Contested Terrain:
The Politics of Public Memory in Montreal, 1891-1930

by

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Abstract

Public memory is contested terrain. Memory is crucial to establishing and maintaining identities. Official customs and traditions (often supported by legislation), monuments, historic sites, and the celebration of anniversaries and festivals order individual and collective perceptions of the past. Public memory has long been a concern of many groups and individuals seeking to shape the present through directing memories of the past. Public memory is the product of a competition between official and vernacular cultures. It is a body of beliefs and ideas about the past fashioned in a public sphere and speaking primarily about structures of power. It conscripts historical events in a bid to guide shared memories into a coherent narrative that guides individuals in negotiating their place in broader collective identities.

Critics of collective memory often portray it as some quasi-mystic soul existing independently of human beings. This thesis will not suggest that social groups constitute genuine psychical units possessed of nearly all the characteristics of the human individual. Public memory is not understood as the memory of the public, but rather memory disputed by individuals in the public sphere. Borrowing from the concepts of Maurice Halbwachs, Pierre Bourdieu, Benedict Anderson, and Anthony Smith, this thesis argues that memory is constructed in social environments. While memory is at base an individual and idiosyncratic affair, specific social groups share memories. To the extent that such shared memories necessarily confirm one another, we can speak of a collective memory. Moreover many social groups construct their collective memory within the limits sketched out by a hegemonic cultural elite. Public history thus influences the ways in which individuals think about the past. Commemorations try to narrate a common past with which every member of society can identify. Public memory thereby supports or opposes dominant social *mythomoteurs*, the myth-symbol-memory complex that forms a society's constitutive political myth.

Between 1891 and 1930, Montreal was a bilingual and increasingly multicultural city. Its "two majorities" struggled to negotiate and commemorate their respective memories in the public monuments of the city. It thus offers a particularly transparent and hotly contested case study in the use of public history for the invention and maintenance of collective identities. After 1891 these commemorative practices accelerated so that by the end of the 1920s, what had once been a local, idiosyncratic concern, had become centralized and organized by elite agencies.

The metaphor "contested terrain" can be taken at two levels: the geographical and the ideological. Public memory contests real, spatial sites in the city. Montreal's major social groups used historic monuments to stake a claim to specific places, streets, and neighbourhoods of their city. However the contest was more fundamentally ideological. It played out as a competition between these major social groups to shape perceptions of history and frame the historical consciousness of individuals. This contest involved an

exclusiveness that packaged "others" according to the ideological preferences of the hegemonic cultures. In brief, Montreal was dominated by at least two hegemonic conceptions of the past. However, between these positions other ethnic, class, and gender voices strove to stake their own claims to legitimacy. In particular, Irish Catholic and working-class Montrealers were not co-opted by either of the hegemonic cultures, but struggled to negotiate their own historical narratives.

No discussion of hegemony and identity in the modern era can ignore the question of nationalism. Public memory is, above all, an effort to frame a national *mythomoteur*. Nonetheless, in disagreement with the "modernist" position on nationalism, nations are not wholly artificial political constructions. Certainly the political and economic revolutions of the nineteenth century upset traditional patterns of socialization and disrupted traditional forms of memory. Institutional transformations, especially the rise of the impersonal modern state, produced massive social dislocation and one response was to "invent traditions." And certainly political leaders articulated concepts of patriotism and drew on the imagery of historic monuments to perpetuate their message. Public memory is a political construction. Yet while unifying "national" public memories tended to be imposed from above, their adoption and application by popular classes keeps the question of who "owns" public memory open. The conscription of vernacular public memories required continual negotiation to succeed.

Table of Contents

ORIENTATIONS

PROBING THE PUBLIC PAST

List of Tables

List of Figures

List of Maps

Abbreviations

AMM, Archives municipales de Montréal

ANQ-M, Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Montréal

ANQ-Q, Archives nationales du Québec, Centre d'archives de Québec

ANSM, Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal

AO, Archives of Ontario

ASJB, Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste

CCA, Canadian Centre for Architecture

CMHQ, Commission des monuments historiques de la Province de Québec

DCB, Dictionary of Canadian Biography

HSMBC, Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada

MUA, McGill University Archives

NA, National Archives of Canada

RSC, Royal Society of Canada

SHM, Société historique de Montréal

SSJBM, Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal

Two Founding Peoples

One lovely sunny afternoon in June 1895 a crowd of nearly fifteen thousand people assembled in Montreal's Dominion Square. On the ground, the throng crowded the square in the heart of Montreal's stylish, commercial neighbourhood pushing close to a raised platform holding another fourteen hundred people, dignitaries all. The crowd cheered the arrival of each distinguished guest: Henri Joly de Lotbinière, a former Premier of Quebec; Sir George Foster; Prime Minister Sir Mackenzie Bowell; the Governor-General Lord Aberdeen; and Manitoba politician Hugh John Macdonald, accompanied by his wife and son. Around the platform gathered the rigid rows of the city's police and fire departments, the silver helmets of the firemen gleaming in the afternoon sun. Nearby gaped the windows of the lavish Windsor Hotel overlooking the square, each of them adorned with a well-to-do onlooker. And in the city's harbour, every ship displayed flags and bunting in honour of this important day.

The crowd had gathered to witness the unveiling of a monument in honour of Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, Father of Confederation. Sir John had died in 1892 and shortly thereafter some of Montreal's leading citizens (and Conservatives) formed a memorial committee for the purpose of erecting a monument to Canada's most celebrated statesman. The monument's sculptor spelled out his own ambitions, as well as those of the committee, with the following words:

> I intended that I should give a monument which would be more than a mere
> portrait of Sir John A. Macdonald, something which shall indicate his work
> and his place in the history of Canada, something which shall show the

estimation in which he was held and shall empress [sic] the sentiments of those who erect this memorial to the dead statesman, something that shall connect his memory with Montreal and also be a striking and artistic ornament to the city.

Future critics would dispute the monument's artistic merit, but on that sunny June day the Montreal *Gazette* called it a stunning success.[1]

The Macdonald monument stands about seventy feet high. At that height is found a female figure representing the Dominion of Canada. Clustered beneath her are seven children standing arm-in-arm representing the seven provinces of the Dominion in 1895 and this group is supported by four British lions atop four clusters of three columns which merged to form a gazebo. On the sides of the monument are four bronze plaques depicting the wealth of the Dominion under Macdonald's National Policy: a prairie farmer, a miner, a lumberman, and a habitant. Beneath a dais supported by the meeting of the twelve Corinthian columns stands the statue of Sir John A. Macdonald, dressed in the uniform of a K.C.B. All of this was hidden by a heavy canvass until, just after 2:30 pm. Thursday 6 June 1895, Lord Aberdeen, Governor-General of Canada, pulled a cord and unveiled the monument. The *Gazette* reporter noted that, after a few moments of awed silence, the crowd burst into cheers, a band played "Rule Britannia," and from atop Mount Royal a nineteen-gun artillery salute sounded.[2]

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[1]Montreal *Gazette*, 6 June 1895. In a souvenir pamphlet published less than a decade later the monument is described as having little artistic merit. *Souvenir of the First Annual Convention: Master Painters' and Decorators' Association of Canada* (Montreal, 1904), p. 77.

[2]Montreal *Gazette*, 7 June 1895; *La Minerve*, 7 juin 1895.

Figure 1: The John A. Macdonald Monument

Source: Pierre-Georges Roy, *Les Monuments commémoratifs de la Province de Québec* (Quebec, 1923)

Rule Britannia was, perhaps, the most appropriate musical accompaniment for the ceremony. Speeches given by the assembled dignitaries noted the role of Macdonald in creating a British Dominion in North America. Indeed Prime Minister Bowell, in an address laden with references to British subjects and British power, identified Macdonald's dream as the project "to build a British nationality on this continent." But even as Rule Britannia characterized the message of the day, so too did Macdonald himself. Sir George Foster noted that Macdonald had been "the master hand in moulding this young Dominion." He was, in this sense, a founding father. The historical role of John A. Macdonald, alluded to by virtually every orator to take the podium, was to found and build a new nation, Canada.

Less than a month later another unveiling ceremony in a different Montreal public square, Place d'Armes, inaugurated a monument to the city's founder Paul Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Although the newspapers warned of rain, the weather turned out splendidly for the morning ceremonies. Place d'Armes, one of the city's oldest public squares, is also among its most impressive, dominated by imposing buildings. First among them was the neo-Gothic Notre-Dame Roman Catholic church on the square's south face. Opposite the church the Bank of Montreal built its neo-classical headquarters. Over the years new office buildings had appeared to wall off the square. Montreal's first "skyscraper," the ten-storey New York Life Assurance building, opened its doors on Place d'Armes in 1889. Six years later, the Maisonneuve monument added to the historic charm of the Place d'Armes and "completed" the square.[3]

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[3]Montreal *Gazette*, 2 July 1895

Figure 2: The Maisonneuve Monument

Photo by the author.

This monument was a part of the celebration of Montreal's 250th anniversary scheduled for 1892. Heartily endorsed by the city's leading antiquarians and politicians, including Mayor James McShane and judge Siméon Pagneulo, the Maisonneuve monument was unveiled by Quebec's Lieutenant-Governor Sir Adolphe Chapleau on 1 July 1895. Its principal figure depicts the seventeenth-century soldier Maisonneuve standing proud, one hand supporting the flag of his king planted in the ground at his feet. The statue stands a full thirty feet high. Beneath Maisonneuve, at each of the corners of the pedestal, are four lesser statues. These illustrate the founding years of the colony. One depicts Jeanne Mance aiding a wounded Amerindian. Another portrays the colonist Lambert Closse and his dog Pilotte whose bark warned of an enemy attack. A third is a sculpture of Charles LeMoyne, colonist, soldier, and father of two future governors of Louisiana. The fourth represents an Amerindian on the hunt. The pedestal also carries four bas-reliefs: on the south face, a representation of the founding of colonial Ville-Marie; on the east face, the first mass; on the west face, the first skirmish with an Iroquois war party; and on the north face, the heroic death of the French soldier Dollard des Ormeaux.

The honours given Maisonneuve these two hundred and nineteen years after his death might well have exceeded anything he had ever received in life. The *Gazette* wondered if any city could boast a more worthy founding father. Extending the praise, Siméon Pagneulo mused, "what people can boast so pure, so unselfish, and so heroic an origin ?" Lieutenant-Governor Chapleau, repeating a sentiment he had expressed at the Macdonald unveiling twenty-four days earlier, asked the rhetorical question: "What glory is greater than that of Paul Chomedy de Maisonneuve ?" The unselfishness of Montreal's founding, according to

Pagneulo, could be found in the fact that the first colonists had risked their lives for "the work of founding a colony on this island for the sole purpose of bringing to poor, miserable, wretched Indians the light and comfort of Christian civilization."[4] Maisonneuve himself might well have wondered where he had gone wrong had he lived to hear the Protestants who dominated Montreal offer their praise of his accomplishments. He would have shuddered at the thought of his likeness shrouded beneath a "British ensign" and his city converted from a mission colony to a commercial and industrial metropolis of a capitalist and materialist enemy empire.

This incongruity suggests an important question in Canadian history, the issue of origins and the quest for an authentic Canadian past. While Macdonald represents the founding of the Dominion of Canada, it was the Maisonneuve monument that was unveiled on the "anniversary" of Confederation, the first of July. Both the Macdonald and Maisonneuve monuments speak to the notion of a founding moment. Both honour a founding father. Yet they commemorate events divided by two and a quarter centuries of history. And this apparent contradiction of origins is but one aspect of a greater ambiguity in Canadian ideas about the past. In short, and in general disagreement with many students of memory, one might argue that there is no "authentic" Canadian past. There is no single Canadian past. Neither the writings of our historians, nor the monuments to our past heroes, nor the memories of the Canadian people agree on the nature of Canadian national history.

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[4]Pierre-Georges Roy, *Les Monuments commémoratifs de la Province de Québec* (Quebec, 1923), pp. 235-238; Montreal *Gazette*, 2 July 1895; *La Minerve*, 2 juillet 1895.

This disagreement extends beyond the usual linguistic barriers. The Canadian past is more than ambiguous or incongruous: it is contested. Less than two months after the Macdonald and Maisonneuve monuments were unveiled, a provincial politician inaugurated yet a third monument. This one commemorated the heroic death of Dr. L.-O. Chénier who had led the rebel forces at the Battle of St.-Eustache in the autumn of 1837. In this case, even the idea of such a monument inspired heated debate in the French-language daily press and prompted nearby residents to close their shutters on the unveiling ceremony.[5] The Rebellions of 1837 form another pivotal point in popular memories of Canada's history: they add another founding myth to Canada's past.

Human beings have always looked to their past (though not necessarily always in the same way).[6] The Greeks of antiquity looked to the past to confirm their world view. Although Heroditus the Greek is credited with inventing "history," his contemporaries thought little of it. The classical world saw the myths of the past as more important than precise dates and causes, and shaped their memories accordingly. Christians, on the other hand, developed a sense of the past as a starting point. Christ lived in historical time, a fact so important that Western time dates from his birth. The past reminds the faithful of their separation from God and future potential salvation through Christ. Time's direction was towards God and memory served as a compass. Uniting these, and many other concepts of

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[5]*La Minerve*, 26 août 1895.

[6]Kirsten Hastrup, "Uchronia and the Two Histories of Iceland, 1400-1800," in K. Hastrup (ed) *Other Histories* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 102-120.

the past, is a faith in tradition as a reliable guide to the past. Tradition takes the role of shaping and preserving memory.[7]

Public memory, conceptions of history enshrined in historic sites and public monuments in the streets, parks, and squares of a city, works alongside tradition to guide that idealized memory. Social traditions convey an idea of connection to the distant past. They attempt to preserve an idealized memory that presents the established social order as natural. Events and people chosen as subjects for commemoration reveal much about the sense of history of the men and women who select them. Commemoration is closely related to power: it reveals an ongoing contest for hegemony. The subjects people choose to commemorate illustrate and teach idealized social conventions. Images of New France, of the Rebellions, or of Confederation symbolize competing visions of the past. And the differing patriotic sentiments each arouses reveals how memories of the past are contested. Patriotism, so often the message of public commemorative monuments, is but one means to edify the population in the maintenance of an existing social structure, or a teaching tool to help construct an ideal one. Public memory, then, works to turn public history into a shared experience for broadly and loosely defined political goals.

This thesis discusses public memory in Montreal between the years 1891 and 1930. Montreal was a bilingual and increasingly multicultural city. Its "two majorities" and marginalized minorities engaged in a struggle to negotiate and commemorate their

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[7]M.I. Finlay, "Myth, Memory and History," *History and Theory* (1965) pp. 281-302; Georges Poulet, *Studies in Human Time* (Baltimore, 1950, 1956), pp. 3-35; Patrick Hutton, "The Role of Memory in the Historiography of the French Revolution" *History and Theory* (1991), p. 58.

respective memories in the public monuments of the city. It thus offers a particularly transparent and hotly contested case study in the use of public history for the invention and maintenance of collective identities. Between 1891 and 1930 the practice of erecting historic plaques and monuments accelerated. By the end of the 1920s what had once been a local, private concern, organized in an *ad hoc* manner according to the whims of individual philanthropists, had become an organized, often state-sponsored activity orchestrated by government "heritage" agencies at both the federal and provincial levels. What happened in these years to turn memories of the past into a bureaucratic concern is one of the themes to be examined in subsequent chapters. However this thesis is more centrally concerned with the development of a collective or civic memory in Montreal. In brief, how did public memory interact with the personal memories and conceptions of history of the people of Montreal ? Such questions are not easy to answer. The nature of the literature on memory suggests that they may even have multiple and contradictory answers.

In the following chapters the brief introduction to the subject offered thus far will be expanded and explained in greater detail. Chapter One builds the theoretical framework necessary to analyze the public memory of Montreal in greater detail. Chapter Two then quickly sketches Montreal's history for non-specialists in order to help situate contesting images of the city's past. Chapter Three expands on these grounds for disagreement, outlining the arenas of competition found in Montreal in the last decade of the nineteenth and first decades of the twentieth century. Our focus then narrows and we look at the major players in articulating Montreal's public history, a series of groups loosely connected by class, but divided by competing idealized pasts. The next two chapters look at differing

British- and French-Canadian efforts at enshrining their memories and making them public. Chapter Seven then pulls all these static historical markers, plaques, and monuments together to examine the contested terrain of public memory in the city while Chapter Eight considers one major example of how that memory was used in Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations and the maintenance of a "national" identity. Finally the conclusion brings the theory and empirical examples together to outline differences in public memory and summarize the functions it seemed to play in Montreal.

Acknowledgments

ORIENTATIONS

Chapter One:

Exploring the Boundaries of Public Memory

The French thinker Ernest Renan insisted on the importance of shared memories for nations:

> Or, l'essence d'une nation est que tous les individus aient beaucoup de choses en commun et aussi que tous aient oublié bien des choses. ... Tout citoyen français doit avoir oublié la Saint-Barthélemy.

Benedict Anderson, a more recent theorist of nationalism, points out that although Renan states that French citizens must have forgotten the St. Bartholomew's Day massacre of French Protestants on 24 August 1572, he felt no need to explain to those very citizens what "*la* Saint-Barthélemy" was. Renan himself elaborated the point: France was produced by history. Its citizens must have forgotten their Burgundian or Visigoth ancestors in favour of an assumed common heritage with every other citizen of France. At the same time, they must have come to share memories of this presumed common past. A sixteenth-century massacre of Huguenots must have become a collective memory of a common *French* past rather than an episode in a long war between Christian sects. A nation must claim its place in the memories of its citizens.[1]

Memory is crucial to establishing and maintaining identities. Modern states, Anderson instructs us, often establish themselves as guardians of the past. Through their monuments, their official customs and often legally sanctioned traditions, and their celebrations of

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[1]Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* rev. ed. (London, 1991), pp. 199-201; Ernest Renan, *Qu'est-ce qu'une nation ?* (Toronto, 1996), p. 20.

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anniversaries, states have tried to order and delimit the individual memories of their many citizens. New regimes pursue this effort most urgently. Few regimes have envisioned the all-encompassing control of the French Revolution's Jacobins who re-invented the calendar so that the Year One coincided with the proclamation of the First Republic. Nonetheless, the political re-education characteristic of modern revolutions makes individual memories a public concern and tries to direct their creation. This urge is not unique to new regimes or even states in general. Public memory has long been a concern of many groups and individuals seeking to shape the present through directing memories of the past.

The American historian, John Bodnar, conceptualizes public memory as a competition between official and vernacular cultures, a body of beliefs and ideas about the past fashioned in a public sphere and speaking primarily about structures of power.[2] Bodnar's description incorporates the strategies of regimes, but balances them against the efforts of groups and individuals outside the state to enshrine their own memories. Public memory marshalls historical events in a bid to guide shared memories into a coherent singular memory. To borrow a sociological concept from Maurice Halbwachs, public memory is the discourse that helps form "collective memory."[3]

Collective memory is a Durkheimian concept. Critics have often accused supporters of the notion of *collective* memory of elevating it into a quasi-mystic soul existing independently of human beings. Two scholars have attacked the very concept of collective

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[2]John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, 1992), pp. 14-15.

[3]See Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory* trans. F.J. Ditter and V.Y. Ditter (New York, 1980).

memory. Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam argue that collective memory is nothing more than a trendy new name for social stereotypes and myth. They insist that the only legitimate use of the term "collective memory" is metaphorical. "Collective memory" is, they argue, "a vivid and illustrative description, but as an explanatory tool it is useless and even misleading."[4] But neither Durkheim nor his generations of followers have suggested that social groups constitute "genuine psychical unit[s], ... possessed of nearly all the characteristics of the human individual."[5] Halbwachs did not posit his study as memory of the group, but rather formulated it as memory *in* the group. His gift to Durkheim was to unpack and separate clearly the elements of social life that contribute to the collective memory. In short, he saw memory as a social construct.[6]

Halbwachs developed his theories of collective memory in the 1920s while working at the University of Strasbourg, most notably in a book enjoying renewed popularity, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire*. Halbwachs saw that individuals depend on social groups for the environment of their memory, setting rules, conventions, and occasionally the substance of their recollection. Family memories, for example, are passed from parents to children, retold in stories and remembered by children too young to have experienced them. Rules and customs that exist before an individual is born persist long after the individual dies. Halbwachs

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[4]Noa Gedi and Yigal Elam, "Collective Memory - What Is It?" *History and Memory* (Spring/Summer 1996), p. 43.

[5]The criticism stems from F.C. Bartlet, *Remembering: A Study in Experimental and Social Psychology* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 294.

[6]On Durkheim's ideas of collective action see Frank Pierce, *The Radical Durkheim* (London, 1989), pp. 17-27.

further extended the idea, describing social environments of memory in professions, social classes, religions, and whole civilizations.[7]

But memory entails more than simply teaching new members of a group the rules and customs of behaviour. Halbwachs studied how collective memories are assembled through different social tools. In his example, musicians share memories through the language of musical notes. The replaying of specific notes according to tradition directs an important aspect of cultural memory.[8] Likewise librarians and archivists control and direct documentary memories as the guardians of their respective storage systems. Filing categories shape the ways in which we retrieve information, remember it, and ultimately, the ways in which we perceive ideas. The Library of Congress cataloguing system, for example, files books on individualism under the category of human rights, steering our understanding and recollection of the concept. More importantly, though, Halbwachs examined the gathering of collective memories in geographical sites. The Christian gospels, to cite his famous example, are a work of collective memory. No doubt, given the time between the events they record and their collection and writing, they suffered numerous omissions, errors, and changes. They preserve but a partial record of the Apostles' memories of the life and death of Christ. Thus the sacred sites of the Passion are marked less by witnesses than by the imaginings of later believers sharing memories handed down from the Apostles to the Christian world. Over time these

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[7]Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris, 1925).

[8]Gérard Namer, *Mémoire et société* (Paris, 1987), pp. 109-112.

memories became collectivized and reconstructed as the true sites of the birth of Christ, the Praetorium of Pilate, and the crucifixion.[9]

Despite the obvious similarities between Halbwachs's own works and the concerns of historians, Halbwachs was at pains to distinguish memory from history. He characterized history as a record of events in which the historian adds detail onto detail, hoping to build one conclusive picture of the true past. This interpretation of history was quaint and anachronistic even for Halbwachs's time. The founders of the French Annales school of historical study, Lucien Febvre and Marc Bloch, borrowed from Halbwachs, their friend and colleague at Strasbourg. The Annales school, named for the journal Bloch and Febvre founded in 1929, was a revolt against the dominance among French academics of the history of political events. Nonetheless, Halbwachs's distinction is useful. Halbwachs meant to emphasize that memory is lived in ways that history is not. He wrote that "every collective memory requires the support of a group delimited in time and space." Thus past events can only be put together into a single historical record by separating them from the memory of the groups who preserved them and removing their "lifelike reality."[10]

Halbwachs would have rejected public memory as a collective memory. It is not only too removed from the group, but is often the product of historical writing. But public memory can also be distinguished from public history. History examines the past in search of the processes of cause and effect that explain its patterns. Memory, on the other hand, captures

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[9]Maurice Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte* (Paris, 1971).

