the discussion we engaged in and the poignant suggestions made by both of you, all of which will continue to inform my future research. I also recognize the number of professors that have contributed to my academic growth, including, but not limited to: Richard Nimijean, Roger Mesley, Susan Whitney, Sandy Campbell, and Cindy Stelmackowich.

I would like to sincerely thank two archivists. Don Boisvenue of Parks Canada graciously cycled through HSMBC documents to provide me with the primary material that this thesis is built upon. Mary Houde of the McGill University archives patiently taught me how to do archival research and ensured I had all the documents I requested with outstanding turnaround. Finally, thank you to the staff at the Fur Trade at Lachine museum that guaranteed I left the site with all the information I required.

I could never overlook the continuous support provided by my family throughout this process. Thank you mom for introducing me to the wonders of the library at such a young age, inadvertently encouraging the growth of my feminist identity and always

providing your love and support. For my dad, thank you for being my earliest essay editor, offering sports discussion distractions at the perfect times, and your continual encouraging words regardless of the distance. Thank you Kathy for being a friend, consistent voice of support throughout my life and for being one of my biggest fans. Thanks to Molly and Elphaba for always being around to listen and provide hugs. To my grandparents that have passed, each of you contributed to my determination to continue forward. Finally, to all of my extended family: your individual place in my development has never been unnoticed.

I would like to offer a very special thank you to my Oma (Johanna Cornelia Bos). After plenty of reflection, I came to realize that it was growing up hearing the stories of your life that has brought me in this direction. The inspiration of your own struggle, and the fear that your voice would be silenced along with countless numbers of my female ancestors, continues to drive me forward everyday in my research quest. Ik hou van jou.

Throughout the years, a number of friends influenced my life. Unfortunately, I only have space to recognize a few by name. First of all, I would like to thank Sean. You dealt with my emotional highs and lows providing encouragement and to offer the help I needed, even if I was inconsolable, with patiently open arms. To Nicole, thank you ever so much for being present at my defense, providing purple flowers, chai lattes and being my 'heritage buddy' (solidified through our Zellers extravaganza) throughout these last two years. Thank you to my research twin Sarah and the snow-globe study dates right when I needed them. For Jen and our crochet parties (even long distance); Lindsey and our political rumblings; Lindsay and Shannon and our 'Canadian Studies for life' club; Jay and our memorable walk in the woods with Charlie; and the large number of other friends and acquaintances that patiently listened to me explain and rant about my thesis.

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*Unless otherwise stated, illustrations are photographs taken by author, who is in possession of originals.

List of Abbreviations

CMC	Canadian Museum of Civilization
HBC	Hudson's Bay Company
HSMBC	Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada
NHS	National Historic Site
RVH	Royal Victoria Hospital
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

Chapter 1 – Introduction

> She comes to know that the Royal Victoria Hospital School of Nursing is one of the finest in the land; that it already has a tradition, that it has given her a profession that which, if she only conserve its ideals, there is nothing more useful or satisfying... Not less than these things, she comes to realize, if she is wise, through these three years of dormitory and communal life, the value of discipline, that 'useful trouble' of obedience. But above all she treasures the recollection of the quips and cranks, oddities and quiddities, sayings, jokes, chaff, the topical allusions, the gibes either 'round curved' or 'straight with cutting edge', in brief all the humours of the course which to the right, sane and philosophical mind is the real icing of the pain cake of life; the redness of its wine. (Edward Archibald, in the 1925 RVH School of Nursing Yearbook)

Places become inscribed in our memories not only by their physical characteristics, but more particularly due to the memories we have associated with them. These recollections continue to shape our understandings of these places, even if the physical fabric is altered or the formal meaning of the spaces change. Edward Archibald, an instructor at the Royal Victoria Hospital's School of Nursing, describes the future memories of the graduating class in their year book, an object created to aid in those future recollections. He communicates in his introductory note the nature and importance of memories to these graduates in their futures lives. However, he also denotes *what* memories will be held onto and what the nurses will recollect in coming years. Both the 'values' and 'humours' mentioned by Archibald are equally important in inscribing the meaning of these places for the thousands of nurses who attended the Royal Victoria Hospital School of Nursing. They have embedded their own individual and group memories within this space and

thereby have contributed to a larger collective understanding of the place. The space itself altered their experience and understanding, but consequently the nurses' own recollections altered the space and its commemoration in the present. It is in this manner that places themselves can become spaces of symbolic representation.

The 'fear of forgetting' spawned heritage conservation efforts within the modern era. Through the commemoration of individual sites and monuments, the preservation of 'memories' is one of the central and overarching goals of the conservation practice. The disappearance of a physical space is often conflated with the disappearance of memories within the collective and individual consciousnesses that are tied to that space. This understanding of physical representations of the past continues to inform the essential reasons for conserving heritage, both tangible and intangible. The official commemoration of the nurse's residence at the Royal Victoria Hospital ensures that the memories of the place remain within a collective consciousness[1] as individual memories fade. The recognition of the physical space and its importance thereby promotes the continuance of these memories into the future by sustaining the memory of the thousands of graduates of the school.

However, the inscription of memory at the nurse's residence is multi-layered and more complex than a simple recollection of individuals. Thousands of women were shaped by the growing institution, community, and culture of nursing in the early 20th century. With the development of this gendered profession, the nurses themselves were inscribed with similar values as the building itself. The creation and sustaining of this

[1] In this case, "collective consciousness" is in reference to Benedict Anderson's notion of "imagined communities" in which memories and ideas are shared between the members.

gendered, classed and racialized institution shaped not only their lives and those involved within the community, but Canadian history as well. Deconstructing the institution of nursing as gendered also requires an analysis of the spaces in which this gendering was manifested historically and is commemorated contemporarily. In order to understand and interpret the memories of nursing and the spaces in which it developed, the inscriptions of gender, within both individuals and the community, need to be acknowledged. In his introduction to the 1925 yearbook, Edward Archibald unknowingly outlines the important connections between gender, memory and the practice of heritage conservation. It is through the consideration of these three elements that the history of the nurse's residence and other National Historic Sites can be more broadly and definitively represented in the contemporary context.

This thesis will examine the relationship and interaction between gender history and heritage conservation within Canada and suggest how heritage conservation can be used as an effective vehicle for the transmission of gender history within the larger Canadian meta-narrative. Parks Canada and the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) reaffirmed their commitment to conserving 'women's history' through the designation of National Historic Sites, Persons and Events. For nearly 20 years, women's history (along with Aboriginal[2] history and ethno-cultural[3] history) has been

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[2] Throughout this thesis, the term 'Aboriginal' will be used to describe the First Peoples of Canada. Alternative terminology, originating from the communities themselves, includes "First Nations" and "Indigenous". These terms have been offered as viable alternatives that seek to place the definition of peoples outside the realm of the colonizer. However, Parks Canada and the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, operating under the terminology of the Canadian government, employ the terminology 'Aboriginal', and therefore this term will be used throughout this thesis to refer to the First Peoples of Canada.

[3] The Parks Canada System Plan (2000) refers to 'ethnocultural history' as the history of those communities that fall outside of the British, French and Indigenous communities of Canada. According to Parks Canada, these histories offer a multi-cultural view of Canada compromised of multiple cultures and peoples.

cited as a 'strategic priority' of the federal department responsible for national historic designations. But to what degree has the (re)presentation[4] of gender actually increased with the implementation of this priority? How is gender being (re)presented at all National Historic Sites, even those not cited as 'women's history' sites? And to what degree are these (re)presentations made available and relevant to the Canadian public? This thesis investigates these key questions by instigating a broader discussion of the connections between gender, memory and heritage conservation.

I argue that the interaction between gender history and heritage conservation is best articulated through an all-encompassing 'gendered approach' to National Historic Sites, at both the macro and micro levels. It is necessary to develop a sustainable solution for the consideration of 'women's history' as a contributing influence within Canadian meta-narratives. In the past, Parks Canada has articulated their commitment to such 'alternative' histories; however, in turn women's history is labeled as 'special-interest' and therefore outside considerations of normalized national history. By deconstructing gender and the manner in which it is manifested at all sites of historical significance, the importance of gender as an institution and social reality can be substantially integrated into policies and site interpretation programs. The future development of such policies is integral for the continued recognition of alternative histories, not only those pertaining to women. The (re)presentation of these histories through commemoration is a primary method in which previously silenced voices can be articulated within the present to ensure their continued visibility.

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[4] Representation is termed as (re)presentation in order to disrupt the common reading of representation as a literal and direct transference of 'presentation'.

The beginnings of a theoretical discussion are the first step in repositioning the debate on the (re)presentation of 'alternative' histories and the recognition of significant social institutions that have influenced historical interpretations. The second step involves the application of practical methodologies and proposed outcomes to the questions of accurate and useful (re)presentation. How can gender be repositioned as an historical question and point of analysis at all National Historic Sites? How can larger macro policy changes instigate micro changes at the individual site level in order to address such shortcomings? And, what are the possible implications of such mentality shifts? In order to begin addressing this crucial second step, this thesis presents three case studies of existing National Historic Sites to support the conclusions of the theoretical discussion. Through the examination of these three case studies, I propose alternative methods for the (re)presentation of gender at National Historic Sites, specifically through the application of a gendered approach.

The relationship between heritage conservation and gender history at the national level is an area not extensively explored within Canada. However, key examples of this relationship can be drawn from other countries, most notably the United States. Nonetheless, in both cases little academic study is completed on the topic. Revising the strategies of including gender at historically designated places through new proposals is not an extensively explored area of research. Such shortcomings are necessary to address in order to ensure the histories of silenced voices are continuously included in the historical narrative of the nation.

A continued dialogue between the fields of gender history and heritage conservation through the mediation of 'memory' and 'memory studies' is mutually

beneficial to both fields. Heritage conservation, particularly on the national level, has a mandated commitment to Canadians in terms of (re)presenting their histories and memories on a public level. Previous representations of gender history largely ignore significant stories and memories due to a narrow and monolithic approach. While a commitment to representing gender history has been addressed to some degree, specifically in the last couple of decades, 'women's history' is still contextualized as something separate from the larger Canadian meta-narrative. Through the practice of heritage conservation in particular, 'gender' can be repositioned within commemorations as not simply a separate notation for 'women's history', but rather as an influence within all aspects of history.

There are a number of key terms used throughout this thesis based on definitions from a variety of sources. The concept of (re)presentation is a significant term within this research and its definition is developed using a variety of inter-disciplinary sources. Political theorist Hanna Pitkin is employed as a key source in formulating this particular definition. Her work on the dynamics of political representation, the manner in which power is delegated and controlled, and the relationship between the representative and the constituents shapes a general discussion of representation.[5] The accountable representation of constituents within politics is similar to the manner in which histories are represented. The substitution of political representatives for 'history' or tangible objects reveals similar conclusions regarding the transference of power and the necessary relationship required between the represented and the representees. The continual recognition of the power

[5] Hanna Pitkin, The Concept of Representation, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967).

dynamics inherent in this relationship is necessary for useful and sustainable representations of alternative histories in particular.

The concept of (re)presentation I employ throughout this thesis is also informed by visual culture studies, particularly cultural theorist Stuart Hall. Specifically, I focus on his development of theories based on the nature of representations.[6] Their temporal and artificial quality denotes that such (re)presentations are constructed, and therefore it is possible to re-construct them in a more meaningful and useful manner. It also means that (re)presentations are ideologically influenced and thereby portray ideas through physical manifestations.

In various parts of this thesis, (re)presentation is termed as (Re)Presentation. This particular use of the term disrupts the common understanding of representation as a definitive and literal transference of 'presentation'. Placing the 're' outside of 'presentation' ensures a conceptualization of (re)presentation that recognizes the constructed nature of such presentations. This particular notion visually reaffirms the fluidity and artificiality of (re)presentation as opposed to the definitiveness of presentation.

Comparable to the definition of '(re)presentation', it is also important to discuss how 'memory' is invoked in this thesis. Considerable theoretical debate focused on the specific nature of memory particularly in relation to history.[7] Although it is outside the scope of this thesis to directly contribute to this debate, it is important to outline how this

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[6] Stuart Hall (ed), Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices, (London: SAGE Publications, 1997).

[7] Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead (eds), Theories of Memory: A Reader, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007); Peter Morris and Michael Gruneberg (eds), Theoretical Aspects of Memory, (New York: Routledge, 1994).

term will be understood within the context of this research. The differentiations provided by Geoffrey Cubitt, particularly in terms of the relationship between history and memory as modes of recollecting the past from a contemporary viewpoint, is the primary understanding employed in this thesis. Memory and history, at basic levels, can both be understood as "modes of retrospective knowledge."[8] Memory, however, calls into question accepted historical 'truths' by repositioning the individual and 'national' experiences of past events. The primary positioning I employ is Cubitt's articulation of the relationship between memory and history as a complementary connection, where memory can serve to place the past in the present.

Finally, it is imperative to explore a conceptualization of 'heritage conservation' that will be employed throughout this thesis. The definition of what constitutes 'heritage' is an ongoing theoretical and practical debate within the field. Although this thesis does not contribute directly to this debate, there are elements within the discussion that inform this thesis. 'Heritage' in this case is conceptualized as something, whether tangible or intangible, from the past that is held on to or 'conserved' as a testimony to or symbol of history. Within this particular investigation, heritage conservation is understood as a social/historical movement, a set of theoretical questions, and a practice/profession. This thesis is primarily concerned with a limited number of theoretical questions and a specific branch of the profession. Due to the scope and limitations, 'heritage conservation' cannot be considered in its entirety as a professional practice, but is not monolithic. For the majority of this thesis, I am referring to the Canadian federal component of heritage, particularly manifested through Parks Canada and the HSMBC. However, in many cases

[8] Geoffrey Cubitt, History and Memory, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

'heritage conservation' as a practice is considered more generally because a number of the conclusions can cross areas of the profession itself. Theoretical debates surrounding the nature of (re)presentation, conservation versus preservation, cultural landscapes, intangible versus tangible heritage, and the role of the government in the conservation movement are all underlying debates that inform the research and conclusions of this thesis.

The conclusions of this thesis are strongly influenced by my specific methodology, which allows for a multi-layered consideration of the three principal threads, heritage conservation, gender history and memory. The three primary case study sites chosen provide a concrete demonstrative example of the critiques, challenges and proposals of this research. These case studies are: the Fur Trade at Lachine, the Boulevard Saint Laurent and the Hersey Pavilion. A number of factors contribute to the choice of these three particular case studies. On one level, all three sites are in the same general geographical context. Although these sites are very different, they are all in the Montreal area, constraining the degree to the variable of place explains differences between them. The particulars of location are not a key element in this research; therefore, a similar context of the case studies is necessary despite it being outside the scope of this research.

These case studies are also considered due to their representation of three 'types' of history. The Fur Trade at Lachine is an example of a 'national' history site, the Boulevard Saint Laurent as a site of the 'other', and the Hersey Pavilion as a women's history site. I argue that this form of categorizing history is not conducive to a sustainable gendered approach. However, this approach is a necessary method by which to frame National Historic Sites within this discussion due to the current categorization system in

place. By employing this similar method of organization, critiques and proposed changes to the current system are more easily observable. It is important to note that these sites are not representative of all stories (whether national, 'othered' or women's) and are employed as demonstrative examples. Elements of these proposals can be applied to similar sites; however, the individual dynamics of places are a significant factor in the consideration and implementation of policies and interpretative programs.

The dynamics of the three sites in terms of ownership, management and current usage are also useful considerations. The Fur Trade at Lachine is the only Parks Canada owned site, therefore it is the only one with a federal *Management Plan.*[9] However, interpretive programs have been proposed for the independently owned sites since their original designation, which means that all three sites are engaged within a discussion surrounding interpretation. The individual site dynamics are also different. The Lachine site, and its situation on the Lachine Canal, is significant for its landscape elements. Conversely, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is a long streetscape of multiple buildings and other elements with various owners and histories. The Hersey Pavilion on the other hand is a single building contained within a larger complex. Although these different site contexts are outside my scope of investigation, these elements do influence the interpretive programs proposed later in this thesis.

There are some key limitations of this thesis, particularly areas where further investigation is required. Firstly, 'memory' and 'memory studies', as a theoretical

[9] A Management Plan is a policy document created for Parks Canada owned and operated sites which is required to be submitted to Parliament every five years. Management Plans outline current situations and propose future directions at such sites and ensure the implementation of more general Parks Canada policy at the site level.

consideration and methodological approach, has only been integrated as a preliminary discussion element within this thesis. The connections between memory, gender history and heritage conservation, and particularly the theoretical and practical implications of these links, are an important subject for further research. The application of primary theorists within memory studies, particularly in terms of its employment as a methodology, is a possible course for further investigation, specifically within heritage conservation. Additionally, the role of issues surrounding memory within heritage conservation provides significant opportunities for additional research, particularly in terms of the (re)presentation of gender history. The primary focus of this thesis however places these questions outside of the established theoretical limits. As such, the connections with memory studies, gender history and heritage conservation are explored at a preliminary level in order to lay the groundwork for future considerations.

Notable discourse on the connections between gender and space is relevant to the topic of this thesis; however, it will not be discussed in depth. Nonetheless, portions of this thesis engage in discussions surrounding gender, space and place at a preliminary level. With a connection to this thesis, the implications of commemorating gendered spaces are an important discussion that crosses disciplines. Following the investigations of Annemarie Adams[10], the gendered components of spaces significantly change their *meaning* and therefore alter how they are *remembered* within the historical consciousness of the nation. Although this theoretical discourse falls outside the confines of this research,

[10] See: Annemarie Adams, Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, House and Women, 1870-1900, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996). Annemarie Adams, "Rooms of their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," in Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation, eds Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2003): 131-144.

I have proposed additional examinations based on this subject to be completed for my doctoral research.

Due to time limitations, extensive interviews were not completed for this investigation. There are two sections within this thesis that could be supplemented by such discussions. The memories of individuals would be a significant addition to the history of the sites discussed in Chapter 2, particularly in terms of applying a methodology of in relation to considerations of memory. Additionally, interviews with individuals actively involved in commemoration and recognition of the sites would be a valuable supplement to the critiques and ideas being proposed. Nonetheless, the frame of this thesis did not allow for this extensive interview process to be undertaken.

Within the context of feminist scholarship, it is essential to examine other identities that intersect with gender, such as race, social class, sexuality, ethnicity, (dis)ability, etc. Although these factors are recognized throughout this thesis, they are not individually the focus of the investigation. The intersectionalities of these stories is an essential component of my conclusions, particularly in regards to the implementation of a 'gendered approach', however the examination of these factors individually falls outside of the primary scope of this thesis. Nonetheless, many of these conclusions can be applied to other types of histories as well, particularly the stories of previously silenced voices. Further research and proposals, particularly on the representation of race, ethnicity and social class at commemorated sites, would be a significant supplement to the conclusions of this research.

This thesis is divided into three chapters which correspond to the research methodology and presentation of the proposals. This arrangement allows for the introduction of theoretical discourse followed by practical case studies.

Chapter 2 outlines key theoretical concepts from which this thesis draws its conclusions. Theoretical considerations within gender history, memory and heritage conservation are introduced to demonstrate the existing connections between these areas. Various theoretical tangents are explored in order to situate the broader connections of this research, but also to introduce discourses which inform my subsequent conclusions. Shifts within gender history and its association with memory are also introduced in order to lay the groundwork for the understanding of a 'gendered approach'. Concepts such as commemoration and interpretation are contextualized within the context of heritage, gender and memory. This theoretical introduction to various concepts, terminology, methodologies and existing connections allows for the introduction of the case studies and their subsequent analysis.

Chapter 3 introduces the three case study examples that I explore. Within this introduction, The Fur Trade at Lachine, the Boulevard Saint Laurent and the Hersey Pavilion, are considered in their roles as both National Historic Sites and historic places. Each site is examined independently in this chapter to adequately address the individual issues associated with each. Firstly, chapter 3 provides a basis for understanding the sites historically by briefly describing the history of these places using archival documents and secondary sources. Secondly, the commemorative context of these places as National Historic Sites is developed through an analysis of HSMBC documents including meeting minutes, agenda papers created at the time of designation, and management plans. An

analysis of these documents is also present in Chapter 3, which begins to deconstruct some of the current shortcomings of the sites and their (re)presentation on the national level. This dual presentation of the sites, both as historical places and as commemorated spaces in the present, is carried throughout the chapter. This chapter establishes the necessary groundwork and background information for the next section and the introduction of my 'gendered approach'.

Chapter 4 contains the primary critiques and challenges of this thesis by using the case studies as examples. This chapter draws upon the historical and commemorative contexts described in Chapter 3 and incorporates the theoretical analysis introduced in Chapter 2. This unification of theory and practice is reflective of the case study methodology I employ throughout. Chapter 4 explores both macro and micro challenges to the current treatment of National Historic Sites by the HSMBC. In this case, macro changes involve policy-wide development decisions that would instigate a larger mentality shift in terms of how 'alternative histories' are (re)presented. My proposals call for such a mentality shift in opposition to a number of current practices, particularly those outlined in the *System Plan*. The three case studies are used as demonstrations of my proposed policy changes and the resulting shifts. The second section of Chapter 4 outlines the micro changes that would result due to these similar revisions of policy but on an individual site level.

Chapter 2 – Threading the Theoretical Quilt: Heritage Conservation, Gender History and Memory

> Recreated images resemble twentieth-century norms more closely than they resemble the age they are intended to portray, and the values expressed are those considered significant by the dominant present-day powers in Canada. Once represented, these images are self-perpetuating, reinforcing existing views and silencing alternative interpretations.[1]

'Heritage conservation' has shifted and expanded in recent decades to include more comprehensive notions of what constitutes 'heritage'. Redefining these terms and practices is an ongoing theoretical debate within the field. In her groundbreaking and fundamental text, Christina Cameron asserts: "Canada's historic places capture the spirit of the nation. They provide the connecting fabric that links us together as Canadians. Our relationship to historic places helps to define who we are."[2] If historic places contribute towards the definition of what is 'Canadian', then the practice of heritage conservation is one of the means through which 'Canada' is defined. This relationship between heritage conservation and nationalism has been articulated in a number of sources across disciplines. Because issues surrounding memory already functions within heritage conservation, the relationship between the two diverse areas of heritage conservation and gender history is characterized by an existing link.

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[1] Erna Macleod, "Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," *Canadian* Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture, ed. Garry Sherbert, Annie Gerin and Sheila Petty (Waterloo: Wilfred University Press, 2006), 365.

[2] Christina Cameron, "The spirit of place: the physical memory of Canada," Journal of Canadian Studies 35 (2000), 77.

This chapter provides an introduction to the established connections between heritage conservation, gender history and memory through a theoretical analysis of relevant tangents. The tracing of concepts common to these three particular fields serves to develop an underpinning for the more practical applications introduced in this thesis through the analysis of the three case study sites. This chapter also establishes definitions of the three fields themselves and examines pertinent discussions within them that are useful to consider within the context of this thesis. For example, by tracing the development of memory studies, it is possible to see the crucial connection it forms with gender history and the beginnings of a useful dialogue with heritage conservation.

This chapter begins with an introductory discussion of heritage conservation and the field within Canada, particularly in relation to the *System Plan* of Parks Canada, which is the principal document critiqued within this thesis. From this discussion, the relationship between the heritage field and discourse surrounding nationalism is introduced. The next section of this chapter analyzes the place of gender history within this discussion. An understanding of both heritage conservation and gender history, allows for the consideration of the theoretical debates and discussions within memory studies, which are contextualized for the third section of this chapter. These issues, including commemoration and nostalgia, link the seemingly separate research fields of gender history and heritage conservation.

Heritage conservation in Canada is complicated by the numerous government levels in which it functions. Because property laws are relegated to the provinces in the Canadian Constitution, and subsequently to municipalities, there is very little central control over heritage properties at the federal level. Parks Canada, and more specifically

the Historic Sites and Monuments Board (HSMBC), designates sites, people and events that are deemed to be of "national historic significance". This designation however is largely symbolic. The conservation of individual properties principally remains in the hands of local governments, while ideas about what to save and why in relation to the Canadian national story falls to the federal role. Physical protection through formal legislation is primarily dependent on municipalities who deem what properties are worthy of 'saving' by designating such properties locally. Due to a combination of these factors, Parks Canada plays less of a legal central designating role, but rather serves a more symbolic function within the heritage conservation context of Canada.

National Historic Sites are only one part of heritage conservation more generally. However, the symbolic function of these places, specifically in regards to Canadian history, is critical due to their precedence. Theoretical and practical decisions made at the federal level not only influence how localities consider and designate their national heritage, but they also have the function of influencing the individual ideas of citizens. In turn, the choice and management of National Historic Sites affect what is considered 'heritage' throughout the nation. This symbolic role of National Historic Sites and their generally higher visibility within Canada are what make these sites crucial for the continued development of gender history.