[10]Maurice Halbwachs, *Collective Memory*, p. 84.

specific events and individuals unhistorically. As Pierre Nora sees it, "memory is life.... It remains in permanent evolution.... History, on the other hand, is the reconstruction, always problematic and incomplete, of what is no longer." Contrary to the assertions of Gedi and Elam, Nora is not trying to elevate memory above human faculty. Rather, he is asserting that memory, in contradistinction to history, is internalized and felt by individuals as intrinsic to their own experience. Nora's distinction is between history, how modern societies organize the past by written texts, and memory. Memory, he explains, links "the history of ... ancestors to the undifferentiated time of heroes, origins and myths."[11] Certainly memories can be fit together into a narrative, but human memory is not simply a record of personal histories. Personal memories can be fabricated or changed in accordance with the frailties of the human mind. Similarly public memory is often fashioned at the whim of historical accounts written centuries after an event has been largely forgotten. Public history is often a work of *recovering* the past. But the events and individuals of public history often pass into lived experience by becoming an essential part of the public socialization of individuals as members in society. Unlike the myths and stereotypes Gedi and Elam champion, public memory is never external to the individual's lived experience of the past.

It is undeniably difficult to speak of a singular public memory. Indeed all collective terms are problematical because they appear to have capacities that are in fact only actualized at the individual level. Patricia Nelson Limerick notes that even something as apparently straightforward as the "American frontier" can reveal layers of meaning and memories

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[11]Pierre Nora, "Between History and Memory: *Les Lieux de mémoire,*" *Representations* (Spring 1989), pp. 8-9. Cited in Gedi and Elam, pp. 32-33.

submerged in specific sites by successive events and generations. [12] Yet powerful interests redirect memories toward such official sites as monuments and museums. The American Museum of Immigration and the Statue of Liberty, both refurbished in the 1980s by joint state and private efforts, reconfigure diaspora and dislocation as the "American Dream." At the re-opening ceremonies on 4 July 1986 some 250 new American citizens were sworn-in to emphasize the point. [13] Whatever the obvious selectivity of this construction, many American immigrants might have agreed with it. Through the great immigration era of American history, union and management interests echoed one another's concerns with Americanization. Although every immigrant experienced the American Dream differently, combined civic socialization efforts from official and supposedly opposition leaders gained a loyal following among recent immigrants. [14]

Similarly, M. Brook Taylor's account of English-language historical writing in the nineteenth century emphasizes that Canadian conceptions of the past were "plural not singular." Yet Taylor sees a sufficient unity to speak of historiography as a "conversation" amongst "a group of intellectuals attempting to trace the historical ascent of the country." This conversation was itself an attempt to unify discussion of Canadian history around its major

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[12]Patricia Nelson Limerick, "Disorientation and Reorientation: The American Landscape Discovered From the West," in David Thelen and Frederick E. Hoxie (eds) *Discovering America: Essays on the Search for an Identity* (Urbana and Chicago, 1994), pp. 187-215.

[13]F. Ross Holland, *Idealists, Scoundrels and the Lady: An Insider's View of the Statue of Liberty - Ellis Island Project* (Urbana and Chicago, 1993).

[14]James R. Barrett, "Americanization From the Bottom Up: Immigration and the Remaking of the Working Class in the United States, 1880-1930," in Thelen and Hoxie (eds), pp. 162-186.

themes. In short (though Taylor himself does not make this point), nineteenth-century amateur historians engaged in a Foucauldian exercise that shaped the boundaries of Canadian historical discourse around the post-Confederation political unit. Taylor's failure to discuss a more general, culture-wide conversation about the past points to the crucial importance of history in framing collective memories.[15]

Thus, while memory is at base an individual and idiosyncratic affair, specific social groups share memories. To the extent that such shared memories confirm both an individual and collective sense of shared experience, we can speak of a collective memory. Moreover many social groups construct their collective memory within the limits sketched out by a hegemonic cultural elite. Indeed, this is the main criterion of cultural hegemony: the beliefs and values of the dominant group are implicitly accepted by subordinated groups. For instance, Amerindians in the United States formed much of their modern identity amid severe political and economic restriction. Consequently those searching for a new way of being "Indian" often articulated their identities in terms set out by the U.S. Constitution.[16] Even dissenting groups share in a broader collective canon of significant memories. There is thus one other way to speak of public memory. While it is important to pay close attention to the fissures which divide social groups, we might usefully conceive of public memory as a general category of analysis. In this thesis, the phrase "public memory" is used as such a general

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[15]M. Brook Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans: Historiography in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Toronto, 1989).

[16]Frederick E. Hoxie, "Exploring a Cultural Borderland: Native American Journeys of Discovery in the Early Twentieth Century," in Thelen and Hoxie (eds), pp. 135-161.

category, on the understanding that this category need not obscure the fact of numerous public memories.

John Bodnar implies such a position in his book *Remaking America*. Bodnar conceptualizes public memory as a relentless conscription of vernacular cultures by official culture. He describes the hegemonic development of American public memory. Beginning with a pluralism of local initiatives in the nineteenth century that allowed competing regional commemorative positions to thrive, public memory gradually became more homogeneous. But by the end of the century, opinion leaders facing the problems of ethnic and class antagonisms tried to regulate behaviour at commemoration festivals and, ultimately, to organize the memories they inspired. The "Safe and Sane 4th of July" campaign after 1900 succeeded, to some degree, in building a "national" public memory, but ordinary people continued to develop their own images and put official symbols to unintended uses. St. Patrick's Day celebrations, to cite another example, began as an eighteenth-century festival for Irish Protestants. But after the 1840s, with the rapid expansion of the Irish-American working class, St. Patrick's Day changed from a celebration of American patriotism into a rough day of drinking among working-class Irish immigrants. In local cases, specific local demographics determined the degree of homogeneity in ideas of patriotism and memory. The conscription of vernacular public memories required constant negotiation to succeed. It might be seen as a struggle between group identities and centres of power, but is more fundamentally a process of the negotiation of hegemonic control.[17]

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[17]Bodnar, *Remaking America* (Princeton, 1992).

Thus public memory is a political construction. However, as Kirk Savage explains, monuments seek to impose a permanent memory on the public. Their success depends on the degree to which they are able to depict themselves as non-ideological statements. The uniformity of Civil War monuments in the United States, both north and south, reveals that local patrons sought a shared and standardized memory. Thus both General Lee and Abraham Lincoln are portrayed as apolitical loyalist heroes. [18] Although not directly answering Savage, Herman Lebovics's article in the same collection enlightens our appreciation of such competitions over the past. Lebovics argues that the political struggle to define the French past turned about 1900. The Third Republic stabilized by defeating many of the leftist memories that had informed French perceptions of the nineteenth century and the French revolutionary tradition. Here Lebovics taps a rich Foucauldian understanding of identity in concluding that national identities are really a false consciousness fostered by the powerful as one means of domination. [19]

Lebovics's recourse to Foucault reflects a growing endorsement of postmodern sensibilities in the study of memory. Postmodernism celebrates fragmentation and discontinuity and rejects the historical continuity of morals, values, and beliefs sought in "structured" readings of the past. Postmodernists often read past reality as a series of intersecting texts which can be deconstructed to reveal ever further texts. Often, as Raphael

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[18]David Cressy, "National Memory in Early Modern England," in John R. Gillis (ed) *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton, 1994), pp. 61-73: Kirk Savage, "The Politics of Memory: Black Emancipation and the Civil War Monument," in Gillis, pp. 127-144.

[19]Herman Lebovics, "Creating the Authentic France: Struggles over French Identity in the First Half of the Twentieth Century," in Gillis, pp. 239-257.

Samuel points out, they suggest that history is the historian's invention.[20] Thus postmodernism

reflects a skepticism about the "fixedness" of historical meaning.

Of course this is not to suggest that postmodernism does not usefully augment and

improve the understanding of public memory. The multiplicity of pasts examined in the works

of authors such as Donald Horne and Peter Fowler greatly expands our understanding of

memory.[21] Postmodern sensibility permits a critical appreciation of bias, directs us to the

fruitful examination of silences, and emphasizes the multiplicity of competing pasts. Kirsten

Hastrup, for example, argues that Iceland has two major competing histories, one a western

notion of time and causality, and another which defies such chronological limits. Uchronia,

to cite her adaptation of Utopia, is a non-temporal time in which events are situated

qualitatively. The past was "over," but Icelanders knew that it was continuously reproduced

and invoked in a narrative search for meaning.[22] Thus concepts once considered transcendant

and enduring, dissolve into impersonal systems that are historically specific.[23] Such readings

have been criticized for their withdrawal from history or, in Perry Anderson's phrase, "the

randomization of history."[24] This is not entirely accurate. Admittedly, some postmodern

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[20]Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory* (London and New York, 1994), p. 8.

[21]See Donald Horne, *The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History* (London and Sydney, 1984); Peter Fowler, *The Past in Contemporary Society: Then, Now* (London and New York, 1992).

[22]Kirsten Hastrup, "Uchronia and the Two Histories of Iceland, 1400-1800," in K. Hastrup (ed) *Other Histories* (London, 1992), pp. 102-120.

[23]David D. Roberts, *Nothing But History: Reconstruction and Extremity after Metaphysics* (Berkeley, 1995), pp. 184-185.

[24]Perry Anderson, *In the Tracks of Historical Materialism* (London, 1983), p. 48.

readings simply deconstruct history rather using their considerable insights to animate it, but

the postmodern sensibility revealed by Hastrup's discussion of Uchronia reflects the critical

appreciation of evidence encouraged by modern historians.

This study of public memory relies on monuments as evidence. There is no unanimity

in the literature as to how best to read these texts. Colin McIntyre proposes using war

memorials as a source for social history. Local memorials retain the names, ranks, regiments,

and many other data of local victims of war and so can be used as empirical evidence. With

a different set of questions in mind, Adam Lerner uses monuments to reveal the "violence" of

the monument's "will-to-eternity" and its attempt to dictate civic duty.[25] Between these

extremes lies Pierre Nora's multi-volume *Les lieux de mémoire*. This rich collection reveals

how public history can be gleaned from civic festivals, public rituals, local nomenclature, and

commemorative monuments. Indeed Nora insists that the French nation is real only in

memory.[26] This seems a useful starting point for the history of public memory: the search for

"myth-history" in public markers and monuments to the past.

Myth-history provides a sense of place and belonging in the scheme of time. Mythical

history perpetuates itself through the device of observing traditional practices. Traditions,

laws, or customs constitute a "formal social past" that can be used to legitimate and judge the

present. Even innovating societies, as Eric Hobsbawm ably demonstrates, require traditions

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[25]Colin McIntyre, *Monuments of War: How to Read a War Memorial* (London, 1990); Adam J. Lerner, "The Nineteenth-Century Monument and the Embodiment of National Time," in Marjorie Ringrose and Adam Lerner (eds) *Reimagining the Nation* (Buckingham and Philadelphia, 1993), pp. 176-196.

[26]Pierre Nora, "La nation-mémoire," in *Les lieux de mémoire* v 2. *La Nation* (Paris, 1986), p. 653.

to explain the direction of the past and legitimate their novelty. The sense of age-old tradition gives human beings an emotional satisfaction of belonging. But many so-called "age-old" traditions are more properly recent inventions masquerading as the wisdom of the ages.[27]

This theme was explored provocatively in *The Invention of Tradition*. According to the editors, invented traditions are both singular innovations and practices emerging in a less traceable manner within a brief and datable period. In short, they are responses to novel situations that take the form of reference to the past. More than just custom or routine, traditions follow more or less accepted rules and, through symbols, seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour through repetition.[28] According to Richard Terdiman, the political and economic revolutions of the nineteenth century upset traditional patterns of socialization and disrupted traditional forms of memory. As Beaudelaire recognized, institutional transformations, especially the rise of the impersonal modern state, produced massive social dislocation. One response was to invent traditions which required the modern state to sustain them. It was a response possible only within the confines of the crisis itself.[29]

Although enthusiasm for the invented traditions approach was undoubtedly fuelled by postmodern sensibilities, the approach itself ironically rigidifies tradition. Drawing such a stark contrast between "invented" and "spontaneous" customs privileges continuity over innovation. It classifies traditions according to criteria that presume a continuous past was suddenly

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[27]Eric Hobsbawm, "The Social Function of the Past: Some Questions," *Past and Present* (May 1972), pp. 3-17.

[28]Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (eds) *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge, 1983).

[29]Richard Terdiman, "Deconstructing Memory," *Diacritics* (Winter 1985), pp. 18-21.

overcome by the "inventions" of modernity. Nineteenth-century colonial anthropologists fixed

and codified the indigenous cultures they encountered; so too, the invented traditions approach

fixes and codifies social practices that themselves had been previously fluid.[30]

The invented traditions approach tends to presume manipulation in the invention of

traditions. Philip McCann argues that the British government quite deliberately encouraged

certain organizations and symbols to support its newly reformed province of Newfoundland

between 1832 and 1855. It countered expressions of Irish Catholic solidarity with a Protestant

crusade and organized a number of competing institutions to organize a British identity in

Newfoundland with strong nativist impulses. Yet McCann ignores popular appreciation of

these innovations and treats the equally "invented" Catholic organizations and traditions lightly

in order to portray the manipulations of the state.[31] The invented traditions approach thus

relies on, and indeed supports, a modernist interpretation of nationalism.

This "modernist" approach holds that nations are products of such recent forces as

capitalism, bureaucracy, and secular utilitarianism rather than of "natural," long-standing forms

of human attachment. Ernest Gellner centres his critique of nationalism on the modernizing

economic base of western societies. Pre-industrial agricultural societies had no place for

nationalism due to the cultural separation of their elites and food-producing masses which

could not be bridged by any secular ideology. Industrialization, on the other hand, required

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[30]See Olivia Harris, "The Temporalities of Tradition: Reflections on a Changing Anthropology," in Vaclav Hubinger (ed) *Grasping the Changing World: Anthropological Conceptions in the Postmodern Era* (New York and London, 1996), p. 1.

[31]Philip McCann, "Culture, State Formation and the Invention of Tradition: Newfoundland, 1832-1855," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Spring/Summer 1988), pp. 86-103.

a mobile, literate population. The onslaught of modernity that coupled with industrialization drove traditional social formations out of existence, forcing villagers into the cities where they were dominated by anonymity and mass society. The resulting class conflicts required a bridging ideology to present a new community form and nationalism fit the bill.[32]

A more subtle approach is found in the writings of Benedict Anderson and Eric Hobsbawm. Hobsbawm cites capitalism as the cause of the modern rise of nations: capitalism secularized and commodified European civilization, diminishing religion's spiritual hold on the people. The new social frictions caused by modernity eventually replaced religion with vague national sentiments which some bourgeois opinion-leaders shaped into a nation out of a belief in a common historical descent and a faith in the timelessness of the national connection.[33] In other words, national sentiment is an invented tradition. Anderson's even more nuanced treatment starts from the need to overcome death, a mission once fulfilled by religion. The decline of traditional religions, coincident with the development of "print-capitalism," made it both possible and necessary to "imagine" a national community. Through the printed word, individuals who cannot ever know one another can appear to inhabit the same homogeneous, empty time in which they experience communal unity and imagine a communion with posterity. Thus the imagined community provides a sense of immortality to its members.[34]

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[32]Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism* (Oxford, 1983).

[33]Eric Hobsbawm, *Nations and Nationalism Since 1790: Programme, Myth, Reality* 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1992).

[34]Anderson, *Imagined Communities* rev. ed. (London, 1991).

Anderson's explanation is compelling, but not without its problems. Certainly Anderson, Gellner, and Hobsbawm are correct in asserting that nationalism is a phenomenon dating from the latter half of the eighteenth century. But this is not enough for critics such as Anthony Smith. For Smith, nations are modern expressions of an age-old collectivity known as ethnicity. An "ethnic core" of the nation existed prior to the modern articulation of nationalism explained by Gellner and Hobsbawm. This ethnic core remains at the heart of the modern nation.[35] Ethnicity itself may well be an imagined association, but Smith's warning is meaningful and instructive. According to Smith, nations are more than artificial modern constructs and to see them as such is to deny prior social formations the fluidity of the present. Nations develop out of local traditions, institutions, economic and social structures, and dialects as much as they are created by elites who "hoodwink" the popular classes into accepting an ideology that is a simple tool for the maintenance of hegemony. Popular classes not only experience national consciousness, but they also participate in its formation.

At the centre of national consciousness stands a unique complex of myths, symbols, and memories with peculiar claims about the nation's origin's and lines of descent. This myth-symbol-memory complex frames what Smith calls the nation's *mythomoteur*, or constitutive political myth.[36] Public memory draws on the *mythomoteur* and the public history that supports it and serves the nation by, in turn, invigorating the myth-symbol-memory complex. Public memory infuses the *mythomoteur* and public history with the "experienced" past of individuals. It connects the myths and symbols of public history to the "undifferentiated time"

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[35]Anthony D. Smith, *The Ethnic Origins of Nations* (New York, 1986).

[36]Smith, *Ethnic Origins*, pp. 58-68.

of memory. The personalized intuition of public memory, even though reliant on public history and collective memory, strengthens the bonds of the imagined community of the nation.

Public memory is thus often used to support or invigorate the imagined community of the nation. It is public precisely because it strives to direct personal feelings of attachment to others into the public domain. In short, it turns the human quest for belonging into a communal effort to define and delimit the boundaries of the nation through time. Yet while unifying "national" public memories tend to be imposed from above, their adoption and application by popular classes keeps the question of who "owns" public memory open. The study of public memory in Quebec offers an enlightening example of this process because Quebecers have long waged an open battle over the symbols, myths, and meanings of their collective past.

Among the first systematic studies of national memory in Quebec was Bruno Hébert's *Monuments et patrie*. Hébert, the biographer of Quebec's great sculptor Philippe Hébert, applied himself to the question of the relationship between public memory and the nation. Studded with references to "our fathers," Hébert's book explores the concept of the nation through the representation of French-Canadian "ancestors" in Quebec's historical monuments. For Hébert, commemoration promotes national unity and a communal racial fraternity that holds up heroes to be emulated. In this sense, the monument is little more than a mirror of society, as the people invest their values in the image of the hero. This creation of a cult of the hero, Hébert maintains, is no different than the medieval cult of the saint; emulation of the hero merely transfers sacrality from divinity to the nation.

Monuments et patrie is a useful introduction to the study of historic monuments. Hébert sees commemoration's ultimate goal as promoting the contemplation of the "living idea" of *patrie*. This approach exposes some of the strengths and weaknesses of just such an exploration. Borrowing heavily from the semiotics of Roland Barthes, Hébert dissects individual monuments as symbols of patriotic devotion, taking the reader on a journey through the layers of significance. The Frontenac monument in Quebec City, for example, begins as a mass of bronze out of which the eye discerns the shape of a man who, by virtue of his costume and face, can be recognized as Frontenac. But Frontenac himself opens a new path of symbolism that leads to his boastful defence of Quebec against the attack of Sir William Phips in 1690. Thus Frontenac-the-hero is liberated from his historicity, immortalized as a manifestation of patriotism. Commemoration becomes more than historical and more than a cultural act: it is a natural self-expression of a national essence.[37] Of course, Frontenac was hardly defending anything recognizable as a nation in today's terms. Hébert's conscription of him for the "living idea" of the nation suggests the power of the French-Canadian *mythomoteur*.

Another two scholars recently published an overview of Quebec's social memory that serves as a useful, if enigmatic, companion to Bruno Hébert's work. In *Les mémoires québécoises*, Jacques Mathieu and Jacques Lacoursière try to build a global analysis of Quebec's collective memories. They begin by acknowledging that the search for a unanimous Québécois identity is foolish and thus that any arguments of racial purity are stupid. From this point they surmise that Quebec has nothing comparable to the unifying American frontier

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[37]Bruno Hébert, *Monuments et patrie* (Joliette, 1980), pp. 269-276.

myth, yet outline how the Quiet Revolution has fundamentally altered Québécois identity. This confusion might well be traced to their fairly rigid division of identity into three levels. The primary level of identity consists of the personal characteristics people use to describe themselves; secondly such characteristics are related to perceptions of the "other." And finally, identity reaches the level of ideologies, values, myths, and symbols. This superior level obviously requires a degree of homogenization to be salient. However, submerged in these levels, the authors do not perceive their own unifying myths as ideological constructs.

Having thus defined their understanding of collective identity, the authors pursue an understanding of collective memory. They open by claiming that memory is not a narrative or a chronological record of the past, but an ordering of our understanding of it. For instance, nature affects memory. Quebecers imagine their province as a territory of virgin forests and vast rivers, a place where isolation is tempered by solidarity and faith. Forests, trees, and the St. Lawrence River play enormous roles in *Québécois* memory. Nature guides culture, language, and memory; landscape influences perceptions of idealized behaviour. This thesis is hampered by the authors' progressive view of history: the state, itself an agent in shaping memory, gets better at its job with time. But the authors draw back from criticizing the state's increasing influence in everyday life and in memory. In agreeing with Hébert, they see the cult of the hero as society vesting the hero with its own values, yet they treat this phenomenon superficially. Seventeen of twenty-two statues erected at the provincial parliament depict French regime heroes, but the authors can only note that heroes change along with social values. They neglect to examine the importance of the French Regime origins of Quebec

society in French-Canadian memory. Nor do they try to distinguish the government-commissioned statues erected at a single site from broader collective ideals and memories.[38]

The cultural critic Pierre Bourdieu has consistently argued that artistic work cannot be separated from the specific historical contexts of its production. Artists are products of their times and to elevate art to the status of the transhistorical is to deny an essential component of its production and symbolic value. Similarly, Bourdieu emphasizes that the reception of the work must be treated historically. Works have significance for certain groups and individuals based on their own objective position, cultural needs, and capacities for analysis of the symbolic appropriation. Bourdieu's ideas emphasize the role of cultural production in the maintenance of hegemony. Semiotics also nests the value of symbols in a hegemonic theory. However the semiotic approach assumes that everyone reads signs and symbols as the semiologist does. The strength of Bourdieu's approach over that of Roland Barthes, for example, is that Bourdieu's emphasis is on the negotiation of value between the producers of cultural works and their varied audiences.[39]

Bourdieu's warning is useful in examining the role of historic sites and monuments in collective memory. Memory is a product of Bourdieu's "cultural field," the people, ideas, apparatuses, systems, and audiences that frame the production of art. Historic sites and monuments thus cross between Bourdieu's cultural production and cultural reception, taking on different meanings according to the needs and abilities of the public that routinely passes

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[38]Jacques Mathieu and Jacques Lacoursière, *Les mémoires québécoises* (Sainte-Foy, 1991).

[39]Pierre Bourdieu, *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 218-220.

them and according to the perceptions and tastes of travellers for whom the site is not routine. Monument unveilings are planned, orchestrated, contrived, self-fulfilling events - pseudo-events, to use Daniel Boorstin's term - that considerably complicate the historian's attempt to read ideologies and collective memories in them.[40]

Awareness that monument unveilings are rituals and pseudo-events weakens their use for the historian of collective memory, but it also greatly informs their use for the student of public memory. Collective memory combines individual memories in a shared remembrance of a common past. Public memory, on the other hand, is a discourse between cultural groups, an attempt to use historical memories to shape a singular memory. Thus it closely approximates the function of festivals and parades: both order time according to ideology. Like public memory, festivals delimit history by arbitrary divisions of time designed to present a view of the past that supports the dominant ideology and perpetuates its dominance in two ways: they affirm a present community and they establish a relationship between time and history.

National festivals bring together the members of the imagined national community (or some semblance of their representatives) in a celebration of their union as a national family. In doing so, they affirm the moral and social values of festival planners and present them as those of the community. Thus they are "inspirational" events intended to instill a collective commitment to preserve the social unit and its values. But, by presenting these values as age-

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[40]Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America* (New York, 1961), pp. 46; 100-01.

old, or even ahistorical, values that *define* the nation, they make a specific ideology a necessary corollary of the nation. They present a morally unified view of the past.

Secondly festivals redesign time by establishing a relationship between time and history.[41] They define a sense of history by commemorating events. They single out the most significant events of the past to present as "historic." But by marking the year according to the rhythms of festival life, they also redesign the sense of experienced time. Hélène Bénichou compares the rhythm of festivals to the regulation of annual time by calendars. Festivals mark and explain key points, such as equinoxes and solstices, in the annual rhythm of human time, thus punctuating the year according to ideology. Thus they inform our awareness of the passage of time.[42] National festivals behave in a similar fashion, but within a slightly different framework. The festivals of the French Revolution, redesigned by each successive regime, attempted to overturn prior conceptions of experienced time and re-orient them towards the nation. Thus the First Republic began counting years from the proclamation of 22 September 1792. Both the first day (22 September) and the first year (1792) re-oriented experienced time away from Christianity and punctuated the national calender with political commemoration.

Of course, festivals also order space. Jonathan Sperber's study of festivals in the German revolution of 1848 outlines how festival processions took symbolic possession of the space of the city in the name of the nation. By parading through the key thoroughfares and

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[41]Edward Shils and Michael Young, "The Meaning of the Coronation," in E. Shils *Center and Periphery: Essays in Macrosociology* (Chicago, 1975); pp. 137-139; Mona Ozouf, *La fête révolutionnaire* (Paris, 1978), p. 148.

[42]Hélène Bénichou, *Fêtes et calendriers* (Paris, 1992).

squares of the city behind a national flag, the procession claimed space for nationalism. And, following Anver Ben-Amos, processions invest specific urban sites with "historic" value. French revolutionists repeatedly visited esteemed Parisian sites during their parades and thus enshrined the values they proclaimed at such sites of memory.[43] Susan Davis, looking at Philadelphia's nineteenth-century celebrations, likewise understands parades as important modes of communication in the struggle over the ordering of time and space. Hence they characteristically marched back and forth through neighbourhoods, and closely mirrored the rhythms of labour and social strife. Parades that expressed support for the social order typically followed a regimented style. Participants marched in straight rows and distinguished themselves from spectators by their uniforms and physical separation from crowds lining the streets. Subversive parades, on the other hand, were disorderly. In such parades no physical separation of participant and spectator was enforced and participants adhered to no rigid progression order, opting instead to mingle and march according to whim.[44]

Thus, like public memory, festivals participate in framing collective memories. Both operate within a contested terrain that exists both in real spatial terms and in ideological terms. In the spacial realm, both festivals and public memory attempt to influence the ideological associations of a given place. Festivals accomplish this by privileging specific sites during their rituals. Public memory accomplishes the same task by commemorating a specific past and

[43]Jonathan Sperber, "Festivals of National Unity in the German Revolution of 1848-1849," *Past and Present* (August 1992), p. 135; Anver Ben-Amos, "Monuments and Memory in French Nationalism," *History and Memory* (fall/winter 1993), pp. 50-81.

[44]Susan G. Davis, *Parades and Power: Street Theatre in Nineteenth-Century Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1986), pp. 33-48.

drawing a connection between that past and a certain site. Thus both public memory and festivals contest ideological terrains as they compete to claim spatial territories. As Davis stresses, the disorderly parade of popular classes not only seized streets and other public places for popular use, but articulated a subversive, unsanctioned claim to the use of such places.

Many authors note the decline of such subversive celebrations over the nineteenth century as commercialism, social upheaval, elite disdain, and a Protestant distrust of superstition combined to kill popular culture.[45] In Canada's Maritime centres, Halifax and Saint John, increasing urbanization first fragmented festival culture, as middle-class participants strove to emphasize their social distance from the lower classes, then submerged popular celebrations beneath respectable ones.[46] This submergence of popular celebrations is related to a sudden increase in the mass production of respectable traditions in the late-nineteenth century noted by Eric Hobsbawm. Traditions were invented to lend stability and reference for modernizing societies; festivals, likewise, eased the transition to modernity by negotiating the continuing hegemony of bourgeois elites. That is, elites came to dominate festival cultures and present them as traditional, thereby enforcing their own supporting ideology.[47]

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[45]E.P. Thompson, "Patrician Society, Plebian Culture," *Journal of Social History* (Summer 1974), pp. 382-405; Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London, 1978); Robert Malcolmson, *Popular Recreations in English Society, 1700-1850* (Cambridge, 1977), pp. 118-157.

[46]Bonnie Huskins, "Public Celebrations in Victorian Saint John and Halifax," PhD (Dalhousie) 1991.

[47]Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction," and "Mass Producing Traditions, 1870-1914," in *The Invention of Tradition*, pp. 1-14; 263-308.

Others argue that even this loss of spontaneous subversion does not entirely eradicate popular appreciation of, and adherence to, respectable celebrations. Edward Shils and Michael Young suggest that elite events, such as the Coronation of Elizabeth II, are acts of national communion. Like similar national celebrations (Thanksgiving, Christmas, May Day, and Independence Day, for example) the Coronation required a communal assembly to reaffirm common sentiments. Moreover, the Coronation oath formally acknowledged that such common bonds as laws and customs remain superior to the sovereign's personal will, though subject to the sovereign's approval. Certainly humans respond better to more immediate bonds, but they often identify with such symbols of social authority as well. [48] Even a pseudo-event might speak directly to the concerns and cultural needs of people.

Boorstin's argument suggests that historic sites themselves are pseudo-eventful because they are commercial, tourist attractions that retain little meaning for locals. In many cases they become mere embellishments used to promote tourism. [49] Travellers began to "tour" in numbers in the early-nineteenth century. Thomas Cook's English excursions began in the 1840s and, by 1855, he had expanded to the continent, taking hundreds of English voyagers at a time. In the New World, American travel exploded after the Civil War as people with sufficient wealth, but little culture, suddenly found the means to travel for leisure. In Montreal, the process of tourist commercialization began alongside a boom in monument building. Tourist guides, previously written as travel literature, began to proliferate in the 1890s. By the 1930s both the federal and provincial governments aimed historic plaques and

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[48]Shils and Young, "The Meaning of the Coronation," pp. 135-152.

[49]Boorstin, p. 101.

monuments at the armies of tourists who trooped through Quebec each year seeking new experiences and astonishing sights.[50]

Twenty years ago, Dean MacCannell, an early scholar of tourism, described a process he called sight sacralization. Tourist sights are first marked with a name, then elevated by such additions as historic plaques or guides. This process produces a dislocation between the sight (or site) and its marker. The site marker soon becomes more important than the site or the event it marks because, unlike the fleeting moments of the past, the marker is a durable, tangible object. It is the physical evidence of value demanded by the mentality of modernity. One of Canada's most famous examples of this process is the monument to Sir Isaac Brock near Queenston, Ontario. The Brock monument, nearly as old as the Battle of Queenston Heights, is often misconstrued as "the exact spot" where Brock fell and died. The assumption is that by viewing the monument, the tourist might capture the underlying essence of the historical importance of Brock's sacrifice. The monument itself has become historic for the sake of the tourist.[51]

The tourism market tends towards essentialism and the reproduction of ethnic imagery. John Urry describes the totalizing, essentialist way in which visitors grasp the whole of societies as the "Tourist Gaze." The organization of the Tourist Gaze by state and private initiatives is an attempt to construct tourist experiences and, in the case of public memory, to

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[50]James Buzard, *The Beaten Track: European Tourism, Literature, and the Ways to Culture, 1800-1918* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 50-55; 219. See also *Along Quebec's Highways: Tourist Guide* (Quebec, 1930).

[51]Dean MacCannell, *The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York, 1976), pp. 124-132; Patricia Jasen, "Romanticism, Modernity and the Evolution of Tourism on the Niagara Frontier, 1790-1850," *Canadian Historical Review* (September 1991), pp. 283-318.

shape the way they view the local past. Thus tourism leads public historians to anticipate the gaze of outsiders. However, while potential visitors and immigrants might witness images and ideas about Canada in the advertising and displays of tourist festivals, these images are not produced for them alone. Examining folk festivals of nineteenth- and twentieth-century Switzerland, Regina Bendix outlines how festival organizers catered to their own interests rather than those of the tourist industry. Moreover, newspaper accounts of such events as a procession of yodellers reveal that local inhabitants might be more enthusiastic than the tourists about these invented traditions. Nonetheless, public memory anticipates the attentions of tourists, producing an essentialist position on the local past.[52]

Tourism affects public memory in four crucial ways: it centralizes the production of local culture; it submerges local tastes in a continental market; it develops the notion of a folk society; and it commodifies the past. This fourfold impact is a direct offshoot of the intrusion of capitalist markets into collective memories and local public history. Local cultural production becomes centralized in an effort to anticipate what will capture the attentions of visiting travellers. In the city John Steinbeck made famous for its excluded underclass, for instance, local opinion leaders excluded or altered public memory in anticipation of the travelling public's desire to see Steinbeck's works written in the tourist landscape of the city. They turned both Steinbeck's fictionalized underclass and real people into quaint characters

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[52]Regina Bendix, "Tourism and Cultural Displays: Inventing Traditions for Whom?" *Journal of American Folklore* (April-June, 1989), pp. 131-146.

for public consumption, confining contentions over the sites of memory to their own carefully constructed circle of ideas.[53]

This centralization of cultural production submerges diverse local tastes in a continental marketplace. Tourism appeals to the lowest common denominator of public culture and the tourist industry tries, as far as possible, to provide the comforts of home for the weary traveller. Nervous jesting about English or American meals being served at every table on earth spread alongside increased English and American travel after the mid-nineteenth century. Even light-hearted lampoons of tourist behaviour in *Punch* and other periodicals expressed anxiety or suspicion that tourism could shape physical landscapes and coerce the distinctiveness out of local cultures. Indeed, Urry's Tourist Gaze exercised a strange power over the character of place at almost the moment Thomas Cook planned to widen its vista.[54]

Threats to the character of place often, paradoxically, involved an entrenchment of "distinctive" cultural features. From the mid-nineteenth century, arts and crafts movements had held up English and American handicrafts as traditional, authentic, products of pre-industrial folk cultures. Hand-sewn quilts and needlework represented a revival of old ways and a rejection of industrial modernity in an effort to satisfy an urban demand for authentic, rustic artifacts. Ian McKay has illustrated the myriad connections between antimodernism, handicraft revivalism, and the tourist market. Tourism helped develop a mythic "folk culture"

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[53]Martha Norkunas, *The Politics of Public Memory: Tourism, History and Ethnicity in Monterey, California* (Albany, 1993).

[54]Buzard, pp. 11-12.

past to satisfy the tastes of international travellers.[55] However, tourism's effect on the past is not confined to the invention of "traditional" manufacturing techniques. Promoters also packaged "revived" festivals and rituals as distinctive features of bygone local cultures and played on the local distinctiveness of each event to attract the tourist dollar.

Hawking the folk commodifies the past. State involvement in commercial tourism has been closely connected to strategies to alleviate economic malaise. In 1923, residents of Pictou, Nova Scotia and the provincial government combined to celebrate the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the *Hector*, an eighteenth-century barque that brought 189 Scottish settlers to Pictou Harbour. Certainly the portrayal of history at this commemorative festival tried to shape historical memories to confirm dominant perceptions of the Canadian past. Public memory is, after all, a discourse about power. But the added dimension of commercial tourism exerted a somewhat discrepant pull on the celebrations. The week-long celebration filled hotels and restaurants and presented entertainments of traditional costumes, music, and dance. But these portrayals, as much as they reinforced a dominant view of a glorious past, portrayed a safe, clean, and happy past that appealed to the cultural tastes of early-twentieth-century travellers. The participation of the state, presumably in a bid to preserve the public good, paradoxically helped turn a "founding myth" into a tourist souvenir ready to be bought and carried off to American homes.[56]

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[55]Ian McKay, *The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia* (Montreal and Kingston, 1994).

[56]Michael Boudreau, "A Rare and Unusual Treat of Historical Significance: The 1923 Hector Celebration and the Political Economy of the Past," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Winter 1994), pp. 28-48.

Tourist interests thus exerted another pull on the continuing contest to shape and control public memory. Public memory serves to legitimate states, ideologies, and political factions. It offers imagined communities a sense of shared posterity and common descent in the human quest for meaning. It regiments and structures a multiplicity of pasts and lends order to individual memories. It helps individuals confirm their own memories by establishing a canon with which to agree or dissent. Much of public memory is invented or "pseudo," but it is also experienced by people as part of the founding elements of identity. Above all, public memory is a contest that pits competing pasts against one another in a struggle to define the present.

Public memory is thus an ideal focus for any study of collective identities. Political and social leaders use historic plaques and especially monuments to guide sentiments of patriotism amongst their co-citizens. They define the nation through the common past its members share, or imagine they share. Most studies of nationalism approach this subject from the perspective of intellectual history. The study of public memory, on the other hand, reveals more of nationalism's underlying popular foundations. A history of public memory searches for "myth-history" in public markers and monuments to the past and exposes their political construction. The following chapters pursue this contest for mnemonic hegemony in the context of Canada's first metropolis during a crucial stage in the development of its public memory.

Chapter Two:

Crossroads: Montreal to 1891

The history of Montreal is a series of crossroads, numerous intersections of the paths of a multiplicity of pasts. A brief overview of Montreal's history cannot truly capture such a diversity, but it forms the staging point for our discussion of the city's public history. The city itself sits at the crossroads of two great rivers, each penetrating deep into the North American continent. The Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers combine with the Great Lakes to create the longest inland navigation system in the world. Located at the junction of these rivers, Montreal was an obvious transhipment point. But the excellent agricultural land of the island of Montreal also made Montreal the market for a vast farming hinterland. Its flat topography is dominated by Mount Royal, a three-peaked, ancient volcano that rises to 235 metres above sea level at the centre of the island. Elsewhere another fifteen rocky outcroppings push through the sedimentary soil, especially near the island's north-west end. But Mount Royal's domination is clearest from the terracing effect of its abrupt south-eastern slope. The topographic contour lines of map 2.1 demonstrate the effect: from the heart of Montreal's old city and financial district, the mountain towers above the city.[1]

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[1]Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montreal In Evolution* (Montreal and Kingston, 1974), pp. 3-15; Jean-Claude Robert, *Atlas historique de Montréal* (Montreal, 1994), pp. 16-19.

Map 2.1: The Physical Geography of Montreal

Scale in kilometres
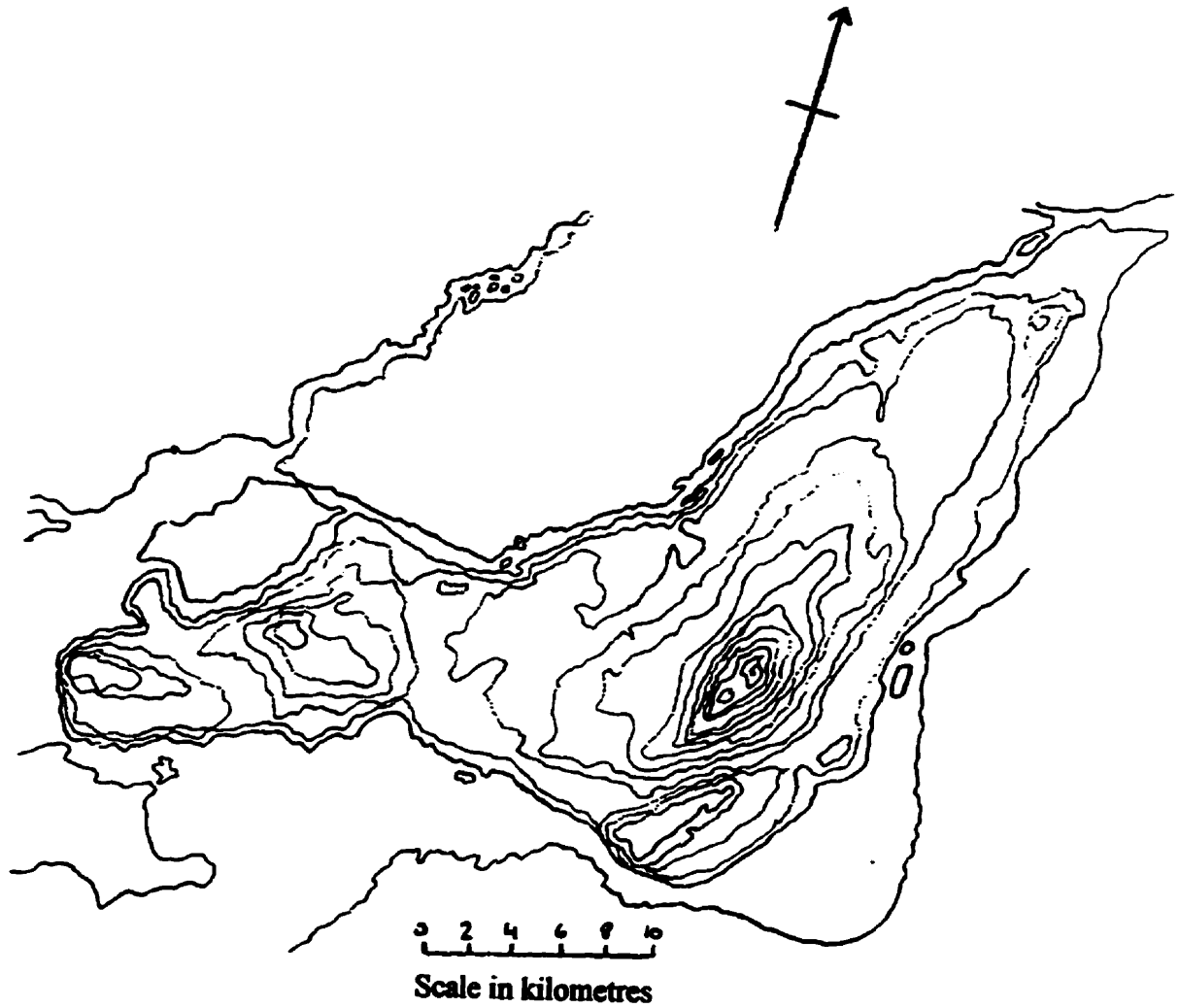
Each contour line equals approximately fifteen metres

Source: Marsan, p. 14.

Montreal is thus itself a crossroads, an assertion its geographic features and history support. It enters our history as a result of the meeting of the people of Hochelaga and the French explorer Jacques Cartier in 1535. The Hochelagans' mysterious disappearance in the three-quarters of a century between Cartier and Champlain removed any trace of their presence. Yet despite Champlain's praise of the island, no French settler arrived for another thirty years. The founding of a French colony awaited the arrival of Paul Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve working under the command of Jérôme Le Royer de La Dauversière.

Maisonneuve and forty colonists (including Jeanne Mance, the eventual founder of North America's first hospital) set out from France in 1641 and arrived at Montreal on 17 May 1642.[2] They had come to convert the "savages," but these people had their own concerns. Confrontations between Amerindians and the colonists dominated Montreal's early years. Before long Iroquois warriors descended on the settlement. The two sides fought their first "battle" on 30 March 1644. Pilotte, the dog of the colonist Lambert Closse, heard an approaching war party and barked out a warning to her owner. The alarm reached the fort and Maisonneuve, accompanied by thirty soldiers, marched out to confront the enemy. Near the site of today's Place d'Armes, some one thousand feet uphill from the fort, Maisonneuve lost his way in the dense woods and encountered the Iroquois alone. He fired his pistols and retreated to the fort having killed the Iroquoian chief and set the others running. This attack was only a prelude. For twenty years the Iroquois attacked the French

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[2]Marcel Trudel, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France* v. 3 *La Seigneurie des Cent-associés* part 1 *Les Evénements* (Montreal, 1979), pp. 154-158.

and their Amerindian allies, destroying the Huron nation, scattering refugees to the west, and pinning the infant colony inside its palisade walls.

Constant threats of attack hindered the colony's growth. Few colonists ventured more than a few paces from the fort. One exception was Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux. In 1660 Dollard and a small company of soldiers and Amerindians left Ville-Marie to confront an anticipated raid. The mission took on the air of a crusade: the soldiers celebrated mass and accepted a priest's blessing before setting out to meet the heathens in battle. Arriving at the Long Sault of the Ottawa River, some thirty-five miles from the colony, they entrenched themselves and waited to ambush the invaders. The ensuing battle was a bloody affair: Dollard and his men all died after days of fighting. But, having suffered great losses to a small party, the Iroquois retreated and the colony was spared.

The long-term salvation of Montreal depended on more than one skirmish in the woods north of the St. Lawrence valley. In May 1663, His Most Christian Majesty, Louis XIV, took French colonial holdings out of the hands of private adventurers and speculators and made New France a royal province. The change was more than symbolic: with royal control came royal protection. By summer 1665 a full regiment of soldiers, the Carignan-Sallières under the command of Seigneur de Tracy, arrived in New France to engage the Iroquois and bring them to peace. While the Iroquois settled briefly, guerilla war continued for another thirty-five years until the 1701 Peace of Montreal at last delivered the town from its Iroquoian nemesis.

Peace allowed the fur trade to prosper. French traders penetrated deep into the interior of the continent, making their own connections with local tribes and tapping ever

more valuable sources. As the frontier base of this trade, Montreal boomed. Stuck at about

forty inhabitants through its early years, Ville-Marie swelled to a population of 3,000 by

1731.[3] Furs built the town's wealth. Although Louise Dechêne plays down the importance

of fur in the wider local economy, without a doubt it contributed to the enrichment of the

great merchant families and, through them, to the creation of the physical structures of the

town.[4]

Montreal developed through the eighteenth century into a miniature version of a

French town. Dollier de Casson laid out its main streets in 1672, but Montreal grew without

official planning. Its feudal framework steered land use patterns and the geography of the

marshy island shaped the pattern of its streets. Feudal land grants directed the use of the

land according to the practical and economic needs of farming in Canada. Land holdings

followed long, narrow strips leading away from river frontage. As the maps of Bénigne

Basset and Paul Labrouse reveal, this pattern influenced future streets. The first follows

Dollier de Casson's plan; the second shows the pattern's survival nearly a hundred years later.

Even today, notes Jean-Claude Marsan, Dollier de Casson's original plan can be traced in

Montreal's geography of land use.[5]

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[3]The name Montreal gradually replaced Ville-Marie starting in 1669. After 1726, Ville-Marie disappeared from maps. See Marie-Claire Daveluy, *Origine du nom Ville-Marie* (Montreal, 1942), pp. 67-72.

[4]W.J. Eccles, *Canada Under Louis XIV, 1663-1701* (Toronto, 1964), pp. 20-39; Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVIIe siècle* (Paris, 1974), pp. 229-230.

[5]Marsan, p. 72. However Marsan thinks this development is more directly a product of the physical geography of the island.