Parks Canada is the principal government body for designating and managing historic sites of national value within Canada. A significant majority of these sites are actually privately, provincially or locally owned and managed, however Parks Canada plays an overseeing role within this system. Additionally, Parks Canada owns and administers approximately 150 sites throughout the country which are used to present

national stories to Canadians. The designating role of Parks Canada has a national mandate that seeks to cover and consider Canada as a "nation". Supplemented by this mandate, the operations are funded by Canadian tax payers and thus accountable to citizens. The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, specifically, functions as the board responsible for recommending the designation of people, events and sites of national historic significance to the federal Minister. In order to guide and organize these designations, a number of policy papers have been developed including the *System Plan.*

The System Plan

The *National Historic Sites System Plan* was officially published and implemented in the year 2000. Although it built upon preceding plans, this particular version of the document established a clear methodological process for the direction of Parks Canada. The plan outlined considerations for future designations, a strategy for thematically organizing sites and a set of strategic priorities that recognized gaps in listings of designations. The five broad themes ("Peopling the Land", "Developing Economies", "Governing Canada", "Building Social and Community life" and "Expressing Intellectual and Cultural life") and the three strategic priorities ("Aboriginal Peoples", "Ethnocultural Communities" and "Women") have guided the designations of Parks Canada for eight years. The purpose of this brief section is to give a context for this important document which informs the critiques and proposals contained later in this thesis. This introduction includes a brief history, cites the inspirations and relationships with other frameworks, outlines the purpose of the plan, and explains its function within Parks Canada today.

The current *System Plan* was published in 2000 and developed over the course of approximately eight years in the late 1990s. As the *System Plan* outlines, it developed after a number of consultations with heritage constituencies across Canada and was created by a team of individuals working for Parks Canada. It is a revised version of a previous plan developed in 1981 which was created to identify gaps in site designations by thematically organizing them. According to the current *System Plan*, the previous document identified gaps in the representation of economic history and built heritage, for example. While the previous plan did identify site designations in terms of themes, these themes were very specific and did not allow for sites that covered multiple themes. An updated version of the plan was developed to address its perceived shortcomings and introduce a new understanding of history. The new *System Plan* of 2000 sought to diversify its representation of history and ensure that multiple histories of Canada were recognized and the organization itself was simpler to use.

The 1981 and 2000 plans were inspired by precedents using similar organizational methods. However, unlike its inspirations, the *System Plan* is not a map or 'plan' of sites, nor is it a plan of how a system of sites will be managed. Therefore, the *System Plan* is more accurately a framework that employs themes as an organizational method. The thematic organization of the *National Historic Sites System Plan* is related to other major heritage plans for the identification of gaps in representation, but has little relation to other 'system plans' (like that of the National Parks Service) that identify key aspects of management and maintenance. Similarly, the National Historic Landmarks Program in the United States has 'theme studies' that help identify new designations. The focuses of these themes are constantly re-evaluated in order to develop connections

between different designations and fill representation gaps. UNESCO used a similar plan in the late 1990s to identify gaps within the representation of World Heritage Sites, expanding definitions of what heritage is and identifying areas that are over and under represented. The "Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List" took place in 1994 and identified a plan for ensuring the World Heritage list became more balanced and representative of world heritage.[3] This meeting used systems in place in Canada (as represented by the *System Plan*) and Australia for inspiration.

The purpose of the *System Plan* was not to provide a long term management strategy for individual sites or outline the sources of funding for designations, but rather to institute a theoretical organization strategy. This method of organization gradually replaced previous methods which relied on typological organization grouped chronologically. This particular method of identifying gaps and organizing site designations was popular as a method in the earlier development of heritage conservation. It appears that a thematic ordering and methodology actually appeared in the National Historic Landmarks of the United States first in the 1960s. The identified themes were closely organized by chronological events, but nonetheless provided a method of grouping designations based not simply on time period, but the types of history communicated at specific sites. As the nature and methodologies of history transformed, this early thematic framework shifted to include renewed understandings of the past, particularly based in social history.

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[3] UNESCO. "Expert Meeting on the 'Global Strategy' and thematic studies for a representative World Heritage List." UNESCO, 1994.

The *System Plan* can be understood today as a method of understanding the relationship between different sites, how they pertain to the different themes and how they address the strategic priorities. This form of organization allows for a better analysis of gaps and over/under representation. It also allows for the commonalities between related sites to be articulated and understood. Additionally, the *System Plan* functions as a method of evaluating how Canadian history is being represented by Parks Canada. Specifically, the *System Plan* guides the designation of new sites and is a method of evaluating how representative these designations are of the multiplicity of heritage in Canada. These various purposes of the *System Plan* are a crucial component in the development of proposals introduced later in this thesis.

In order to adequately evaluate and critique the *System Plan*, it is important to define what is a "National Historic Site" and theorize about their significance within Canada. People, events and sites can be designated as having national significance by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board, however National Historic Sites occupy a more central place within the Canadian nation. Their presence as tangible examples of Canadian history (and Canadian identity) is a primary reason for this symbolic importance. As Diane Barthel reflects, "The point is that historic structures are a tangible form of evidence of the past and are thus a resource that should not be wasted or treated casually or negligently. Their very tangibility separates them from historic texts and media representations."[4] While events or people may be represented by a tangible object like a plaque, only a National Historic Site can be visited and therefore experienced. Without this element of experience, there is less of a personal connection to the historic

[4] Diane Barthel, Historic Preservation: Collective Memory and Historical Identity, (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers, 1996), 2.

'document'. The act of experiencing can enrich and ensure that individuals are left with a sense of connection to the place, even merely from visiting. This sense of connection can then be supplemented by values and beliefs which can readily be applied within a nationalist framework. Thus, the embedding of nationalism within the experience of National Historic Sites marks them as integral places in the formation of Canadian identities.

(Re)presenting the Nation

Because National Historic Sites occupy a central role in the meta-narrative of the Canadian nation and in defining what it means to be Canadian, a number of links are made with discourses of nationalism. Parks Canada's *System Plan* recognizes the central symbolic significances that sites play within the Canadian nation:

> National Historic Sites are places of profound importance to Canada. They bear witness to this nation's defining moments and illustrate its human creativity and cultural traditions. Each national historic site tells its own unique story, part of the greater story of Canada, contributing a sense of time, identity, and place to our understanding of Canada as a whole.[5]

Following this articulation, it can be argued that National Historic Sites are not only places where nationalism is reinforced, but also spaces where ideas about what constitutes the nation are created. Anthony Marx argues: "States have often codified or encouraged nationalism selectively, demarcating by specified categories who is included and who is excluded."[6] If nationalism is inherently exclusionary, then so too are elements of heritage conservation. David Lowenthal recognizes that heritage is highly selective, conserving

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[5] Parks Canada, National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan, (Gatineau, QC: Parks Canada, 2000).
[6] Anthony W. Marx, "The Nation-State and its Exclusions," Political Science Quarterly 117.1 (2002); 105.

some stories from the past and ignoring others.[7] Heritage conservation is one of the methods in which belonging to a nation is confirmed or denied. As Erna Macleod argues, "...[historic sites] must correspond with other national institutions and symbols in communicating 'national significance'."[8] In determining 'national significance', ideas regarding the unity of the nation are reinforced in order to create shared pasts and collective memories. Because National Historic Sites are designated for their determined 'national significance', any place existing outside this definition may not be designated. Therefore, nationalism affects every National Historic Site designation, regardless of perceived connections or intentions.

The notion of collective memory and the theoretical questions it raises are easily applied to contemporary discourses surrounding the 'nation', and particularly nationalism. The nation itself has been defined and understood within contemporary discussions as an intangible entity that is constantly shifting.[9] Similarly, nationalism is constantly undergoing transformations that are in reaction to the nation's current context. One of the primary ways in which nationalism is built and solidified is through the promotion of a shared past through meta-narratives constructed for the citizens of the nation. This past, as Smith argues, is mythical and often created in the minds of nationalists, although not always originally fabricated for political purposes.[10] Following this theoretical argument,

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[7] Amy Hoffman, Re-imagining the past: the construction of resettled communities as tourist attractions in Newfoundland and Labrador and Scotland (MA thesis), (Ottawa, ON: Carleton University, 2006), 18.
[8] Erna Macleod, "Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," Canadian Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture, eds. Garry Sherbert, Annie Gérin, and Sheila Petty (Waterloo, ON: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2006), 375.
[9] See: Benedict Anderson, Imagined Communities, (London: Verso, 2006); Walker Connor, "The Nation and its Myth," International Journal of Comparative Sociology 33 (1992): 48-57; Anthony D. Smith, "Nationalism and the Historians." International Journal of Comparative Sociology 33 (1992): 58-80.
[10] Smith, 59.

"collective memory" is a creation by nationalists in order to inspire loyalty to a particular understanding of the nation.

Collective memory is not always articulated for the purposes of nationalism. There are many other groups that fabricate and rely on collective memory that are not nationalist in purpose. However, one of the largest and all-encompassing forms of collective memory that can be witnessed within the contemporary context takes place on the national scale. One's belonging within the nation is largely dependent on their shared past with other members of the nation. As Frijda argues: "Construction of a person's identity as a member of a given group not only implies coherence with the past, but also with the other individuals sharing that past."[11] Through this sharing of a past, regardless of 'truth' or 'validity', individual memories and experiences are negotiated.

Relationships with nationalism and the singular idea of 'the nation' are a source of conflict for most forms of feminism throughout the last century. Ideas about 'the nation' are often determined by male leaders and elites. According to Patricia Smart: "Nations have without exception been the creations of fathers, wild spaces tamed and mapped and bordered by them in order that they be passed on to sons...nations... have used women as reproducers and educators and nurturers, all the while excluding them from power and from public space."[12] Smart's assertion, although historically valid, universalizes women's experiences and particularly their relation to the nation. The used of gendered language in relation to the nation and nationalism is significant within this subject of inquiry. Iris

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[11] Nico H. Frijda, "Commemorating", Collective Memory of Political Events: Social Psychological Perspectives, eds. James W. Pennebaker, Dario Paez and Bernard Rimé (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997), 109.

[12] Pauline L. Rankin, "Sexualities and National Identities: Re-Imagining Queer Nationalism," Journal of Canadian Studies 35.2 (2000), 178.

Young analyzes this language in order to position women within the discourses surrounding nationalism. She defines men (as soldiers and ultimately defenders of the nation) as 'protectors' of the women and children left behind.[13] Historically, within the English language, nations are termed as female and the language of 'protection' is employed extensively. Within this discourse, the 'nation' is denoted as female while the role of nationalism is identified as a principally masculine enterprise. Since feminism seeks to reposition such gendered understandings, its connections with nationalism become questionable.

In her influential book on gender and nationalism, *Bananas, Beaches and Bases,* Cynthia Enloe argues that while women are consistently used as symbols of nationalist movements, they are rarely seen as active participants.

> Yet nationalist movements have rarely taken women's experiences as the starting point for an understanding of how a people becomes colonized or how it throws off the shackles of that material and psychological domination. Rather, nationalism typically has sprung from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.[14]

According to Enloe, women are often excluded from this masculine institution of nationalism, although they are urged to support it. Due to these factors and others, a number of feminists and feminist movements denounce ideologies surrounding 'the nation' and the nationalism used to support it.

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[13] Iris M. Young, "The Logic of Masculinist Protection: Reflections on the Current Security State," Global Challenges: War, Self Determination and Responsibility for Justice Iris M. Young (Cambridge: Polity, 2007), 118-119.

[14] Cynthia H. Enloe, Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics, (London: Pandora, 1989), 44.

However, nationalism and feminism are not always opposed to one another and at times they can work together. Forging these connections is crucial when considering heritage conservation as an essential vehicle of nationalism, but also a central component in the representation of gender history. The relationship between nationalism and feminist movements is acutely seen within Canada in relation to Quebec. Within the context of the 1970s, the nationalist and second wave feminist movements within Quebec were instigated during the same political and social context and thus developed a solid working relationship. In reference to the contemporary period, Quebec historian Micheline Dumont argues that Quebec nationalist and feminist movements are intricately tied together because they were radicalized during the same period and had the same over arching goal (that is, the end of discrimination for a specific group of people).[15] Some authors have suggested that this relationship was actually created and encouraged by Quebec nationalists. Recognizing the importance of women to their cause, these nationalists sought to specifically appeal to the feminist movement in order to gain support. For example, Maille argues that Quebec separatists were able to appeal to more women in the 1995 referendum because they integrated the language of the women's movement with the language of nationalism.[16]

The relationship between feminism and nationalism is often dismissed by English speaking North American feminists, but the example of Quebec demonstrates the complexity of this connection. Because the two principal case studies presented and analyzed later in this thesis are located in Quebec, it is important to consider the

[15] Micheline Dumont, "Can national history include a feminist reflection on history?" Journal of Canadian Studies 35.2 (2000): 80-96.

[16] Chantal Maille, "Quebec women and the constitutional issue: a scattered group," Journal of Canadian Studies 35.2 (2000): 95-109.

relationship of feminism and nationalism in this context. As National Historic Sites, these spaces not only serve Canadian nationalists, but Quebec nationalists as well, and therefore it is crucial to examine the complex connections between nationalism and feminism within that particular context.

The relationship between gender history and national history is another central theoretical question within a number of historical inquiries. National history is one of the methods in which 'imagined communities', described by Benedict Anderson, are created and reinforced.[17] This centralized vision of the history of the singular nation (which can be termed 'national history') leaves little room for divergence or alternatives. Public education, whether within schools, museums or at National Historic Sites, is the primary method by which national history is passed along to citizens. Increasingly questions are being raised regarding the nature of public education and what type of history is being communicated to both children and adults. The collection edited by Ruth Sandwell engages in this discussion by considering changes to history education that may yield a greater multiplicity of viewpoints. Many of these authors argue that such changes will ultimately make history more valuable, useful and interesting to Canadians by reinforcing the connections people have with the past.[18]

Questions pertaining to gender are one of the central issues to be included within a more inclusive vision of national history. Gender historians advocated for the necessity of this inclusion for decades, while simultaneously trying to address the best possible methods to do so. In turn, gender historians have in fact transformed the history discipline,

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[17] Anderson.
[18] Ruth W. Sandwell ed, To The Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 3.

but changes to the 'national history' of Canada remain largely superficial. Daniel Francis notes that Canadian myths are formed through intense repetition which ultimately defines who are 'Canadians'.[19] While preliminary transformations have occurred, much larger and far reaching revisions are required to address the continued exclusionary nature of 'national history'.

The Gendering of History

Gender history can be understood as an interdisciplinary field of study that draws on feminist scholarship to inform historical research. Through the interaction of the discipline of history and the methodologies of feminist scholarship, gender history presents a radical departure from traditional 'ways of knowing'. As Burt and Code outline, feminist epistemology is characterized by 'experimental pluralism': a dramatic and often tense shift from the traditionally regimented discipline of history.[20] The development of this crucial area of study, which seeks to not only 'reclaim' women's voices but also to transform how we look at the past, is fundamental to a broader understanding of 'history' itself. To situate this research and contextualize the concept of a 'gendered approach' to National Historic Sites, it is necessary to outline a few key debates within women's and gender history. Crucial discussions surrounding the contested focuses of women's and gender history, the terminology applied to such histories and the universality of observations are all critical elements in the development of a gendered approach.

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[19] Daniel Francis, National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History, (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal, 1997), 10.

[20] Sandra Burt and Lorraine Code eds, Changing Methods: Feminists Transforming Practice, (Orchard Park, NY: Broadview, 1995).

Women's and gender history has undergone an historiographical development similar to most areas of history research in the last fifty years. It changed with political and activist agendas, adapted to theoretical challenges, and was shaped by related areas of research. While the historiography of women's and gender history is complex and multi-faceted, a series of themes, shifts and phases can be traced which characterized its development. However, the categorization outlined in this thesis does not take into account every shift within the field, but rather traces more general trends. In this manner, women's and gender history can be divided into three basic historiographical shifts that correspond with theoretical questions raised at the time: these focus on the individual woman, social history, and gender history.

This timeline and division is primarily based on the interpretation of two secondary sources. The three shifts are based on one understanding of Adele Perry's interpretation of British Columbian women's history and her examination of three different generations' approaches.[21] The timeline and division is also informed by Johanna Alberti's historiographical look at gender and history.[22] These three primary shifts and corresponding 'approaches', although relatively chronological, do not have a clear start date and all continue, in some form, into the present day. The outlining of these shifts is crucial in understanding how gender history has and can be considered on the national scale of (re)presentation, particularly through the vehicle of heritage conservation. In order to illustrate each phase with concrete illustrations, examples of heritage designations (of sites, people and events) will supplement the discussion.

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[21] Adele Perry, "Feminism, History and the Writing of British Columbia's Past," Atlantis 25.1 (2000).
[22] Johanna Alberti, Gender and the Historian, (Harlow: Pearson, 2002).

What is termed as the 'individual woman approach' characterized early women's history, particularly that which emerged before the peak of the feminist movement in the early 1970s. This approach considers the few 'famous' women that played an important role within the public sphere and could therefore warrant historical recognition alongside famous men. Some women were recognized for their contributions while they were still 'famous' within the public memory of the nation. For example, Louise McKinney, a member of the Alberta Famous Five and also the first woman member of a Legislative Assembly in the British Empire, was designated by Parks Canada in 1939 as a person of national historical significance.[23] Her early 'designation', as a notable public figure, is emblematic of this particular approach to women's history.

Although some notable women were commemorated while they were still alive, the stories of others had to be 'reclaimed'. Early in the feminist movement, the stories of previously 'forgotten' women who were famous during their own time period were reintroduced. Even contemporarily, famous women who were once forgotten are being added to the historical narrative. One such figure is Laura Secord, renowned heroine from the War of 1812, yet only designated a person of national historic significance in 2002.[24] All of these famous women, whether remembered or previously forgotten, were and continue to be inserted into existing histories alongside famous men. Within this frame of historical inquiry, there is little attempt made to change the history discipline itself; rather, the goal is simply to insert women's voices where possible in order to recognize their outstanding contributions.

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[23] Parks Canada website, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/lhn-nhs/index_E.asp>.
[24] Ibid.

While this first approach is still present even within the contemporary context, it was largely altered by the spread of 'social history' in the 1970s. As a discipline, history underwent a radical transformation in this period, inspired by the work of E.P. Thompson which focused on re-evaluating the inherent class differences within the past. This social history shift characterized the direction of mainstream women's history throughout the feminist movement of the 1970s and 1980s. As Alberti recognizes, women's historians during this period were searching for an alternative method of presenting women's history that could alter the power structure of the history discipline.[25] To accomplish this, women's historians turned to the emerging field of social history, which considered the experiences of 'ordinary' figures in history and eventually repositioned the focus of the discipline. Through the shifting of power structures, history can be constructed from the 'bottom', which ultimately meant that women's individual and collective contributions to both the public and private spheres were attributed with increasing importance and considered legitimate areas of historical inquiry.

In parallel to the emergence of social history, oral history became a primary tool for the reclamation of so called 'forgotten' histories. Eventually, a number of National Historic Sites were designated which related directly to women's work and their contributions to community development. For example, the Grey Nuns' hospital in Montreal was commemorated in 1973 as a National Historic Site.[26] This site is representative of women's work, historical gender roles and women's contributions to community development. Such designations related to women's social history continue to

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[25] Alberti, 21

[26] Parks Canada, "National Historic Sites of Canada," Parks Canada, <http://www.pc.gc.ca/progs/lhn-nhs/index_E.asp>

the present day. Momentum from this approach, coupled with pressures from other social history research fields, gradually transformed the nature of the history discipline. Alberti contends that women's history gained increased legitimacy and political support as women's experiences were gradually inserted into the historical narrative.[27] However, women's history written at this time was increasingly criticized for being essentialist and assuming women had monolithic experiences in the past. Lerner argues that at the time, it was believed that history would be radically changed if told from the perspective of a woman because it would be "ordered by the values they define".[28] These essentialist critiques, corresponding with broader criticisms in the feminist movement, were answered in a third shift.

A third approach to women's history emerged to answer many of the critiques raised during the shift to social history. This approach considers 'gender history' more generally and focuses not only on the experience of women but also at how historical experiences are shaped by categories of gender. "Rather than asserting the presence of women in various episodes of the... past, feminist historians of this third phase began, in the words of Veronica Strong-Boag and Gillian Creese, to 'problematize gender for women and men'."[29] Within women's and gender history, the influence of 'gender' as a category of one's identity and a set of social expectations applies not only to women, but men as well. The category itself is increasingly conceptualized as more fluid and the resulting histories are thus more nuanced and comprehensive.

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[27] Alberti, 40-41.
[28] Ibid.
[29] Perry, 70.

Accompanying this change is a greater recognition that other elements of one's identity (including race, class, sexuality, (dis)ability, location, etc) interact and influence one's experiences of gender. This has resulted in diversifying the field, as it expands to include other theoretical questions that examine complexities of human experiences. Perry argues: "Historians of this third phase [of gender history] are at their best when analyzing how gender operates in conjunction with race and class."[30] The individual and collective experiences of people are more nuanced and complex when considering the inter-sectionality of different aspects of one's identity. Questions about the plurality of women's and gender history have also been raised. Friedman argues that it is impossible to form a single feminist history; rather, in order to take into account the multiple experiences and lived realities of women's lives in both the past and present, history needs to be considered *in the plural.* "This means that we need not only to foster the existence of many voices engaged in the dual tasks of making feminist history but also to acknowledge in our own histories the possibilities of other voices (re)telling the stories we have told."[31] Therefore, 'gender history' is not only about the creation and insertion of new stories, as the previous two approaches promote. Rather, and more specifically, this third shift is based on the retelling of dominant histories using a gendered lens that seeks to understand how gender has both influenced people's lives in the past and also how gender has changed over time.

The implications of this most recent shift are significant to consider within public representations of history. It is from this final shift that the 'gendered approach' I propose

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[30] Ibid.
[31] Susan Stanford Friedman, Mappings: Feminism and the Cultural Geographies of Encounter, (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1998), 226-7.

later in this thesis has emerged. While previous efforts surrounding women's history largely sought to insert forgotten and silenced voices into the narrative, this historiographical shift seeks to reconstruct the narratives themselves. De-stabilizing the meta-narrative of the Canadian nation has significant implications for the vehicles in which it is (re)presented, including heritage conservation. Reacting and responding to this historiographical shift not only changes the stories being (re)presented and the inclusion of various voices, but repositions exactly how the past is communicated to citizens, and therefore how the publicmemory of the nation is constructed. Therefore, representative vehicles (like heritage conservation) need to move beyond the basic insertion of marginalized voices. In similar ways, questions surrounding 'memory' as a method of historical inquiry repositions questions about the past and has significant implications for the practices by which such stories are (re)presented in the present.

The close interaction between gender history and memory studies primarily resulted out of their corresponding evolution and development parallel to each other. As Leydesdorff et al. contend, feminist scholarship and oral history (including memory) 'grew up together'.[32] The methodology and theoretical questions of memory studies developed in response to similar critiques of women's and gender history. Memory studies, as a theoretical framework and methodological approach, can be placed within the same historiographical context as 'oral history'. Both areas of study emerged as important feminist methodologies that seek to transform the manner in which research is completed, documented, and questioned. Although oral history, like memory, is not a uniquely

[32] Selma Leydesdorff, Luisa Passerini and Paul Thompson eds, Gender and Memory, (New Brunswick: Transaction, 2005), 4.

feminist practice, it occupies a central role within historical and contemporary feminist scholarship. Simply defined, oral history records individual experiences and memories vocally recounted by a narrator and recorded by an interviewer. Gluck contends: "Anyone who can listen to the women who are speaking can do oral history."[33] However, oral history in this case is primarily referring to the methods employed by trained practitioners. Oral history gradually developed through the 1960s and 1970s, primarily to fill a perceived void in historical experience.

The practice of oral history emergence simultaneously with social history, and therefore brought about reconstructions of marginalized pasts for which no or little written documentation existed.[34] During this period, as Grele suggests, oral history was primarily used as a source of information to create "better" histories that were not "tainted" by the perspective of the history discipline.[35] Oral history, as a practice, became a politically inspired method of research, as lost voices were 'reclaimed' and inserted into the historical record, persuading the entire discipline to restructure. The political role of oral history continues within contemporary feminist oral history. As Leavy outlines: "Oral history is generally employed by feminists as a way of bridging the personal biography of women with the social context in which that biography is written."[36] By documenting voices commonly left out by the 'standard' historical narrative, oral history continues to bring personal and political agency to individual women's voices.

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[33] Shema Berger Gluck, "What's So Special about Women? Women's Oral History," in Women's Oral History, ed. Susan H. Armitage (Lincoln: University of Nebraska, 2002), 8.
[34] Ronald Grele, "Oral History as Evidence," in History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology, ed. Tomas Charlton, Lois Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (New York: Altamira, 2007), 37-8.
[35] Ibid 33, 38.
[36] Patricia Leavy, "The Practice of Feminist Oral History and Focus Group Interviews," in Feminist Research Practice: A Primer, ed. Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber and Patricia Lina Leavy (Thousand Oaks: SAGE, 2007), 155.