Map 2.2: Map of Montreal, 1672

St.-Martin River

Windmill
(Citadel)

Notre-Dame Street

Notre-Dame
Church

St.-Paul Street

St. Lawrence River

Fort

approximate scale in metres
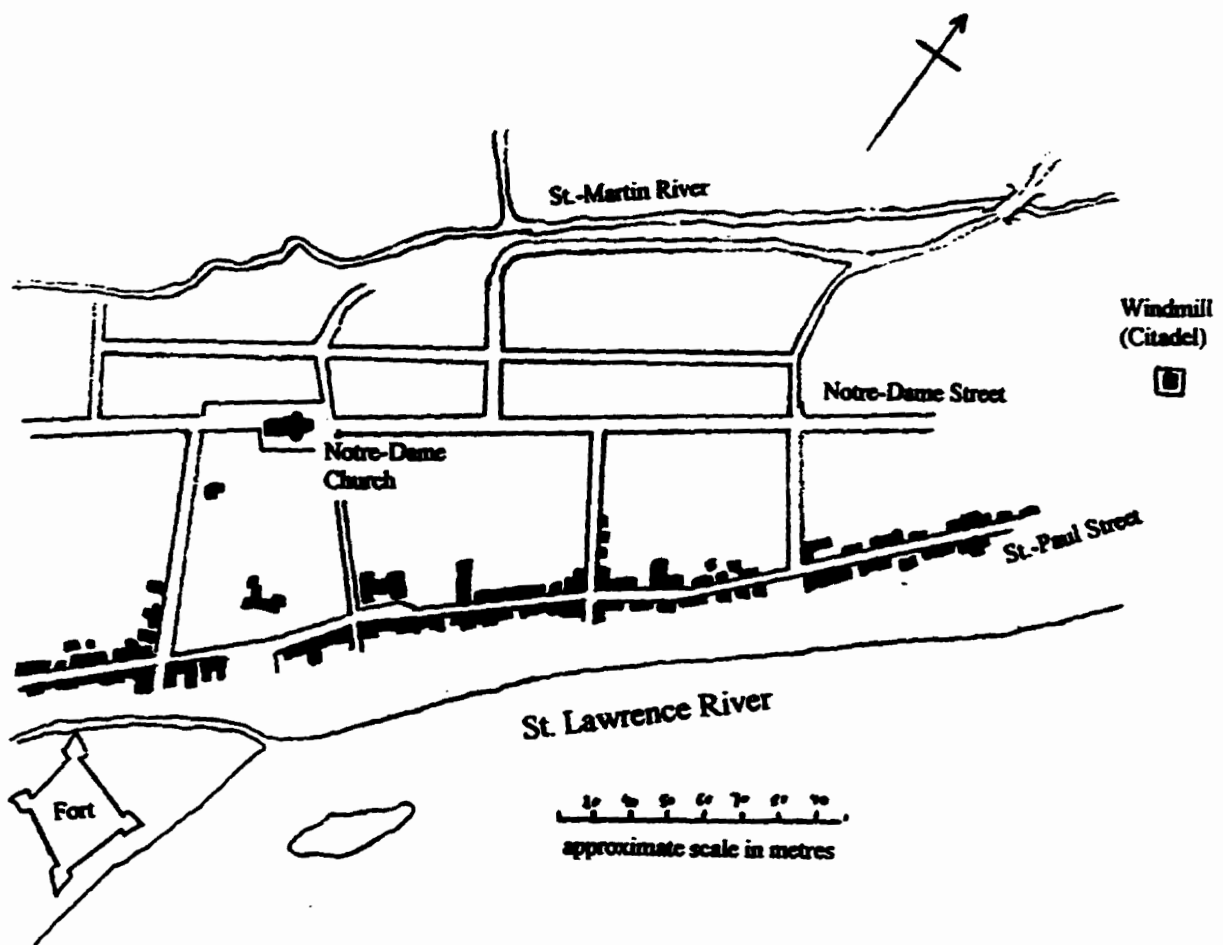
Source: Map attributed to Bénigne Basset, sieur des Lauriers
Reproduced in Marsan, p. 73.

Map 2.3: Montreal in 1761,
The Paul Labrouse Plan of Montreal
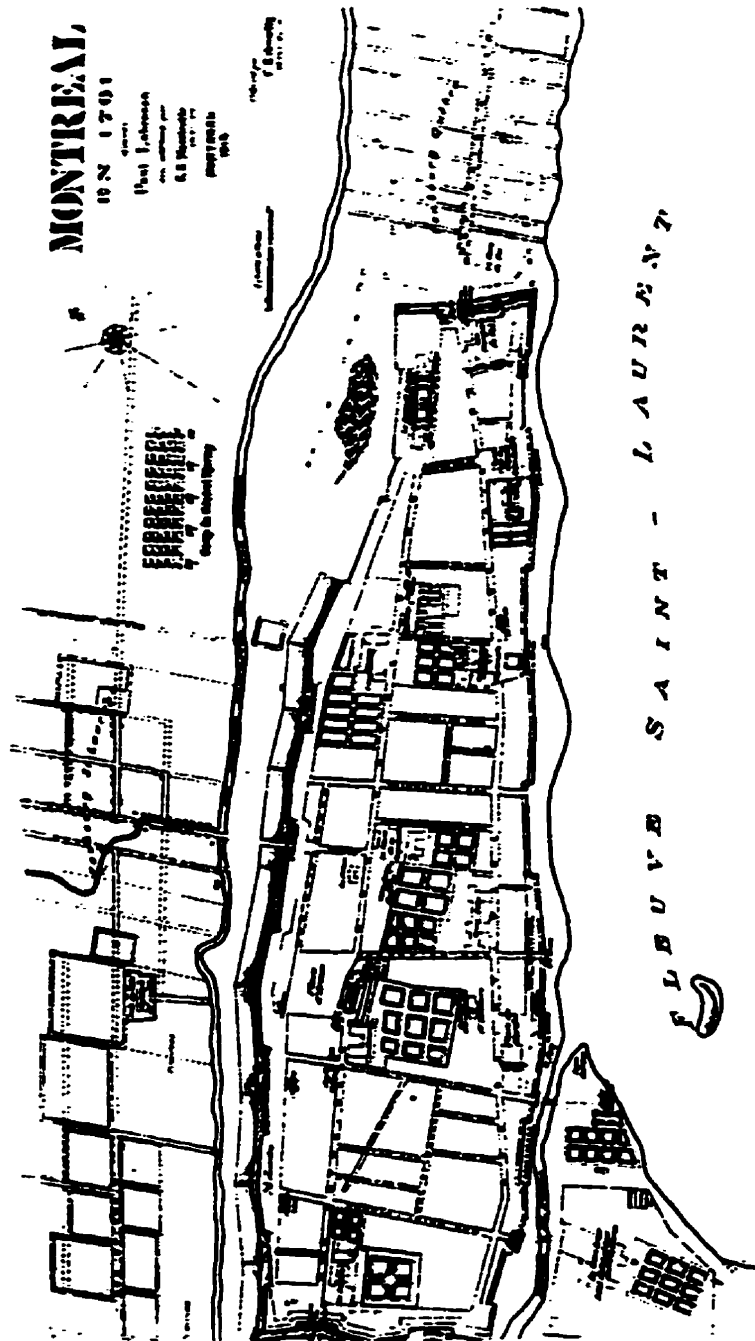
Additions by E.-Z. Massicotte, Montreal 1914
Reproduced in Marsan, p. 86.

As the walls of the Labrouse plan suggest, war was a part of daily life in the eighteenth century. French soldiers fought European rivals on North American soil over forty-four of the hundred and eighteen years between Montreal's founding and its eventual capitulation to the British army of General Jeffrey Amherst. Following that conquest, repeated American invasions in 1775 and 1812 kept the city ready for war. But despite the presence of its large garrison, commerce was the key to Montreal's growth and its history.

Control of the fur trade at Montreal passed from exclusively French hands to mainly British hands in the span of a generation. After the Conquest, Montreal's commercial position attracted British and American immigrants. The first English-speaking colonists to arrive in Montreal were Protestant traders. As early as 1765, ninety-nine Protestant men lived in Montreal. About fifty of them lived by commerce and their numbers, wealth, and influence multiplied. These merchants shaped Montreal in the early-nineteenth century and their names entered the annals of Montreal's memory: John Molson, the Frobishers, Simon McTavish, the McGills, Alexander Henry, and George Phyn. They were among the last merchant-adventurers of North America and they expanded Montreal's commercial hinterland far to the northern interior of the continent. To the great fur traders, Montreal was the focus of a vast commercial empire.[6]

The end of American Revolutionary War in 1783 compelled the Montreal staples trade to shift its focus. American control of the fur-rich territory south of the Great Lakes (confirmed by the outcome of the War of 1812) forced Montreal's fur traders to the distant north where they lost their competitive advantage to the Hudson's Bay Company. But the

[6]Donald Creighton, *Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto, 1956), pp. 22-27.

American Revolutionary War also sent its refugees, United Empire Loyalists, to the newly expanding Canadian frontier. English-speaking, Protestant families arrived in massive numbers in Montreal's hinterland. As their farms began to produce, Montreal evolved into an entrepot for agricultural produce from the west. In the dying years of the Montreal-based fur trade, Montreal's merchants found a new staple.

Montreal's political landscape likewise shifted as the economic structure of the colony developed. By 1791, the influence of the merchants and the Loyalists forced Britain to divide Canada in two and grant a long-promised elected legislature for each half. However, unlike in the United Kingdom, Catholics (that is, the majority of Lower Canada's population) could sit in the new legislature. Commercial power met the electoral strength of the French Canadians. Merchants who had opposed the colonial establishment of the governor and his administration in the early days of the British regime, themselves became the establishment shortly after 1791.

Political factions divided over economic issues. Moving agricultural produce placed new demands on the transportation network. While furs had moved chiefly by brigades of canoes, more bulky commodities, like grain, required larger vessels. As Montreal became the port for a rapidly developing Upper Canada, the use of barges rendered impossible the portage and paddle system of the fur trade; the impassable Lachine rapids of the St. Lawrence necessitated an alternative route. Canalization of the St. Lawrence had long been a political issue in the province. Various engineers had proposed a canal around the Lachine rapids between 1670 and 1812, but none succeeded until the effort of 1821-5. In the legislature, French-Canadian politicians opposed the merchants' plans to raise the capital for

the canals by a land tax, arguing that this would make the *habitants* pay for improvements for the benefit of the merchants. But French-Canadian politicians did not oppose every commercial proposal. Along with anglophones, they supported the dismantling of Montreal's fortifications to allow the town to expand. But on the issue of the Lachine Canal, mercantile interests won over bitter opposition.

Building the canal proved as contentious as voting for it. Labour strife on the canal was common. Canal workers first struck in 1823, but more serious grievances developed during the canal's enlargement in the 1840s. Beginning in 1843 Irish day workers, fearing a threat to their wages from the use of "more docile" French-Canadian workers, fought their rivals along the canal. Later that year, and again the following year, strikes continued the violence.[7] These strikes demonstrate the shifting demography of Montreal. By the 1830s, both Quebec City and Montreal were predominantly anglophone cities. The end of the Napoleonic wars had opened the floodgates of transatlantic migration from the British Isles. Between 1791 and 1815, Lower Canada's population roughly doubled, from 165,000 to 335,000 people; in the subsequent thirty years another 400,000 people arrived at Quebec City from the British Isles. The majority of these immigrants continued their journey to Upper Canada, but many stayed in Montreal. After 1831 Montreal emerged as the true metropolis of Canada, surpassing for the first time the population of the Quebec City. More locally,

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[7] H.C. Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 120; 187; 191-192; Bryan Palmer, *Working-Class Experience* 2nd ed (Toronto, 1992), p. 62.

Map 2.4: 1825 Map of Montreal by John Adams

Source: Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta* (Montreal, 1839)

Montreal's immigrants altered the social composition of the city: by 1861, one quarter of the population was Irish.[8]

Population growth changed the geography of Montreal. Hemmed in by hills and swamps, Montrealers needed to alter the drainage of the island in order to transform an eighteenth-century fortified town into a nineteenth-century commercial city. In 1801 the Assembly of Lower Canada passed a law calling for the removal of the old city walls. The citadel, no longer needed to protect the people, was torn down and its hill levelled, the excess soil used to flatten land and fill in streams and marshes. Small rivers, such as the St.-Martin and the St.-Pierre, were canalled and eventually covered. A three-man commission that sat between 1802 and 1817 oversaw these changes, but the real impetus for its actions was a fire that gutted much of the heart of the city in 1803. The Jesuits' buildings and the French governor Vaudreuil's chateau burned to the ground that year. Even more than fire, urban expansion was the true enemy of old buildings.[9] As human settlement slowly crept farther and farther from the old town, other fixtures of the old regime disappeared. No one would notice this important corollary to urban development until the end of the century. For the moment, most were excited by the changes that had made the city of the Conquest unrecognizable by mid-century (see map 2.4).

As the developing British North American metropolis, Montreal became the focus of colonial politics. Political leadership among French Canadians passed from relative

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[8]Patricia Thornton and Sherry Olsen, "The Tidal Wave of Irish Immigration to Montreal and its Demographic Consequences," *Shared Spaces* no. 13 (1993), p. 2.

[9]Robert, *Atlas historique*, pp. 86-87.

moderates such as Pierre Bédard to the more militant Louis-Joseph Papineau in the 1830s. Papineau and many of his followers in the *parti patriote* dreamed of a liberal nation, but they united in opposition to the existing colonial regime and demanded colonial autonomy. Struggle for ministerial responsibility radicalized in Lower Canada in 1837 after the Imperial government rejected Papineau's 92 Resolutions, essentially the platform of his party. Within months parliamentary reform collapsed and insurrection erupted in the countryside around Montreal. Fighting initially broke out in the city in November 1837 in street brawls between the loyalist Doric Club and *Patriote* supporters.[10] Recrimination from the Montreal brawls frightened many *Patriote* leaders who fled to the countryside where real insurrection erupted. Papineau's supporters won the initial engagement at St.-Denis, but government troops regained the upper hand in subsequent weeks. Nonetheless, the state of insurrection continued in intermittent bursts over the next twelve months, each successive attempt crushed with increasing brutality. The panicked colonial administration arrested hundreds of men in the Montreal area, but few stood trial. In the end, the courts sent 58 to Australia, banished another pair, and hanged 12.

Lord Durham, sent by Britain to resolve this situation, recommended three changes: the union of Upper and Lower Canada, the assimilation of the French-speaking population, and full ministerial responsibility. The first was enacted quickly and the second never achieved, but the third recommendation became the focus of Canadian political life for the next decade. An alliance of Toronto's Robert Baldwin and Montreal's Louis-H. Lafontaine

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[10]I have adopted Jean-Paul Bernard's practice of capitalizing "Patriotes." See his recent booklet, *The Rebellions of 1837 and 1838 in Lower Canada* (Ottawa, 1996).

pushed the Colonial Office to accept Responsible Government. Finally, after the results of

the election of 1848, the Governor of the day chose his cabinet from the leaders of the

largest faction in the elected assembly. The following spring he signed the Rebellion Losses

Bill despite his personal reservations, establishing the principle of Responsible Government.

The Bill committed the government to compensate property losses incurred during the

rebellions and their subsequent suppression, regardless of how that property had been

damaged or who owned it. Critics denounced its blanket compensation that effectively

rewarded rebels and its passage provoked riots in the streets of Montreal. Angry protesters

descended on the Parliament Building at St. Anne's Market (today's Place d'Youville) and

burned it down.

The burned-out Parliament Building was never rebuilt; Montreal was never again to

be a political capital. Anglophones also protested (rioters had shouted anti-French slogans)

by voting with their feet. English-speaking Montreal's population peaked in 1851 as British

immigrants opted to settle in rapidly developing Upper Canada and French Canadians left

their fathers' farms in increasing numbers. By mid-century, the textile mills of New

Hampshire, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island had become a drain on French Canada's

population, offering a source of income that the rural economy could not match. Emigration

to Protestant New England was a continuing source of distress for the clergy, not least

because very few ever returned. The mills of New England continued to attract rural French

Canadians, but so too did the developing industries of the metropolis. While nearly 2,000

French Canadians left Montreal each year in the 1840s, the tide turned in the 1850s. With

increasing relative strength in the city, Montreal's francophones gradually carved out their own economic, political, and social space.[11]

Table 2.1: Population and Proportion in Linguistic Groups, 1750-1901[12]

Year	Population	Anglophone	Francophone
1750	4,000	0%	100%
1805	9,020	25%	75%
1825	22,540	41%	54%
1851	57,715	55%	45%
1871	107,225	47%	53%
1901	267,730	34%	61%

Montreal's division into francophone eastern and anglophone western halves began early in the nineteenth century and was pronounced by mid-century. But it was not an absolute divide. As late as 1852, one third of residents in the easternmost neighbourhoods spoke English and francophones accounted for about a quarter of the westernmost neighbourhoods. But the lines were drawn. They would become more rigid as many in the Irish population that had sustained anglophone Montreal's brief majority opted to leave the city during the second half of Victoria's reign, emigrating to Ontario and the United States.[13]

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[11]Bruno Ramirez, "French Canadian Immigration to the New England Cotton Industry: A Socioeconomic Profile," *Labour / Le Travail* (Spring 1983), pp. 125-142.

[12]Sources: Robert, *Atlas historique*, pp. 58; 92-93; 110-111; Gérald Bernier and Robert Boily, *Le Québec en chiffres de 1850 à nos jours* (Montreal, 1987), pp. 43-44. 1901 figures do not add to 100 reflecting the growing importance of "other" linguistic/ethnic groups. See below Chapter Three.

[13]Robert, *Atlas historique*, pp. 94; 110.

Map 2.5: The Linguistic Geography of Montreal
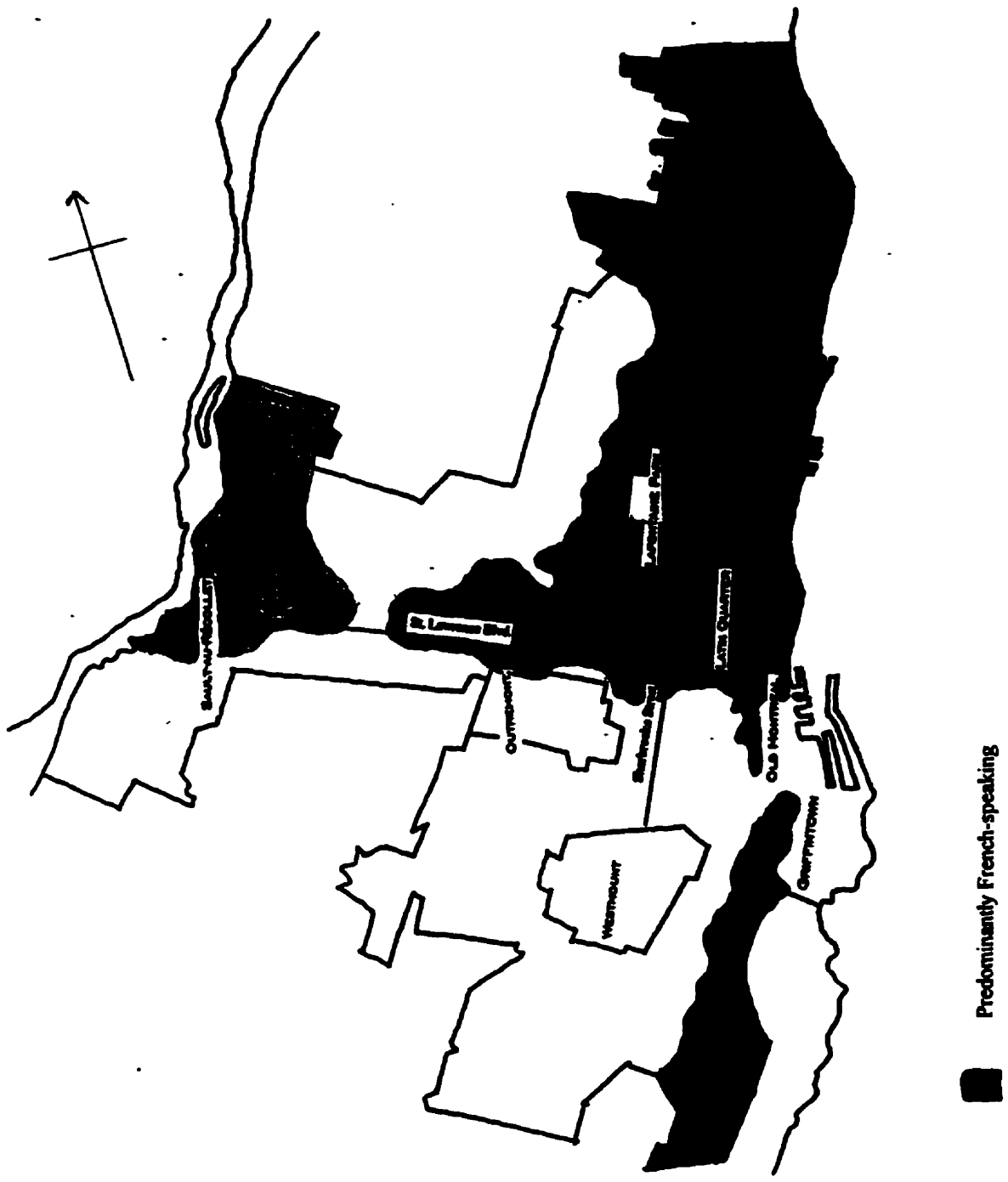
Source: *Historical Atlas of Canada* v. 3, plate 30.

By 1871, the year of the first Dominion census, Montreal was well established as the metropolis of Canada. The country's largest city also dominated its finance, commerce, transportation, and industrial production. As demonstrated by Gerald Tulchinsky, a key factor in Montreal's hegemony was the emergence of a powerful bourgeoisie in the previous decades. Montreal's anglophone elites concentrated Canada's wealth in an area around McGill University's campus that would eventually be known as the Golden Square Mile. New moguls Hugh Allen and John Young joined the children of established families such as the McGills and Molsons. Led by Young, the port of Montreal developed into one of the leading ports of the British Empire, a claim city boosters never tired of repeating. Their vision of Montreal as an Imperial port-of-call survived long into the twentieth century in the writings of such Montrealers as Stephen Leacock.[14]

Sea transport assured Montreal's place as a key link in the transportation chain of the British Empire, but its railway industry would prove more influential in carving out the city's place as the Canadian metropolis. Montreal businessmen were among the first in British North America to realize the potential of the railway. Some proposed a rail link between Montreal and Portland as early as 1844, in a search for a year-round, ice-free Atlantic port. Not that the view of Montreal as a Canadian metropolis was incompatible with the views of men like Leacock. Hugh Allen, for instance, had interests in both transatlantic shipping and transcontinental railways. Nonetheless in the decades following Confederation, railway expansion, not ocean shipping, drove Montreal's development. Beginning in the 1870s,

[14]G.J.J. Tulchinsky, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-1853* (Toronto, 1977), pp. 203-230; Stephen Leacock, *Montreal, Seaport and City* (Garden City, 1942).

dreams of a transcontinental railway steered the railway barons into fierce competition for

government contracts. Both main competitors, the Canadian Pacific and the Grand Trunk,

based their operations in Montreal and the transcontinental dream naturally captured much

of the city's elite and employed many of its workers. Well into the twentieth century

railways led Montreal's economic growth. The Grand Trunk's yards in Pointe-St.-Charles

alone employed 1,200 workers. As late as 1910 another would-be transcontinental set up

office in Montreal; the Canadian Northern even undertook the remarkable step of a railway

tunnel under Mount Royal, employing thousands more.[15]

In the middle decades of the nineteenth the urban economy shifted from one based

on artisanal production to one increasingly relying on large-scale factory manufacturing.

Between 1861 and 1891, while the population of the city doubled, the number of industrial

workers increased five-fold. The factory system did not replace apprenticeship and artisans

overnight; in the 1860s and 1870s the economy was a mix of factories and artisans,

especially in Montreal's eastern wards. Monstrous factories appeared at first along the

Lachine Canal and spread slowly through Ste.-Anne's Ward as steam power replaced water

power in driving the machines.[16]

The growth of a proletarian class altered the rhythm of city life. The separation of

home and work ushered in by the factory system meant that, six days a week, the streets

filled at predicable intervals. At 6 a.m. thousands of factory workers streamed out of their

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[15]Jean de Bonville, *Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit: Les travailleurs montréalais à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montreal, 1975), pp. 30-39; Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto, 1993), p 19.

[16]Bradbury, pp. 26-27.

homes into lanes and alleyways, steadily converging on the major thoroughfares that led to places of work. They repeated the journey in reverse ten to twelve hours later at dusk. In between these nascent rush hours, the streets filled with women, children, pedlars, and hucksters buying and selling household goods.[17]

Probably the most important demographic development of post-Confederation Montreal was the increased flow of rural French Canadians into the city. Thirty-five years of anglophone majority in Montreal ended by 1866. Little by little Montreal replaced the United States as the destination for the second and third sons of French-Canadian farmers. Not only the working classes, but also the bourgeoisie demonstrates this. Although notable exceptions, such as Olivier Faucher, exist Montreal's francophone industrialists drifted in from the countryside. Their numbers contained some of the wealthiest and most powerful French Canadians of the time, including Joseph-Octave Villeneuve, Hormidas Laporte, and Raoul Dandurand. Theirs was a demographic reconquest of Montreal, and as such it was the precondition of the city's mnemonic contests.

Certainly no one disputes the prior Amerindian occupation of Montreal. Few histories open without citing Hochalagan occupation of the land and the nearby presence of Iroquois villages at La Prairie and Cauhnawaga shaped local Christian views of native people. Yet Amerindians are marginalized in Montreal's public memory. Amerindian memories of Montreal might tell the story of a gradual expulsion and exclusion. Not only did the Hochelagans leave Montreal in the sixteenth century, but the name of their town was taken for a French-Canadian working-class suburb and has become a symbol of francophone

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[17]Bradbury, pp. 35-39.

proletarianization. Few Montrealers remember that Amerindians briefly outnumbered French settlers in the town of Montreal at the end of the seventeenth century. Fewer still can recall the enslavement of nearly 1,000 Amerindians at Montreal during the course of the French regime. Theirs is not a narrative of oppression, but a ruthless conscription for the dominant narratives of Montreal. Nowhere in Montreal are they celebrated as a people in their own right who taught the Europeans important lessons about survival, defended the city, and without whom the fur trade would have been impossible. Rather they are consistently held up as an external threat, forever at Montreal's doorstep. Even the Christian converts who settled the reserves near Montreal watched European-descended residents exclude them from the life of the community. Middle-class anglophone sportsmen viewed Amerindians as superior tests in lacrosse matches and snowshoe racing, but for the most part asked them to stay away.[18]

French Canadians might once have told a similar tale. From the Conquest of 1760, they watched the English-speaking, Protestant outsiders quickly gather control of the city in their hands. Coincident opposition to *les anglais* did not unite French-Canadian visions of Montreal. French-Canadians were divided between the guidance of the Catholic Church and the liberal mission of the *rouges* through the second half of the nineteenth century. The Rebellions had discredited liberalism among French-Canadian leaders. The Catholic church, which had preached loyalty to the regime, thus gained political prestige in the eyes of the

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[18]Jan Grabowski, "French Criminal Justice and Indians in Montreal, 1670-1760," *Ethnohistory* (Summer 1996), p. 408; Marcel Trudel, *L'esclavage au Canada français* (Quebec, 1960), p. 86; National Archives (hereafter NA), MG 28 I 351, Montreal Snowshoe Club Minute Books, 1883.

Governor who saw it as the undisputed spokesman for French-Canadian society. Ultramontanes stressed secular subordination to clerical control and their leader, Montreal's Bishop Ignace Bourget, dedicated his life to the preservation of traditional moral values in the face of what he saw as liberalism and secular humanism.

Ultramontanism compelled even some *Patriotes* such as George-Etienne Cartier to heed church direction on the social issues of the mid-nineteenth century. The temperance movement, for instance, managed in Upper Canada and the Maritime colonies by lay activists, came under direct clerical control in Quebec. Yet French-Canadian liberals continued to oppose church control. The *Institut-Canadien*, established in 1844 as a literary club, reunited those *Patriotes* who still advocated secular education and a rigid separation of church and state. But its liberalism drew the club into conflict with the clergy. Bourget won a papal condemnation of the *Institut's* library and used it to withhold the sacraments from unrepentant members. When, in 1869, a printer named Joseph Guibord died, the struggle between the Bishop and the *Institut* came to a head. Guibord was an unrepentant member of the *Institut-Canadien* and Bourget refused him the right of burial in the consecrated ground of Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery. Guibord's friends appealed through the civil courts, eventually winning their case before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London in 1875. Victory apparently assured, Guibord's friends transferred his remains, under guard of 1,200 troops, to the cemetery. But Bourget had not lost: he simply deconsecrated Guibord's plot.

History and memory were serious subjects. Late-nineteenth-century historians tended to follow the positivist approach of the German Leopold von Ranke that aimed at

complete objectivity in its use of facts. French Canadian Catholics could not view their past so coldly. Quebec's high ratio of priests to parishioners influenced its history writing. Clerics condemned positivist methodology as a denial of religious truth and an assault on the humanity of history. "They would like us to tell the story of evil, suffering, war with ... the indifference of the scientist," wrote one Sulpician historian. "That absolute neutrality is impossible."[19] The clerical method which dominated the schools of French Canada taught aspiring historians to ignore past conflicts within the clergy: rather, the history of French Canada should be taught from a perspective that emphasized unity and faith. Historians should keep silent on the vices of the past except to illustrate the punishment of God and instruct the present in moral behaviour. Clerical history judged the past to preserve the moral code of the church.[20] In his *Histoire populaire de Montréal* (1890), Adrien Leblond de Brumath produced a distillation of the clerical view that sought to recover "Ville-Marie" in modern Montreal. Leblond de Brumath personalized the inhabitants of Montreal's streets and homes, turning the faceless of history into disciples of Christ.[21]

French-Canadian liberals, on the other hand, found themselves in the minority by the end of the nineteenth century. But during the 1880s anticlericalism experienced a renewed fervour. A literary circle grouped around the intellectual journal *Canada-Revue* put forth rather unorthodox views of French Canada's collective memory. Included in this circle were

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[19]Cited in Serge Gagnon, *Quebec and Its Historians, 1840-1920* (Montreal, 1982), p.5.

[20]Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History* (Toronto, 1976), p. 15.

[21]Adrien Leblond de Brumath, *Histoire populaire de Montréal depuis son origine jusqu'a nos jours* (Montreal, 1890).

such men as Montreal's mayor and novelist Honoré Beaugrand, the poet Louis Fréchette, and the historian Benjamin Sulte. Sulte, an orphan from Trois Rivières, was the most prolific French-Canadian historian of the nineteenth century. In 1916 he estimated his own output at over three thousand articles as well as numerous books. Sulte characteristically scorned anything that was not Canadian, but it was his anticlericalism that spurred his opponents against him. Paradoxically, these combatants found grounds for agreement on the place of Montreal in history. Sulte praised the Sulpicians for abandoning Montreal's "futile" missionary purpose early. Montreal's vocation was settlement.[22]

Of course Sulte was not as radical as his early critics suggested. The resourceful peasants he saw clinging to the soil reflected the "disillusion-tinted ideology" of his contemporaries and his own cultural conservatism.[23] But the remarkable unity of French-Canadian writers on the nature of Montreal highlights a collective sense of the city as a foreign environment. Certainly they mourned the loss of a French-regime past, but few francophone writers portrayed French-Canadian businessmen at ease in the commercial bustle of modern Montreal, confidently negotiating its chaotic streets as they would a corporate merger. Although they had once again become the demographic majority in Montreal, French Canadians continued to look at the city and its present as English-speaking.[24]

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[22]Sulte's critics overstated his anticlericalism. He mistrusted the Jesuits, but generally praised orders that ministered to the French colonists. Gagnon, pp. 67-110.

[23]Gagnon, p. 109.

[24]Mary Jane Edwards, "Fiction and Montreal, 1769-1885," PhD (University of Toronto) 1969, pp. 93; 177-178.

English-speaking Montrealers, by contrast, saw the city as a creative, progressive place. Nonetheless, English-speaking residents of Quebec mark an anomaly in nineteenth-century anglophone Canadian historical writing. Their inability to achieve an unquestioned domination over provincial society prevented them from looking to the past for confirmation of English superiority. This had a profound effect on their writing and their conceptualization of Montreal in history. It was, to quote Brook Taylor, "ludicrous to make a foil of a French past that was still present; and it was impossible to focus on future achievement based on the quality of a non-existent British yeoman."[25] Thus, unlike their Anglo-Canadian compatriots in Ontario and the Maritime provinces, English-speaking Quebecers did not share a vision of progress based on the possession and improvement of land.

Taylor's summary of anglophone Quebec is interesting, but it wholly ignores both the place of Montreal in Canadian history and the continuing interplay between French- and English-speakers in Canada's largest city. Taylor curiously ignores Newton Bosworth's well-cited 1839 account of Canadian history. In *Hochelaga Depicta*, written as the smoke of the Rebellions still hung in the air, Bosworth described French Canadians as backward and eagerly anticipated their eventual assimilation to progressive English Protestantism. "The desire of the French *habitants* for a liberal and Christian education is increasing daily," he

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[25]Taylor, *Promoters, Patriots, and Partisans*, p. 85.

caustically declared. With assimilation, they would be able to participate in Montreal's

commercial conquest of British North America.[26]

Bosworth's "optimism" was a product of his time and his faith. He was Montreal's

second Baptist pastor. Every day he saw boats unload more English-speaking immigrants

and praised God as the popularity of his own sect grew. Many anglophone Montrealers

shared Bosworth's imaginative vision. Rosanna Leprohon's 1872 short story, "Clive

Weston's Wedding Anniversary," presents a city centred on the commerce of St.-Paul Street

and home life on Sherbrooke, peopled by English-speaking Protestants. When, almost

reluctantly, she acknowledged that French Canadians also lived in Montreal, their "foreign"

accents and appearances appeared irritating and alien.[27] But by the end of the century,

English-speaking Montrealers could no longer so blithely presume assimilation's success or

ignore French Canada. Although W.H. Atherton penned a sympathetic account of French

Canada in his 1914 three volume *History of Montreal*, in general anglophone writers

portrayed Montreal as a city of businessmen, merchants, and commerce where immigrants

arrived to better themselves. It was not a city of French Canadians.[28]

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[26]Newton Bosworth, *Hochelaga Depicta or the History and Present Site of the Island and City of Montreal* (Montreal, 1839), p. 191.

[27]Rosanna Leprohon, "Clive Weston's Wedding Anniversary," *Canadian Monthly and National Review* (August-September, 1872). Leprohon was much kinder in her portrayal in her more important work, *Antoinette de Mirecourt* (Montreal, 1864). An Irish Catholic immigrant, she had married a French-Canadian doctor from Montreal. Cited in Edwards, p. 169.

[28]Edwards, pp. 173-174; W.H. Atherton, *Montreal, 1535-1914* 2 vols. (Montreal, 1914).

In spite of the apparent unity of its *literati*, the anglophone vision of Montreal was far from unified. Beneath the haughty pronouncements of the educated and wealthy hid the silences of the working people, the Irish-Catholics, and women of all classes. An Irish view might well focus on the tragedy of Irish history and its continuity in the new world. Indeed, in 1859 some Irishmen raised a monument to the 6,000 Irish immigrants who had died of "ship fever" contracted while trying to escape the horror of continuing poverty and famine in Ireland. Nonetheless their Montreal was not a city of heroic triumph commemorated through monuments, but a wretched environment of the daily struggle for survival tempered by infrequent and fleeting moments of personal happiness. Much as Gabrielle Roy portrayed the francophone working class of the 1930s in *Bonheur d'occasion*, economic suffering characterized the families of working-class Griffintown.

The student of Montreal in fiction, Mary Jane Edwards, comments that Montreal's nineteenth-century story-tellers saw their city as a complex crossroads of culture. They divided their city into four geographical districts: the commercial centre, the residential neighbourhoods north-west and north-east of Old Montreal, and Griffintown. The significance of these divisions was not only geographical, but also linguistic, religious, and economic. Thus, in fiction, "Montreal is more than many localities. It is a place of nations, all Canadian but all different."[29] But Edwards's characterization of Montreal as a multicultural meeting place did not carry over into the city's commemorative record. Although there were many Montreals to celebrate, the city's public historians too often

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[29]Edwards, pp. 168-169.

ignored the histories of the city's marginalized. Arriving at the crossroads that is Montreal's

history, public memory inevitably opts for the path more frequently trod.

Chapter Three:

Grounds For Disagreement:

Social and Political Contexts of Montreal, 1891-1930

Montreal's commemorative record changed significantly as the heritage movement

took off in the 1890s in response to Canadian modernity. Modernity is the experience of the

self and others under the capitalist revolution that began to transform the northern half of

North America in the mid-nineteenth century. It is the lived experience of the unremitting

process of rapid change and its social consequences characteristic of capitalist society. In

brief, modernity is a social environment that anticipates, indeed even orchestrates, change.

Montreal, as the leading edge of oncoming Canadian modernity, felt its pressures acutely.

And a loose circle of middle-class professionals organized themselves into groups and

committees aimed at the defence of the values of the past against modernity's rationalization.

Private initiatives from historical societies were intended to celebrate and preserve local

history with historic plaques and monuments as a response to modernity's destructive

approach to the past. Montreal experienced a boom in monument building beginning in that

decade and lasting to the 1930s. In the forty years between 1891 and 1930 Montrealers

unveiled forty-three public monuments, a pace of more than one a year, increasing the

number in the city by more than three hundred per cent.[1]

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[1]Figures for monuments and plaques were compiled by examining the records of the various heritage organizations discussed below in Chapter Four. For the purposes of this thesis, a monument was deemed "historic" if it honoured or depicted events or people from the past that, in the minds of some, helped shape the present. This definition excludes the numerous religious statues that adorn Montreal's churches. Thus the monument of the

This movement did more than accelerate the pace of monument building. It also reconceptualized the role of monuments from memorials to the dead to public displays of patriotism. The year 1891 marks a significant rupture in the commemorative history of Montreal (see Table 3.1). Prior to 1891 most public monuments had been grave markers or symbolic reminders of the dead placed in cemeteries. In the years after 1891 monuments increasingly occupied Montreal's public squares. Of the sixty-three historic monuments in place in 1930, only seventeen had been placed in a cemetery. Fully 65% of monuments erected prior to the 1890s were placed in a cemetery, contrasting with only 9% of those erected after 1891. Following the 1890s, monuments commemorated the "heritage" of the past more than they memorialized the dead.

Table 3.1: Monuments in and out of Cemeteries[2]

	Up to 1890	1891-1930	Totals
Monuments in Cemeteries	13	4	17
Non-Cemetery Monuments	7	39	46
Totals	20	43	63

This heritage boom emerged in response to, and in ironic coexistence with, Montreal's industrial revolution. By 1890, 1,907 manufacturing establishments employed

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martyr Nicolas Viel is historic, but any statues of the Virgin Mary (although she was a historical figure) are not. A secondary means of defining "historic" relied on those monuments recognized as so by the provincial government through Pierre-Georges Roy's *Monuments commémoratifs*. Thus the Temperance Fountain is counted as historic because the CMHQ classified it so. "Public" is taken to mean erected outdoors or in a non-sectarian building open to the public. See below, Appendix B.

[2]Sources: Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*; ANSM, "Tablettes historiques"; Victor Morin, *La légende dorée de Montréal* (Montreal, 1949).

over 42,000 of the city's 267,000 people. Two decades later the number of employees had almost doubled, but the number of factories had decreased.[3] Manufacturers got bigger and more rationalized, flattening small shops and neighbourhoods to build massive factories. One scholar of historical preservations in Quebec, Paul-Louis Martin, notes that the focus in Quebec on the preservation of historic churches and homes followed from fears over industrialization's capacity to destroy.[4] The tremendous growth of Montreal had already wiped away much of its physical heritage. The old city walls had been razed and the citadel had been conquered by construction crews rather than rival soldiers. Through the nineteenth century more of "old" Montreal gradually disappeared under the wrecker's ball. In its place rose offices, factories, railway yards, and skyscrapers and some Montrealers grew anxious about this loss of the past. But their response was itself framed by the conditions and events of their own times. This chapter outlines the intellectual environment and the contexts of social and political action in Montreal from 1891 to 1930, highlighting such issues as clericalism and commercialization, civic boosterism and statism, and imperialism and nationalism.

I Imperialism and Nationalism

For much of the twentieth century Canadian imperialists were accused of a rather distasteful urge to dominate and exploit the northern half of North America and deliver its

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[3]Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montreal, 1992), pp. 29; 148.

[4]P.-L. Martin, "La conservation du patrimoine culturel: origines et évolution," in P.-L. Martin (ed) *Les chemins de la mémoire* v. 1 (Quebec, 1990), pp. 1-17.

riches to England's feet. Their penchant for a united Empire was set in opposition to an eventually triumphant Canadian nationalism that championed greater autonomy from Great Britain. The liberal-nationalist school of Canadian historiography wrote the obituary for the defeated ideas of imperial union. But in 1970 Carl Berger exposed the fallacy of this assumption. In his fruitful work, *The Sense of Power*, Berger explored and developed the intricacies of Canadian imperialism. Imperialists cultivated a sentiment that saw Canada's potential greatness within a British imperial context, not a simple-minded colonialism.[5]

Canadian imperialism was a sentiment before it became a policy and Berger's study deals with it as an intellectual movement rather than a political strategy. Many imperialists believed that the United Empire Loyalists had planted the seeds of imperial unity on Canadian soil when they abandoned the American republican experiment. They brought with them British progress and liberty as they ventured north across the St. Lawrence, Niagara, and St. John rivers. Yet, surprisingly, Canadian imperialists rarely praised Britain. True, they gloried in the accomplishments of England and her Empire, but they remained anxious that Canadian interests might be sacrificed for English ones and rued the moral collapse of England. Indeed, Winston Churchill once chastised the Canadian imperialist, Stephen Leacock, for being too critical of English policies. Canadian imperialism emphasized the imperial system because it protected and nurtured Canada's emerging identity. Canadian imperialism, noted both the contemporary observer Richard Jebb and the

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[5]Carl Berger, *The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867-1914* (Toronto, 1970).

modern scholar Berger, was an awakening of colonial nationalism, an assertion of Canada's

value and a confidence in Canada's potential contribution within an imperial context.[6]

Much has been made of the supposed opposition between imperialism and

nationalism in Canada. This paradigm opposes such men as Leacock, Colonel George T.

Denison, and George Grant and their dream of a united Empire against proponents of

Canadian autonomy such as John Ewart. In Montreal, it was a debate carried out by Leacock

on the one hand and Henri Bourassa on the other. Certainly these men saw themselves in

fundamental opposition to one another. But even Bourassa (and especially Ewart)

envisioned an autonomous Canada still tied to Great Britain under a common crown. Critics

often misconstrued Ewart's scheme as one calling for a separation from Great Britain. Yet,

paradoxically, Imperial Federationists, the very people who opposed Ewart, proposed closer

ties with Great Britain only provided Canada attain the status of an equal partner in the

Empire. British-Canadian patriotism developed within the chauvinistic pride of British

imperialists. As imperial acquisitions multiplied, so too did the pride of some British

Canadians for their part of the first global empire. And, so the reasoning went, within the

Empire Canada occupied a unique position: bordered by a powerful, republican,

occasionally jingoistic, and once hostile neighbour, British Canadians emphasized their

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[6]Alan Bowker, "Introduction," in Stephen Leacock, *Social Criticism: The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice and Other Essays* (Toronto, 1996), p. xiv; Deryck Schreuder, "The Making of the Idea of Colonial Nationalism," in John Eddy and Deryck Schreuder (eds) *The Rise of Colonial Nationalism* (Sydney, 1988), pp. 63-93.

differences from Americans as much as their bond with the United Kingdom. Indeed, anti-republicanism framed both Leacock's and Ewart's search for a Canadian patriotism.[7]

Of course, as much as imperialists and "nationalists" shared common sentiments, they disagreed famously. Imperial federationists wanted to build a political structure to cement the bonds of empire. Nationalists, on the other hand, envisioned the future as an inevitable withering away of most of Canada's institutional ties to England. As would be expected, economic policies followed suit: imperialists dreamed of a massive trading bloc connected by the British crown while their opponents might endorse the options of a continental economy or a tight Canadian protectionism. Imperialism seems to have held sway among the anglophone upper and middle classes of Montreal. Little work has been done on the ideological preferences of English-speaking Montrealers, though Ronald Rudin has documented their qualified tendency to vote for the party of imperial preference and the National Policy and this was reflected in the city's commemorative record.[8]

Critics of imperialism most often aligned themselves with one or another form of Canadian nationalism. In Montreal in the early-twentieth century these nationalisms could be divided into two broad groups. One encompassed the pan-Canadian visions shared by John Ewart and Henri Bourassa. Certainly anti-imperialism found its most enduring support among French Canadians. Bourassa fashioned his critique of imperialism out of his view

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[7]Ewart did flirt with republicanism during the First World War, but this was a temporary aberration in his thought. David Farr, "The Nationalism of John Ewart," in Carl Berger (ed) *Imperialism and Nationalism* (Toronto, 1969), p. 105.

[8]Ronald Rudin, *The Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* (Quebec, 1985), pp. 262-265.

of Canadian history and Manchester liberalism and he never ceased to criticize imperialism as reactionary, anti-Canadian, and racist. Canadian constitutional history told the story of the loosening of the ties that bound Britain and Canada together. The struggles of Mackenzie and Papineau, Baldwin and Lafontaine had won Canadians the right to self-government. Interference with this trend by imperialists, according to Bourassa, stemmed from economic motivations to counter Britain's declining industrial and commercial position relative to the United States. Imperialists might disguise their interests in the language of jingoism, but their long-term goals would ensnare colonial markets and raw materials for England's interests.[9]

The grandson of Louis-Joseph Papineau, Bourassa bridged the gap between social and religious concerns and the political use of nationalism. Bourassa himself was a man of contrasts. He began public life as a partisan of Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party, but his adherence to Laurier was never complete and he split with Laurier over Canada's participation in the South African War. Bourassa's guiding principle was a Catholicism that bordered on ultramontanism, but his support for the clergy was never absolute. Among his greatest triumphs must be counted his rebuke of an English-speaking bishop at the 1910 Montreal Eucharistic Congress. Following the bishop to the podium, Bourassa attacked the notion of English as the language of Catholicism and passionately defended French as the guardian of the faith in Canada.

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[9]Patrick Allen, "Bourassa et l'impérialisme anglais," in F.-A. Angers (ed) *La pensée de Henri Bourassa* (Montreal, 1954), pp. 57-82.

Bourassa's hostility to imperialism was incessant, but some of his French-Canadian allies could be more constructive. In 1903 a group of young French Canadians organized the *Ligue nationaliste* to provide a medium for political action unconnected to mainstream parties. Its members never saw the *Ligue* as a third party. Rather they saw it as a movement above the parliamentary comedy, echoing Bourassa's disdain for partisan politics. The *Ligue* also echoed many of Bourassa's opinions. Its nationalism was not exclusively French-Canadian. Like Bourassa, it emphasized a new Canadian nationhood based on an equal partnership of French and English. But the *Ligue* surpassed Bourassa's thinking on economic issues. Its members followed the international current of thought on such issues and its leaders, such as Olivar Asselin, were always aware of American Progressives' solutions to similar problems. Nor did Asselin and Bourassa see eye-to-eye on religion. Their common nationalism aside, Asselin countered Bourassa's Catholicism with a rigorous anti-clericalism.