Despite its continuance as a practice and methodology today, oral history has evolved in recent decades. As feminist movements and scholarship diversified, increasingly taking into account women's varied experiences (based on race, class, sexuality, (dis)ability, location, etc), the methodology of oral history transformed.[37] New theoretical debates were raised, questioning the agency of individuals to speak for entire groups, challenging notions of 'validity', and examining the roles of the interviewer. Attention was shifted to the power relationships inherent in the development of such histories, and the interviewer was gradually regarded as an active player within the creation of oral histories.[38] The exchange between the interviewee and the interviewer translates to the political level as well. Leydesdorff, et al., argue that through the 'reclamation' of lost or previously silenced voices, narrators are actively participating in validating experiences of groups and individuals. The documentation itself is a political act, as these once marginalized memories are transformed by encouraging their broader social acceptance.[39]

Through the raising of new theoretical questions and considerations, and the resulting diversification of the method itself, memory studies gradually emerged. As Sharpless documents, questions of 'memory' have long concerned oral historians, but it is primarily in the early twenty-first century that memory studies developed theoretically as a separate area of study.[40] Contemporary memory studies and questions surrounding

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[37] Sherna Berger Gluck and Daphne Patai eds, Women's Words: The Feminist Practice of Oral History, (New York: Routledge, 1991), 2.
[38] Gluck (2002), 13; Leydesdorff, et al., 8.
[39] Leydesdorff, et al., 8.
[40] Rebecca Sharpless, "The History of Oral History," in History of Oral History: Foundations and Methodology, ed. Thomas L Charlton, Lois E. Myers and Rebecca Sharpless (Lanham: AltaMira, 2007), 27-8.

'memory' can be understood on one level as a response to questions and challenges to the method and theories of oral history that were raised in the late twentieth century.

Although not the same, contemporary memory studies and oral history, therefore, are part of the same historiographical continuum and form parts of the same basic methodology. The central theoretical questions raised by 'memory' and oral history are different however, and therefore the central focus and goals are contrasting. While theoretical frameworks influence the methodologies chosen for research, it is possible to use common methodologies for very different theoretical questions. In the case of oral history and memory studies, it is apparent that the root of both these areas is individual memories and recollections which ultimately create a common and shared methodological approach. If these frameworks are understood as informing the direction of the research (separate from the method), then oral history focuses on the narrator and their story while the practice is focused on inserting the individual's voice into the official history or historical narrative. The central question revolves around the agency of the narrator and the (re)presentation of their story. Contemporary memory studies, on the other hand, uses the same basic methodology of oral history (that is, recording individual recollections) but considers a different set of theoretical questions that influence how the data is interpreted and analyzed. Rather than focusing on the story and the narrator, issues surrounding 'memory' questions how the recollection itself is formed and constructed. It considers issues surrounding not only individual memories, but collective memory and social memory formed within groups.[41] Therefore, memory studies can be positioned as a

[41] See: Maurice Halbwachs, The Collective Memory, ed. M. Douglas (New York: Harper-Colophon Books, 1980 [1925]); Paul Ricoer, "Memory – Forgetting – History," Meaning and Representation in History, ed. Jorn Rusen (New York: Berghahn, 2006), 9-19; Geoffrey Cubitt, History and Memory, (Manchester:

theoretical study that follows the methodological process of oral history while framing questions within larger interdisciplinary discussions of memory.

Theorizing Memory in the Public Context

Memory studies more broadly developed over the last two decades into a diverse and interdisciplinary theoretical framework and methodology. Although memory studies is not a uniquely feminist framework, the origins of this field of study and methodology are situated within the development of feminist scholarship. 'Memory' situates the recollections of individuals, groups and societies at the centre of research questions. It considers the memories themselves, regardless of 'truth' or 'validity', as historical 'documents', whether oral or written. Memories form a central component within human experience. As Halbwachs notes:"We preserve memories of each epoch in our lives, and these are continually reproduced; through them, as by a continual relationship, a sense of our identity is perpetuated."[42] Who we are, as individuals and groups, is continually shaped by memories and recollections. These memories both inform our identities and are informed by our identities, prompting a continual negotiation and transformation. Notwithstanding the diverse methods of communication now available to tell stories from the past, heritage conservation remains one method through which memories are communicated and identities are formed, particularly on the national scale. Therefore, discourses surrounding memory, nostalgia, and commemoration are central components in the development of a 'gendered approach' to National Historic Sites.

Manchester University Press, 2007); Peter Morris and Michael Gruneberg eds, Theoretical Aspects of Memory, (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[42] Halbwachs, 47.

As memory studies continues to evolve, questions and debates emerge regarding the definition of 'memory'. As Rossington and Whitehead demonstrate in their memory 'reader', questions and debates surrounding memory have existed and continued since Antiquity.[43] The definition ascribed to 'memory' principally depends on the discipline in which it is being employed. For example, psychologists and sociologists employ a different understanding of 'memory' when compared to historians and feminist scholars. It is outside the scope of this thesis to contribute to the ongoing discussion regarding the exact nature of 'memory'[44], nonetheless a basic definition is required in order to contextualize later arguments and the interpretive program proposals. Cubitt offers a comprehensive theoretical analysis by comparing and contrasting 'history' and 'memory' within the context of both common and academic understandings. While history and memory are often positioned as separate and at odds, Cubitt situates both as one part of a broader understanding. He contends that social memory is "the processes by which knowledge and awareness of the social past are generated and maintained in human societies", while history is the intellectual discipline which accompanies social memory.[45] As Cubitt argues:"Where the discourse of history poses the question of how the present can achieve knowledge of a past from which it is separated, the discourse of memory posits a more intimate or continuous connection between past experience and present consciousness."[46] This definition of memory recognizes the constant interaction between past experiences and contemporary responses to historical events, to the point where the contemporary responses become a part of the historical record themselves.

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[43] Michael Rossington and Anne Whitehead eds, Theories of Memory: A Reader, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2007).
[44] See: Rossington and Whitehead, 2007; Morris and Gruneberg, 1994.
[45] Cubitt, 26.
[46] Ibid, 30.

What Cubitt terms as 'social memory' can be further broken down into two general categories: individual memory and collective memory. The majority of memory studies scholarship focused on the latter by making connections with other social observations. However, the interaction between individuals and groups in terms of memory is nearly impossible detach. This interaction between the individual and collective is extensively explored by Paul Connerton. He contends that individuals exist within a larger structure that informs their understanding. "Groups provide individuals with frameworks within which their memories are localized... by a kind of mapping. We situate what we recollect within the mental spaces provided by the group."[47] In a similar way, Middleton and Edwards describe how individuals interact within groups during reminiscing activities and introduce the example of a family reminiscing over photographs. While each individual may have had a different experience of the event, the act of reminiscing with others can ultimately change how the event is remembered in the future, as the reminiscing itself becomes a part of the event.[48] Along similar lines, collective memory is not simply a sum of individual memories, but rather collective memory is both informed and shaped by individual memory, while also serving to inform and shape individual memory. The result is a continuing cycle where memories are transformed and continually altered.

Collective memory is profoundly shaped by the nostalgia of individuals, which can then be transferred to entire societies. While defining nostalgia has consumed historians and especially those working within memory, it can be simply defined as recalling and yearning for the past in a manner that is shaped by contemporary experiences and expectations. Bellili and Amatulli examine nostalgia in terms of immigrants' adaptation to

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[47] Connerton, 37.
[48] David Middleton and Derek Edwards, Collective Remembering, (London: SAGE, 1990), 7.

a new country. "Sociological inquiries consider nostalgia a symptom of a difficult and more or less conflicting adaptation of immigrants to the social and cultural environment of the receiving country."[49] In the same way, nostalgia can be understood as a symptom of easing the rupture between the past and the present. Nostalgia is often constructed as falsely positive and idealistic, and can therefore be a useful argument to alter contemporary situations. As Bellilli and Amatulli argue, the event that is recalled through nostalgia is dual; that is, the past event is generally pleasant for the individual, but also causes the individual to reevaluate the present.[50] But nostalgia is not only viewed as an individual act by Bellinill and Amatulli: they term nostalgia as being intricately linked with the maintenance of a social order. [51] Nostalgia allows for an escape to a pleasant past, but sustains the false construction of the past in order to best suit the present social order. For example, reminiscing about the 'simplicity' of gender roles in a time before feminism serves to question the gains of the feminist movement and uphold patriarchal structures. National histories based on notions of a nostalgic past reach further than a misrepresentation of peoples; rather, the maintenance of nostalgia within the collective memory also affects contemporary social orders through the promotion of an idealistic past.

Nostalgia, being a central ingredient within the collective memory, is a critical element employed in the presentation of national history at National Historic Sites. Erna Macleod documents how national history is presented at the reconstructed Fortress of Louisbourg. She points out, that without the glossing of the past, people from the present

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[49] Guglielmo Bellilli and Mirella A.C. Amatulli, "Nostalgia, Immigration, and Collective Memory," Collective Memory of Political Events, eds. James Pennebaker, Dario Paez and Bernard Rimé (Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, 1997), 211.
[50] Ibid, 215-16.
[51] Ibid, 217.

would never want to visit or reconnect with history. While she recognizes that this is partially a marketing decision, she points out that there are deeper implications and reasoning. Macleod argues that: "By romanticizing colonial history and cultivating nostalgia for a lost community and family values, heritage sites entrench Eurocentric attitudes and resist the change necessary to alleviate the marginalization of colonized cultures."[52] Therefore, not only does nostalgia encourage people to look at the past as the 'ideal', but it can cause them to dismiss histories that fall outside of this positive vision. Therefore, it can discourage people from accepting the histories and experiences of marginalized groups. Nostalgia reinforces the idea that there is one singular national history and this idea is not questioned because of the idealization of the past that nostalgia promotes. Diane Barthel recognizes that this is part of a larger modernist trend that seeks to re-write history by 'preserving' the past. In this way, she argues, the "actual" past is actually being erased through each act of preservation which ultimately places the history or object within the present.[53] When present at a National Historic Site, as Macleod uncovers, nostalgia transforms the collective memory of multiple citizens by presenting a glossy version of the historical record that few visitors question.

If nostalgia creates exclusions within the historical record, public memory reinforces exclusions within the present context. Public memory is created and reinforced at National Historic Sites. National Historic Sites, in turn, construct and (re)present a particular version of what is then understood as the national history of the Canadian nation. Stanley understands public memory as one of the ways in which Canadian racism is maintained and reinforced.

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[52] Macleod, 368.
[53] Barthel, 2.

> Public memory is one of the ways through which racist exclusion is affected. By selectively representing the histories of the many people who live in Canada, by identifying certain people as Canadian and largely ignoring the others, and by sanitizing the histories through which some people have become dominant, public memory sets the state for racist denial.[54]

Scholars working within nationalism, including Anderson, Connerton and Smith, see acts of public memory as places where citizens can connect with the nation by bonding with national values. However, according to Stanley, participating in acts of public memory is as exclusionary as it is inclusionary because it fosters a sense of disconnection for people who do not fall into these promoted and reinforced values.[55]

Together with nostalgia and public memory, the act of commemoration is significant to consider. Heritage conservation itself is focused on the physical commemoration of places, events and people from the past within the current context. Commemoration itself is an act that seeks to 'preserve' or maintain something from the past within the present. It relies on memory to evoke images of the past, but also creates contemporary memories in its (re)presentation of history. Nico Frijda examines national commemorations in her discussion of collective memory. She recognizes that commemorations rely on the emotions of those who suffered from the remembered events.[56] As there are fewer people left who remember these commemorations, emotions of the events themselves are replaced with emotions involved in the commemorations. Similar to nostalgia, it is a method in which the past and present are undergoing a

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[54] Timothy J. Stanley, "Whose Public? Whose Memory? Racisms, Grand Narratives and Canadian History," in To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada, ed. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 33.
[55] Ibid, 34.
[56] Frijda, 103.

continual tension due to their disconnection.[57] This is especially relevant for historical events that are fading from the social memory of the nation. Carr outlines a particular example of this by documenting how the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation aired a three part series on World War II in the early 1990s. It was highly criticized by veterans who were appalled at how history was being represented. This example instigated significant discussion surrounding the presented of memories, particularly for future generations as those holding them passed away.[58] This situation is an ideal example of how the nature of history and its transformation from memories is constantly being questioned. Commemorations are also part of this discussion, as those holding the memories want to ensure continual remembrance in the future.

The 'validity' of commemorations as public displays of collective memory and nationalism is also an ongoing debate. If commemorations are seen as a vital part of national history, and memories are used to fuel commemorations, then memories become part of the national narrative. However, as with the construction of the nation, only certain memories are included. Middleton and Edwards argue: "Commemoration silences the contrary interpretations of the past."[59] For example, remembering those who perished in war often replaces and silences protests of that war. Like nostalgia, commemoration leads to the glossing over of certain elements of history that 'the nation' may decide are too painful or controversial to remember. It is often due to these circumstances that 'forgetting' (the counter of 'remembering) is personified. Within the context of national history, forgetting is as important as acts of remembering. If an individual or group can

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[57] Middleton and Edwards, 8.
[58] Graham Carr, "War, History and the Education of (Canadian) Memory," in Contested Pasts: The Politics of Memory, eds. Katharine Hodgkin and Susannah Radstone (London: Routledge, 2003), 57-59.
[59] Middleton and Edwards, 8.

define themselves and their values through commemoration as Frijda suggests[60], then forgetting is a method of excluding individuals, groups or values that do not fit within the nationalist mandate. Remembrances of events or significant people are often marked once per year or at significant intervals. However, National Historic Sites are places where commemoration is occurring constantly and therefore these places play crucial roles in considering the continual exclusions of national history.

Conclusion

Memory, nostalgia, national history and commemoration can all be related to the context of an historic place. For example, Gable and Handler considered colonial Williamsburg in Virginia as a case study site for the examination of how memory functions at a site of national significance. They discovered that not only was Williamsburg creating and reinforcing national history, but it was also changing history based on the experiences of individuals who visited the site. The authors point out; "Colonial Williamsburg tends to transform public history into private memory by collapsing the distance between the reconstructed past (the museum's history lesson) and the visitor's touristic or familial experience on the site."[61] National Historic Sites tend to blur individual memories and collective memories. For example, Gable and Handler note that individuals complained to site managers when changes were made to Williamsburg that were intended to make the site more 'historically accurate'.[62] Individual memories of the site were equated with the 'history' of the site to the point that the collective memory

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[60] Frijda, 109.
[61] Eric Gable and Richard Handler, "Public History, Private Memory: Notes from the Ethnography of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia, U.S.A.," in Defining Memory: Local Museums and the Construction of History in America's Changing Communities, ed. Amy K. Levin (New York: AltaMira, 2007), 48.
[62] Gable and Handler, 50-1.

of the place was altered to conform with visitors' remembrances of it, regardless of 'historical accuracy'. This poses significant problems in terms of the accurate and inclusive (re)presentation of history at such sites.

Memory studies, as a methodology and theoretical framework, is already present at National Historic Sites and within the practice of heritage conservation. It serves a two-fold function, aiding in both the documentation and performance at sites. For the specific case studies presented in the following chapter, the uses of 'memory' in relation to both of these elements are considered more in depth. Firstly, memory studies, as a methodology, can aid in the documentation of sites. Engaging with individuals and the public regarding their memories of sites can add a layer of complexity and personal insight to places. Gable and Handler's study notes the difficulties of this inclusion, particularly when memory begins to re-shape history.[63] Since National Historic Sites are largely reliant on 'facts' for documentation, the balance between history and memory needs to be recognized and maintained. Nonetheless, the inclusion of memories, and the addition of theoretical questions related to 'memory', ensures that the documentation process is complete and not superficial.

'Memory' also functions within the performative aspects of a site. Stories and histories are literally performed at many National Historic Sites by interpreters, and otherwise 'performed' more concretely in the form of plaque texts at other sites. These performances, particularly 'live' interpretations by guides, are already enhanced and supplemented in many cases by considerations of 'memory'. Interpreters often perform memories, whether factual or fictional, for the benefit of visitors connecting with the site.

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[63] Gable and Handler, 51.

This is a key method of engagement based on issues surrounding memory which is included in the interpretive programs proposed in Chapter 4.

By tracing theoretical issues within memory, including social memory, nostalgia, commemoration, and performance, preliminary links are drawn between heritage conservation and gender history. While heritage conservation already employs some of the methods of memory studies, the degree to which it does requires a number of specific case studies and further analysis outside the scope of this thesis. It is possible however to analyze how memory and the theoretical debates within it are presented at National Historic Sites that relate to gender history. The subsequent chapters of this thesis consider these more specific connections in order to propose a more useful method for conserving gender history in Canada.

Chapter 3 – Contextualizing the Case Studies: The Fur Trade at Lachine, the Boulevard Saint Laurent, and the Hersey Pavilion

> Historians' approaches to historical study are influenced by what they themselves remember, and memory operates on numerous levels in the transmission both of the information that ends up by being encapsulated in historical source materials and of the ideas that shape the way these materials are interpreted. [1]

If memory influences what is interpreted, written and communicated by historians, then its consideration within heritage conservation is critical. Both primary historical documents and government reports are influenced by these factors of memory, thus altering the historic site itself. Therefore, an 'objective' information gathering look at any site is impossible, both for observers and historians. Their own memories, as well as the memories of others, influence how that site is continually remembered. Commemoration, as an act of remembering the past within the present, can therefore be understood as a method of not only interpreting history, but also constructing it. These factors have particularly important implications for the history of previously silenced voices.

As was outlined in the previous chapter, theoretical connections can be drawn between gender history and heritage conservation by using the frameworks associated with contemporary memory studies. Through the forging of these connections, positive changes can be made to transform the manner in which National Historic Sites function within the broader Canadian consciousness. These resulting future changes can be framed as two-fold. First, when considering the integral connections between gender history and

[1] Geoffrey Cubitt, History and Memory, (Manchester: Manchester University, 2007), 29.

heritage conservation, broad policy-based developments that generally influence the designation of multiple sites would shift. In particular, such developments would transform ideas contained within a new Parks Canada *System Plan* that would guide future designations and current organizational strategies in different directions. However, more local changes and transformations would also occur, particularly at the level of individual sites. It is with the consideration of these particular developments that the following three case studies have been formulated. The theoretical and methodological connections and ongoing debates within a number of discourses outlined in Chapter 2 are best tested through the presentation of concrete tangible examples. The following three case studies allow for the recognition of these two fold changes, both at the broader policy level and the level of individual sites that are subsequently developed in Chapter 4.

The purpose of these three case studies is to provide an illustrative example of the changes proposed by this thesis by offering examples of National Historic Sites so the results of these changes can be better understood. The three case studies chosen are: the Fur Trade at Lachine, and the Boulevard Saint Laurent, and the Hersey Pavilion at the Royal Victoria Hospital. All of these places have been recognized by Parks Canada as sites of national historic significance. The Lachine site is the only one administered by Parks Canada; however, interpretative programs have been suggested for all three sites (which will be one of the focuses of the next chapter).

This chapter serves as an historical introduction through the employment of primary material, secondary sources and Parks Canada reports. It is divided into three principal sections which correspond with the three case studies chosen. Each case study is considered separately in order to develop an historical understanding of each site. Within

each section, the three sites are deconstructed in relation to their historical development as places, designations as National Historic Sites and relation to broader historical themes.

In considering these three case study sites, the complex spatial context in which they exist needs to be analyzed. All three sites are located within the contemporary city of Montreal in the province of Quebec. Their function as both historical places and National Historic Sites is influenced by the spaces in which they exist, both contemporarily and historically. The Hersey Pavilion and the Boulevard Saint Laurent are located within central Montreal, while the Fur Trade at Lachine is located within the suburban borough of Lachine to the west of Montreal's centre. Located within the province of Quebec, all three sites exist within a unique provincial environment. Their situation in Canada becomes more complex when paired with their situation in Quebec, specifically in terms of their connections with nationalism. As outlined in the previous chapter, National Historic Sites can be understood as some of the central places that nationalism and loyalty to the Canadian nation are reinforced in the contemporary context. The location of these sites within (at least) two nationalistic contexts complicates this simplified reading of Canadian nationalism. These nuanced understandings of nationalism, particularly within the gender and Quebec contexts, are relevant but largely outside the scope of this thesis. Additionally, all three case study sites hold not only national and provincial significance, but local significance as well. The three sites have contributed to the development of Montreal as a city and each have served the development of specific communities. This understanding of National Historic Sites, as not only sites of Canadian nationalism but also as holding provincial and local significances, is crucial to the development of positive interpretative programs that reflect the diversity and multiplicity of Canadian history.

Canada's 'National' (His)story, the Fur Trade at Lachine

The first case study examined is the Fur Trade at Lachine which is a site representative of a mainstream Canadian narrative. Although closely related in proximity and history, the "Lachine Canal" and the "Fur Trade at Lachine" are two different National Historic Sites: this thesis will only consider the latter. Following a search for the most suitable building for interpreting the fur trade in Montreal, the "Fur Trade at Lachine" was commemorated in 1970. This site consists of a small one storey stone building surrounded by a park. The building is positioned at the west entrance to the 14 km long Lachine Canal, which was separately designated in 1929 as a National Historic Site. The stone warehouse is situated within the Montreal borough of Lachine, a historical district positioned on the northeast shore of Lac Saint-Louis. The stone building was commemorated in order to house an interpretive space and symbolically represent the fur trade, specifically in the Montreal area. The story of the fur trade itself has been constructed as a central myth within the collective memory of Canada and the site at Lachine works to solidify this position. Unlike the two case studies introduced later in this chapter, the Fur Trade at Lachine is owned, operated and interpreted by Parks Canada.

This section is divided into four subsections. The first briefly outlines the history of the fur trade (specifically in relation to Montreal) and the development of the site. The second section considers how the fur trade is (re)presented in cultural myths and particularly in two museum spaces (the Lachine site and the Museum of Civilization). Thirdly, the designation history of the site, including its current Management Plan, is

introduced. Lastly, the site's connection with 'national history' and Canadian myths is outlined.

The fur trade is one of Canada's earliest European industries and a central economic institution within Canada's development. Some of the first white explorers recognized the economic potential of Canada's seemingly endless resources, including its abundance of fur. In this case, the 'fur trade' refers to the exchange of animal furs primarily for manufactured goods between the Aboriginal cultures of Canada and European colonists. The 'fur trade' also refers to the European economic industry that developed surrounding this exchange. Although informal trading links were established earlier, The Hudson's Bay Company (established in 1670) was the first consolidated and monopolizing effort to develop the fur trade. The headquarters, located at York Factory on the Hudson's Bay, was supplied by the expansive landmass (then Rupert's Land) that stretched from the Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains. The gathering of furs relied heavily on the number of Aboriginal groups settled in Western Canada and the complex system of exchange that was subsequently developed. Furs were transported directly from the York Factory headquarters to Great Britain, where demand for these items quickly increased. The HBC was relatively unrivaled until 1783, when the North West Company was formally established. The basis of the North West Company was a number of smaller trading companies and partners primarily of Scottish origin based out of Montreal. These small scale operations continued to merge with the North West Company throughout its existence. The formal headquarters were located in Montreal, closely situated to the growing Canadian market and importers along the Saint Lawrence River. A fierce rivalry to develop the fur trade and maximize profits exploded throughout the latter years of the

18th century. This rivalry, mythicized in Canadian history, lasted only forty years, when the North West Company merged with the Hudson's Bay Company.

The site at Lachine is closely associated with the continued expansion of the fur trade in Canada. Following the Seven Years' War and coinciding with the European Industrial Revolution, the fur trade in Canada became an increasingly important industry and demand for furs in Europe continued to sky rocket. The Lachine Canal was started in 1821 to facilitate water transportation through the by-passing of the Lachine Rapids. The stone building that is the current focal point of the National Historic Site was constructed in 1803 for Alexander Gordon, a North West Company shareholder. However, it is unknown whether or not the stone storehouse was used specifically by the Company. The North West Company occupied an adjacent property for the storing of "most of their goods"[2] during this period, but the specific use of the warehouse during its ownership by Gordon is unknown. The property (including the stone building) was acquired in 1833 by the Hudson's Bay Company and used as a warehouse for their location at Lachine until 1861. It served as a component of the important Lachine outpost in the fur trade network and was primarily used for the storing of materials. From 1861 until 1977, the building was occupied by the Sisters of Sainte-Anne (a large institution located directly across the street) for use as a classroom, laundry, dormitory, and staff headquarters. The structure was acquired by Parks Canada to serve as an interpretative location for the National Historic Site designated a few years earlier. Today, it continues to serve as a small museum space surrounded by a park adjacent to the canal entrance.

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[2] Marie Gérin-Lajoie, Hudson's Bay Company Warehouse, Lachine, Que. Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Agenda Paper (1970-6) (Gatineau: Historic Sites and Monuments Board, 1970), 3.

Figure 1: Fur Trade at Lachine National Historic Site, 2009

Figure 2: Fur Trade at Lachine Museum Interior, 2009.

Canada's historical development and meta-narratives are built upon a number of fundamental stories and institutions, one of which is the fur trade. One of the principal places in which these meta-narratives are communicated is at museums. The museum at Lachine is one of these museums; however, it is situated within a broader and more generalized representation of the fur trade present at museums throughout Canada. For this reason, the representation of the fur trade at Canada's 'national history museum' (The Canadian Museum of Civilization) is presented alongside that of the Lachine museum.