A second grouping of uniquely French-Canadian nationalisms can also be subdivided into smaller components. Jules-Paul Tardivel, perhaps the fiercest French-Canadian nationalist of the period and an advocate of separation, criticized the *Ligue nationaliste* for playing down its "French" nationality. Bourassa religiously defended the nascent *Ligue*, but his nationalism was also "French," especially given his emphasis on French- and English-speakers as separate "races" in a political alliance. Even Tardivel pictured political independence only in the distant future. His more immediate schemes involved attention to French Canada's social and cultural development, especially the preservation of its rural, Catholic character. While many French Canadians might have been in broad agreement with

Tardivel's ideas, he was never a powerful force in Quebec. Indeed, not even Honoré

Mercier's manipulation of Riel's execution, though it depended on national sentiment, could

maintain a universalizing nationalism for party politics. His *Parti nationale* of the 1880s

collapsed over a scandal surrounding his railway interests. French-Canadian nationalisms

of the gilded age more regularly eschewed party politics for "national" political action on

social issues and drew generously from the guidance of the Catholic church.

The church in Quebec faced grave social problems as the nineteenth century ended

and the twentieth began. Emigration of French Canadians to the United States, which had

accelerated from the 1860s, continued to threaten the demographic health of French Canada.

In the last decades of the century Quebec lost about ten per cent of its population. And

while this haemorrhaging continued, francophones who remained in the province flooded

into Quebec's towns and cities. Urban Quebec expanded from 15% of the population in

1851 to 40% by 1901. Montreal received by far the largest share of this growth. This

internal migration away from the farms and rural parishes was every bit as dangerous to the

Church's idea of devotional life as was the exodus to New England. Many priests feared the

worst of the dehumanizing and corrupting influences of urban life. [10]

The twin forces of industrialization and urbanization greatly enlarged Montreal,

enriched its elites, and altered the experiences of its working people. But urban industrial

living did not fit the traditional, rural society valued by the Catholic church. Between 1898

and 1912, the Archbishop of Montreal, Mgr. Paul Bruchési, published seventeen pastoral

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[10]Philippe Sylvain et Nive Voisine, *Histoire du catholicisme québécois* v. 2 *Les XVIII*
et XIXe siècles tome 2 *Réveil et consolidation, 1840-1898* (Montreal, 1991), pp. 420-425.

letters on urban morals, marriage and relations with Protestants, and keeping the Sabbath sacred. He also intervened in popular culture, condemning "immoral" theatrical performances and newspapers. By the end of the nineteenth-century, note the historians of the faith in Quebec, the Catholic Church displayed the symptoms of a structure incapable of reading the signs of the time as anything but a threat to its authority. Its response relied on a steadfast maintenance of established codes of behaviour and risked alienating urban daily life from religion.[11]

Notwithstanding its emphasis on rural morality, the church was not anti-modern in its outlook. Bishop Bourget had encouraged the opening of a medical school for Catholics and, in general, the clergy sought to reconcile urban life to traditional morality. But the church was unwilling to sacrifice classical education to the developing scientific and business fields. Moreover many priests resisted the challenge to their authority represented by the sciences, as seen in their opposition to compulsory smallpox vaccinations in 1885.[12] Likewise, the clergy fretted over the influence of secular labour unions, such as the Knights of Labor which it denounced as a secret society akin to the Masonic Order.[13]

Perhaps the greatest demographic challenge to the existing balance of Montreal was the emergence of new ethnic groups. In 1891 only 2% of all Montrealers were neither

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[11]Jean Hamelin et Nicole Gagnon, *Histoire du catholisme québécois* v. 3 *Le XXe siècle* tome 1 *1898-1940* (Montreal, 1984), pp. 56-57; 175-177.

[12]Michael Bliss, *Plague: A Story of Smallpox in Montreal* (Toronto, 1991), pp. 157-158. On pp. 201-213, Bliss offers a more detailed account of resistence to compulory vaccination that pointedly does not cite the church as leading the opposition.

[13]Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, *The Dream of Nation: A Social and Intellectual History of Quebec* (Toronto, 1983), p. 147.

French nor "British" Canadians. By 1901 this group had reached 5% of the city's population and would double again over the next ten years. Most significant among these new groups was the Jewish population. In 1911, fully one half of residents claiming neither French nor "British" ancestry were Jewish. Italians occupied a distant second place. Neither of these new communities, the Jews and the Italians, quietly assimilated into the dominant social and religious environments of Montreal. Jews, long accustomed to persecution in Europe, had developed their own social institutions and transported these to their new countries. Italian Catholics, on the other hand, might be expected to blend into the existing church social environment. But the Italians followed the Irish example of carving out their own "national" space within existing Catholic organizations. They borrowed the Irish model of creating their own parish separate from French-Canadian parishes.[14]

The Church responded to these demographic shifts to an urban, cosmopolitan society with two general strategies. First, it urged young French-Canadian men who could not afford to raise a family in their home parish, and many of the urban poor, to open up new farms in northern Quebec and the Canadian west. The colonization effort had begun in the middle of the nineteenth century and had been offered as one of the potential benefits of Confederation, but over the last fifty years of the century only 45,000 people had heeded the call. In the twentieth century, colonization took advantage of the expanded railway network. But unlike colonization efforts of the previous century, twentieth century enthusiasts did not urge French Canadians to head west. The lessons of 1885, 1890, and 1905 confirmed in many minds the fear that English-speaking Canadians would keep the west for themselves.

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[14]Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, pp. 161-165.

Rather, the new push aimed at Abitibi, Temiscamingue, and northern Ontario. Opened for settlement by the National Transcontinental Railway in 1910, these marginal regions, though difficult to farm, at least offered the advantage of being relatively close to the St. Lawrence valley and episcopal control.[15]

By opening up new farming land French Canadians would ensure the survival of their traditional vocation in the face of heavy industry. By protecting agriculture, the church believed it could strengthen traditional morality, and use this strength to protect the morality of the urban masses. The clergy was not alone in lamenting the threat posed to family life by industrialization and urbanization. Both Tardivel and Bourassa also advocated colonization as a means to promote the traditional way of life. Like the clergy, they acknowledged both the reality and the danger of secular, urban living. The moral struggle, they argued, had to defend the Catholic family against divorce, civil marriage, and feminism.[16]

The second, broadly-defined strategy involved a missionary impulse in the cities. The corrupting influences of city life might be counteracted by a renewal of Catholic devotion in the city. One strategy was to lure more priests to the calling. The number of priests in Montreal nearly doubled from 663 to 1,227 between 1901 and 1931, but could not keep pace with population growth. Nonetheless these priests aimed at controlling urban life. Archbishop Bruchési encouraged the revival of the temperance societies that Bourget had initiated. Following the failure of prohibitionist pressure on the Laurier government and his

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[15]Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, pp. 104-105; 135-137.

[16]Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, pp. 197-198.

Local Option legislation, Bruchési took the initiative of a crusade in December 1905 and

founded a journal, *La Tempérence*, the following year. And in 1911 the Jesuits established

the *Ecole sociale populaire*, a Catholic think-tank entrusted with the intellectual defence of

French Canadians against the secular ideas of liberalism.

The clergy did not condemn all urbanization, only its nineteenth-century form of

proletarianization. The 1891 papal bull *Rerum Novarum* permitted Catholics to become

industrialists so long as profits were used for Christian ends. But capitalism still led to

proletarianization and in response many clerics envisioned co-operative solutions. Co-

operative efforts, such as among dairy farmers as early as the 1890s, encouraged Christian

virtues in rural Quebec and helped some marginal producers to remain in their home parish.

Most famously, Alphonse Desjardins's credit unions, the *caisses populaires*, facilitated

savings and loans in the rural parishes neglected by the Canadian financial establishment.[17]

Many members of the church hierarchy thus embraced nationalism as another

response to urbanization and industrialization. Priests organized the *Société de parler*

français in 1902 to protect the French language from corruption in the modern, urban

environment. Two years later they encouraged pious young men to form the *Association*

catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française (ACJC), a provincial federation of study and

discussion groups that planned Catholic public demonstrations. The Abbé Lionel Groulx

was one of the organizers of the ACJC, but he became more famous for his role in another

nationalist organization, *Action française*. Groulx was not a founder of *Action française*,

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[17]Ronald Rudin, *In Whose Interest ?: Quebec's Caisses Populaires, 1900-1945* (Kingston and Montreal, 1990).

but he quickly dominated its activities. In 1917 he founded a journal, also called *Action*

française, committed to preserving the demographic weight of French Canadians in Canada

and asserting their political and social power. Groulx himself was alarmed by the 1921

Dominion census that revealed the relative decline of Quebec's proportion of Canada's

population and the concentration of French Canadians in the "foreign" environment of the

city. There they faced the daily corruption of industrial labour and English-Protestant

assimilation. Together, *Action française* and the ACJC encouraged civic behaviour that

reinforced Catholic sensibilities among French-Canadians, especially in Montreal where

both organizations were based. Together they encouraged political and social action.[18]

II The Arena of Action

Much of Montreal's population growth in the latter decades of the Victorian era, as

charted by Dominion censuses, reflects the broadened political boundaries of the city.

Beginning in 1874 Montreal annexed its major suburbs, which were also its major local

competitors in the struggle to attract business investment. Annexations helped Montreal

grow and maintained the prestige and power of its politicians. Expansion widened the city's

tax base and overcame the industrial allure of cheap suburban lands. Increased financial

resources helped Montreal finance its own development and, for the annexed town, spread

municipal debts over a broader population base.[19]

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[18]Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, pp. 195; 221-226; See also her *Action Française: French Canadian Nationalism in the Twenties* (Toronto, 1975).

[19]Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, pp. 202-203.

Map 3.1: Montreal and its Major Annexations 1883-1930
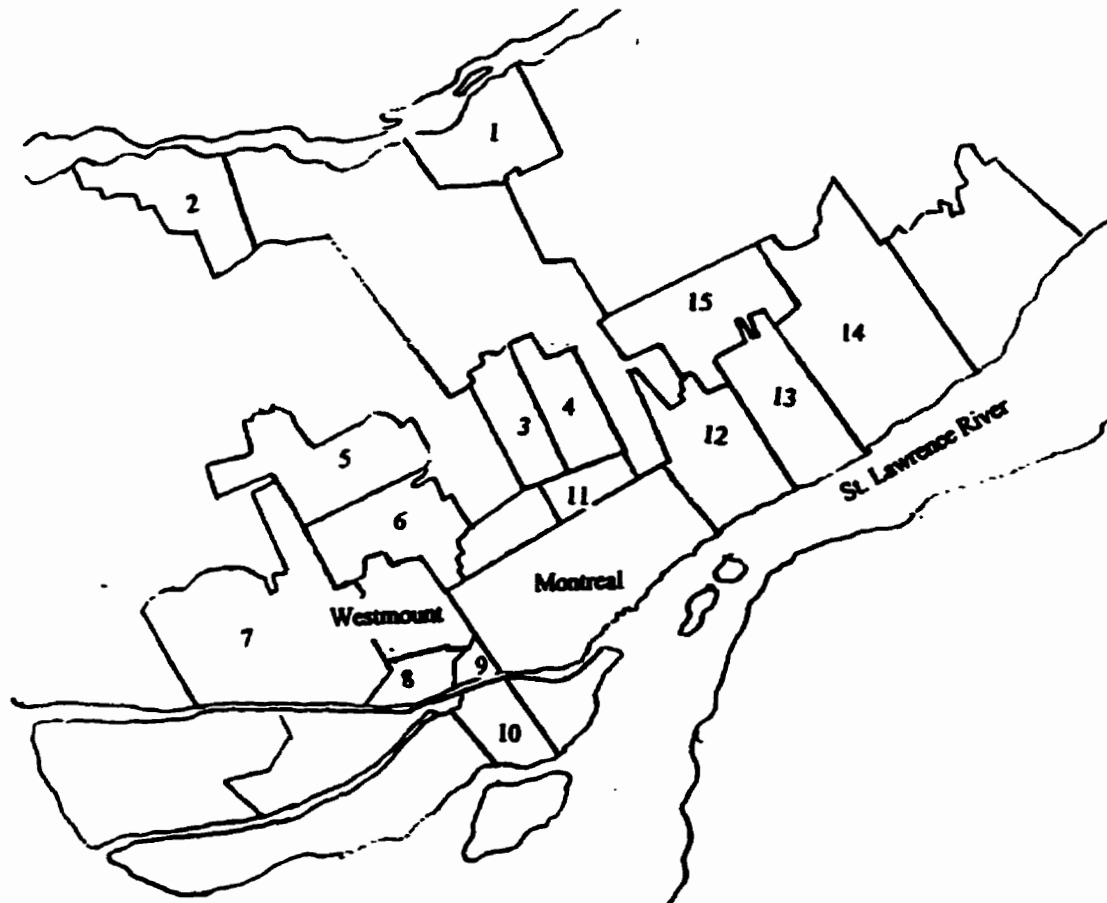
1 Sault-au-Récollet	5 Côte-des-Neiges	9 Sainte-Cunégonde	13 Maisonneuve
2 Cartierville	6 Notre-Dame-des-Neiges	10 Saint-Gabriel	14 Longue Pointe
3 Saint-Louis	7 Notre-Dame-de-Grace	11 Saint-Jean-Baptiste	15 Rosemont
4 Côte Saint-Louis	8 Saint-Henri	12 Hochelaga	

Source: Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, p. 207; Robert, *Atlas Historique*, p. 133

As the city drew more French Canadians from its hinterland, the ethnic geography

Montreal congealed. Early-nineteenth century observers noted an association between

maternal language and residence patterns: St. Lawrence Boulevard divided the city into

French and English halves.[20] Montreal's annexations of its suburbs tended to bring eastern,

francophone neighbourhoods into the city. The twenty-four separate municipalities that

Montreal swallowed between 1883 and 1918 included fifteen to the east of St. Lawrence

Boulevard. To the west, annexations followed more complicated patterns, including

francophone suburbs such as Ste.-Cunégonde, and mixed Irish and French-Canadian

communities like St.-Gabriel. The typical annexation involved a town of 4,000 to 5,000

inhabitants, 75 to 80 per cent of whom spoke French.[21]

At the beginning of the 1890s municipal politics followed the guidance of Raymond

Préfontaine. Préfontaine and his gang of six aldermen monopolized control of municipal

contracts for their political benefit, a pattern repeated across the continent. Certainly many

Montrealers denounced Préfontaine and his tactics. But although a reform movement

formed in Montreal as early as it did elsewhere, local ethnic, religious, and linguistic

cleavages prevented it from gelling as quickly as in other North American cities.[22]

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[20]Raoul Blanchard, *Montréal: Esquisse de géographie urbaine* (Montreal, 1992), pp. 210-215. See also above, Chapter Two.

[21]Based on population statistics from the Canadian census closest to the date of annexation. See Canada, *Census of Canada* (1881), pp. 52-53; (1891), pp. 96-97; (1901), pp. 114-117; (1911), pp. 110-111; (1921), p. 227. On the development of east Montreal see Blanchard pp. 208-9.

[22]Kenneth Finegold has recently argued that municipal structure, rather than demographics, explains the relative success or failure of municipal reforms in the Gilded Age. However, his argument is compromised by a failure to explain how specific municipal

Nonetheless in 1909 a coalition of reform groups managed to topple the corruption at City Hall. They marshalled support from the provincial government and took advantage of a public inquiry into graft in the fire and police departments to win a referendum on municipal government structure. In spite of winning the referendum and capturing control of the government in the 1910 elections, the reform victory was short-lived. In 1914 the old guard, now led by the charismatic new mayor, Médéric Martin, recaptured control of the most powerful positions.[23]

Martin's victory represented a triumph of the old guard and continuity with the practices of the past, but it was also a rupture. Late-nineteenth-century Montrealers had struck a balance between the city's financial magnates and its demographic majority with a convention of alternating francophone and anglophone mayors. It had never been perfect, but this tradition endured to the second decade of the twentieth century. It did not survive the First World War. Opponents accused Martin's 1914 campaign of being anti-English and his victory destroyed the delicate convention. The Irish-born John Guerin thus inherited the distinction of being the last anglophone Mayor of Montreal.

structures had been formed in response to demographic pressures. Kenneth Finegold, *Experts and Politicians: Reform Challenges to Machine Politics in New York, Cleveland, and Chicago* (Princeton, 1996).

[23]Harold Kaplan, *Reform, Planning, and City Politics: Montreal, Winnipeg, Toronto* (Toronto, 1982), p. 329.

Table 3.2: Mayors of Montreal, 1891-1932[24]

1891-1893	James McShane
1893-1894	Alphonse Desjardins
1894-1896	Joseph-Octave Villeneuve
1896-1898	Richard Wilson Smith
1898-1902	Raymond Préfontaine
1902-1904	James Cochrane
1904-1906	Hormisdas Laporte
1906-1908	Henry James Eckers
1908-1910	Louis Payette
1910-1912	John James Edward Guerin
1912-1914	Louis-Arsène Lavallée
1914-1924	Médéric Martin
1924-1926	Charles Duquette
1926-1928	Médéric Martin
1928-1932	Camillien Houde

In spite of his old guard connections, Martin was a reformer of a sort. Rather than allow powerful aldermen to carve up the city's public works contracts for their own benefit, Martin centralized patronage and graft under his control. Reformers quickly recognized the mayor's office as the chief rot and focused their next attacks against it. Martin's political savvy led him to increase public spending on neighbourhood improvement and decrease taxation, financing the difference with heavy borrowing. In 1918 reformers convinced the province that this process had brought the city to the brink of bankruptcy. Although Martin dismissed such claims as a conspiracy of Montreal's English-speaking business elite, the

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[24]Source: Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, pp. 122; 409.

province suspended the city charter and placed municipal finances under an appointed commission working closely with numerous reform groups.

Events played into Martin's hands. The reformers' plans for saving the city's finances called for a draconian combination of spending cuts and tax increases. Martin successfully linked the undemocratic reform commission to high taxes which he contrasted with the generosity of his own previous administration. The resulting loss of public support for reform crippled the political clout of the reformers and, when the province restored the city charter in 1921, it represented a compromise between the old guard and its critics. The new charter revived the old city council of the Préfontaine era, but balanced it with an appointed executive committee. Although Council appointed the executive committee, it could not dismiss its members. The mayor's position under the new charter was more ambiguous. He presided over council meetings and sat on the new executive committee, but the scope of his powers was undefined. Nonetheless, old guard control of City Hall remained unchallenged through the 1920s and 1930s and Martin was succeeded by similar strong-man mayors such as Camillien Houde.[25]

Thus despite repeated reform agitation, the nature of city politics in Montreal remained remarkably consistent. Council battles routinely pitted demagogic, charismatic leaders and their supporters against the interests of commerce and business. As the career of Médéric Martin demonstrates, such leaders played on Montreal's linguistic demography. Martin's anti-English rhetoric had brought him to power. He later spoke out against Conscription and he characteristically reacted to opposition by dismissing it as anglophone

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[25]Kaplan, pp. 325-333.

conspiracy. Moreover, Martin gave the French-Canadian majority in the city real economic motives to support him: his generous spending practices routinely favoured francophone neighbourhoods over anglophone ones.

Commercial interests were not ineffective, despite their repeated failure to control civic administration for any length of time. The urban reform movement was not confined to struggles over the structure of local government. It was more centrally focused on housing, public health, social services, and education. The progressives of the early-twentieth century looked to the municipal state as an agency with both the power and a moral obligation to correct inequities caused by excessive capitalism. In Montreal, for instance, advocating state-owned water works was a fairly mainstream position.[26] Civic boosterism developed in the late-nineteenth century as business interests, encouraged by the development fostered by new municipal services in the 1880s, saw continued improvements as an investment in economic development. Boosterism was not uncommon in the Montreal district; it was as common as on the prairies or in Ontario.[27] Boosters saw city embellishment and planning as a business venture, a venture of promotional value in the ever-intensifying struggle for investment dollars.[28]

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[26]Alan Gordon, "Ward-Heelers and Honest Men: Urban Québécois Political Culture and the Montreal Reform of 1909," *Urban History Review* (March 1995), p. 28.

[27] Ronald Rudin, "Boosting the French Canadian Town: Municipal Government and Urban Growth in Quebec, 1850-1900," *Urban History Review* (June 1982), p. 9.

[28]John Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosterism in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920," in A.R. McCormack and Ian Macpherson (eds) *Cities in the West* (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 32-33.

Alongside increasing urban expansion and industrialization, civic reformers initiated a quest for parkland. City Beautiful ideas were closely associated with social reform. City Beautiful was an amalgam of ideas from engineers, planners, and architects that envisioned the entire city as an aesthetic environment. Although City Beautiful advocates often phrased their goals in altruistic-sounding words, their motivations cannot be separated from those of other boosters. The logic of boosterism argued that, if such amelioration as street lights, public inoculations, public transportation, sewerage, and policing had increased economic growth, the next course for municipal economic development was to turn to parks, playgrounds, and libraries.[29]

For instance, late-nineteenth-century boosters promoted cemeteries as urban parks and an attraction for out-of-towners. Cemeteries displayed "historic" monuments for visitors. Indeed, William Douw Lighthall emphasized this role in an 1892 guide for tourists:

> Adjoining Mount Royal Cemetery to the south ... is the Roman Catholic Cemetery, less well kept, but still containing things worth seeing. One of these sights is the Stations of the Cross; another is the monument to the "patriots" (according to the side taken) of 1837 ... a third is the monument to Frs. Guibord.[30]

But cemeteries could not satisfy all the demands of civic promotion. Every municipality sought its own historic sites. The various towns on the Island of Montreal not only competed for investments, but also to stake a claim to some aspect of history. When none could be found, general themes would suffice for a monument, like that of Jacques Cartier in the small suburb of St.-Henri. According to Pierre-Georges Roy, between 1891 and the

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[29]Kaplan, pp. 103-104; 175.

[30]W.D. Lighthall, *Sights and Shrines of Montreal* (Montreal, 1892), p. 52.

outbreak of war in 1914, 30 separate municipalities in Quebec erected historical monuments commemorating a combination of national and local history. Typically, they celebrated the arrival of Europeans to the area, commemorating first colonists, explorers, and early religious occasions.[31] Examples in the Montreal region included Lachine's monument to the massacre of settlers in 1689 (1891), St.-Henri's monument to Jacques Cartier (1893), and Ste.-Cunégonde's statue of Pierre le Moyne d'Iberville (1898); the latter two became property of the City of Montreal when it annexed these towns in 1905. Heritage pageants, likewise, promoted civic values. Winter Carnivals, such as the one held in Montreal during the 1880s and briefly revived in the 1900s, aimed to attract tourists. But the means of attraction, at least in part, played on the sense of history of the place.[32]

Thanks to Paul-André Linteau, the best-known example of French-Canadian boosterism is the town of Maisonneuve on the eastern outskirts of Montreal. Maisonneuve's planners designed a "garden-city" for the working class inspired, to some degree, by the thoughts of American landscape architect Frederick Law Olmstead. To the north of the town, they planned a huge park (today's Olympic Park) and dotted the community with trees and grassy spaces. In the centre of Maisonneuve, a broad, tree-lined boulevard (Morgan Boulevard) linked the main public buildings and provided a vista of the St. Lawrence. In

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[31]Pierre-Georges Roy, "Inventaire des monuments historiqes," *Bulletin des rechereches historiques* (janvier-février 1924), pp. 3-13; 33-38.

[32]Sylvie Dufresne, "Fête et société: le carnival d'hiver à Montréal (1883-1889), in SHM, *Montréal: Activités, Habitants, Quartiers* (Montreal, 1984), pp. 139-188; Frank Abbott, "Cold Cash and Ice Palaces: The Quebec Winter Carnival of 1894," *Canadian Historical Review* (June 1988), pp. 167-202. See also David Glassberg, *American Historical Pageantry: The Uses of Tradition in the Early Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill, 1990).

front of the public market the promoters built an allegorical fountain, the centrepiece of their

scheme of grandeur. The promoters used their fountain, designed by one of Quebec's

foremost sculptors, Alfred Laliberté, to market the image of their new town. Laliberté's

piece depicts a largely class-centred view of the market. The statue was surmounted by a

female figure holding a basket full of fruits and vegetables. Beneath her are three boys

restraining a turkey, a fish, and a calf. The allegories pay homage to agriculture and the

traditional way of life of French Canadians so often advocated by the Catholic clergy of the

day. Laliberté remarks in his memoirs that a prohibition on the depiction of nudes, imposed

ostensibly so as not to offend the town's religious community, was the only restriction placed

on him in the design of the fountain.[33] But this not uncommon restriction on nudes also

revealed a silent agreement of the clergy and middle-class Edwardian laymen, who both

demanded that modest clothing adorn classical figures.