The manner in which the history of the fur trade is presented at the Lachine museum corresponds with contemporary museum practices. The space is interactive and presents explanatory panels along with artifacts. Although the space is relatively small, a number of facets of the fur trade are presented. The space is generally confined to the fur trade in Montreal, but mentions of the larger context are drawn. Individual roles that were based on class, race and gender are (re)presented along with related artifacts. For example, the roles of Aboriginal women are explained alongside a beaded belt. While the museum does not explicitly state that differences between race, class and gender determined one's role in the fur trade, there is a significant attempt made to demonstrate the multiplicity of roles. This is a contrasting difference to the website for the museum, where one page opens with the statement: "Women were not very active in the fur trade."[3] This same website marks women's primary role as the wives of voyageurs. The new focus on multiple and varied roles within the museum is reflective of the new *Management Plan* for the site, which is outlined later in this section.

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[3] Parks Canada, "The Fur Trade at Lachine National Historic Site of Canada." Parks Canada: <http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/lhn-nhs/qc/lachine/index.aspx>

Figure 3: Panel Depicting 'Country Wives' at the Canadian Museum of Civilization *Profit and Ambition*, 2010.

In comparison to the Lachine museum, the Canadian Museum of Civilization (CMC) offers a far broader but much narrower perception of the fur trade. In a special exhibit, *Profit and Ambition: The Canadian Fur Trade, 1779-1821*, the CMC places a spotlight on the fur trade as a primary influence in Canada's historical development. This exhibit principally covers the years of the North West Company and the developed rivalry with the Hudson's Bay Company. Much of the same information from the Lachine museum is presented at the CMC exhibit. The beginning of the walkthrough is focused on those who owned and operated the fur trade, and the Aboriginal peoples that were involved. There are few explanations of their roles, and the central contribution of the voyageur is not presented until the end of the exhibit. One panel, hidden to the side, explains that the roles in the fur trade were designated based on class, ethnicity and gender, and these varying roles are presented alongside artifacts. The bourgeois owners and Aboriginal traders (both presented earlier) are notably absent from this section.

Similar to the Lachine museum, the varied roles of the principal players are represented, however there is little attempt made to integrate this within the discussion of the fur trade more generally at the CMC exhibit. The small section that does address the varied roles appears to be an 'add on' to the larger exhibit principally focused on the inner workings and bourgeois control of the fur trade. In all of these instances (both at Lachine and the CMC) gender is not discussed unless the subject is women. For example, there is no distinction at either site that voyageurs were male and the bourgeois operators were also male. Therefore, there is no place for discussion surrounding the male gender roles and expectations, specifically in comparison to the feminine roles briefly introduced at the museums.

The increased (re)presentation of various peoples and stories at museums is receiving growing attention. New museology emerged as an academic field to question, deconstruct and analyze current museum practices in order to create a viable alternative for the future. Although it is outside the scope of this thesis to cover issues pertaining particularly to museums, a brief mention is relevant in order to contextualize current (re)presentation practices of national history within the public setting of the museum. With the renewed attention towards diverse and accurate (re)presentation, various cultures, genders, peoples, classes, etc, have been inserted into the museum space. Clifford argues that museums are spaces of continuous contact between cultures and that the relationship is a constant power exchange.[4] Other identity markers, such as gender and class, can be theorized within the museum space in the same manner. However, as can be observed at the CMC exhibit, simple inclusion does not go far enough in (re)presenting such historical realities. The absence of defining the dominant categories (ie: 'male', 'upper-class', 'white') continues to perpetuate historic power dynamics by displacing the 'other'. Additionally, the lack of explanation regarding the historical interactions and exchanges between the various groups fails to recognize the construction of hierarchies that defined institutions such as the fur trade.

The Fur Trade at Lachine was originally designated by the Historical Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) in order to fit a specific Canadian 'theme'. The iconic position that the fur trade holds within popular representations of Canadian history is evidenced in the approximately sixteen National Historic Sites relating to this theme. Worthy of note, most of these designations took place before the commemoration of

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[4] James Clifford, "Museums as Contact Zones," in Representing the Nation, eds David Boswell and Jessica Evans (New York: Routlege, 2002), 438

Lachine. However, prior to the designation of Lachine, Montreal's central position within the fur trade was not officially recognized or interpreted. As is evidenced within the meeting minutes of the HSMBC, discussions over an appropriate site to interpret the history of the fur trade within Montreal began in the late 1960s.[5] The official designation occurred in 1970; however, the building was not acquired at that time. It was deemed to be the best building in which to interpret the fur trade at Montreal and its suitability as an interpretative space fueled a continued discussion of acquiring the property through the 1970s. Ownership by Parks Canada was proposed in 1973 but the storehouse was still occupied by the religious order and thus it was decided that ownership would be transferred at a mutually convenient time.[6] There is no further discussion of the acquisition of the building in the meeting minutes; however, a pamphlet from the site and the current *Management Plan* indicates that it was formally purchased by Parks Canada in 1977.[7] Parks Canada restored the building in the early 1980s following a devastating fire that gutted the interior. Following this restoration, the building was converted into an interpretative museum space.

The National Inventory document that was originally used to assess the building indicates that it would be a suitable location for an interpretation of the fur trade in Montreal, despite needing significant interior and exterior renovations. The desirable and symbolic location was also indicated as significant elements of consideration for the

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[5] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, June 1970, (Gatineau: HSMBC, 1996), ISYS electronic version p. 10-51.
[6] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, June 1973, (Gatineau: HSMBC, 1996) ISYS electronic version p. 27.
[7] Parks Canada, The Fur Trade at Lachine National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan, (Montreal: Western Quebec Field Unit, Parks Canada, 2007), 26.

Figure 4: Fur Trade at Lachine with Canal and Park, 2009.

Lachine site.[8] The commemorative statement of the site, prepared in 1970, simply states: "The Fur Trade at Lachine National Historic Site commemorates the fur trade in the Montreal area."[9] This broad statement provides little indication of what stories were intended to be presented and how the interpretative space was originally envisioned. The initial agenda paper principally discusses the history of the site, and the companies and families connected with its early history. Neither the meeting minutes nor the original agenda paper consider the usage of the building following the Hudson Bay Company's sale of the property.[10] A supplement to the original agenda paper provides additional information regarding the site and introduces discussions regarding the origins of the warehouse and specifically their connections with key fur trading figures in Montreal.[11] Considered in conjunction, these documents provide only a vague indication of what was to be (re)presented at this site. The 'fur trade' is never adequately defined and its importance within the Montreal area is only briefly touched upon. The focus of these early documents appears to be on the individual building and the key figures with whom it has distant associations.

The current *Management Plan* (2007) of the site offers a more contemporary viewpoint on how the Lachine site operates within a broader view of the fur trade and its position within Canada's history. Particular mention is made in regards to the desirable and symbolic location of the building, and commitment to preserve these views is formally indicated.[12] Although outside of the primary mandate, the current *Management Plan* recognizes a second level of history present at the site: the occupation by the Sisters

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[8] Gérin-Lajoie, 6.6, attachment.
[9] Parks Canada, Lachine Management Plan, 2007, 23.
[10] Gérin-Lajoie; Meeting minutes, 1970-73.
[11] Supplement to agenda paper, 1970.
[12] Parks Canada, Lachine Management Plan, 2007, 25.

of Sainte-Anne. The *Management Plan* indicates that considerable archeological evidence from this time period exists, and this element of the building's history is presented on the plaque and by guides.[13] Despite these mentions, there is no space within the museum allotted to the presentation of this layer of the building's history. However, despite being the early focus of the agenda papers, there is less content in the current *Management Plan* on the building and exhibit. Also in contrast to the original agenda paper, the current *Management Plan* outlines very specific messages that are to be communicated at the site in relation to original broad commemoration statement.[14] These statements provide an overall picture of the multiple roles and influences the fur trade had on Montreal and Canada. Finally, the current *Management Plan* outlines administrative and visitor experience plans or guidelines. Visibility of the site and meeting increasingly diverse clientele needs are some of the top current concerns at the site.[15]

The fur trade, as an historical theme, represents a significant component within Canadian national history. It is presented in museums, schools and history books as a defining historical event within Canada's development. However, the stories of the fur trade are not simply an 'event' in Canadian history; rather, they can be linked to larger themes within Canada's national history. To illustrate this, I will trace how the focus of the fur trade story shifted over time. One of the first Canadian scholars to explore the significance of the fur trade was Harold Innis. His study focused primarily on the economic significance of the fur trade, particularly the rivalry between the developing North West Company and the Hudson's Bay Company. His principal concern was the figures who founded and managed the fur trading companies and his discussions contain

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[13] Ibid, 30.
[14] Ibid, 27-29.
[15] Ibid, 39-44.

little information about the labourers who maintained them.[16] There is also an absence of those on the other side of the 'trade': the Aboriginal peoples. Innis' sole focus on the economics of the companies profiting from the fur trade failed to take into consideration the multiple peoples involved.

The dialogue surrounding the history of fur trade and its presentation gradually shifted and is a reflection of accepted Canadian national values. Descriptions of the fur trade, which can be seen at both the museum exhibits aforementioned, focus on the partnerships and cooperation between groups of people. The sharing and 'cooperative' attitude emphasized in these accounts is related to the contemporary construction of Canadian "values". Numerous conflicts between traders arose as a result of the fur trade; however, such stories are almost always missing from these (re)presentations. Instead, the cooperative aspects of the fur trade are emphasized to create national myths that are reflective of constructed Canadian values.

In *National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History,* Daniel Francis deconstructs a number of Canadian 'myths' and their links to perceived Canadian values within the larger consciousness of the nation. While Francis does not have a specific section on the fur trade itself, his manner of deconstructing myths can be applied to the fur trade. A brief historical consideration of how the fur trade has been depicted in history books in the past century reveals that the manner in which it is framed shifted to reflect current values. As was demonstrated with Innis, early discussions focused principally on the economic and bourgeois elements of the industry. The general historiographical shift towards social history also influenced a shift in perspective. For example, the role of the

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[16] Harold Innis, The Fur Trade In Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1930).

voyageur and Aboriginal wives received increasing attention. Employing the methodologies of Francis, this resulted in the creation of myths that exist within the Canadian collective memory. These myths are not only connected with Canadian values, but they also serve to limit the perspectives and experiences of those involved.[17] The exclusionary nature of these myths, as Francis points out, is a method of control and power by elites.[18] The 'myth' of the fur trade expanded, as evidenced particularly in the Lachine museum and books such as Sylvia Van Kirk's *Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society in Western Canada, 1670-1870.* However, this expansion of the 'myth' still limits individual experiences to categorized (re)presentations and is still used in order to connect the past with contemporary so-called Canadian values, such as the cooperation between peoples.

Ethno-cultural Streetscape, the Boulevard Saint Laurent (the Main)

The second case study is the multi-building historical streetscape centered on the Boulevard Saint Laurent (the Main). This site consists of a long stretch of roadway from the waterfront to Jean Talon and includes the buildings on either side of the street. The street runs north-south in central Montreal and is constructed as a historical dividing point between east and west. The majority of the site is situated within Le Plateau-Mont-Royal district, just east of the contemporary city centre. The Boulevard Saint Laurent is historically understood as an immigrant's corridor. Situated on the dividing line between French Montreal to the east and English Montreal to the west, the Main has been positioned as a transition space for those not fitting into the binary categories. The designation of the site by the HSMBC recognizes the Main as a crucial space for a number

[17] Daniel Francis, National Dreams: Myth, Memory and Canadian History, (Vancouver, BC: Arsenal, 1997), 12-13.
[18] Francis, 12.

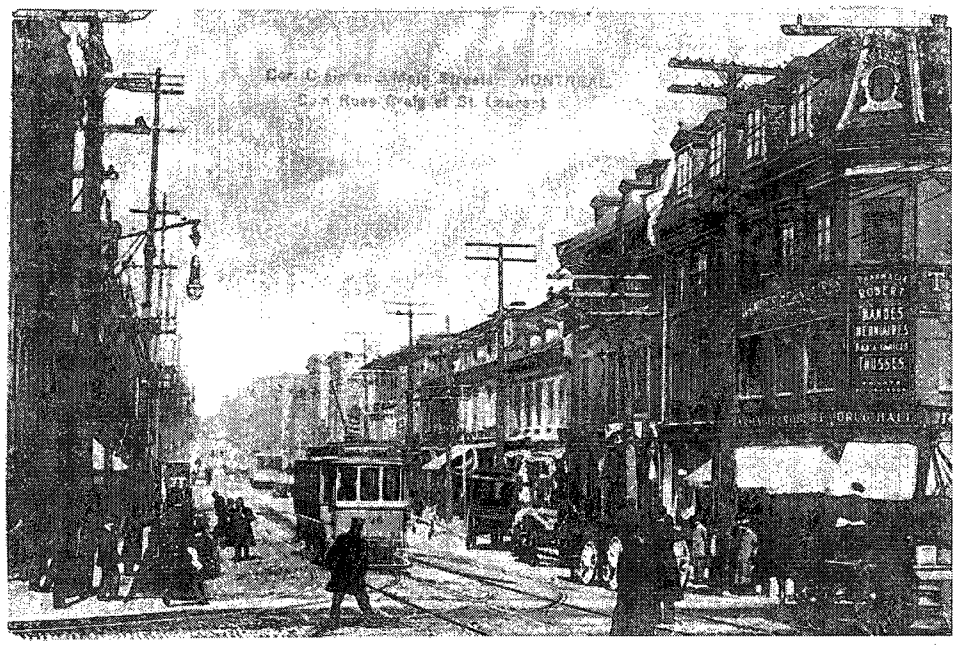

Figure 5: Corner of Craig Street and Saint Lawrence Main Street, 1910. *Credit:* McCord Museum, MP-0000.816.3

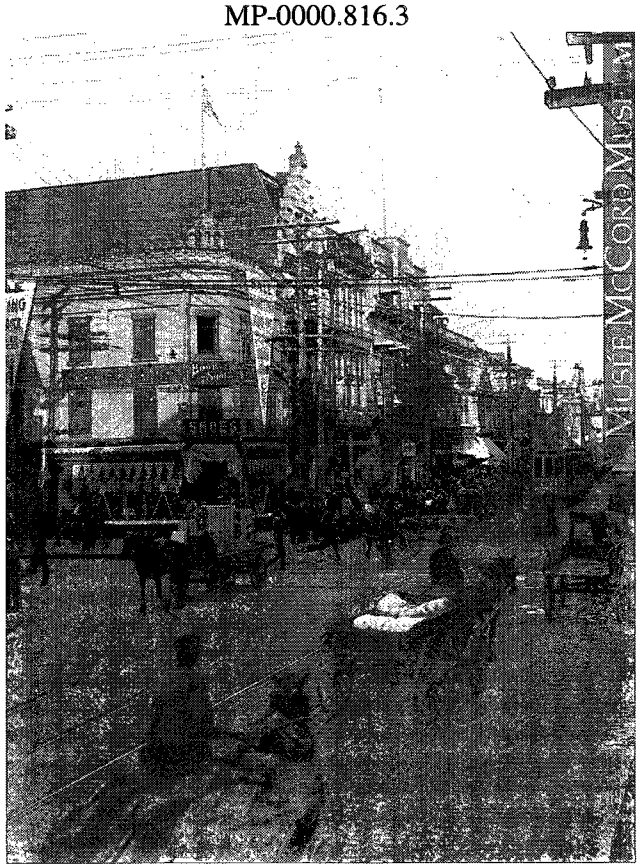

Figure 6: St. Lawrence Main and St. Catherine Street, c. 1905. *Credit:* McCord Museum, MP-1978.207.1.22

of ethnic communities. However, as outlined by Julie Podmore's study, this positioning of the Main does not take into account the complex intersections and the Main's situation as a site more broadly inhabited by the 'other'.

This section is divided into four subsections. The first considers the historical development of the Boulevard Saint Laurent and its current role within contemporary Montreal. Secondly, the Main's representation in creative works, with a particular focus on Mordecai Richler, is introduced. Thirdly, the designation process by the HSMBC and its reasoning is outlined. Finally, the Main's connections with the history of multiple ethnic communities, and more broadly the history of the 'other', are examined.

After initial slow development, the Main transformed into one of the central north-south axis in the modern city of Montreal. Its early development was primarily characterized by small scale residential with local commercial buildings. By the 1870s, the street began to take the shape of a principally commercial artery in the industrializing city but retained the character of mixed use development through to the 1870s and 1880s.[19] At this time, the area was inhabited by English speaking middle and upper class citizens. Large villas and mansions were constructed on the northern stretch of the Boulevard, and a middle class shopping district emerged in the south. As Montreal continued to industrialize, the street was transformed into an industrial, commercial and transportation hub.

Due to its position within the modern city and gathering inspiration from the re-development of Paris, initial plans for a Montreal 'Champs Elysees' were formulated at the turn of the century. Although these plans were not fully realized, significant

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[19] Julie Podmore, St. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City': Place, Gender and Difference Along Montreal's 'Main', (Department of Geography, Doctor of Philosophy, McGill University. Montreal: McGill University, 1999), 55-58.

improvements were made to the street along with the laying of key transportation links.[20] As Podmore argues, Saint Laurent was specifically targeted and transformed into a primary commercial centre in the emerging modern city by industrialists and city councilors. During this industrializing period, a number of buildings were razed and distinct Romanesque and Classical structures began to appear, many of which can still be seen today. The commercial urban quality of the street was solidified by the passing of Bylaw 161 in the early 1890s which stipulated that all new construction had to be at least three storeys high. City Council followed this Bylaw with a consolidation of the entire length of Saint Laurent in 1905, renaming it a 'boulevard', and dividing the city into east and west by civic address.[21]

At the turn of the century, the once fashionable residential neighbourhood was relocated as industrial and commercial development increased.[22] Additionally, the previously upper and middle class commercial district was gradually transforming into a site for the industrialized city. Newly constructed factories were located on or in close proximity of the Main, bringing an influx of working class people to the Boulevard. At this time, the Montreal garment industry developed its primary roots in this district. By 1921, one quarter of all workers in the city of Montreal were employed in the garment industry, much of which centered on or near the Main.[23]

As a central meeting place for the working class, the Main developed a distinctive political character. The majority of strikes and demonstrations throughout the early 20th

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[20] Podmore, 55-79; Aline Gubbay, A Street Called the Main: the Story of Montreal's Boulevard Saint-Laurent, (Montreal: Meridian, 1989), 43-56.
[21] Podmore, 66.
[22] Ibid, 64.
[23] Pierre Anctil, Saint-Laurent: Montreal's Main, (Montreal: Montréal Museum of Archeology and History, 2002), 40.

Figure 7: "Chintatown", Lower Saint Laurent, 2009.

Figure 8: Urban Decay on the Main, 2009.

century were held along the Boulevard Saint Laurent. Podmore argues that the Main emerged as the place where the working class, of all ethnicities and genders, contested the social order.[24] The symbolic meaning of the Boulevard Saint Laurent for the working class is evident in the May Day and Labour Day parade routes of the early 20th century, and industry wide strike locus' of 1904, 1907 and later 1937.[25] As the area was re-classified as a working class space, prostitution flourished and a distinct red-light district formed on the Boulevard. Podmore argues that the development of a working class area and a space for prostitution positioned the Boulevard as a 'transgressive' site in relation to Victorian norms of the period.[26]

As a result of these significant changes that re-focused the Boulevard Saint Laurent as the primary industrial hub of the modern city, the ethnic population of the area was rapidly transforming. From 1881-1911, foreign born inhabitants increased from 1,675 to 16,640.[27] Many immigrant communities were centered around the Main, despite the relatively small proportion of these groups in greater Montreal area.[28] This characteristic 'ethnic' development characterized the Main throughout the 20th century and the influx of various new communities continually shaped and re-shaped the district. For example, a large and active Jewish population centered around the Lower Main developed in the early part of the century. Significant Italian and Eastern European communities emerged in the more northern reaches of the Boulevard. At the same time, small numbers of the growing Chinese community developed a vibrant ethnic district to the south that continued to surface in the latter 20th century. More recently, Greek, Hungarian and Portuguese

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[24] Podmore, 107.
[25] Ibid, 131-136.
[26] Ibid, 97-98.
[27] Ibid, 86.
[28] Ibid, 89.

immigrants continue to shape this characteristically 'ethnic' district.[29] The result is an historical mosaic of various ethnic groups that have contributed to and defined the character of the area.

In the second half of the 20th century, various projects were undertaken in an attempt to 'clean-up' and redevelop the Main. These projects significantly shaped the urban fabric and resulted in many continuing contemporary problems. Following the Second World War, the Boulevard Saint Laurent was firmly positioned as a working class and ethnic community district. It was characterized as a run-down 'ghetto' that new generations were anxious to escape. With the international public spectacle of Expo '67, large-scale attempts were made to clean up the area. The widening of Dorchester (now René Lévesque), the digging of the Ville-Marie Expressway and the demolition of large blocks of residential buildings to make way for the Palais des Congrès, Place des Arts and the Guy Favreau Complex, all contributed to the continuing decline of the area.[30] At the same time, the garment industry was significantly diminishing, leaving a distinctive void in the once flourishing industrial area.

Despite these constant threats, new immigrant groups continually added to the eclectic ethnic flare of the street and campaigns were undertaken to 'save the Main'. These campaigns, primarily instigated by ethnic communities and artists in the area, sought to maintain the distinctive character of the Boulevard. As Podmore notes, these campaigns were generally focused on maintaining the social and cultural diversity, and were less concerned with maintaining the physical built fabric.[31] The contemporary Main developed into a mix of 'ethnic' stores and restaurants, contemporary boutiques and salons on the

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[29] Anctil, 47-63; Gubbay.
[30] Anctil, 83.
[31] Podrmore, 31.

upper portion, and a largely transitional space in between. However, the Main is still a 'threatened' space as redevelopment and city 'improvements' continue. Some of these forced the closure of local businesses, many of which had a long term presence on the Boulevard.[32] The once vibrant and bustling red-light district also experienced a decline, to the point where it is nearly invisible.[33] Nonetheless, the continual re-shaping and re-defining of the Main has characterized its development since it first emerged as an important thoroughfare in the late 19th century.

The Main inspired countless artists, performers and writers throughout the 20th century. A new generation of Montreal artists, such as Jean-Jules Richard, Michel Tremblay, Yves Thériault and A.M. Klein, drew inspiration from the 'exotic' cultural mixture of the Main, and were even influenced by the distinct urban decay that began to characterize the street.[34] Film makers, musicians and visual artists occupied and continue to use the area as a meeting place. Figures such as sculptor Pierre Granche, artist Jean Faucher and musician Leonard Cohen congregated in the neighbourhoods around the Main and were fueled by the eclecticism which surrounded them.[35] All of these artists solidified the Main's significant role within the public memory of Canada, influencing future generations and shifting the negative perceptions the space held for many in the mid 20th century.

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[32] See: Noemi Lopinto, "History Passing By," Montreal Mirror. (Montreal: Communications Gratte-Ciel, 2003): http://www.montrealmirror.com/ARCHIVES/2003/041703/news3.html.; Josh Freed, "How City Hall is Killing St. Laurent Blvd. – One Construction Barrier at a Time." Montreal Gazette. Montreal: Canwest, September 29 2007: <http://www.canada.com/montrealgazette/story.html?id=0f9dbe60-71b4-41ab-a43d-75c09fa82cb5&k=14381>

[33] Hamilton, Graeme. "Montreal's Red-Light District Going Dark." National Post. Don Mills: Canwest, May 29 2009 <http://www.nationalpost.com/news/canada/story.html?id=1644676>

[34] Anctil, 87.

[35] Ibid, 90.

One of the most influential writers about the Main, Mordecai Richler, plays an important role in the making of its collective memory. His notable novels (particularly *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* and *The Son of a Smaller Hero*) are set during the period in which the Boulevard was beginning its steady decline. Nonetheless, his descriptions offer a particular 'life' behind the district that is rarely seen outside of it. These stories and memories offered not only a new layer of meaning for the district, but helped encourage later efforts to 'save the Main'. Richler is a primary contributor to the collective memory of the district around the Main, both historically and contemporarily. His stories shape the memories of the past that are exhibited at the present site, both in its presentation and current usage.

The Boulevard Saint Laurent was formally recognized as a National Historic Site by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada in June of 1996. The district running from the waterfront to Jean Talon was designated. Like the Hersey Pavilion, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is associated with an identified 'theme'; in this case, the designation of sites related to ethno-cultural communities. The meeting minutes from the date of designation identify its association with cultural communities and its cosmopolitan make-up as key reasons for its commemoration.[36] In the 1996 *Rapport* authored by Gordon Fulton and Luce Vermette, the Boulevard Saint Laurent was identified as a crucial component to this theme. "Sous le thème de l'histoire des communautés culturelles, le boulevard Saint-Laurent est un lieu unique au Canada de fondation et de développement

[36] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, June 1996. Gatineau: HSMBC, 1996: ISYS electronic version p. 38-39.

de communautés culturelles représentant l'ensemble de la société canadienne."[37] According to the HSMBC, the Boulevard Saint Laurent was not only representative of the ethnic communities that settled the Main and Montreal in particular, but rather it was representative of Canada's multi-cultural development more generally.[38] Later in the *Rapport*, the authors point out that the interaction between these seemingly opposing realities is a key historical and contemporary component of the collective memory of the site.[39] Therefore, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is understood according to the HSMBC, as not only representative of immigrant communities all over Canada, but also symbolic of key Canadian values, including multi-culturalism and co operation.

However, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is also a site of transgression, both historically and contemporarily. These features of the site fall outside of prescribed Canadian values and therefore do not (re)present the same 'co-operative' message that the *Rapport* promotes. If the Main is to be representative of immigrant communities (and therefore multi-culturalism), then the Main as a space of struggle and resistance needs similar consideration. Because the Boulevard Saint Laurent has been largely understood as a place for transgression (in terms of gender, class, ethnicity, sexuality, etc), the Main is a space of conflict as transgressions were often met with violence and resistance. Using these stories, the Main is representative of a significant space for previously silenced voices and forgotten peoples. Hiding the conflicts that surrounded the struggles and stories of resistance that characterize the Main only further delegitimizes the history of these contributing communities.

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[37] Fulton, Gordon and Luce Vermette. L'Arrondissement Historique du Boulevard Saint-Luarent (La Main), Montreal (Quebec). Historic Sites and Monuments Board Agenda Paper (1996-25). (Gatineau: Historic Sites and Monuments Board, 1996), 717.
[38] Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1996.
[39] Fulton and Vermette, 718.

Figure 9: Multi-cultural Streetscape, 2009.

The designation documents of the Boulevard Saint Laurent recognize a number of the key components of the historical and contemporary make-up of the district. For example, the *Rapport* identifies contributions to the collective memory offered by artists, including Mordecai Richler, Michel Tremblay and Sass Jordan.[40] A very recently produced "Commemorative Integrity Statement" recognizes the multi layered character of the Main. Along with being a site of various ethnic communities, the Main is identified in this document as significant for its cosmopolitan nature, characterized by a constantly changing and re-developing cultural expression. The space was also identified for its historical importance as the garment district and as a significant area for artistic inspiration, both of which attest to its changing character.[41] This same document identifies the changing character of the neighbourhood as a crucial component in developing goals for its conservation. It recognizes that the physical built environment will not be directly threatened if the identified values are maintained and communicated effectively.[42] Podmore observed that the 'save the Main' campaigns were focused on maintaining the character of the area.[43] Similarly, the HSMBC recognized this as one of the key values not simply to 'preserve', but rather to maintain and encourage.

Due to its function as a divide between east and west Montreal, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is constructed as 'border' space between the historical centres of the French and English communities, respectively. This border space is viewed as a site for people who do not fit within the respective areas of east and west; however, this 'border' is more complex. A transitional space is termed as the continuum between two opposites (in this

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[40] Ibid, 717.
[41] Parks Canada, Énoncé D'Intégrité Commémorative lieu Historique National Du Canada Boulevard-Saint-Laurent. Unité de Gestion de l'Ouest du Quebec (Montreal: Parks Canada, 2006), 4.
[42] Ibid, 16.
[43] Podmore, 31.

case the elite English Montreal of the west and the working class French Montreal of the east). Podmore effectively deconstructs this understanding of the Main as a myth and over generalization of the complex space historically inhabited by a variety of peoples.[44] Similarly, 'ethnic communities' is a generalized term employed to describe the various non-French and non-English communities that developed surrounding the Main. These over-generalizations fail to consider the variety of communities themselves, the significant differences between them, the individual contributions of each community and the complex individual experiences of the inhabitants themselves.

The Main is associated with a variety of particular groups and informed an integral part of the identity of many people throughout its history. Following the thesis of Podmore, the Main is not simply a site of ethno-cultural communities or the working class; rather, it is a space for the 'other'. In this case, the 'other' refers to a particular group or individual that falls outside of societal norms or does not fit within the dominant group. The values and resulting lifestyle of the 'other' is often positioned directly oppositional to the dominant group and is consequently labeled negatively. The Main is constructed as a neighbourhood for newly arrived immigrants, usually with disregard for the complex layered identities that are formulated at this site. The Boulevard Saint Laurent is historically a locus for the working class more generally, and a particular catalyst for the formation of left-wing political groups. It was also home to a developed red-light district, supplemented with an area of underground crime. As Podmore argues: "St. Lawrence [sic] has been occupied not only by a diversity of 'other' ethnic groups, but also by the populations, institutions and economic activities that were not welcome by economic and

[44] Podmore, 6.

religious elites in east and west Montreal."[45] It is with these ideas in mind that the Boulevard Saint Laurent is re-positioned as not simply a corridor for immigrants and Canadian values, but rather a multi-layered site of 'othered' identities.

20th century Nursing Residence, The Hersey Pavilion

The final case study considered within this thesis is the Hersey Pavilion, built in 1905. This site consists of a particular building connected to the larger complex of the Royal Victoria Hospital. It is located west of the main and original hospital building, which was constructed in 1893. The entire complex is situated on south-east face of Mount Royal and is adjacent to and connected with McGill University. The entire complex, located on this picturesque site with panoramic views, overlooks the contemporary downtown Montreal, but had a clear view of the Saint Lawrence River at the time of its construction. The Hersey Pavilion forms an integral visual and historical link with this complex, and is the only building within it designated as a National Historic Site. The Hersey Pavilion is a former nurse's residence for the (former) Training School of Nursing at the Royal Victoria Hospital. Because of its historical position within the hospital more generally, it constitutes a symbolic and tangible example of women's roles in health care. The designation of this site, which is subsequently explored in depth, recognizes this important link.

The section is divided into three principal subsections. First, the history of the site and nursing more generally is briefly introduced in order to provide an historical context. Secondly, the history and reasoning behind the designation of the building as a National Historic Site is outlined. Finally, the Hersey Pavilion's relation to the development of nursing and particularly its position within women's history is explored.

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[45] Podmore, 25.

In the late 19th century, nursing underwent a significant transformation within both Canada and the Western world. The influence of Florence Nightingale and her calls for a reformed nursing profession were spreading. A number of authors pinpoint Florence Nightingale as the point of emergence for modern nursing as a profession.[46] As one of the first recognized 'professions' for women, nursing became a central role and form of influences for women within the public sphere. Abel-Smith traces the development of nursing as a profession in Britain. He outlines the reforms primarily instituted and developed by Florence Nightingale and her legacy in the training of nurses in institutionalized, formal educational structures.[47] The Nightingale system ultimately transformed nursing into a recognized and respectable profession for women.[48]

However, as Kirkwood points out, early in its development within Canada, the training of nurses was recognized as less of an educational pursuit and more of a service or duty served over a term for the public good.[49] If nurses were to remain in the profession, they were required to remain unmarried. Therefore, their terms and service was often seen as temporary by those providing the education. However, a look through the annual report of the School of Nursing from 1905 offers a contradictory point. Out of the graduates from 1902, five nurses out of twenty three married (or left the profession) since receiving their certificate three years earlier. This number is relatively the same

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[46] See: Brian Abel-Smith, A History of The Nursing Profession, (London: Heinemann, 1960); Christina Bates, Dianne Dodd, and Nicole Rousseau (eds), On All Frontiers: Four Centuries of Canadian Nursing, (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005); Bonnie Bullough, The Emergence of Modern Nursing, (New York: Macmillan Company, 1964); and, Mary O. Innis, Nursing Education in a Changing Society, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970).

[47] Abel-Smith, 50-80.

[48] Dianne Dodd, Nurses' Residences: Commemoration of Canadian Nursing, Historic Sites and Monuments Board Agenda Paper (1997-71) (Gatineau: Historic Sites and Monuments Board, 1997), 2112.

[49] Lynn Kirkwood, "Enough but Not Too Much: Nursing Education in English Language Canada (1874-2000)," In On All Frontiers: Four Centuries of Canadian Nursing, eds. Christina Bates, Dianne Dood, and Nicole Rousseau (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2005), 183-186.

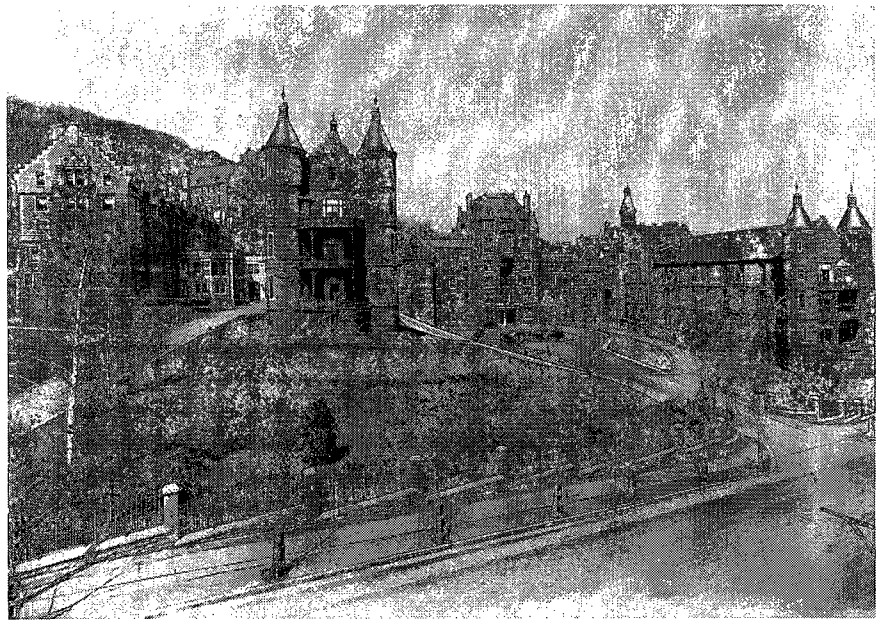

Figure 10: Royal Victoria Hospital (with Hersey Pavilion to the left), c. 1918. *Credit:* McCord Museum, VIEW-6210

Figure 11: Royal Victoria Hospital's Nurses Group, 1896. *Credit:* McCord Museum, II-117089

concerning graduates from 1896: nearly a decade after their convocation, only six women out of twenty-three had married and the remaining seventeen were still in the nursing profession. The numbers of married graduates remain relatively consistent throughout the years 1896-1905 inclusive, while the positions of these nurses varied between public, private and educational practices.[50] These figures demonstrate that the profession of nursing, despite the temporal goals of its service-orientated training, offered a long term career for a number of women in the early 20th century. Although some sources argue that nursing was not treated as a long term professional option for women in the early 20th century, the numbers of women who remained in practice following graduation at the Royal Victoria Hospital reveal an alternative reality. Given the numbers of women that remained within the nursing profession throughout their lives, nursing is certainly one of the first modern career options for women and was thus constructed as a gendered institution.

The Royal Victoria Hospital established its Training School for Nurses in 1888 and the first superintendent was appointed five years later, similar to practices already in place in Ontario a decade earlier.[51] These training schools were established as a component of hospitals, not educational institutions. The School of Nursing at the Royal Victoria Hospital quickly grew into a key component of the institution. As is evidenced in the 1905 valedictory address by a Surgeon of the hospital, Dr. James Bell, the education of nurses was a crucial element in the larger institution. "In fact the Training School for

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[50] McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 190, file 00190, Annual Reports Royal Victoria Hospital Publications, 1900-1905, "1905 Annual Report"(McGill University Archives, Montreal)
[51] Lynda DeForest, Proud Heritage: A History of the Royal Victoria Hospital Training School for Nurses 1894-1972, (Montreal: Trandek, 1994), 4.

Nurses in the modern hospital, has almost become a corner stone of the institution."[52] This same year, the Founders and benefactors of the hospital recommended that a formal residence be constructed for the nurses in training.[53] The ability to comfortably accommodate nurses was a key component of nursing education at the turn of the century. The Royal Victoria Hospital soon offered individual rooms, which was supplemented by an addition to the building erected just over a decade later. The school attracted students from all over eastern Canada with nearly thirty graduates each year by 1912, with over 500 applications received yearly.[54] Despite increasing demand, the school continued to accept only a handful of candidates. Nursing thus became a largely exclusive profession open only to a small selection of women. Therefore, only a small percentage of women at the turn of the century were able to access the nursing profession, despite the large numbers of women remaining in the profession following graduation.

As a nursing residence, this site evolved as the profession and training of nurses evolved. In a 1957 article appearing in an unknown daily newspaper, Ethel Reid marks some of the profound shifts she witnessed first as a student beginning in 1915 and then as an educator at the school. These shifts in the nursing profession and specifically in student life are reflected in the changing role of the Hersey Pavilion residence.[55] The School of Nursing formally closed in 1972, with a total of 4639 graduates of the program.[56] This closure was primarily due to the shift towards university educated nurses and modern

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[52] McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 0410, file 00410 Valedictory Address Given at The Graduation Ceremonies of the Royal Victoria Hospital Training School, April 1, 1905, by James Bell, MD, Surgeon. 2.
[53] McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 190, file 00190, Annual Reports Royal Victoria Hospital Publications, 1900-1905, "1905 Annual Report."
[54] McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 408, file 00408, Royal Victoria Hospital Nursing School Programme, 1912; McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 190, file 00190, Annual Reports Royal Victoria Hospital Publications, 1900-1905, "1905 Annual Report."
[55] McGill University Archives, RG 95, c. 174, file 00174, Royal Victoria Hospital Press Clippings,"Toss of a Penny Began Her Carrer at RVH Here." (McGill University Archives: Montreal).
[56] DeForest, 1.

standardized education. At the same time, the Quebec government phased out English speaking training programs and transferred them to colleges rather than hospitals.[57] Upon its closure, the function of the Hersey Pavilion evolved. It now contains staff offices, the Hospital's library and staff break areas. The original function as a residence can still be seen in the ground-floor layout, however the evidence of this original function has largely disappeared.

The Hersey Pavilion was formally designated as a National Historic Site in 1997. In the late 1990s, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada developed two primary themes which served to guide their commitment to designating sites related to women. One of these themes, Women and Health Care, is addressed in a number of reports produced in the late 1990s. An agenda paper written in 1997 by Dianne Dodd outlines the importance of designating a nurse's residence as a part of this key theme. Dodd argues that these residences were one of the first purpose-built structures solely for women. These structures were designed to suit not only women and their gender roles of the period, but formed an integral part of the nursing culture that subsequently developed.[58] Therefore, these residences became the principal tangible symbol to (re)present the development of nursing. The hospitals in which the nurses trained underwent a significant transformation and cannot offer the same interpretative structures as a residence. Also, this type of architecture and its construction was specifically related to the profession itself and developed along with it. In this same report, the Hersey

[57] Ibid, 25.
[58] Dodd, 1997, 2115-6.

Pavilion was recognized as a key example of this type of architecture and therefore could provide a crucial symbol within the larger theme of women in health care.[59]

Following this agenda paper, a number of nurses' residences were brought before the HSMBC as proposals for designation. It was established that these residences would be a crucial component of interpreting the theme of women in health care:

> The Board agreed with the paper's contention that a nursing residence was the best place at which to commemorate through interpretation the contribution of nurses and nursing to scientific medicine and to women's agency as health care professionals. The residence was central to the nursing culture. It spoke to the training and professionalism of nurses, to their social life, to the development of their unique culture and to the emergence of leaders in the field of nursing. [60]

It was also suggested at the meeting that a cost-sharing or co-operative discussion should take place in order to establish an interpretive program at the Hersey Pavilion, and in particular to interpret this women's history theme.[61] From the consultation of meeting minutes, it appears that there is no interpretive system in place as of yet.

The plaque text offers a critical area of analysis for this particular site, given the inherent contradictions between the plaque and the reports. The plaque text was written in 2006, almost a decade after the original designation:

> The stately Hersey Pavilion, one of the earliest purpose-built nurses' residences in Canada, symbolizes the development and recognition of nursing as a profession in the early 20th century. From 1907 until 1972 this

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[59] Dodd, 1997, 2124-2125, 2130.
[60] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, November 1997 (Gatineau: HSMBC, 1997), electronic version p. 48.
[61] Ibid.

> building housed students from the Royal Victoria Hospital's School for Nurses, who cared for hospital patients as part of their training. Named for Mabel Hersey, prominent nursing leader and the school's superintendent from 1908 to 1938, the residence provided a home-like setting, where a pioneering generation of professional nurses lived, trained, and formed lasting ties.[62]

The plaque text reaffirms the connection the Hersey Pavilion has with nursing, recognizing the building as a primary component in the development and professionalization of nursing. It recognizes the important time period in which the Pavilion operated and the role it played in the establishment of this profession. Produced at the time of its designation, the report makes explicit connections between the Pavilion and women's history, citing this as a key reason for designation. However, no explicit mention is made in the plaque text of the specific ties with women's history, or the development of nursing as a distinctly women's profession. For example, 'nurse' and 'student' are used as gender-neutral terms, hiding the distinct connections to women specifically that are explicitly stated in the report. The significance of nursing as one of the first acceptable professions for women that was outlined as a primary reason for the building's designation in the report is also missing in the plaque text. Through the use of gender neutral language and the absence of specific connections to women's history, the plaque text does not address a number of the key reasons why the Hersey Pavilion was designated a decade earlier.

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[62] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Meeting Minutes of the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, June 2006 (Gatineau: HSMBC, 2006), electronic version n.p.

Figure 12: Original Wing of the Hersey Pavilion, 2009.

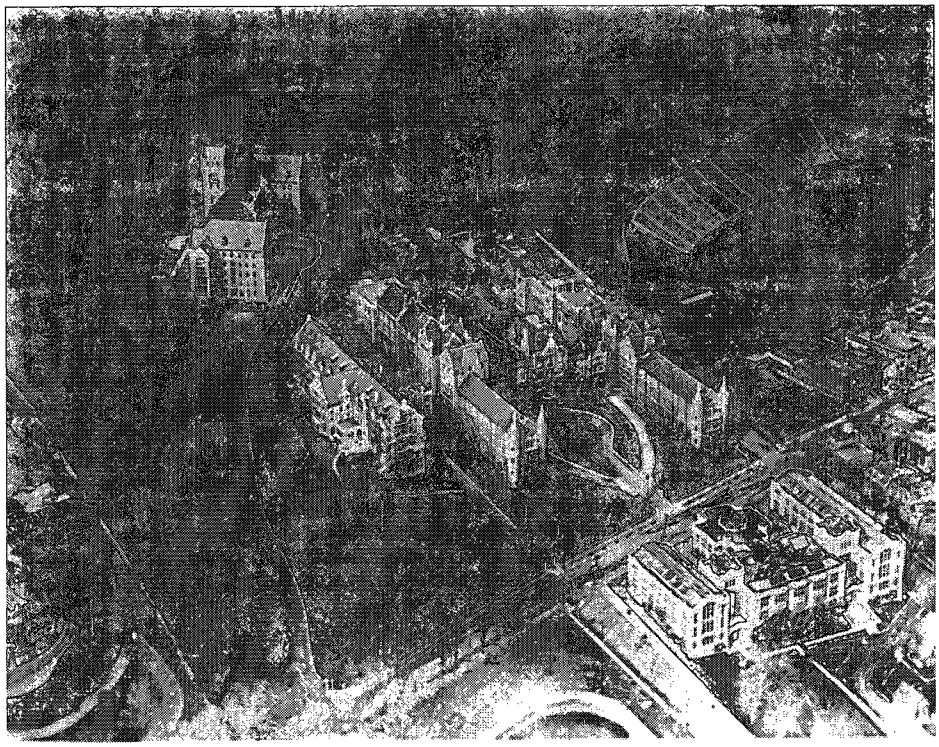

Figure 13: Aerial View of the Royal Victoria Hospital, c. 1925. *Credit:* McCord Museum, MP-0000.1877.1

The importance of nursing as a profession was one of the first major themes developed in early women's history efforts of the 1960s and most studies on the history of nursing and women's roles within it date from this foundation period.[63] 'Women in nursing' was viewed as a central theme within both the 'great woman' and 'social history' shifts introduced in Chapter 2. For early women's historians, nurses provided visible evidence that women's history was under-represented. While the gendered profession was visible within the public sphere, there was little recognition of their significant historical role within the history discipline. 'Recovering' this history and their stories became a symbolic fight for including other visible but under-represented women who operated within the traditionally male dominated public sphere. In particular, much of this recovery relied on memory. Abel-Smith recognizes in the acknowledgements of his book that much of the study is based on individual accounts and recollections.[64] This historical interest in nursing and its professionalization translated more currently into the choice by the HSMBC to pick 'women in health care' as one of the first themes within women's history to be considered for site designations.

The HSMBC, communicated through the agenda paper produced by Dianne Dodd, recognized a number of complexities and important symbolism in the choice of the nurse's residence. For example, Dodd argues that these residences in particular offer significant insight regarding gender roles for the time period in which it was constructed. She contends that the location of these residences provide valuable information in terms of how women were viewed during the period in which they were constructed. The Royal Victoria Hospital's positioning on a picturesque piece of land closely surrounded by

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[63] See: Abel-Smith and M. Innis.
[64] Abel-Smith, xiii.

natural elements reflected ideas about women's fragility and their need to be protected from the urbanism of the city. Live-in superintendents allowed for a female mentorship program, similar to that of a mother and daughter relationship. This domestic style of architecture, living and location all coincided with the assumed gender roles of young women during the early 20th century.[65] Therefore, nurses' residences not only provide insight in terms of a key female profession that was developed in the early 20th century, but they also provide a valuable venue for understanding how gender roles were constructed surrounding domestic ideals.

Even within the profession of nursing, women were expected to maintain strict views of femininity. This is demonstrated by the Florence Nightingale Pledge which was recited by graduates until at least the First World War. This pledge outlined key feminine characteristics, such as submission, loyalty and particularly purity, which a woman promised to maintain throughout her professional life.[66] The Hersey Pavilion is a tangible component in the contemporary expression of these gendered expectations. Therefore, the site itself is a significant part in the commemoration and understanding of these gendered constructs.

Little mention is made within the HSMBC documents of the particular type of women's history that is being (re)presented at this site. Except for the agenda paper by Dodd, there is little mention that the 'nursing profession' is a distinctly gendered institution. 'Nursing' is mentioned in general terms with an assumed (or forgotten) label

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[65] Dodd, 1997, 2117.

[66] "I solemnly pledge myself before God and in the presence of this assembly to pass my life in purity and to practice my profession faithfully. I will abstain from whatever is deleterious and mischievous, and will not take or knowingly administer any harmful drug. I will do all in my power to maintain and elevate the standard of my profession and will hold in confidence all personal matters committed to my keeping, and all family affairs coming to my knowledge in the practice of my calling, with loyalty will I endeavor to aid the physician in his work, and devote myself to the welfare of those committed to my care."

as a 'women's profession.' For example, as evidenced by class photos, every graduate from the School of Nursing at the Royal Victoria Hospital was female, however no mention of this appears to be made.[67] Additionally, the plaque text of the Hersey Pavilion, the report and agenda papers prepared by the HSMBC and the Alumnae produced book on the School of Nursing contain little or no mention of the exclusivity of the school and the profession more generally. However, in the 1997 meeting minutes, there is a mention of the important considerations that would need to be taken if an interpretive program was established. "...[A]ppropriate attention be given in the interpretation to the fact that as it emerged people of colour, Aboriginals, Jews and other minority groups had been denied early entry into the nursing profession."[68] Nonetheless, the profession of nursing as a gendered, classed and racialized institution is largely disregarded in the significant documents on the site.

The lack of recognition of the gendered nature of the Hersey Pavilion and nursing more generally in the public presentation of this history is problematic for a number of reasons. On one level, disregarding that nursing was historically a woman's profession works to silence the voices of this specific institution's gendered history. The study of a particular group's history, the maintenance of its memory, and its public presentation is a method in which previously silenced groups can gain empowerment in the present. Despite acknowledging the importance of nursing, the public commemoration of the profession (as reflected in the designation of the Hersey Pavilion) does little to empower or legitimize that specific group. Their historic roles and importance are rarely discussed and therefore they remain largely anonymous. For most of the century, 'nurses' in Canada

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[67] DeForest, appendix.
[68] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Meeting Minutes, 1997, electronic version 48.

were predominantly white middle class women who functioned under a specific gender ideology introduced earlier. Through non-recognition of this particular group and the constructed development of the 'nursing culture', the HSMBC is perpetuating a misunderstood history of the group, which was historically silenced. In the long term, this can serve to alter the collective memory of this particular group and thereby change the (re)presentation of their history. The expanding diversity of the nursing profession today may be mistakenly applied to the past, thus shifting the understanding of this particular 'culture'. It is therefore imperative to recognize the specific gendered, classed and racialized particulars of this 'culture' in order to ensure that its public recognition remains rooted.

Conclusion

These three case studies, although very different in terms of the types of histories that are (re)presented, are all indicative of similar themes. Each site was designated in order to meet a nationally mandated historical 'theme' of the HSMBC. They were chosen as the most suitable sites for (re)presentation and interpretation for these particular themes. As a result, all three case studies have been designated not only because of their national importance individually, but also because of their connections to broader national themes. Their choice and connections with these themes appear to have guided the (re)presentation of these sites and discussions over interpretative programs.

The next chapter of this thesis will connect theoretical discussions within memory, gender history and heritage conservation to the three case study examples. The three sites are also significant spaces for the discussion and interpretation of the multiplicity of gender history. While the Hersey Pavilion is the only site connected with the theme of

'women's history' specifically, all three case study sites, when considered as a whole, offer a different perspective in terms of gender history. This framing of gender history, and particularly the interaction of the three sites, is a crucial discussion that will also be addressed in the next chapter. It is through these connections that a viable and useful interpretative program can be achieved. Finally, all three of these sites represent a shifting understanding of what is a National Historic Site and how should it be presented to the public. This is poignantly illustrated in the evolution of ideas associated with the Lachine site, but can be understood in relation to the designation of the Hersey Pavilion and the Boulevard Saint Laurent as well. Understanding these three case studies in relation to these larger concepts, and particularly the theoretical discussions outlined in Chapter 2, is a crucial step in ensuring that the understanding of National Historic Sites continues to develop an inclusive approach towards various histories.

Chapter 4 – Macro Policies and Micro Site Interpretation: Incorporating a Gendered Approach

> Through selection and omission, historic parks determine what events are significant to Canadian history. Their representations perpetuate existing social hierarchies and disguise issues like oppression and cultural annihilation beneath a charming and quaint façade of colonial utopianism.[1]

If historic sites engage in a process of selection and omission, as Erna Macleod contends, then the construction of the Canadian nation is largely dependent on the manner in which these sites are interpreted for the public. Thus, their interpretation holds significant implications for the preservation of historical voices and memories, particularly those that were previously silenced. These important considerations are integral for all National Historic Sites, not just those representing the voices of women. All three case study sites (and the types of sites they (re)present) outlined in the previous chapter have a significant part to play within this interpretation of the Canadian national story. Through the development of appropriate, viable and inclusive interpretation, it is possible for these sites to exemplify cognitive shifts that can take place on both the macro and micro levels.

Through the documentation and outlining of the three case study sites in Chapter 3, larger proposed changes to the policies of Parks Canada, and specifically the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) can be analyzed. This chapter is divided into

[1] Erna Macleod, "Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," *Canadian* Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture, ed. Garry Sherbert, Annie Gerin and Sheila Petty (Waterloo: Wilfred University Press, 2006), 366.

two larger sections organized around the macro and micro proposals this thesis is introducing for the HSMBC system. This method of organization is chosen in order to correspond with the two principal areas in which changes should occur; however, this methodology is not directly correspondent to Parks Canada organization. Nonetheless, under this structure, the delineation between shifts that would take place on a policy level and those taking place at the individual site level are easily observed. Therefore, for the purposes of this thesis, macro changes refer to larger Parks Canada policies and practices, while the micro changes are focused on specific sites and individual practices. This method of organizing the proposed changes is fluid, and in many cases the analysis overlaps between the macro and micro. Additionally, if the proposed changes were instituted at the macro level, many of the micro issues would be addressed. While macro changes would influence individual site policies, this organizational separation allows for the consideration of factors and changes unique to particular sites.

The macro section is further divided into two principal subsections based on two broader changes suggested for HSMBC policy. In this section, the *System Plan* is deconstructed, specifically in terms of how it prioritizes new designations, and also the manner in which 'gender' is considered within this document. In order to demonstrate some of the macro critiques, the three case study sites are analyzed as specific examples of 'types' of sites. The second section of this chapter considers the micro changes; specifically changes to individual sites and how specific sites are researched, managed and interpreted. Reflecting the larger methodology of this thesis, the three primary case study sites are used as demonstrative examples of these proposed changes. The report/designation process, the writing of the plaque text, the management and the

interpretation of the site are considered in each case on the basis of the findings outlined in Chapter 3; however, the primary emphasis in all cases is on the interpretive program.

Macro Critiques, Changes and Challenges

In order for gender history to be integrated within federal heritage practices, larger macro changes need to occur that acknowledge the presence of 'gender' at all National Historic Sites. These macro changes would affect how the federal system (specifically in regards to Parks Canada) develops new designations and manages existing ones. The macro changes that are proposed in this section refer specifically to larger policy changes, particularly in regards to the current *System Plan.* Additionally, these changes reflect a more encompassing analysis in how gender is considered within the federal framework. While the micro changes to individual sites would be more 'visible' to the public, an organizational-wide shift in thinking and understanding would influence individual site changes as well. In order to reflect the types of critiques, changes and challenges required at the macro level, this section is divided into two principal sub-sections. The first outlines challenges to the current *System Plan*, specifically in regards to the 'strategic priorities'. This sub-section re-positions how 'women's history' and its under-representation can be presented in conjunction with the two other strategic priorities. The second sub-section considers how 'gender' can be used as a frame of analysis at all National Historic Sites. In order to demonstrate this, three different 'types' of Historic Sites will be used to reveal how 'gender' can function at all sites. By considering three 'types' of sites, it is possible to outline and evaluate the reasoning for the inclusion of gender, but also the practical applications of its consideration.

The current *System Plan* outlines three strategic priorities for new designations; that is, specific types of history targeted for new sites because of a previous lack of representation in designations. Designations in these three areas (Aboriginal history, ethno-cultural history and women's history) resulted in an increase in the number of related sites since strategic priorities were cited. However, these three areas have largely been considered in isolation. The purpose of this subsection is to outline a key critique of this particular policy and present a new method that would reflect a more integrated and comprehensive approach to all National Historic Sites. An increase in the actual numbers of designated sites is observable; however, this does not necessarily reflect a larger change in perspective and therefore the future sustainability of strategic priorities is called into question. Within this chapter, a 'gendered approach' refers to how questions pertaining to gender and gender history should be integrated within discussions, policies, research and interpretation of National Historic Sites. A renewed perspective reflective of historiographical shifts is crucial for the sustenance of not only gender history, but other previously silenced voices within the Canadian meta-narrative. A shifted understanding of 'heritage' and a holistic integration of 'gender' as a category of analysis would ensure that the recognition of 'other' histories remained sustainable, even after the strategic priorities were met.

A primary place in which such changes should be made is in the current *System Plan.* Introduced earlier, the *System Plan* is a policy document that thematically organizes current designations but also sets priorities for future designations. One principal critique of the strategic priorities of the *System Plan* is based on the 'specialization' of different types of history. Aboriginal history, ethno-cultural history and women's history are treated

in isolation of other types of history as 'special projects'. By citing them as 'strategic priorities', it is assumed that these types of histories do not fit within Canadian national histories. This designation of 'special' renders these groups in need of special treatment. The label of 'interest groups' is analyzed by a number of contemporary theorists which has instigated a significant debate on identification. Iris Marion Young analyzes the critiques against special interest groups and develops a positive model of group differentiation.[2] This idea of 'special interest groups' can easily be applied to a renewed version of the Parks Canada *System Plan*'s understanding of strategic priorities. If identity is not equated with social groups or their histories, then the discussion of the differences among all groups is possible. Such a discussion is not only significant for those that have been previously marginalized; rather, it recognizes the perspectives of all histories and their interaction. Such integration has the possibility of breaking power imbalances within the historical narrative and therefore ensuring the voices of previously silenced groups are increasingly recognized.

By positioning 'women', 'Aboriginal' and 'ethno-cultural' as special designations, the *System Plan* is placing these stories outside of the dominant national histories that the HSMBC recognizes. While increased (re)presentation of these stories to reflect their importance to the Canadian nation is required, placing such stories outside of the dominant category further perpetuates the established power structure. The label of 'strategic priority' is a temporary solution, prompting the question: how will these types of history be treated once the strategic priorities are revisited and altered? In order to ensure

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[2] Iris Marion Young, Inclusion and Democracy (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 82-83, 87: This structure, which recognizes the differences among groups and experiences, is a key component of inclusive democracy. Her model of such groups deconstructs the essential attributes that are understood to differentiate them in order to confront the assumption that identity goes hand in hand with social groups.

that women's, Aboriginal and ethno-cultural history is continually a part of Canada's national history as manifested through National Historic Sites, a larger shift in understanding needs to occur within both cognitive awareness and practical policy. This holistic change would ensure the sustainability of gender, race and ethnicity as categories of historical analysis at all National Historic Sites.

A primary challenge and site for change within the *System Plan* is regarding the use of the category 'women's history'. As is evidenced in the strategic priorities description, women's history is a label applied to historical stories pertaining to women.[3] The use of this term produces a number of stereotypes and assumptions about the type of history being (re)presented. As discussed previously, this assumes that 'women' are a special interest group that does not fall within the 'norms' of national history. If a group has been systematically excluded in the patriarchal construction of the past previously, then further segregating and specializing this type of history does not effectively ensure greater integration in the future. 'Women' as an historical category also serves to generalize and essentialize the diverse experiences of women in the past, based on (but not exclusively) their race, location, (dis)ability, sexuality, historical era, class, etc. While 'women's history' serves to increase the inclusion and visibility of women's experiences of the past, its treatment in isolation of larger national histories and its generalizing approach does not effectively deconstruct the complexities of history.

In contrast, a greater emphasis on 'gender history' emerged within the past couple of decades within feminist scholarship. Introduced in Chapter 2 in relation to memory, gender history repositions 'gender' as the key category of historical analysis. Cott and Faust discuss gender history as a field of research that considers the effects of gender

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[3] Parks Canada, National Historic Sites of Canada System Plan (Gatineau, QC: Parks Canada, 2000).

throughout history and how it has affected both men and women. They argue that gender history itself is important to every form of historical analysis and therefore is a broad and diverse field, while women's history was previously exclusive.[4] Rose points out similar reasoning in the introduction to a dialogue regarding women's/gender history. She argues that many feminists shifted from considering exclusively women to focusing more on the category of gender, its impacts and implications.[5] Rose also notes how gender history breaks down the category of 'woman' by dealing with 'gender' more generally.[6] By looking at 'gender' as a category of analysis rather than applying a universalist term such as 'woman', it is possible to examine how different people in different situations relate to constructions of gender and the systems of patriarchy. This is particularly relevant when outlining the types of histories present at National Historic Sites. Using 'gender' as a category of analysis not only repositions men and women as contributors in history, but it also allows for a greater consideration of the diversity of experience in the past.

Conversely, the current strategic priorities within the *System Plan* employ 'women's history' rather than gender history. While this language does position women as an under-represented category in the past, it does not allow for 'women' to be included within larger national histories constructed within the nation and the past. Changing the linguistic usage within the *System Plan* initially appears as a minor change, but this shift in discourse reflects a larger transformation in how the past is contextualized. Gender history, as a form of historical inquiry, not only outlines how gender was understood in the past, it also analyzes the variety of experiences of various peoples based on other identity

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[4] Nancy F. Cott. and Dew Gilpin Faust, "Recent Directions in Gender and Women's History," OAH Magazine of History 19.2 (2005): 4.
[5] Sonya O. Rose, "Introduction to Dialogue: *Gender History/Women's History*: Is Feminist Scholarship Losing its Critical Edge?" Journal of Women's History 5.1 (1993): 89.
[6] Rose, 90.

markers. For example, the contemporary analysis of gender allows for a deconstruction of how race, class, location, time period, sexuality, etc, are factors within experiences and the transmission of stories from the past. Following this methodology, the discourse of gender history (supplemented with questions surrounding memory) is a possible method for the understanding of all history, especially those stories related to previously under-represented groups. It also recognizes the variety of experiences and is therefore a method of ensuring power structures are constantly challenged.

The other strategic priorities of the current *System Plan*, ethno-cultural history and Aboriginal history, can be considered under the same general framework. Although these two priorities are not the focus of this particular thesis, it is important to recognize that a re-evaluation of the *System Plan* and its treatment of under-represented histories would influence these categories as well. Deconstructing the presence of 'race' and 'ethnicity' at all National Historic Sites would reveal the complex ethno-cultural history present in the larger Canadian meta-narrative. This understanding of history allows for not only greater inclusion of the under-(re)presented past, but also promotes greater integration of historical narratives and a more encompassing vision of the past. In this way, the histories of non-French or non-English cultures can be analyzed as a part of the same narrative as the histories of communities that do not fall into the 'dominant' category.

Questions associated with gender history also raise challenges to the current categorical approach that appears in the strategic priorities of the *System Plan*. Current limits in the existing framework can be illustrated when the intersections of different 'types' of histories are encountered. For example, Molly Brant was recently recognized as a historically significant person. Under the current framework, her 'designation' does not

take into account the complexities of her status as both a woman and an Aboriginal person. The categorical approach of the strategic priorities and the *System Plan* in general does not allow for a consideration of her position (as an Aboriginal woman) within Canadian history. If gender and race were considered within every designation, such questions would be more integrated within dominant national histories, thereby breaking down the construction of Canadian meta-narratives. While the raising of these questions may not always be possible in interpretative materials or plaques, the agenda papers and future publications resulting from such designations would significantly benefit from a renewed understanding of the intersectionality of historical realities.

If the *System Plan* removed strategic priorities and replaced them with a more holistic understanding, the gendered and racialized components of all National Historic Sites would be more observable. This shift would need to take place not only within future policy, but also in the treatment of already recognized sites. For this reason, the implications of policy shifts at the individual site level are significant to deconstruct. The second subsection will examine how gender can be considered at three different types of sites, as exemplified by the three case studies introduced earlier. A gendered approach repositions the principal questions examined at these sites and influences their considerations. This section 'categorizes' three types of sites (those related to women's history, those related to the history of the 'other', and those related to national history) in order to better analyze how concepts surrounding gender can be introduced at different types of National Historic Sites. A gendered approach to all National Historic Sites would influence existing sites in a variety of ways and therefore the purpose of this subsection is to examine some of these changes.

A principal topic of this thesis is the deconstruction of such categories within policy and more abstract cognitive frameworks. However, in order to accurately and effectively critique the current system (which employs such categories), the organizational scheme of this system needs to be employed. Therefore, although this thesis points out the shortcomings of this particular organization, the categorization of sites in this manner allows for a specific analysis of three different types of sites defined within this paper. Nonetheless, these types of sites are not absolute and they continuously overlap. Therefore these 'categories' are meant only as an organizational method of analysis and a frame in which to consider the three case study sites and should not be understood in the same manner as the categories critiqued previously. Other such 'categories' do exist, but these are the most pertinent to this thesis.

For sites related to traditional 'national history' themes, I will focus on the Fur Trade at Lachine for a case study example. 'National history' was introduced previously as accepted stories directly associated with and constructed for the Canadian nation, primarily to inspire belonging and nationalism among its citizens. Traditionally, as Daniel Francis examines, these histories were developed by the dominant group and rarely reflect a diversity of experience. The fur trade is a key example of a national story that unites and inspires nationalism among Canadians and the site at Lachine is a public manifestation of this type of history. Since national histories were largely constructed by the dominant group, they are sites of exclusion,[7] and therefore physical sites that represent such stories are physical spaces of exclusion. Despite these previous practices and realities, national histories have the potential to be reframed in order to (re)present their complex

[7] Timothy J. Stanley, "Whose Public? Whose Memory? Racisms, Grand Narratives and Canadian History," in To the Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada, ed. Ruth Sandwell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 33.

multiplicity. One of the methods in which to accomplish this is through the integration of a gendered approach at all National Historic Sites, particularly those related to national histories.

Questions regarding gender at National Historic Sites are framed at two principal levels. Firstly, deconstructing gender at the institutional level reveals how women and men were constructed historically within institutions and the nation. The fur trade, as an economic system and business enterprise, is understood as a key historical institution in pre-Confederation Canada. As Joan Acker argues, gendered institutions refer to the integration of gender within practices, images, ideologies and distributions of power in historical or contemporary institutions.[8] Since the fur trade was an institution historically run by men where 'masculine' characteristics were valued, the history of this institution was also framed in this manner and not questioned. Deconstructing the fur trade as a masculine institution is a key step in increasing the diversity of experiences presented at National Historic Sites related to it. Simply adding the experiences of women or Aboriginal peoples into the museum space or site interpretation does not allow for a complex understanding of the construction and continuation of the gendered institution in question. When the fur trade is considered to be a gendered institution within the larger story of the gendered Canadian nation, it is then possible to deconstruct the level of gender roles and ideologies present within the institution. For every national narrative and corresponding National Historic Site, such a reframing is required in order to develop a basis for understanding how women's roles have been constructed surrounding expectations of gender, which has consequently resulted in having their stories devalued.

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[8] Joan Acker, "From Sex Roles to Gendered Institutions," Contemporary Sociology 20.5, (Sept. 1992): 567.

Once the recognition and deconstruction of the gendered institution occurs, it is possible to integrate the individual experiences of previously silenced voices in order to increase representation. Currently, there are perspectives of women included at the Fur Trade at Lachine site explaining their role as wives, interpreters and cultural mediators.[9] However, the (re)presentation of these stories are still peripheral, and their relation to the gendered institution of the fur trade is still absent. In her ground breaking study, Sylvia Van Kirk examines the complex role of Aboriginal and 'mixed-blood' women in the fur trade. She explains that this type of examination allows for a nuanced understanding of the gender roles faced by women and men in relation to their race, ethnicity and class.[10] Such an understanding, she argues, is a key step in developing awareness and a valuing of current social change.[11] Although Van Kirk's examination is primarily focused on women's experiences, her method of analyzing the gendered roles of the fur trade also applies to men's experiences. Significantly, the roles of men in the fur trade need to be understood in relation to gender expectations related to class and race. While the stories of the various players within the fur trade are more recently integrated in its (re)presentation (particularly an interest in the voyageur), an understanding of how these roles were constructed based on gender, race, and class expectations is not fully integrated. Including 'gender' in this case as a frame of analysis at a site related to a 'standard' national history site allows for a more complex understanding of the integrated dynamics of race, class and gender experienced by both men and women.

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[9] For example, one panel entitled "An Essential Contribution" reads: "The fur trade would not have existed without the Amerindians. Depending on the region, tribes supplied pelts or provisions for the trading posts. While the braves hunted, Amerindian women performed almost all the domestic chores, repairing pelts and meat, sewing clothes, stringing snowshoes, pitching and striking the tent, and much more. They often served as intermediaries between the White Man and the Amerindian."

[10] Sylvia Van Kirk, Many Tender Ties: Women in Fur-Trade Society, 1670-1870, (Winnipeg: Watson and Dwyer, 1980), 16-17.

[11] Ibid, 15.

The manner in which gender can be integrated at all National Historic Sites varies depending on the type of site in question. While the Fur Trade at Lachine exemplifies a site related to national histories, the majority of new site designations fall outside of this category. Sites related to the history of the 'other', or generally sites that do not fall into the designation of 'national history', would similarly benefit from a gendered approach. The Boulevard Saint Laurent illustrates this example. For the purposes of this thesis, a site related to the (re)presentation of the 'other' is a place that depicts or presents the stories of those peoples or events or cultures which fall outside the dominant. In this way, sites related to the 'other' are rarely represented in national histories and have therefore been historically undervalued or unrecognized. The current strategic priorities of Parks Canada were partially developed to address this type of history. In considering this example, it is important to note that this 'type' of site is diverse and its consideration should not be regarded as monolithic. However, for the purposes of this thesis, the history of the 'other' is considered more generally because of the similar issues faced by marginalized groups. Nonetheless, it is important to recognize that there are complex differences between a site related to the working class and a site related to an ethnic minority, for example. These sites which do fall outside meta-narratives benefit from more integrated questions based on gender.

A gendered framework allows for the consideration of intersections between race, class and gender that are necessary to deconstruct when examining historical narratives. The Boulevard Saint Laurent is a key example of a site that cannot be considered solely for its relation to one ethnicity, one class or one gender, but rather it is the intersections of these identities over time that make the heritage of the Boulevard significant. In her

deconstruction of Louisbourg, Erna Macleod examines the complexities of (re)presenting previously silenced voices. She deliberates on how to avoid token inclusions of divergent stories and instead argues for a greater integration and recognition of complex intersections. For example, she points out the relatively simplistic (re)presentation of women (at most historic sites) as either upper class ladies of leisure or servants.[12] While gender is included at these sites, it is merely to increase (re)presentation and not examine the construction of such roles. The Boulevard Saint Laurent is a significant space in which to consider such complex constructions due to the diversity of race, ethnicity, class and sexuality present at the site throughout its history. A gendered approach to this type of space contributes to an intersectional understanding, and more importantly a deconstruction, of these historical roles. This type of approach breaks down the simplistic and monolithic presentations confronted by Macleod and ensures the possibility of understanding similar roles that function in the present.

As previously mentioned, a gendered approach interacts with racial and class deconstructions as well. Approaching an 'othered' site as a space with racial and class ideas, as well as those surrounding gender, creates a space in which these intersections are challenged. The integration of a gendered approach at a site presenting the history of the 'other' also serves to break down inequalities in the present. A greater recognition of the history of subordinated groups and integration within the historical narrative of the nation opens the door for increased inclusion and the challenging of continuing injustices. In his discussion of historical exclusions in relation to race, Stanley argues: "Public memory is

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[12] Erna Macleod, "Decolonizing Interpretation at the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," in Canadian Cultural Poesis: Essays on Canadian Culture, eds Garry Sherbert, Annie Gérin, and Sheila Petty (Waterloo: Wilfred University Press, 2006), 374.

one of the ways through which racist exclusion is effected."[13] If public memory continues to be constructed through a racist frame, changes to public memory cannot effectively take shape and therefore the continued break down of racist ideologies remains unaffected. With the application of gendered and racialized approaches to the interpretation of the past through National Historic Sites, the current racist practices identified by Stanley are continuously challenged. The designation of sites related to the 'other' do not go far enough in deconstructing the ideologies and expectations present at these sites, in the same way that representing slaves at Louisbourg will not address the racial shortcomings of that site's (re)presentations.[14] It is through a consideration of social constructions related to gender, race, class, etc, that such a change challenge current ideologies in the manner that Stanley advocates in order to positively shift public memory.

These larger ideological shifts would significantly alter the manner in which history is considered within federal heritage conservation. Even history related to women specifically would shift under the implementation of a gendered approach. Although the number of sites related to women has increased since becoming a strategic priority nearly twenty years ago, the approach to this history has remained fairly constant. A gendered approach to women's history not only increases the complexity of the questions considered, but it also ensures that 'women's history' as a priority is sustainable. As the various contributors in Dubrow and Goodman (eds) argue, the (re)presentation of women's history is much more complex than simply adding women's voices to the historical narrative. The various case studies in this ground breaking book demonstrate not only the multiplicity of stories, but the multiplicity of effective strategies for increased

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[13] Stanley, 32.
[14] Macleod, 372-374.

integration. In many cases, (re)presentations of women's history commonly do not alter the way in which gender is perceived as a category of historical analysis. For this consideration, the discussions of the differences between women's history and gender history introduced previously within this thesis are significant. 'Women's history' in this example refers to history that seeks to reclaim women's voices from the past and include them in contemporary interpretations, similar to the current practice of the HSMBC. Nonetheless, women's history should not be understood as a monolithic and static category.

A gendered approach to developing an understanding of women's history and subsequently interpreting it would allow for a more nuanced understanding of these stories. As articulated by the HSMBC documents on the designation, the Hersey Pavilion site is recognized as a key component in women's history. However, there is little discussion of the distinct type of women's history that it is connected with. A general disregard for the race and class components of the site fails to take into consideration the complexities of this particular site. By employing a gendered approach, the Hersey Pavilion is understood as a site connected more acutely with white middle class women's history, which in itself is embedded with very specific racialized and gendered ideals. These ideals can be articulated and understood employing a deconstructive gendered approach that examines the formulation of a specific type of femininity. In this case, the re-framing of women's history into gender history promotes a nuanced understanding of the complexity of women's historical realities and allows for easier and more articulate connections between the site and a specific gender role.

A gendered approach encourages a crucial discussion regarding the gendered constructions of space and how places are defined by power structures. Significant scholarly development in the area of gender and space has continued to develop in the last decade across disciplines. Architects, sociologists, historians, anthropologists and feminists have increasingly questioned the dynamics of space and how it is a gendered construct.[15] This research unearths questions regarding how women and men occupy space, how they connect to it and how space is inscribed with gender roles and values. The latter question, and specifically how historic spaces are embedded with gendered values, is of particular significance when considering National Historic Sites. For example, Canadian architectural historian Annmarie Adams deconstructs gendered space in relation to the hospital and also nurses residences.[16] As was introduced in Chapter 4, the space of the nurse's residence in particular was built in a specific 'domestic' manner in order to match attitudes towards women at the turn of the century. Similar deconstructions are possible at almost any site directly related to women, including domestic spaces, schools and teacher's colleges, and even early commercial spaces. The power imbedded in the construction and historical use of this space communicates significant elements pertaining to gender that would be effectively unearthed using a gendered approach.

Taking a gendered approach towards National Historic Sites allows for the discussion of such gendered, racialized and classed interactions to take place. The development of how spaces are constructed, formulated and used in relation to gender

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[15] For a cross discipline introduction, see: Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden eds, Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction, (New York: Routledge, 2000).

[16] See: Annmarie Adams, Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, House and Women, 1870-1900, (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1996); Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," in Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

should be a key question of consideration within National Historic Sites pertaining to women's history. Employing a gendered approach to all related sites allows for such power relations to be deconstructed and for spaces to be interpreted. This type of gendered approach encourages significant analysis to occur at 'domestic' sites in particular because it promotes not only an inclusion of domestic 'stories' but also a discussion of how such ideals were constructed and still recognizable in the physical spaces. This type of approach moves beyond the simple inclusion of voices by demonstrating the manner in which such voices were previously silenced and why. A gendered space approach can also be useful for the development of interpretative programs, which is discussed more fully in the subsequent section.