The allegorical fountain in Maisonneuve portrays ideals of morality, but much larger

memory projects attempted to shape views of the past for entire cities. City Beautiful

thought began to incorporate functional ideas in city plans of the 1910s. Urban theorists

conceived practical urban environments by redesigning streets along the principles of

scientific engineering. A 1913 plan of the Montreal Architects Association, for instance,

involved the softening of the city's grid pattern of streets by cutting diagonal avenues across

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[33]Paul-André Linteau, *Maisonneuve ou comment les promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918* (Montreal, 1981), pp. 199-219; Hébert, *Monuments et patrie*, pp. 254-257; Alfred Laliberté, *Mes souvenirs* (Montreal, 1978), p. 72. Compare with Duncan Crow, *The Victorian Woman* (London, 1971), pp. 19-31. Rodolphe Fournier's claim that the female figure represents Louise Mauger, Montreal's first farmer-woman is unlikely. Laliberté makes no mention of specific models in his memoirs. See Fournier, *Lieux et monuments historiques de l'Ile de Montréal* (Saint-Jean, 1974), p. 29.

it so as to assist speedy transport from one end of town to another.[34] A 1920s scheme for a "Commemoration Boulevard" in Montreal more clearly reveals the link between urban planning, public history, and memory. The idea was to cut a wide, monument-lined boulevard running from Mount Royal Park, down Pine Avenue and Atwater Street to the Lachine Canal, from whence it would split into two branches, one heading to the Victoria Bridge, the other to the Verdun jetty. The plan envisioned a functional thoroughfare running down the city's west side that, its designer hoped, would greatly enhance the beauty of the city and, more fundamentally, preserve through its monuments memories of the sacrifices of war.[35]

Another development that characterized public history was an attention to the needs of travellers. Commercial tourism developed slowly through the nineteenth century, though historians have rarely portrayed it as a major development in North American history. As early as the 1790s, British and American travellers voyaged to North American "tourist spots" such as Niagara Falls. By 1822, Niagara's entrepreneurs opened hotels, restaurants, and other "tourist services" for weary travellers. However, travel was still a time-consuming, arduous endeavour. Not until the widespread use of rail travel could such journeys become common.[36]

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[34]Weaver, pp. 32-34.

[35]NA, RG 84, v. 1172, "Memo RE Commemoration Boulevard," n.d. (likely 1922).

[36]Patricia Jasen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture, and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 33-34; Jean Stafford et Marcel Samson, "L'industrie touristique québécoise: entre le passé et l'avenir," in J.-P. Baillargeon (ed) *Les pratiques culturelles des Québécois* (Quebec, 1986), p. 319.

Quebec (and Canada) entered the age of rail in 1836 with the construction of a sixteen-mile line between St.-Jean and Laprairie opposite Montreal. But by 1850 only sixty-six miles of track existed in all of Canada. However, the 1850s extended the American railway boom to Canada and, after that decade, steel rails became a fixture of Quebec's landscape. By 1885 Quebec's railway network had grown to 1,812 miles, twenty-eight times its 1850 length. Rail transport of goods became so important that charlatans (and many legitimate businessmen) hatched all manner of unlikely schemes to promote new railway lines. For example, a subsidiary of the financially precarious South Eastern Railway operated a winter line across the ice of the St. Lawrence between Hochelaga and Longueuil in the early 1880s.[37]

While dubious financial propositions and unprofitable lines characterized many Canadian railway schemes, passenger travel became a solid venture for many companies. Leisure travel increased after the 1860s. Such excursion travellers took advantage of holidays to venture to nearby towns in the pleasant summer months. The railways quickly took advantage by offering reduced "excursion" fares and by the 1870s newspapers commonly advertised excursion rates near holidays. Eventually the railways began to open their own hotels and stage their own "holidays" as a means to create markets in off seasons.[38]

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[37]Robert R. Brown, *The Ice Railway* (Montreal, 1960); Derek Booth, *Railways of Southern Quebec* 2 vols (Toronto, 1982); W.T. Jackman, *Economics of Transportation* (Chicago and New York, 1926), pp. 14-16; Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, pp. 107-200; Albert Faucher, *Québec en Amérique au XIXe siècle* (Montreal, 1973), p.48; Jean Hamelin and Yves Roby, *Histoire économique du Québec, 1851-1896* (Montreal, 1971), p. 129.

[38]Huskins, pp. 310-315. E.J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff, 1983), pp. 21-30. While railways and bicycles expanded leisure travel in the nineteenth century, the rise of the automobile was of greater importance

Montreal's public memory did not escape tourism's cultural impact. The Tourist Gaze, or more directly anticipation of it, shaped local cultural practices. The organization of the Tourist Gaze by state and private initiatives is an attempt to construct tourists' experiences and, in the case of public memory, to shape the way they view the local past. Thus tourism leads public history to anticipate the gaze of outsiders. The provincial government promoted historic monuments as sights of interest to tourists. Tourism's impact on Montreal thus followed the patterns recently analyzed by John Urry, James Buzard, and others: it centralized cultural production, submerged local tastes, traded on the notion of a folk society, and commodified the past.

The centralization of local culture was not accomplished without tension. Popular classes surrendered ownership of their traditions and customs to cultural elites, businessmen, or the state only reluctantly. Yet they often willingly joined and aided centralization efforts

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in the development of North American tourism. In the decade after 1902, rapid growth in car use accentuated needs for road improvements as the car assumed a central place in North American consumer capitalism. The automobile changed the mobility and leisure patterns of North Americans. Between 1912 and 1920, the number of Americans who had driven across the continental United States rose from twelve to about 20 000. Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste festival began to feature automobile tours of the island in the second decade of the twentieth century. To accommodate this rise in automobile tourism, new forms of rest stops developed and automobile clubs formed to protect the interests of motorists. But autoclubs did more than meet the needs of their members; they increased their membership by developing a market and culture for car travellers. Donald Finlay Davis, *Conspicuous Production: Automobiles and Elites in Detroit, 1899-1930* (Philadelphia, 1988); Ronald Edsforth, *Class Conflict and Cultural Consensus: The Making of a Mass Consumer Society in Flint, Michigan* (New Brunswick, 1987), pp. 13-15; John B. Rae, *The Road and the Car in American Life* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 34-35; Warren James Belasco, *Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945* (Cambridge, 1979), pp. 71-74; James Flink, *The Car Culture* (Cambridge, 1975), p. 31; ANQ-M, P405, fonds Office des congrès et du tourisme du Grand Montréal, dossier 1.6.1. In noticing this important shift, the trade journal *Canadian Railroader* changed its name to *Canadian Travel* for its issue of March 1927.

as well. These phenomena were not restricted to Montreal: David Glassberg documents the

Russell Sage Foundation's control of historical pageants in such communities as Thetford,

Vermont. As early as the 1880s, Montreal's local business interests began to stage

"extravaganzas" to enlarge business receipts. However centralization was not confined to

privately organized tourist festivals, such as the Montreal Winter Carnival of the 1880s

documented by Sylvie Dufresne. Cultural groups, such as the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste*

de Montréal (SSJBM), slowly exerted control over civic festivals.[39] Centralization was akin

to elite organization of cultural events, but it also entailed elite manufacture of collective

memories.

Marius Barbeau, a Quebec-born but Oxford-educated anthropologist, dominated

early revivals of Canadian folklore. For instance, along with J. Murray Gibbon of the

C.P.R., he urged a revival of French-Canadian handicrafts to hawk to tourists. By the 1920s

many visitors to Quebec began to demand hand-made crafts to take home as souvenirs. The

movement centralized under state control in 1929 with the creation of a provincial school

of handicrafts under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture and the government's

colonization efforts.[40] Barbeau also successfully promoted folksongs and folk dancing as

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[39]Glassberg, pp. 71-75; Dufresne, "Fête et société," pp. 139-188.

[40]McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, pp. 158-159. See also Janet Elizabeth McNaughton, "A Study of the C.P.R.-Sponsored Quebec Folk Song and Handicraft Festivals, 1927-1930," MA (Memorial) 1982.

expressions of collective memory. In 1919 he organized the "Evenings of French-Canadian Folklore" in Montreal where couples met for old-fashioned dance parties.[41]

The "Evenings of French-Canadian Folklore" represented a widening of cultural tastes to reflect the broader American and international market; notwithstanding strong local interest in such events, the production of such cultural phenomena came under the increasing influence of the American and international marketplace in the twentieth century.[42] Public memory is a cultural product shaped by public statues, art, drama, literature, and other cultural goods. Public monuments, for instance, increasingly followed international trends as local artists travelled and studied abroad. But international tastes also guided the historical subjects that public history commemorated. A widespread taste for "oldness" directed Montreal's public commemorations to subjects of the French regime and an emphasis on the continuity of old regime society and French Canada's "folk society." In the 1930s American sociologists essentially agreed with the Catholic church's assessment of the nature of French-Canadian society. Everett Hughes and Horace Miner described rural French Canada as a culture built on a traditional peasant lifestyle in which urban living impinged little.[43]

Thus tourism cannot be cited as the sole force shaping ideas of folk culture. Barbeau and many others had struggled to awaken urban French Canadians to their "rural roots." But

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[41]Richard Handler, *Nationalism and the Politics of Culture in Quebec* (Madison, 1988), p. 74.

[42]McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, p. 34.

[43]Horace Miner, *St. Denis* (Chicago, 1939); Everett Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago, 1943).

the tourist industry ruthlessly exploited folk culture past the point of credibility, paradoxically entrenching folk essentialism and borrowing from modern sensibilities. Even Miner kept an eye out for "traditional" folk tales his confidants had picked up from modern sources.[44] Attention to the folk and to history as a tourist attraction relied on the tourist industry's ability to turn the past into a marketable commodity. To distinguish one folk past from others, promoters rely on the power of modern marketing.

Travel and tourism were only part of a larger marketing revolution in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. A number of parallel developments revolutionized the way Canadians shopped in these years. First, the nature of the store changed. The general store of pioneer days had fragmented during the nineteenth century, dividing into such specialty shops as dry goods stores, jewellery stores, drug stores, and furniture shops, as examples. But dry goods retailers began to revive the old general store character in the 1880s, this time divided into departments that sold everything from linen to furniture. Department stores, as they came to be known, blazed the trail in marketing. These stores were regular advertisers and, alongside their growth, the independent advertising agency emerged to help them place their copy in a wide range of newspapers and periodical publications. Canada's first independent agency, A. McKim & Company, set up office on Montreal's St. James Street in 1889. Anson McKim, a United Empire Loyalist from Napanee, Ontario, had come to Montreal in 1878 to help the Toronto *Mail* find advertising clients. Having cautiously tested the waters for more than a decade, McKim found a

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[44]Cited in Handler, p. 76; See also McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, pp. 280-281.

demand for a much wider service than the *Mail* offered. No longer did newspapers need to hustle advertising business, retailers actively sought out publicity.[45]

As retailers and their agents improved the practice of placing advertising copy in Canada's newspapers, a third, related development altered the text of those ads. Patent medicine hucksters had quickly grasped the advantages of distinctive packaging and labelling for their dubious elixirs. But the first major manufacturers to take advantage of advertising were soap makers. Pears' soap first advertised in Britain about 1800 and by the late 1880s was popularizing the works of various artists in its magazine ads. Other commodities manufacturers learned the art of publicity from the soap makers. Packaging and advertising greatly increased the sales of condensed foods and extracts such as Bovril and Oxo. And, following Salada Tea's successful advertising campaigns, the beverage industry joined the trend. In 1894 Montreal's Dow's Brewery placed the country's first beer ad. By the 1890s, Canadian packaged food manufacturers had come to understand how brand names helped product recognition and sales.[46]

Tourist sites themselves became brand names. By the mid-1920s promoters had developed marketing strategies to attract the attentions of tourists. Travel industry trade journals taught local tourist authorities to emphasize high quality restaurants and hotels in their campaigns, but they also advised a focus on sight seeing. Specific local historic sites

[45]David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto, 1996), pp. 146-185; Harold Stephenson and Carleton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada* (Toronto, 1940), pp. 18-24; 36-48.

[46]Stephenson and McNaught, pp. 49-75.

and monuments could thus be conscripted into media campaigns to attract tourists.[47] Historic sites, the sites of public memory, offered the same advantages as brand names in promoting product recognition. Coupled with the totalizing Tourist Gaze, product recognition submerged the subtleties of local history into the visitor's quest to experience the "place" of Montreal.

However, public memory is more than simply a tourist trap. Certainly the men who produced Montreal's commemorative art were aware of tourism and attentive to the demands of the Tourist Gaze. But they more regularly focused on capturing history for local use. The pseudo-events of monument inaugurations and celebrations of historic anniversaries, as Regina Bendix suggests, invented historical memories to fit deeply-held anxieties about modernity's direction. Commemorating the past drew hordes of travelling strangers to Montreal, but this only accentuated the alienation of "permanent Montrealers" from one another. Modernity turned citizens into masses. Public memory was one means to combat the dehumanizing influence of mass culture. More specifically, public memory was a discourse that tried to maintain Montreal as a community with established and legitimate structures of power.

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[47]See for example Charles W. Stokes, "The Monuments of Montreal," *Canadian Travel* (March 1927), p. 42.

Chapter Four:

Fissured Heritage Elites

Public memory is a human construction. It involves a ruthless selection of people, places, and events from the past and holds them up as a collective canon. It thus relies on human effort. In the Montreal of 1891 to 1930 a loose cohort of lawyers, politicians, notaries, archivists, teachers, and librarians guided a broad heritage movement. In many ways these men can be grouped together as one "heritage elite." But the fissures that divided this elite into fragments were as great as their shared interests and class positions. These men were not exempt from the ethnic, linguistic, and religious distinctions that divided Montrealers from one another. The grounds upon which they disagreed prevented them from forming a singular heritage elite.

Quebec's heritage elites began to form as early as the 1830s as part of the struggle for responsible government and Louis-Joseph Papineau's *Patriote* movement. In 1831 Papineau's political allies published Jacques Labries's *Histoire du Canada*, considered the first serious historical work by a Canadian.[1] Three years later Ludger Duvernay, another ally of Papineau, organized a banquet to celebrate Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. The banquet drew links between the heritage of the Canadian people and the *Patriote* movement. The Rebellions of 1837-38, or more properly response to them, gelled awareness of Canadian heritage and provoked a literary and artistic movement aimed at preserving it. Lord Durham's infamous epitaph to the Rebellions, describing French Canadians as "a people with

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[1]See *Le Canadien*, 3 décembre 1831.

no history, and no literature" (in today's terms, no heritage) inspired François-Xavier Garneau to write his *Histoire du Canada* in the 1840s.[2]

By mid-century Montreal's middle-class residents had developed a taste for heritage. Many organized themselves into scientific, literary, and historical societies, such as the *Institut-Canadien*. This chapter outlines the lives and debates of these institutions as they developed in Montreal and highlights their influence on public memory. Five particular organizations dominated the production of public history between 1891 and 1930. They were the Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal, the *Société historique de Montréal*, the *Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal*, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, and the *Commission des monuments historiques du Québec*. Nothwithstanding the importance of these five organizations, they did not completely eclipse the efforts of men serving on *ad hoc* monument committees, many of whom we shall meet in subsequent chapters.

The Antiquarian and Numismatic Society of Montreal (ANSM), a mix of anglophone and francophone gentlemen with an interest in local history, was founded in 1862.[3] Members read papers to one another and exhibited their personal collections, making the ANSM a cross between a literary society and a museum through much of its first two and a half decades of life. Its store of memories was definitely private, though members willingly displayed them from time to time. Such public exhibitions reveal the ideological

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[2]*Lord Durham's Report* (Toronto, 1963), p. 150. On Garneau, see Gagnon, pp. 9-43.

[3]Its French name is not a direct translation: *La société d'archéologie et de numismatique de Montréal*. This is likely because antiquarianism as a discipline is an English invention that does not translate well.

leanings of the organization. Exhibits of the *Institut-Canadien*'s collections, for instance, pushed its "radical" liberal view in opposition to the wishes of the Catholic ultramontane clergy. In contrast, the ANSM offered a pan-Canadian perspective of history at its exhibitions.[4]

The ANSM began to influence public memory in the late 1880s as the 250th anniversary of Montreal's founding approached. Some members floated a proposal to hold a World's Fair at Montreal in 1892, on the occasion of the city's anniversary. They argued in favour of global commemoration for Montreal because it was the "number one city in the Dominion" and the past 250 years embraced "the largest and most important part of the history of the country."[5] This dream came to naught, but it widened awareness of the coming anniversary and prodded the members to devise an appropriate celebration. In their minds, public memory followed two possible routes: commemoration and preservation. An anniversary obviously called for the former.

The Vicomte de la Barthe, a French expatriate living in Montreal, initiated the ANSM's commemorative project. In 1890 he commissioned a plaque honouring Jacques Cartier's discovery of Canada and wrote his Montreal friends to offer it for the oldest house in Place Jacques-Cartier.[6] The idea of the commemorative plaque was not new in 1890;

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[4]Cyril Simard, *Patrimoine muséologique au Québec: Repères chronologiques* (Quebec City, 1992); Hervé Gagnon, "Divertissement et patriotisme: La genèse des musées d'histoire à Montréal au XIXe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* (hiver 1995), pp. 317-350.

[5]ANSM minute books, 17 April 1888.

[6]ANSM, Vicomte de la Barthe to François Baby, 13 octobre 1890; Minute Books, 18 March 1891.

Montrealers had placed commemorative tablets inside Christ Church Cathedral, on the Protestant General Hospital, and at the *Hôpital-Général des Soeurs-Grises*.[7] The novelty of de la Barthe's plan was its intent to teach the masses about Canada's history. The ANSM organized a committee to place the Cartier plaque that quickly expanded this plan into a campaign to commemorate the entirety of Montreal's history with historic plaques. A young member of the society, William Douw Lighthall, convened a meeting of interested parties at his home on Stanley Street in Montreal where subscribers formed into committees on financing, preparing the plaques, and locating suitable sites for them. And, notably, the subscribers requested that Lighthall and the ANSM oversee the whole operation.[8]

Although he did not become its president until 1912, Lighthall guided the ANSM into this new vocation. He was born in Hamilton, Ontario into a family of United Empire Loyalists, but lived almost all his life in Montreal. He graduated from McGill University in 1879, winning the Shakespeare Gold Medal in English literature, before going on to complete a B.C.L. in 1881 and an M.A. in 1885. He quickly assumed a position in public life. Municipal affairs took up much of his time around the turn of the century. Lighthall served as Mayor of Westmount from 1900 to 1903 and in 1901 founded the Union of Canadian Municipalities. His municipal interests then expanded to include greater Montreal: in 1911 he lobbied the provincial government to create a metropolitan parks commission.[9]

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[7]Bosworth, pp. 106-107.

[8]ANSM, "Minutes of Meeting of Subscribers..." 16 January 1891.

[9]MUA, W.D. Lighthall Papers, C. 8, f. 12.

Erudite and vigorous, Lighthall's many talents contributed widely to the English-language social and cultural life in Montreal. He was a founding member of the Canadian National League, the Westmount Library Club, and the Montreal Tourist Association. He was always attentive to the issues of the day, but as an imperialist, his love for England never failed to inform his responses.[10] He wrote extensively on imperialism, including a guideline for federation, *The Governance of Empire*.[11] And his imperialism extended from the written page to his personal life. Lighthall had served with the Prince of Wales Regiment in the 1870s, and later joined the Victoria Rifles. Only his law partner's insistence prevented him from volunteering to serve imperial expansion in the Canadian northwest in 1885. And at the time of England's greatest test, the outbreak of war with Germany, he expressed his sentiments in verse:

> Like a lioness, wounded for her whelp,
> Britannia stands, in bleeding strong disdain,
> And we for whom she bleeds, shall we not help ?
> Thrills there not in us her undaunted strain ?
> Yea, Motherland, we haste o'er ocean's tide,
> Eager to fight and perish, by thy side.[12]

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[10]Henry James Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* 2nd ed. (Toronto, 1912), p. 657.

[11]W.D. Lighthall, *The Governance of Empire* (Montreal, 1910). See also his *Adjustable Federation* (n.p. [Montreal?], n.d. [1885?]).

[12]Cited in John Murray Gibbon, *William Douw Lighthall, Reprint from the Educational Record of the Province of Quebec* (July-September 1943), n.p.

Of course at 57 years old Lighthall himself did not "haste o'er ocean's tide" in 1914. But nor did he confine his contribution to maudlin rhymes. He was in the Victoria Rifles Reserve from 1914 to 1917 and in 1915 founded the Great War Veterans' Association.

His poetry also resonated with other interests. The Iroquois Reservation near Montreal kept at least this Montrealer's mind on the place of the Amerindian in Canadian history. In 1898 Lighthall wrote a brochure on a prehistoric burial ground in Westmount and later gained fame as an expert on Ramusio's sixteenth-century plan of Hochelaga. In 1909, in recognition of his service to the federal Indian Department as a special counsel, he was named an honourary "Iroquois Chief" with the symbolic name Ticonderoga. Both his imperialism and his interest in the past were informed by his nostalgia for the ideals of the French regime. Lighthall's self-described "first real book" was *The Young Seigneur* (1888), a romance on the theme of nation-making. In this volume, Lighthall focused on French-Canadian folk songs which he thought brought out the best traditions of seventeenth-century France: love of music, warmth of sentiment, romance, pleasure in work, and delight in the charms of nature. And he tempered his later war poetry with this deep respect and admiration for his many friends of "the French race."[13]

But in 1892 Lighthall was a thirty-four year-old lawyer, poet, and amateur historian whose many contributions to Canadian social and cultural life lay ahead of him. His leadership of the ANSM plaques project was his first major role in civic service and his personal stamp shows in its focus. The ANSM placed 48 historic plaques on buildings mostly in Old Montreal, an output that more than quadrupled the number of recognized

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[13]Lighthall's literary career is summarized in Gibbon's *William Douw Lighthall*.

historic sites in the city. Lighthall ushered in an interpretation of history that emphasized the French Regime. Of 52 datable events commemorated in the texts of the plaques, about 60% referred to the French regime, leaving roughly 30% for the British regime and 10% for the years of the Seven Years' War. The median commemoration date was 1745, revealing Lighthall's own preference for French regime history. And his interest in romantic epics and drama guided the type of history the plaques commemorated. The struggles of past military conflicts dominated the scheme with eighteen commemorations. Seven of these noted warfare between the French and British, five noted struggles against the Iroquois, and another five honoured events of war against American armies either in 1775 or 1812.

Of course, Lighthall was not alone in this focus on the eighteenth century and its armed conflicts. The ANSM proposed 62 plaques in 1892, each sponsored by a private citizen or corporation. Surviving documents identify forty-one separate sponsors. Twenty-six anglophone sponsors, including Lighthall, Hugh Graham, J. Morgan Jr., and Dr. William Hingston, put their money into the project. Eleven francophones, not the least of whom were Honoré Beaugrand and Alphonse Desjardins, M.P., likewise contributed while four corporations (the Bank of Montreal, Imperial Insurance, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and the Sulpician Seminary) pledged funds for at least one plaque each. [14]

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[14]ANSM, "Tablèttes historiques," (1892). In the end, 48 of the 62 proposed plaques reached Montreal's streets. Presumably the fourteen that did not were killed by logistical concerns. Lighthall first had to raise the money for each (he kept each account separate) then had to negotiate permission from the appropriate land owners to place the plaque. Brian Young demonstrates the propriety of classifying the Seminary as a corporation in his *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Kingston and Montreal, 1986).