Micro Level Critiques, Changes and Challenges

Macro changes to the Parks Canada *System Plan* would result in micro changes at the level of individual sites. Since the *System Plan* specifically guides new designations, a different approach to micro changes is needed outside of the macro policy changes in order to instigate further shifts in current practice. While these two types of changes could exist exclusively of each other, macro changes to policy and new designations would inspire shifts at individual sites. In the end, these changes would be more visible to the public (as they have direct interaction with sites as compared to policy) and would be more wide-spread in the short term.

This section is divided into three principal subsections corresponding with the primary three case study sites of this thesis. In these three subsections, the previously introduced case studies are used as demonstrative examples of how a gendered approach could be applied to National Historic Sites on the individual site level. Each subsection

critiques two principal levels of the sites: the designation process as manifested through the report and plaque texts, and the interpretative level. The particulars of every National Historic Site are different and diverse in terms of history, designation, management, interpretation, etc; however, the three case study sites chosen offer a wide range of possible discussions and serve as representative examples of three types of sites that would benefit from a gendered approach. While these three case studies will be treated individually, in practice there are many overlaps between them. Additionally, these case studies are demonstrative of larger issues; however, they do not address all of the factors that could or should be considered. Despite these limits, the case studies offer a concrete example of the changes that could result due to the application of a gendered approach to National Historic Sites.

The Fur Trade at Lachine serves as a demonstrative example of how gendered questions apply to an individual site related to national histories of Canada. Deconstructing the designation agenda paper, plaque text and subsequent reports, helps to demonstrate how a gendered approach would influence current practices at the site. The original agenda paper for this site was written in 1970 and therefore reflects the period. Nonetheless, as is evident in the *Management Plan*, the original report still guides the practices of the site. The original report contains no mention of gender, race, ethnicity or class, specifically in terms of the diversity of people involved in the fur trade centered in Montreal. If a gender history approach were applied to this report (or a revision of it), intersections between these various identities and roles throughout the history of the site could be considered. The 1970 agenda paper is focused on the original owner of the specific site and the companies in which he worked. This type of historical framing is

consistent with how the fur trade was understood at the time in which the agenda paper was written. This story could be examined using a gender history approach and thereby deconstructed as a meta-narrative (that is, white middle class androcentric history). The purpose would not be to diminish the importance of this history but rather to reveal the particulars of the dominant group that is primarily (re)presented by this history. Additionally by using a gender history approach, increased attention is paid to alternative histories within the fur trade, and thereby expanding the diversity of voices being (re)presented by the site.

It is important that the original agenda paper is not 'erased' as an historical document; however, revisiting the information could improve the subsequent *Management Plan*. The current *Management Plan*, produced in 2007, begins to outline the complexities of gender, class and race at the Lachine site. However, the *Management Plan* does not explicitly state how an increased diversity of voices would be applied to the site. Nonetheless, the development of partnerships with First Nations communities is mentioned in the current *Management Plan* as a primary component in increasing regional involvement and diversifying perspectives. In her analysis of heritage interpretation, Astride Upitis deconstructs how Aboriginal involvement can be applied to the Australian setting in order to increase the diversity of voices and respect for Aboriginal land. Her analysis focuses on how a cross-cultural site can function and be interpreted on various levels through partnerships between communities.[17] These partnerships can serve as important methods of not only increasing the diversity of histories but also recognizing the complexity of the voices being (re)presented. Addressing how the complexity of site

[17] Astrida Upitis, "Interpreting Cross-Cultural Sites," in Heritage Interpretation vol. 1, ed. David Uzzell (New York: Belhaven, 1989).

Figure 14: The Fur Trade at Lachine with Canal, 2009.

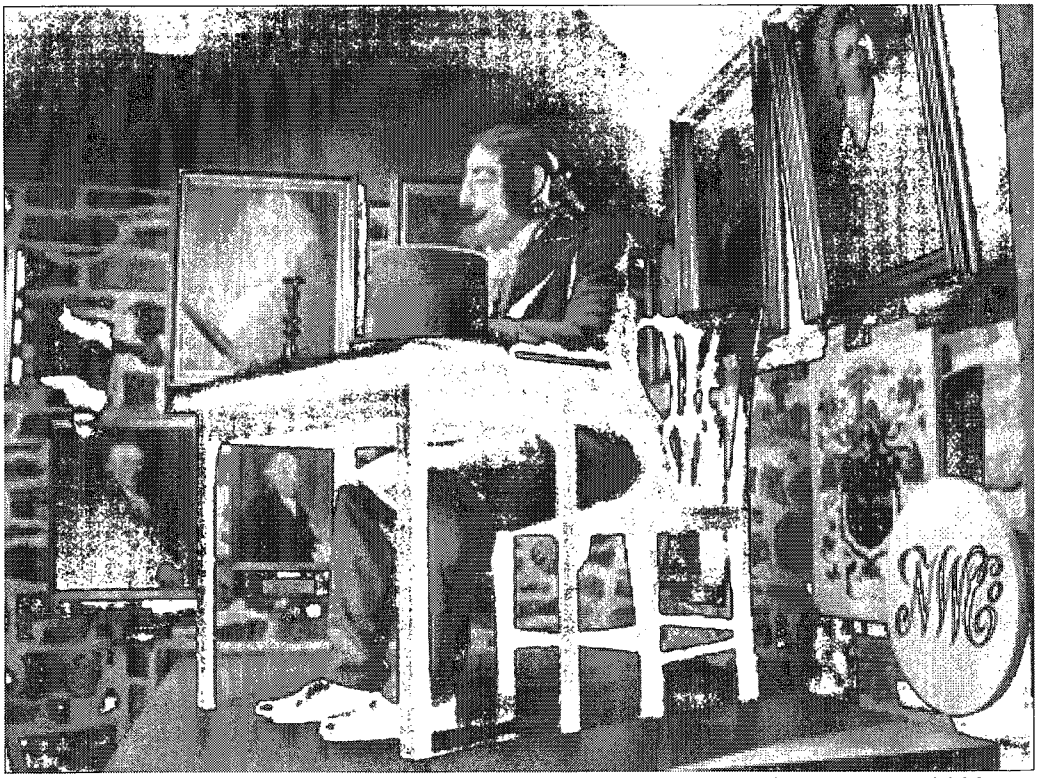

Figure 15: The Fur Trade at Lachine Museum with a Bourgeois Character, 2009.

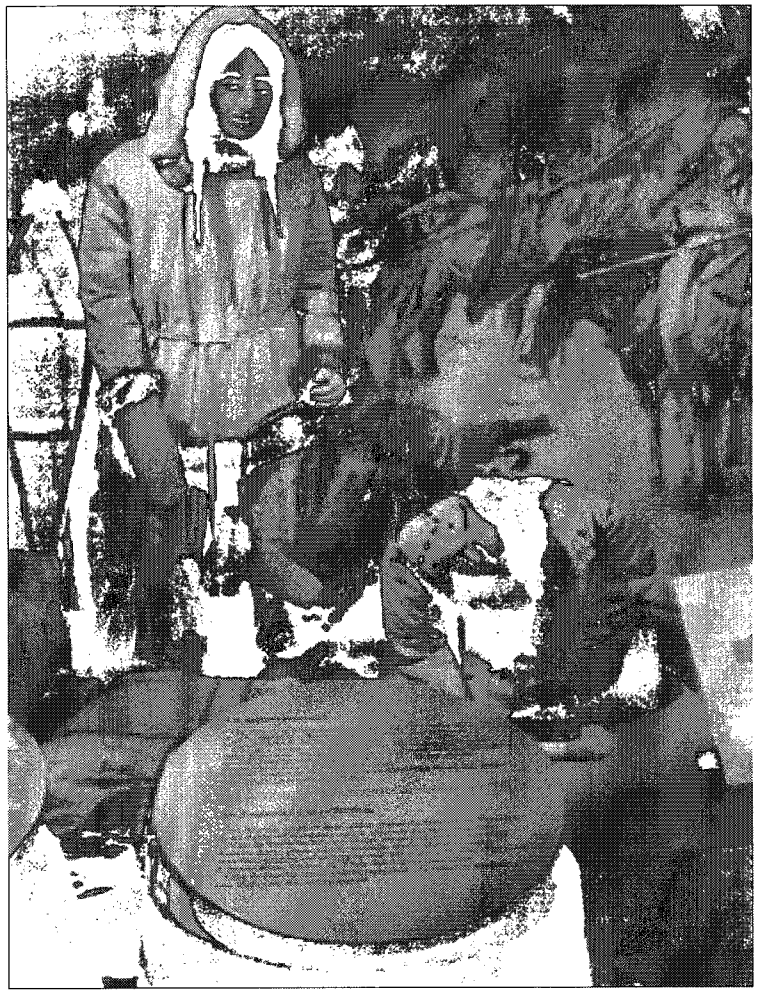

Figure 16: The Fur Trade at Lachine Museum with Aboriginal Characters, 2009.

history is managed should be a crucial component of the next *Management Plan* developed for the Lachine site. Recognizing and developing key partnerships with various groups that can expand the diversity of the site would be a primary step in furthering this initial commitment.

While the agenda paper and *Management Plan* are largely policy based documents used to guide practices, the public has more direct interaction with the interpretation of the site. It is therefore imperative that interpretative programs and strategies be the focus of re-evaluating current approaches and integrating gendered questions. As Sandwell notes, Canadian historians are frequently challenged by the Canadian public which labels their history as inherently boring and therefore irrelevant.[18] The result has been a continual decline in interest and visitor numbers to museums and sites. The Fur Trade at Lachine is confronted with this reality, as is evidenced in the current *Management Plan.* It outlines a commitment to improving visitor experience and thereby confronting dropping attendance rates.[19] One of the methods of addressing this is to increase the relevance and interest of the history being (re)presented. In her discussion of Louisbourg, Erna Macleod argues that ensuring connections with contemporary experiences allows for the increased engagement of visitors. One of the prime methods of implementing this, she contends, is through the development of meaningful and diverse (re)presentations.[20] Applying a gender, race and class lens to the fur trade can develop a renewed interest in this type of history as visitors can begin to develop connections with the stories. The primary method of accomplishing this is through interpretive programs.

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[18] Ruth Sandwell ed, To The Past: History Education, Public Memory and Citizenship in Canada, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 3-5.
[19] Additionally, Parks Canada has established a corporate policy related to the positive development of visitor experience at federally owned sites.
[20] Macleod, 378.

Interpretation at the Fur Trade at Lachine site exists at two primary levels: through the museum space, exhibits and texts, and through oral staff interpretation. The museum space at Lachine is organized by theme, which loosely corresponds to the various groups of people involved in the fur trade. Their stories are presented alongside artifacts that relate to their corresponding roles. However, no mention at the beginning of the exhibit is made regarding the diversity of roles and why such roles were divided in that manner historically. Conversely, the Canadian Museum of Civilization special exhibit presents the stories of the various players in the fur trade in a less effective and less integrated manner when compared with Lachine. However, a specific panel, entitled *Unequal Opportunities,* at the CMC exhibit explains the context in which these roles were constructed:

> Scottish partners and clerks, French-Canadian voyageurs, and Aboriginal wives, bison hunters and trappers all played vital roles in the North West Company. This was the first time in Canada's history that so many different ethnic groups interacted so closely within the same enterprise. But it was not a level playing field. Roles in the Company were largely determined by race, ethnicity, gender and social class.[21]

This panel provides a context in which the various roles are understood and framed within the rest of the exhibit. Having a similar contextual explanation at the beginning of the Lachine museum would help frame the rest of the stories to help visitors understand the historical construction of the roles, primarily based on race, gender and class, and the power structures in which these roles operated. This contextualization would allow for a more significant understanding regarding the constructed roles of the various players, rather than a simple inclusion of these voices. It would allow for

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[21] Canadian Museum of Civilization (Panel), "Unequal Opportunities," Profit and Ambition: The Canadian Fur Trade 1779-1821, (Gatineau: Canadian Museum of Civilization, 2009).

objects and voices to be considered in relation to one another rather than in isolation, promote an increased awareness of the multiplicity of stories and thereby increase interest in such histories.

In order to supplement the physical changes to the space, the museum would also need to include live interpretation to support the information. Having guided tours by costumed interpreters and historical players would effectively communicate these ideas. 'Performance' as an interpretive tool must be considered carefully in constructing this type of (re)presentation. The concept of 'living history' as an interpretive method was developed throughout the last 50 years; however, additional questions may be raised in response to more contemporary critiques. For example, recognizing that gender itself is a performance, and applying this to the historical context of interpretation, is difficult to balance. The performance of the historical players would be a significant supplement to the physical (re)presentation in the museum space. However, this performance would have to be carefully constructed in order to (re)present the most effective, valid and appropriate portrayal. Diethorn outlines a project at the Bishop William White House in Philadelphia in order to demonstrate how the multiplicity of voices can be increased at historical sites. Her method involves using a diversity of costumed interpreters that cover the racial, gendered and classed components of the site.[22] While this approach is certainly a key method in increasing the diversity of such voices, these changes do not go far enough. For example, introducing the 'voice' of a black slave may aid in the understanding of their individual lives, but does not aid in the understanding of historical power relations and designated roles. Having an interpretive tour given by two guides performing the roles of

[22] Katie Diethorn, "Domestic Work Portrayed: Philadelphia's Restored Bishop William White House – a Case Study," in Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation, ed Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003).

two different players in the history being (re)presented allows for comparisons to be drawn between them. A history presented by a Métis voyageur would differ significantly compared to the perspective of the Scottish owner. Increasing the diversity and multiplicity of voices is far less effective if there is no opportunity for comparison.

Additionally, the current interpretation of the site contains no mention of the longest inhabitants of the space, the Sisters of Sainte-Anne. The omission is primarily due to the original agenda paper that outlined the site specifically as a space for the interpretation of the fur trade exclusively. While the current *Management Plan* recognizes the existence of this critical layer of history and the significant amount of archeological evidence from this occupation, there are no strategies outlined to include it within the site's interpretation. If the voices at the site are diversified, it is important that the histories of the site also become diversified. Even though the original and continued primary purpose of the site and museum is to interpret the fur trade, it is still valid and important that other uses of the site be recognized. It is Parks Canada's mandate to (re)present stories of 'national historic significance'; however, the Sisters of Sainte-Anne still have a viable place within this story, even on the national level. Nonetheless, this point raises further questions regarding the larger purpose of National Historic Sites and their role (or lack thereof) in (re)presenting more localized stories, all of which is outside the scope of this thesis. This layer of history should be examined at the end of the museum in a small exhibit, or mentioned by staff interpreters. The continued omission of this history leads to the eventual altering of the collective memory that no longer includes this significant use and time period.

The Boulevard Saint Laurent offers important insight regarding how sites related to the 'other' are re-framed using a gendered approach. Like the previous example, this takes place on two primary levels: the initial designation/report, and the current interpretation. While the agenda paper for the previous site contained a number of shortcomings, the one produced for the Boulevard Saint Laurent is far more comprehensive. The agenda paper and report that accompany the original designation of the site effectively reflect the complexity of the site. Although the paper does not employ a gendered analysis specifically, Fulton and Vermette analyze the site and its relation to the various communities and peoples that are centered on the Boulevard. For this reason, the agenda paper will not be the focus of this subsection, but rather the development of a future interpretive program. To re-iterate, unlike the Fur Trade at Lachine site, the Boulevard Saint Laurent is not directly owned or managed by Parks Canada. However, as outlined in the original meeting minutes and agenda papers, interpretive programs were proposed in conjunction with Parks Canada. Very little interpretation is visible on the street today and therefore most of the recommendations contained in this section are based on the development of a possible future program.

The future development of interpretation at the Boulevard Saint Laurent would be a crucial component in deconstructing the complex intersections of gender, race, class, sexuality, etc, existing at the site both historically and contemporarily. Once again, this interpretive program takes place on two primary levels: physical markers and live oral interpretation. Current physical interpretive devices include markers designating the dates of construction of buildings, a few interpretive placards outside of key buildings near the middle of the Boulevard, and a handful of benches with quotes and images. These

Figure 17: Plaque on Sidewalk Marking the Construction Dates of Buildings along Saint Laurent, 2009

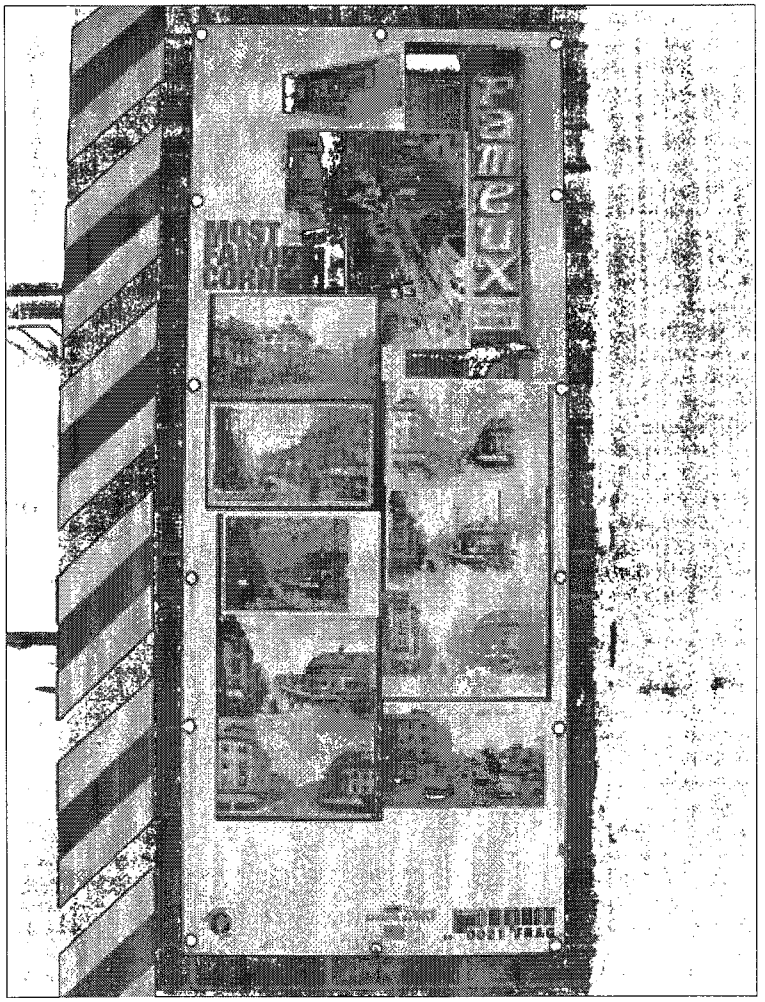

Figure 18: Interpretative Placard on Saint Laurent, 2009.

Figure 19: Commemorative Bench on Saint Laurent, 2009.

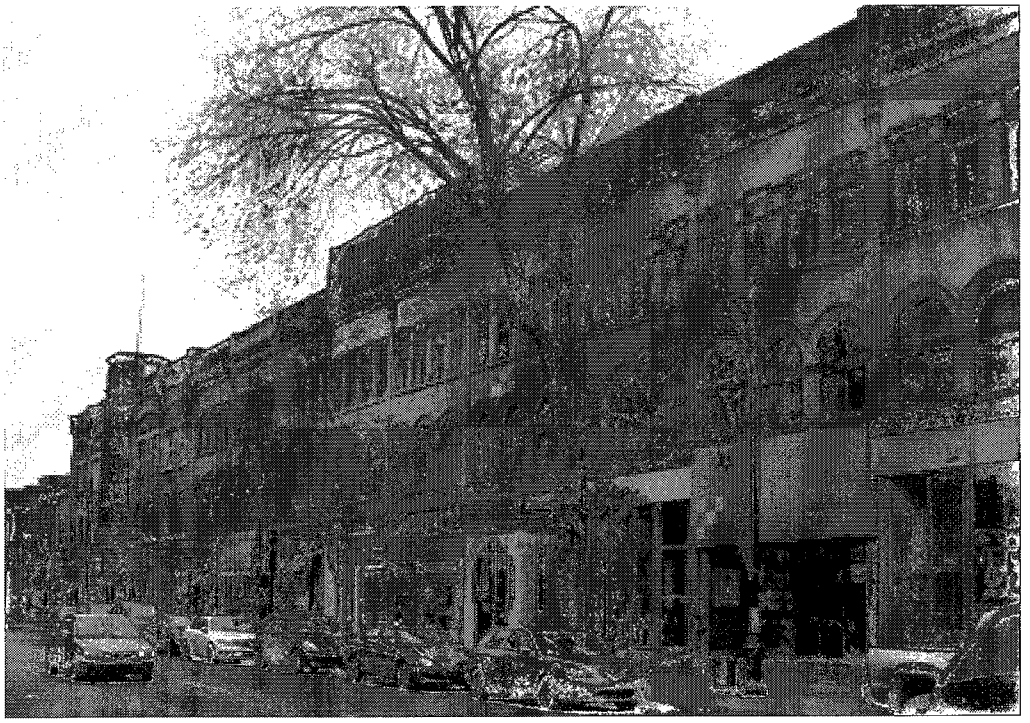

Figure 20: Boulevard Saint Laurent Streetscape, 2009.

physical interpretive devices appear to come from various governmental levels. Two significant places for revision are particularly the interpretative placards and benches. The existing placards are primarily focused on the buildings and their changing functions. While the physical built environment is important, both the study by Podmore and the agenda paper by Fulton and Vermette recognize that the primary significance of the Boulevard lies in its connections with people and a specific 'spirit'.[23] Integrating the changing functions of the buildings with the people who inhabited and influenced them would ensure that this continued 'spirit' of the Boulevard is communicated. Since only a few visible placards exist along the Boulevard, subsequent markers should take into consideration the people and communities that have influenced the built environment rather than a fixation on the physical elements.

In order to personalize and contextualize information about the Boulevard, the significant amount of artistic production centered around the Boulevard historically could be used as a vehicle for the transmission of its history. Artistic interpretations of Saint Laurent and works of art created by those communities centered around the Main would be a significant marker for the inclusion of their stories. Integrating such images would ensure that multiple interpretations of the Boulevard and its use are kept open. Along with visual art, written works by key authors centered on the Main can provide useful points of departure for understanding the complex interactions between races, ethnicities, genders and classes at the site both historically and contemporarily. The works of Mordecai Richler, particularly the *Son of a Smaller Hero* and *the Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz,*

[23] Gordon Fulton and Luce Vermette, L'Arrondissement Historique du Boulevard Saint-Luarent (La Main), Montreal (Quebec), Historic Sites and Monuments Board Agenda Paper (1996-25). (Gatineau: Historic Sites and Monuments Board, 1996); Julie Podmore, St. Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City': Place, Gender and Difference Along Montreal's 'Main', (Department of Geography, Doctor of Philosophy, McGill University. Montreal: McGill University, 1999), 55-58.

provide multiple understandings of the Boulevard, specifically in terms of the Jewish community. His variety of characters and their perspectives centered around a particular time period on the Main allow for a diverse interpretation of the various experiences of one specific community based on its position within it. Using these diverse perspectives contained within literature, paintings, music, film and theatre is a method in which complex intersections of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, age, etc, should be understood both on the historical and the contemporary Main.

To supplement the physical devices, live interpretative programs would greatly contribute to the development of a complex and multi-layered (re)presentation. Plans for such a program were proposed at various points since the site's designation; however, nothing is in place as of yet. If a live interpretation program were put in place, a number of significant questions (aside from practical issues regarding funding, implementation, etc) would be raised early in the

process. One of these questions would concern the type of history being presented at the site, the inclusions/exclusions, and the transmission of memories. It is in relation to these questions that the concerns of this critique primarily lie. The transmission of memories is a key aspect of presentation and analysis that should be incorporated in a live interpretation program.

The portrayal of these types of stories encourages further questions. Firstly, a live interpretive program would need to incorporate interpretation of both the past and present site. While the history of the Main raises a number of important questions for analysis, it must be remembered that the site is continuously evolving and in constant transition.

While the interpretation of a primarily historical site (like the Fur Trade at Lachine) needs to only consider questions of the past, the Main must integrate current stories in order to reflect the significance of the site. The recognition of this reality would be a key piece in the interpretative framework. Having interpreters who offer specific memories (both past and present) of the site combined with past interpretations (notably artistic and literary insights) would ensure that a number of perspectives are being offered and the continued evolution of the space is recognized as a significant piece in its story. The historical context of the Main is essential for understanding present realities, but similarly present realities give considerable insight into past experiences. A delicate balance between these two factors would be necessary for the interpretation of this site, even if it has been cited as a 'National Historic Site' and is therefore assumed to exist primarily in the past. Unlike a fur trade site that has evolved in use but is now completely devoid of its original function, a key reason for the recognition of the Main is its current evolution and therefore an interpretive program needs to recognize this.

It would be imperative to employ interpreters familiar and connected with the past and/or current communities situated on or around the Main. Ideally, an interpretive program would include a variety of perspectives offered by a number of people that thus communicate the various perspectives of those inhabiting the Boulevard Saint Laurent in both the past and present. A program that offers a clear comparison between various perspectives or else a large selection of perspective tours ensures that the diversity and multiplicity of the area is accurately presented. For example, a middle class older Jewish woman provides a very different perspective, and thus a very different interpretation, than a character portraying a young working class sex worker from the 1920s. Balancing the

multiplicity of stories with the overall 'message' of the interpretation would be delicate; however, diversity in this case should not be sacrificed for a monolithic vision. A gendered approach would address this particular balance and ensure that diversity and multiplicity is presented in a complex and comparative manner. While it is impossible (and confusing) for the visitor to encounter every 'voice' of the Main, a diverse collection ensures that the door for additional interpretations remains open.

Another question that would be encountered in the development of an interpretive program would be a consideration of what to include and what to exclude. Firstly, how would controversial or subversive topics be treated? Would the former red light district have a place within this interpretative program, or would the underground crime rings of the early 20th century be depicted? Histories are framed in particular ways to serve the needs of particular groups. However, with the past and current diversity of the Main, what 'group' would this history be serving? Although it could be possible to offer multiple perspectives at the same site, how would an interpretive program negotiate the profound diversity of a large space over more than a century of history? The current interpretive program at the museum at Pier 21 offers a positive example. An open invitation on both the website of the museum and at the museum itself allows for visitors to offer their own memories of the site. These are then incorporated into exhibits and interpretative materials. While the entire diversity of the site cannot be addressed fully at one time, over the course of a longer period, a larger number of stories are depicted. A similar strategy and reliance on 'memory' and contemporary memory studies as a methodology should be employed for interpreting the stories of the Main. Offering direct visitor and community

participation ensures that the site is not only serving those that it represents, but also that it is engaging the community in which it is situated.

The final case study addressed is the Hersey Pavilion and specifically in terms of how a gendered approach would alter the portrayal of the site. The profound disconnect between the original agenda paper and the plaque text is a crucial piece in addressing the implications of this type of approach. The agenda paper recognizes that nursing is a primary theme within Canadian women's history, yet this is not acutely addressed in the plaque text. Additionally, both the report and plaque text do not specifically describe the type of women's history that is being represented through a nursing residence (that is, white middle class English speaking). Re-framing the agenda paper using a gender history approach also raises questions surrounding the portrayal of constructed femininity as manifested in the nursing residence. While the existing agenda paper remains a valid and important document, the implications of applying a gendered approach should still be understood on a practical level, specifically in how to frame an interpretative program and to reframe the plaque text in the future. The current plaque text ignores gender, race and class as key components within nursing history, and thus does not address key historical questions in relation to the development of nursing in Canada at the beginning of the 20th century.

Like the Boulevard Saint Laurent, the Hersey Pavilion is not owned or managed by Parks Canada. It continues to remain a part of the larger Royal Victoria Hospital complex and much of the physical evidence of its former function has disappeared. Nonetheless, an interpretative program was proposed at the time of its designation in order to (re)present the history of nursing through a turn of the century residence. While no such interpretive

program has been set up as of yet, the possibility of its future establishment is the primary basis for this section. Like the proposal for the Main, an interpretative program at the Hersey Pavilion should be centered upon memories and the transmission of these stories. Mayo argues that recognizing the 'type' of women's history being presented is essential to the incorporation of women's stories into the historical narrative.[24] Without recognizing the particular group being presented, women's history is assumed to be a monolithic entity and thus representative of all women's experiences. A gendered approach, which questions who's history is being represented in terms of race, gender, class, etc, confronts this question. A multiplicity of perspectives would still be possible, even though the primary group being (re)presented by the space may appear monolithic (white middle-class English speaking women). Nonetheless, the diversity of memories and experiences would be essential in the (re)presentation of the site.

The presentation of individual memories at the Hersey Pavilion would be the significant feature in such an interpretative program. In his examination of interpreting historic sites, Bruce Craig argues that imagination is a central component in the development of an effective interpretive program of a historic place.[25] A key element of being able to imagine and therefore experience a historic place is through the choices of interpreters and the method in which they present the history being portrayed. In this sense, there are two different types of interpretation characters: a historical 'character' and a storyteller. A historical character is a person who dresses in period costume and

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[24] Edith Mayo, "Putting Women in their Place: Methods and Sources for Including Women's History in Museums and Historic Sites," in Restoring Women's History Through Historic Preservation, ed. Gail Lee Dubrow and Jennifer B. Goodman (Baltimore, MD: John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 119.

[25] Bruce Craig, "Interpreting the Historic Scene: The Power of Imagination in Creating a Sense of Historic Place," in Heritage Interpretation vol. 1. Ed. David Uzzell. (New York: Belhaven, 1989), 107.

Figure 21: Nurses, Cribs and Baby Trolley, c. 1925. *Credit:* McCord Museum, MP-1973.1.7

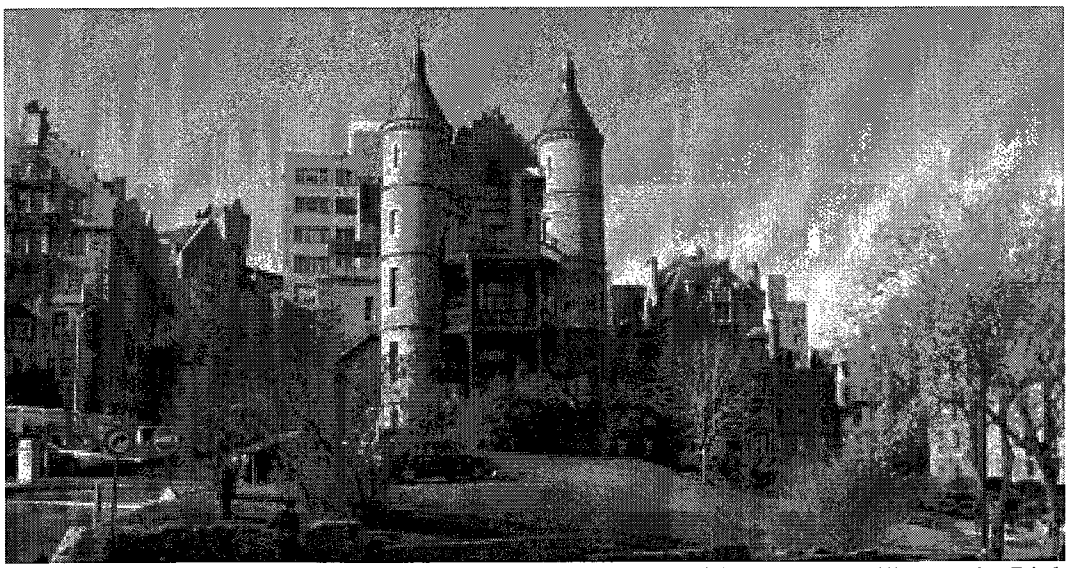

Figure 22: Contemporary View of Royal Victoria Hospital with Hersey Pavilion to the Right, 2009.

performs a role related to the history of the place, thereby bringing the site to life. A storyteller figure may or may not be personally connected to the site itself but they do not actively engage in telling the story by acting within it. A historical character aids in the presentation of historical narratives and is therefore a crucial tool used in the interpretation of the past, particularly in relation to historic spaces. An interpretive program at the Hersey Pavilion could employ either historical characters or storyteller interpreters; however, this choice would have a direct impact on the type of history being (re)presented to the public. A 'performance' allows for the construction of a specific historical narrative, often not completely rooted in fact but rather a story that is already interpreted. However, the inclusion of a historical character also ensures that visitors are left with an experience of the space and its function in the past. On the other hand, storytellers, particularly if they had direct associations with the historic space, offer their own perspectives and memories to the layering of history for the visitor.

Unlike the Main, the interpretive program at the Hersey Pavilion would be based on historical realities rather than the contemporary and transitioning space. Given this focus, a physical space in which to interpret the past would be essential. It would be possible to establish the interpretive program in the existing spaces of the Hersey Pavilion (particularly the main hall and dining hall that remain fairly intact); however, this would not provide the same understanding of the gendered space that nursing residences were in the past. More particularly, a dormitory room or a common study lounge would provide a more revealing space in terms of understanding the gendered construction of nurse's residences. For example, the type of space and its construction is inherently tied to views on femininity at the time in which it was built. Feminist scholars dealing with gendered

spaces consider the divide between the private and public spaces and how these are defined through power relations.[26] The nurse's residence at the Hersey Pavilion was constructed as a distinctly 'private' space using conventions of domesticity and femininity. Adams notes how the construction of the Hersey Pavilion was largely based on middle class domestic models in order to communicate a view of 'home' for the female inhabitants.[27] These same considerations did not factor into the building of male dormitories of the period and such gendered ideals were not applied to the same degree. This type of space and the explanation of this constructed space is an essential tool for interpreting the everyday historical realities of the space itself. An interpretive program, regardless of its specific makeup, needs to address the gendered (and racialized and classed) components of the architecture that is being recognized. It is through the experience and understanding of the space itself that the history of the site can be communicated.

Conclusion

Applying a gendered approach to National Historic Sites is a multi-layered and complex project that would involve addressing discourses on both macro and micro levels. While addressing the macro can affect the micro and vice versa, each component would need to be treated separately in order to ensure both past and future designations are a part of the larger change. A gendered approach does not involve a simple addition of gendered questions but rather is indicative of cognitive shift in the manner in which history, heritage and (re)presentation is considered within the Canadian federal system. This cognitive shift

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[26] Rendell, 102.
[27] Adams, "Rooms of Their Own," 135.

would not only influence women's history but would cross areas of history and open the door to an increased awareness of race and class issues as well. In the end, the examination of these questions allows for not only increased diversity in (re)presentation but also signifies a greater shift in the historical consciousness of the Canadian nation. As the compilation by Sandwell argues, the Canadian historical consciousness is shifting and becoming more interested in complex questions; however, the educational support of history needs to inform this process.[28] The interpretation of National Historic Sites is a vehicle for which this renewed vision of historical consciousness can be understood and communicated to the Canadian public. Through the employment of a gendered approach, additional questions can be raised regarding the complexities of the past and particularly the intersections present in the historical narrative.

[28] Sandwell.

Chapter 5 – The Conclusion of a Research Journey

The research journey, which became this thesis, focuses and argues for the building of sustainable theoretical and practical dialogues between heritage conservation and gender history. It contributes to a larger understanding of the (re)presentation of 'other' histories on the national level and explores the commemoration of such histories. Through an examination of the current Parks Canada *System Plan,* it developed viable suggestions for future representation on the national scale through National Historic Sites, particularly through the demonstrative case studies in Montreal and their innovative interpretive programs. The proposals of this thesis constitute one foundation within a new space of theoretical inquiry situated within the seemingly impossible conflict between gender history and heritage conservation that I faced throughout this research project. These encountered conflicts and the structure of the tensions themselves are the foundation of not only this thesis, but the larger theoretical questions it has raised. Nonetheless, continuing the building process and moving beyond the infrastructure is the necessary second phase of this larger project. By using materials from other academic fields and contributing to other foundations already in place, future research needs to contribute to the building of new pillars which have important implications for the (re)presentation of history in the future.

How can women's stories be integrated within the existing framework and practices of heritage conservation? I began my research journey with this broader and

idealistic question, hoping to find an answer to what I was observing as a missing piece within heritage conservation. I began in largely the same way as the women's historians before me – I believed it was possible to develop a method of including these stories by simply acknowledging their existence and arguing for their continued insertion. My journey moved from that initial positioning to questioning the place of memory and commemoration within heritage conservation. I debated larger questions of 'truth' and the representative nature of history, the construction and interpretation of stories, and the manner in which our memories of the past influence our ideas within the present. As I began to understand myself as an 'activist' researcher, I hit a crossroads on my voyage as I was continuously confronted with the difficult melding of gender history and heritage conservation. The existing dialogue between these areas was simply too under-developed and I was fluctuating between differing fields of research with seemingly opposing views. My struggle to overcome these continually conflicting ideas is what eventually characterized my entire research project. My research journey, from idealism to conflict, has developed into something as significant as the research itself.

The First Phase: Naivety, Intervention and Inclusion

My journey commenced in Rideau Lakes, the site of a research project in 2008. The sites I researched that summer were not 'National Historic Sites', and none of the places were formally designated at any government level. Nonetheless, the lessons I learned from this experience and these relatively 'ordinary' sites greatly contributed to my developing research surrounding federally recognized places of national historic significance. This experience informed my questions on the inclusion of gender and memory within already existing patriarchal structures of history and heritage. This

preliminary research grounding, coupled with an initial 'intervention', contextualized National Historic Sites within larger questions of history and heritage, and therefore allowed me to recognize the larger theoretical questions associated with my research.

In the summer of 2008, I was part of a project to develop an inventory of heritage properties for the township of Rideau Lakes. The goal of the project was to begin research work on the tangible heritage of these amalgamated communities, primarily in hopes of instigating future protective legislation. The project was funded by the township on a trial basis, and we were the focus of pressure to produce evidence that the area had significant heritage assets. In this instance, 'heritage properties' were defined as buildings dating prior to World War II. Our job was simply to research the physical and historical components of these buildings in order to document their current state and thus demonstrate the scope and size of heritage assets within the area. We soon found ourselves involved with a very different project – trying to determine what truly constitutes 'heritage', and what the best methods of communicating these inherent values were. A simple inventory sheet proved inadequate to demonstrate the history of a building and we were soon re-evaluating research methods.

In talking with long time building owners and residents of the villages, we were also questioning to what degree we should be including 'memories', regardless of historical proof. One owner, a resident of her property for over 50 years, told us a compelling "ghost story" about a former resident that apparently still walked the stairs of her century old cottage. What place did her story have within our inventory? She also recalled past owners and events that didn't appear in the official county registries. How were we to include her recollections if the county records did not acknowledge them? In

the end, we left out the personal accounts we obtained and increasingly relied on 'official' documents to avoid challenges regarding the 'truth'. At the time, I was uneasy about leaving out these stories and questioned within myself the value of this 'heritage' if it refused to acknowledge memories. Nonetheless, I recognized the narrow goals of the project and continued to forge onwards, saving my questions for my future research.

While we searched for answers to these mounting questions, I was increasingly interested in the narrow perception of what we were defining as 'outstanding heritage'. A style of building that was strikingly common? Or a style that was rare in the area? A building that housed a notable male resident? Or a building that was simply old? Based on the proposed research topic that accompanied my Master's of Arts application, I started to notice the lack of women's history in our consideration of 'outstanding heritage'. I discussed this issue with colleagues out of interest and to develop my own research topic. However, we never addressed how to include 'other' histories in our small inventory sheets that only allowed a minimal number of characters to describe a building. Nor did we address how to include the memories of individuals that inhabited the buildings – it was simply outside of the goals of our research. These narrowly defined objectives were conflicting with my own desire to act in a meaningful way to include the memories we encountered.

At that point I staged my own intervention – I began noting the names of wives under the historical 'owner' category in our inventory sheets. I was fully aware that wives were not considered 'owners' during the time in which many of the buildings were constructed. These assumptions were confirmed by the tax rolls and registry documents that only listed the names of the male occupants. In preparing the inventory sheets, I

consulted census documents simply to include the female names in the owner category. Despite the small scale of this intervention, I felt satisfied that the simple inclusion of a first name would help to ensure women's voices were included even in the most basic way. At the time I believed that I was ensuring they would no longer be anonymous, and that their names were recognized in equal legitimization as her husband's.

I understand this 'intervention', two years later, not as the 'radical' act of recovery I once did. I simply added a name to an already established patriarchal institution, and my insertion was not even 'historically accurate'. While I continue to believe that such basic interventions are required in order to acknowledge previously silenced voices, I can now pinpoint the temporal qualities of this solution. Including 'Mary Smith' next to 'John Smith' does not deconstruct the inherent gendering of history, and specifically how it is recalled in the present through mechanisms such as heritage conservation. Through this simple inclusion, I was not breaking down the necessary barriers required for a sustained recognition of 'gender' within the historical narrative. I was making a first step, but it was only the beginning of the long journey required for sustainable action.

'Women's history', as a strategic priority within the current *System Plan* of Parks Canada can be framed in a similar manner as my 'intervention' in the Rideau Lakes project. Both the strategic priorities and my intervention seek to increase the visibility of women in the historical narrative through representation. As evidenced in the strategic priorities, Parks Canada is recognizing the gaps that exist in Canada's national history as communicated through National Historic Sites and is seeking to remedy these gaps by acknowledging 'other' histories. However, these 'special interest groups' are set outside of the predominant meta-narrative and still framed within the existing hierarchal structure. In

essence, Canadian history is becoming more diverse in its stories, but the predominant myths (rooted in patriarchy and colonialism) remain intact. In a similar manner, simply adding 'Mary Smith' to the historical record tied to her husband fails to recognize the gendered institutions and practices which developed such records. Such an inclusion does not take into account the diverse experiences of women in the past, nor does it question how the past is understood in the present through commemorative sites. I eventually saw 'inclusion' in this manner, and I recognized it was simply inadequate.

The Second Phase: Radicalization, Integration and Conflict

The more I immersed myself in the research question and its wide ranging implications, the more I conceptualized myself as an 'activist' researcher. I moved from simply including women's voices to considering various questions within commemoration and heritage that I hoped could potentially alter entire conceptual frameworks. At this point I started to develop a 'gendered approach' to all heritage; a framework that I have continually questioned and revisited throughout my research journey. I debated 'women's' versus 'gender', 'integration' versus 'inclusion', all the while seeking the most radical transformations possible. I wanted far reaching changes, where gender was a central component of every site. I also started to recognize the larger implications of my research at this point in the journey. I realized that if framed properly, my proposals could contribute to activism within the present, for marginalized groups. I was not simply looking at communities from the past, I was contributing to the situation of communities in the present. With this activist outlook, I developed my gendered approach to heritage by analyzing current practices of Parks Canada and critiquing them against my developed

gendered lenses. I soon discovered this dialogue and critique were already underway on the national scale.

A discussion regarding the development of a 'gendered approach' for all National Historic Sites and the best manner in which to do so had taken place at Parks Canada on a preliminary level. In 2004, a notable workshop was held in Ottawa to address the current manner in which 'women's history' is framed by the Historic Sites and Monuments Board and possible directions for future policies. This particular workshop was initiated following the "Women's History Strategy" of 2002, which called for such a workshop to take place in order to evaluate the inclusion of 'non-mainstream' women's history.[1] Nineteen academics and heritage activists from across Canada (half of whom worked for Parks Canada) congregated in Ottawa for this workshop. The workshop resulted in four main recommendations to the Historic Sites and Monuments Board which addressed the continuance of women's history in the future: 1) expand designations related to Aboriginal or ethno-cultural women; 2) employ a wider range of sources for researching and documenting these places, people or events; 3) involve communities and women's activists in the designation process; and 4) reach out to communities and organizations in order to develop partnerships. These recommendations were summarized in a report prepared by Dianne Dodd for the HSMBC.

According to the report, these recommendations followed a general discussion regarding the implications of greater integration of women's history with Aboriginal and ethnocultural histories. Some participants noted that Aboriginal and ethnocultural voices

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[1] Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada. Women's History Strategy (2002-68) (Gatineau: Parks Canada, 2002).

may be further marginalized if put under the general label of women's history that assumes elite Euro-centric experiences as the norm.[2] Nonetheless, the participants agreed that expanding notions of 'women's history' was crucial in breaking down elitist assumptions and generalizations of women's past experiences. Notably, the participants of the workshop also rejected the use of the Parks Canada discourse of 'integration'. From the report by Dianne Dodd, it appears that participants did not want categories of 'ethnicity' or 'gender' to be lost within future policies or practices. Aboriginal and ethno-cultural women did not want their voices to be silenced within Euro-centric history and further marginalized within the designation of 'women's history'. Similarly, women's historians did not want gender to be lost as a larger category of analysis.[3] The participants agreed that greater 'inclusion' was required, but did not accept the use of 'integration'.

The crossroads of my research project materialized as I read through this workshop document for the first time. The beginning of my research journey was focused on inclusion, a simple recognition within the existing system of previously silenced voices (or, the addition of 'Mary Smith'). The more I read and theorized, the more I recognized the inadequacy of this method. I evolved to the opposite end of the spectrum, fully embracing an integrated approach that did not specialize women's history or the voices of any marginalized group. I returned to the debate of 'inclusion' versus 'integration', intent on finding the best method for increasing the visibility and legitimacy of women's voices. As a result, I questioned my entire research project. Why should 'alternative' histories be included within 'national' histories? If the nation is inherently exclusionary, perhaps

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[2] Dianne Dodd, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada: Women's History Workshop, January 18 2004 (2004-43) (Gatineau: Parks Canada, 2004), 1554-1556.
[3] Ibid.

alternative histories were simply the result of the exclusions? As a heritage conservationist looking at National Historic Sites, I had to face 'national' history, but as a gender historian I was positioned within 'alternative' histories. Faced with these seemingly opposing research fields, I discovered my position on the boundaries; I was outside of gender history, and I was outside of heritage conservation. I admitted I was lost and there was no one around to ask for directions.

The Third Phase: The Conflict and Building Infrastructures,

This realization – that I was completing my research work in the margins – was the beginning of the third phase of my journey. I was not a gender historian looking at heritage conservation as a vehicle, and I was not a heritage conservationist looking at how to include questions of gender within the practice. I was outside both of those discourses, and on its own that was my research project. My inability to reconcile how I could be both a gender historian and heritage conservationist at once *was* my point. On this third and final portion of my research journey, I threw away my map and no longer positioned myself *between* gender history and heritage conservation. Rather, I firmly situated myself *within* the conflict itself. It was this repositioning, (immersed within the conflict I found myself in) that ultimately characterized this thesis. It allowed me to revisit my previous fluctuations between 'inclusion' and 'integration' outside the standard gender history and heritage conservation conflicts I found myself involved in. It also allowed me to question the inclusion of 'alternative' histories within the seemingly opposite designation of 'national' histories. These conflicts were no longer the source of problems, but rather the conflict was the source of my thesis.

With this renewed positioning, I returned to the workshop report which instigated my initial questioning. I realized that the concerns of the participants are key questions within the development of a sustainable future policy for Aboriginal, ethnocultural and women's history once their status as 'strategic priorities' is either revoked or diminished in a future *System Plan*. 'Integration' implies that their status as previously (and continuously) silenced voices will be forgotten and instead their voices will simply be inserted into the historical record. However, the language of 'inclusion' decided upon at the workshop only begins to address some of the other concerns raised by the participants and throughout this thesis. Inclusion, in this manner, can be compared to my simple intervention introduced earlier where I added a wife's name to the owner's list of a historical property. 'Including' the voices of Aboriginal and ethno-cultural women within women's history is simply an insertion into the already established patriarchal and colonial structures. This is in the same manner that including a woman's voice does not adequately address the gendering of history and specifically how it is commemorated in the present. The danger of this reading of 'inclusion' means the continual sustainment of these patriarchal and colonial institutions into the future without deconstructing and thereby challenging them.

The participants conceptualized 'integration' as a potentially negative discourse that could subsume 'other' histories which fell outside of the Euro-Canadian norm. Their concerns revolved around the maintenance of the existing patriarchal and colonial structures within Parks' Canada's discourse of 'integration'. Defined in this way, 'integration' may continually silence 'other' voices, even as it commits to including them. However, 'integration' can be re-defined in an alternative manner that, in contrast, ensures

marginalized histories are no longer marked as 'special' and therefore outside of the dominant meta-narratives. Instead of simply including alternative histories within the existing structures, greater integration of these histories at all National Historic Sites will legitimize these stories by demonstrating their continual presence. The recognition, inclusion and ultimately the integration of alternative histories within symbols of national history (notably National Historic Sites) is a method in which these histories and peoples can be legitimized within the (re)presentation of the nation. Employing this understanding of 'integration', the entire system is gradually shifted by the continually recognition and inclusion of alternative histories.

The Possibility of a Fourth Phase?: Moving Beyond the Infrastructure

The first portion of my journey has come to a close, and now it is possible to look back on the process. From this position, I observe the initial idealistic first steps, the deep plunges into radicalism, the constant crossroads and ensuing conflicts, and my new position of observance and negotiation. This research process, that developed communicative links between gender history and heritage conservation, is a significant part of this thesis. My own situation within this conversation and the manner in which I negotiated it holds particular importance for the necessary future research required in this area. The development of such links and conversations is necessary for the continued development of both heritage conservation and gender history. However, continued research in this area and related questions need to be undertaken within the conflict itself. As I have observed from my own research journey, situating questions within the conflict is a crucial methodology for understanding the discussion that is required to take place for sustainable communication. Although this territory is relatively barren, it is not

uninhabitable and a number of research areas and fields can contribute to the building process. Continued research on these related questions will only increase the necessary infrastructure required for the development of a completely new set of theoretical questions.

The continual development of infrastructure within this new area reaches further than heritage conservation or gender history alone. A questioning of existing connections between memory and heritage conservation is crucial for the sustained theoretical questioning required for such an infrastructure. Future research must be undertaken to continually develop the relationship between the strategic priorities of the *System Plan* and the (re)presentation of national history. Similar studies to that of this thesis focused on the areas of ethno-cultural and Aboriginal history are critical to this theoretical and practical development. Additional case study examples from other areas in Canada would aid in the understanding of national, regional, local, and community practices. The broadening of these perspectives would raise additional questions and offer diverse solutions. It is through this continuing development that the conflict is built upon and replaced by a sustainable solution for future action.

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