As Lighthall slowly gathered pledged funds, contracted the work, and erected the plaques, de la Barthe initiated a second commemorative proposal. In a joint letter to the President of the ANSM, Judge François Baby, de la Barthe and his friend Archibald deLery Macdonald described a scheme for a monument of the founder of Montreal, Sieur de Maisonneuve, as a fitting reflection of the history of the city. At a subsequent meeting, the ANSM heartily endorsed the idea and a general citizen's meeting hastily assembled under the presidency of Mayor McShane and Siméon Pagneulo. From this meeting, a committee took on responsibility for the execution.[15] Philippe Hébert, French Canada's leading sculptor agreed to the proposal and, although Hébert's monument was not ready until 1895, a solemn ceremony unveiled the cornerstone of the pedestal in September 1892. The completed monument was inaugurated on 1 July 1895.

Preservation, public history's second function, was not lost to the ANSM. Many of its members were insistent on preserving the endangered pieces of Montreal's heritage. The Chateau de Ramezay where the ANSM held its regular meetings was just such a piece. This French regime manor house built in 1705 by Claude de Ramezay, then governor of Montreal, figured in much of the city's history. Its numerous occupants included the Ramezay family, the *Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, the Scots trader William Grant, the British government, Laval University, and the newspapers *La Presse* and *La Minerve*. It could not

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[15]ANSM, Vicomte de la Barthe and A. de Lery Macdonald to François Baby, 20 avril 1891; Minute Books, 21 April 1891. Years earlier, while Hébert was an apprentice to Napoléon Bourassa, he had worked on a similar project. This scheme died for lack of funds. See Bruno Hébert, *Philippe Hébert, sculpteur* (Montreal, 1973), p. 50; *L'Opinion publique*, 20 mars 1879. There is no indication that de la Barthe knew of this, but nor can the possibility be discounted.

be left to slip silently into disrepair. In 1891, on the occasion of the Royal Society of Canada's annual meeting held in Montreal, the ANSM's R.W. McLachlan proposed that the City of Montreal buy the Chateau and establish a museum of historical artifacts. McLachlan, together with Lighthall and deLery Macdonald, lobbied City Council and used an ANSM exhibit at the Chateau to build public support.[16] The province auctioned the property to the City of Montreal in October 1893. A few months later, the ANSM signed a lease and opened a permanent museum to showcase its collection of historical artifacts.[17]

The ANSM relied on public funds to save the Chateau de Ramezay. This was not a rejection of its liberal values. The urge for historic preservation is, in part, a reaction against the excessive rationalization inherent in liberal utilitarianism. It expresses an uneasiness with the consequences of industrialization, urbanization, and rationalization. Industrialization and urbanization create a consumer society that validates artifacts financially. It was precisely this development that initiated the heritage boom.[18] The ANSM's recourse to public funds to save the Chateau de Ramezay was necessary because of both this system of values and the very concept of public memory. The Chateau was more valuable if converted to commercial use, but the ANSM saw it as a public good of

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[16]ANSM, Minute Books, 17 March 1891.

[17]R.W. McLachlan, "How the Chateau de Ramezay was Saved," *The Canadian Antiquarian and Numismatic Journal* (May 1894), pp. 109-121; Nicole Cloutier, "Chateau de Ramezay," in *Chemins de la mémoire* v. 2, pp. 38-40. The ANSM museum is now the Musée du Chateau de Ramezay.

[18]Martin, "Conservation du patrimoine culturel," pp. 6-7. Marc Guillaume notes that preservations increase alongside industrialization. Marc Guillaume, *La politique du patrimoine* (Paris, 1980), p. 12.

civic value. The liberal values of citizenship required that it be preserved for the benefit of

society. Preservation, like commemoration, attempted to redress the growing imbalance

between liberalism's conflicting values of rationalism and citizenship; public memory thus

attempted to soften such ideological inconsistencies.

Another organization, the *Société historique de Montréal* (SHM), also celebrated

Montreal's 250th anniversary. Established in 1858 at the prompting of Jacques Viger, the

SHM was francophone Montreal's arbiter of history. Among its members have been many

of the great statesmen and public figures of French Canada, including D.-B. Viger, G.-E.

Cartier, the Abbé Ferland, and L.-H. Lafontaine. Recognized by the legislature of the United

Canadas in May 1859, the SHM was at first a body for the research and discussion of local

history.[19] Like the ANSM, the SHM felt compelled to commemorate the anniversary of the

founding of Montreal. But unlike the ANSM, the SHM commemorated devout French

settlers, not the great man. The SHM designed a monument in the form of a modest obelisk

inscribed with the names of the 47 original colonists and 29 financial sponsors of the

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[19]Philippe La Ferrière, *Centennaire de la Société historique de Montréal, (1858-1958)* (Montreal, 1962), pp. 13-14. The SHM may have been established in part to replace the *Institut-Canadien* which had been condemned by Bishop Bourget in 1858.

venture.[20] The SHM chose to commemorate the Catholic origins of Ville-Marie to illustrate an ideal community of virtue.

It is difficult to reconstruct the story of the Pioneers' Obelisk. The SHM acted sporadically through much of the period of this thesis. No minutes exist for the years 1892 to 1895 and, at the meeting of 27 April 1897, the president remarked that no meetings had been held for two full years.[21] Nonetheless, the rudiments of the story can be sketched out. In January 1892 the SHM asked City Council for permission to erect its obelisk in Place d'Youville. The obelisk was unveiled in May 1894, 252 years less a day from the founding of the tiny colony. Its emphasis on the colonists as a social group slightly softened classical liberalism's emphasis on atomized individuals, but the liberal individual approved nonetheless. The obelisk commemorates the first settlers of Montreal by listing them individually by name, balancing their existence as individuals within a Catholic community. Although too much should not be made of the relationship, this was the position taken by such nineteenth-century proponents of Catholic liberalism as Jean-Marie Lamennais. Less

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[20]Obelisks have a privileged place in Catholic symbolism. Originally a sacred symbol of the Egyptian sun god, Roman Emperors transported many obelisks to Rome as trophies of their conquests. No fewer than twelve survive in the city, most notably at the Vatican though Renaissance popes installed crosses at their peaks to Christianize them. During sixteenth-century remodelling at St. Peter's, the Vatican discovered the symbolic power of obelisks, moving one to the centre of St. Peter's Square. The Pioneer's Obelisk, although it sports no cross, thus suggests the religious and evangelical inspiration of the foundation of Montreal. Spiro Kostof, *A History of Architecture: Settings and Rituals* (New York, 1995), p. 499.

[21]SHM, Minutes, 27 avril 1897. Cited in Victor Morin, "L'odyssée d'un société historique," *Cahiers des Dix* (1943), pp. 13-54.

atomized than the individualism of liberal doctrine, Catholic liberals bridged the gap between individual and community.

In the 1890s the abbé H.-A. Verreau, president of the SHM from 1859 to 1901, led the society's monument drive and it reflected his vocation. Louis-Georges Baby succeeded Verreau on the latter's death in 1901. Only four years Verreau's junior, the septuagenarian Baby did not invigorate the SHM with youthful energy.[22] However, a young Victor Morin quickly assumed a leading role. Morin would eventually emerge as the leading figure influencing public memory in Montreal, serving on the executives of the ANSM, the SHM, and the SSJBM almost simultaneously. He had moved in 1885 from his birthplace of St.-Hyacinthe to Montreal to pursue his studies. In 1893, as the SHM was building its obelisk, the young Morin was busy pursuing his betrothed Fannie Côté, the daughter of a franco-American member of the Maine State Legislature. Within a few years of winning his beloved's hand, Morin began an active career of public life that lasted to the dawn of the Quiet Revolution.

Public life was, for Morin, more than party politics. He grew up in a *rouge* family in an ultramontane diocese. The battles of his childhood no doubt influenced his later views. But notwithstanding his lifelong Liberal partisanship and his father's *rougeisme*, he was never anticlerical. Indeed, he negotiated clerical acceptance for the Independent Order of Foresters in 1905 and served as its principal agent in Quebec. Although never active in parish life, he did serve as church warden for Notre-Dame parish from 1929 to 1931. However, he could not ignore conventional politics. In 1909, as secretary of the Montreal

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[22]La Ferriere, pp. 41-43.

Citizens' Committee, Morin led the campaign to reform City Hall. Shortly thereafter, Morin

himself was elected to City Council where his private passions coincided with his newfound

political influence. Morin devoted his good offices to building a library, extending St.

Lawrence Boulevard south to the river, and appointing a municipal archivist to manage the

city's growing collections. Thus Morin's public interests guided him into Montreal's heritage

movements. In 1915 he was elected President of the SSJBM, a position he held for ten

years. His nationalism certainly did not hurt his prestige among anglophones. From 1927

to 1956 he was President of the ANSM. But Morin became active in public history only

following his election as President of the SHM in 1916.[23]

After meeting in April 1897, the SHM had fallen silent again. Some minutes exist

for meetings in 1904 and 1909, but not until Morin assumed the presidency did the SHM

become fully active once more.[24] Morin's first step was to publish the first *Mémoires de la*

Société historique de Montréal in seventeen years. Next he corrected some minor

inaccuracies inscribed on the Pioneers' Obelisk. At the same time, he asked his former

colleagues on City Council to move it from Place d'Youville, where, hidden behind a Fire

Station, it had become a target for vandals, to a more prominent location in Place Royale.[25]

That the ANSM plaques recognizing "the cradle of Montreal" occupied Place Royale may

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[23]Renée Morin, *Un bourgeois d'une époque révolue: Victor Morin, notaire, 1865-1960*
(Ottawa, 1967).

[24]Morin, "L'odyssée," pp. 24-25.

[25]AMM, Rapports des Commissaires 3160, Victor Morin to mayor Médéric Martin, 2
octobre 1916; AMM, City Council minutes, 23 April 1917. The obelisk was moved, but
returned to Place d'Youville in 1943. Morin's claim that it attracted the attention of vandals
is unsubstantiated.

have provided another motivation. And third, he planned a celebration for Montreal's 275th anniversary in 1917. The liberalism of the Pioneers' Obelisk was muted, but under Morin, that of the 275th anniversary was more pronounced. Borrowing from the success of the ANSM's 1892 plaques programme, Morin proposed to place a number of historic plaques in Montreal to supplement the deteriorating markers of the ANSM. Unfortunately the war had dried up much of the enthusiasm and charitable money available for heritage projects. Coming at a time when French-Canadian loyalty to Canada, Britain, France, and the war was under a microscope of suspicion, a plan to explain the exact links between Canada's past and its joint heritage in France and Great Britain, with the emphasis on French-Canadian obligations to France, coincided with war propaganda.

The SHM's 40 plaques representing Montreal as the work of (predominantly French) individuals building a city was just part of its celebration plans. The SHM celebrated the 275th anniversary with a threefold plan: it struck a commemorative medallion depicting Maisonneuve (designed by Alfred Laliberté); Morin conducted a historic tour of the city; and the SHM intended to mark the city's historic sites with commemorative plaques. But the plaques, although manufactured, never made it to the streets of Montreal. Instead they sat in the garden of a member of the SHM in Outremont north of the city as patio stones in a garden path. Lest some visitors receive the mistaken impression that the events had all happened in their host's garden, the plaques' texts were turned face-down.[26]

While the plaques project was stillborn, the 275th celebrations in general enjoyed greater success. In February 1917, a nineteen-member joint committee of the SHM, the

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[26]Morin, *Légende dorée*, p. 202.

ANSM, the *Association catholique de la jeunesse canadienne-française* (ACJC) and the SSJBM organized to plan the ceremonies for the coming May. The Committee's president, none other than Victor Morin, convinced Council to underwrite the $2,500 cost of the ceremonies. The first day's events included the celebration of mass at Notre-Dame church after which the descendants of the original colonists placed wreathes at the foot of the Maisonneuve monument. That afternoon Morin led a crowd on a historic tour of Old Montreal from Place d'Youville to Place Jacques-Cartier. *Le Devoir* commended the way that Morin transformed the commercial city in the eyes of the spectators and at each of the eighteen stops on the tour the crowd sang a "chant de reconnaissance." The following day the organizing committee escorted the mayor and a small entourage to four historic sites where they laid wreathes at the tombs of Marguerite d'Youville and Marguerite Bourgeoys and gave speeches on the threat German "Kultur" posed to the world. Morin's narrative hardly boiled down to a recruiting drive for the war effort. No one mentioned war recruitment, but similarities to a recruiting poster were difficult to miss.[27]

The participation of the SSJBM in the 1917 anniversary was primarily due to Victor Morin's presidency and not necessarily in support of the war effort. But the SSJBM had been active in promoting Montreal's heritage since Ludger Duvernay staged the first Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day banquet in 1834. And it had supported the raising of monuments to French Canadians through the nineteenth century. Nonetheless it had mostly confined activities to the celebration of French-Canadian nationality during Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day.

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[27]SHM, *Mémoirs de la Société historique de Montréal* v. 11 (1917), pp. 15-38; AMM, Minutes of City Council, 7 May 1917; *Le Devoir*, 18 mai 1917.

These priorities changed under Morin's presidency. From 1915 to 1926, the SSJBM unveiled five monuments, roughly one every other year. Morin himself gave the masses a history lesson at each inauguration, but he was not the only member of the SSJBM infused with a love of heritage.

Edouard-Zotique Massicotte shared Morin's passion for history. Both branches of Massicotte's family had arrived in Canada in the seventeenth century and this genealogical fact might have guided the young law student's early interest in French regime history. Although he took a law degree at Laval University in 1895, Massicotte quickly turned to journalism. In 1898 he became the director of *Le Monde Illustré* and contributed to a number of papers in the first decade of the twentieth century. Massicotte's interests were varied and his tastes ranged from scientific inquiry to high culture to folklore. He taught classes in botany and organized, with Marius Barbeau, the "Evenings of French-Canadian Folklore" in 1919-1920. But in 1911 this quiet, shy lover of both Chopin and folk songs found his calling as Chief Archivist of the Judicial District of Montreal.

Massicotte turned his post at the Court House archives into a tribune for his personal exploration of French-Canadian history. His archival research was extensive and his writings varied and prolific. His contribution to amateur history was so widely respected that in 1936 he was twice honoured: he won the SHM prize for his many writings on Canadian history and was awarded an honourary doctorate from the Université de Montréal. These accolades overwhelmed an emotional Massicotte. Already known as a man who never spoke more than once in a day, he barely managed to squeak out an acceptance at the banquet held in his honour. Yet although he was hardly a forceful man, he extended a far-

reaching influence over Montreal's collective and public memories. The "Evenings of French-Canadian Folklore" established Massicotte as an expert in folklore and the SSJBM turned to him for advice on historical representations for its annual *fête nationale* parades.[28] Massicotte became an arbiter of Canadian public history both for the French-Canadian people of Montreal and for interested observers from elsewhere.

These private efforts continued through the war years, but war both diversified amateur efforts and initiated the bureaucratization of the heritage movement. Patriotism certainly strengthened in wartime, but patriots aimed their efforts at recruiting and mobilization. Funds for commemorative projects in Montreal dried up, but many scaled-down projects succeeded. The Bank of Montreal commemorated its centenary with a plaque at its Place d'Armes headquarters in 1917. The Last Post Fund, a private agency formed for the protection of the final resting places of the Empire's soldiers, petitioned the Government of Canada to preserve the old military cemetery on Papineau Avenue. After the war, private commemoration initiatives proceeded with renewed enthusiasm. The Canadian Historical Association, a child of the defunct Historic Landmarks Association, unveiled a monument to Canadian geographer and explorer David Thompson at Mount Royal Cemetery in 1926. Yet, alongside private initiatives like those of the CHA and the Last Post Fund, Montrealers increasingly channelled public history projects to the care of the state. Even private promoters turned to the state to endorse and support their plans. Pamphile du Tremblay, the publisher of *La Presse*, involved municipal, provincial, and federal governments in a scheme

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[28]Victor Morin, *Trois docteurs, E.-Z. Massicotte, Aegidius Fauteux, J.-B. Legacé* (Montreal, 1939), pp. 11-21; *Canadian Who's Who* v. 3 (1938-39), p. 454.

to erect a monument to a French naval hero of the Seven Years' War, Jean Vauquelin. But if increasing private sector noise from the heritage movement encouraged state involvement in Canada's memory, the ambitions of the state itself added further impetus.

In 1908 Ottawa created the Quebec Battlefields Commission (later National Battlefields Commission) to maintain the Plains of Abraham.[29] The Dominion Parks Branch of the Ministry of the Interior took interest in historic sites from about this time, but lacking vision and a clear sense of Canadian history, found its activities ineffective. The Branch's weak knowledge of even its own historic holdings was a source of ceaseless embarrassment. In one case the amateur historian, P.-G. Roy, asked the Branch's J.B. Harkin for a list of historic sites in Ontario, but received only a reluctant admission of the Branch's ignorance in response.[30] But the final straw came when, convinced by local historical societies to commemorate Fort Anne in Nova Scotia as a British historic site, the Branch exposed itself to serious criticism. Harkin used this embarrassment to push for an advisory board to help formulate government policy with regard to historic sites.[31]

Federal initiative came in 1919 in the years immediately following the First World War. Canadians took a greater interest in Canadian history following the war. Wartime excesses of patriotism and the desire to purify Canadian society spurred historical interest. The tribulations of the Great War led some Canadians to try to discover what it meant to be

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[29]Jacques Mathieu and Eugen Kedl, *Les Plaines d'Abraham: Le culte de l'idéal* (Sillery, 1993), pp. 213-224.

[30]NA, RG 84, v. 1172, P.-G. Roy to J.B. Harkin, 8 November 1915; Harkin to Roy, 11 November 1915.

[31]C.J. Taylor, *Negotiating The Past* (Kingston and Montreal, 1990), pp. 30-31.

a Canadian. History provided some of the answers and the Historic Landmarks Association, an umbrella group of local historical societies, claimed unprecedented membership levels in 1919.[32] Meanwhile wartime government spending baptized Canadian statism. Admittedly, Tory thought in Canada had long imagined a role for the state in directing and shaping the economic and social health of the country through protectionism. But such Tory ambitions paled beside government planning necessitated by total war. During the war years federal spending rose 300 per cent. Although it declined after the war, it never dropped to pre-war levels.[33]

In September 1919, the Conservative government of Robert Borden created the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC). Members of the Board were all leaders of the heritage movement, but three dominated: Ontarians Brig.-Gen. E. A. Cruikshank and James Coyne and, to a lesser extent, the Quebec representative, Benjamin Sulte. Despite this strength, the Board was hampered by bureaucratic isolation and the Branch's continued lack of vision. Without clear funding commitments, something the government repeatedly refused to offer, no clear statement of purpose could be formulated. And, without such a statement, no funding was forthcoming. The varied objectives of the heritage movement in general compared with the narrow interests of the Board's members provided further complications. Cruikshank, for one, although widely respected, directed nearly all his energies to the study of the War of 1812. Resulting lacklustre performance

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[32]NA, MG 28 I 52, v. 2, Historic Landmarks Association, *Annual Report, 1919.*

[33]M.C. Urquart and K. Buckley (eds), *Historical Statistics of Canada* (Toronto, 1965), p. 202; D.G.G. Kerr, *Historical Atlas of Canada*, Third Revised Edition (Toronto, 1975), p. 95.

provoked widespread criticism of the HSMBC and in 1923 Ottawa reorganized it, dropping less co-operative members and expanding representation from outside central Canada.[34]

The new Board consisted of a Commissioner, J.B. Harkin, and Secretary A.A. Pinard (from 1921), as well as historians from across the country. Quebec's celebrated historian, Benjamin Sulte, was still the Quebec member, but the province's representation in the Board's first decade is better characterized as unstable. Sulte died in 1923 and was replaced by Victor Morin who resigned less than a year later. Morin was followed by Montreal librarian Aegidius Fauteux (1925-26), Montreal Judge Philippe Demers (1927-30), and Montreal lawyer Maréchal Nantel (1930-33). From 1919 to 1930 five French Canadians represented Quebec on the HSMBC. In contrast, Cruickshank represented Ontario for twenty years.

Quebec's inconsistent representation handicapped its influence in shaping the Board's policies and developing its underlying vision of Canada. For the HSMBC, Canada was a bilingual country in Quebec and unilingually English everywhere else. The HSMBC permitted historic plaques with bilingual texts, known among members as "the French model," only at sites in Quebec.[35] This policy, and the Board's underlying philosophies of Confederation, drove one Quebec member to abandon the project. Morin was not the sort of man to treat the project of the HSMBC lightly; he had strong convictions and sensed the value of his opinions. Immediately upon joining the Board he wrote a series of letters on

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[34]Taylor, *Negotiating the Past*, pp. 32-40.

[35]See, for example, NA, RG 84, v. 1241, J.B. Harkin to Gorham Manufacturing Company, 31 July 1922.

what he thought were the correct ambitions, objectives, and procedures of the HSMBC, as

well as on the design of monuments. He deplored his colleagues' apparent enthusiasm for

bloodshed and their lack of respect for the dead. But if Morin disagreed in temperament and

ideals with the Board's anglophone members, it was on the crucial issue of language that he

found a reason for divorce. Believing in Henri Bourassa's vision of a bilingual Canada,

Morin was "strongly of the opinion that *all* inscriptions be made in *both* languages, English

and French for *all* monuments over the whole country." Harkin consented to raise the matter

at the next meeting of the HSMBC, where every other member opposed Morin and the issue

was dropped. Rebuffed by anglophones over his vision of the country, Morin tendered his

resignation.[36]

The HSMBC's views on bilingualism typified anglophone Canada of the day, but are

more important for how they illustrate the Board's self-conscious ideas of its own

importance. The Board saw itself as the guardian of history. At its inception, Harkin laid

out his ambitions for the role of the HSMBC for the government:

> It is believed that eventually, this board will be looked to by all the public
> and especially the tourists, for historic data regarding all Canada.

Its function, as it saw it, was to shape public memory for the country by establishing the state

as *the* authority on Canadian public history. The public "and especially the tourists" ought

to look to the federal government for a national history. Harkin, subscribing to an unlikely

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[36]NA, RG 84 v. 1173, Victor Morin to J.B. Harkin, 24 March 1924 (emphasis in original);
Harkin to Morin, 30 April 1924; HSMBC minute books 4 June 1924.

theory of town planning, imagined HSMBC plaques as the focal points for future urban developments and the centrepiece of entire communities.[37]

One function of this belief in its role as arbiter of the national memory was the HSMBC's obsession (to the point of absurdity) with the accuracy of its plaques. Debating the precise wording of the text for a plaque recognizing Place Royale as the site of Montreal's founding, the HSMBC delayed its work for two years over such issues as the proper use of terms "chateau" and "castle."[38] A similar dispute emerged over whether or not the Amerindian village Hochelaga had been a "town," a "fortified town," or a "village surrounded by palisades." The ANSM's R.W. McLachlan had proposed to Sulte a brief inscription identifying the site of the "town of Hochelaga," but Sulte himself felt it crucial to emphasize that it was a "fortified town." Sulte also pushed for the inclusion of Ramusio's plan of Hochelaga to accentuate the fortifications. He claimed, without evidence, that Ramusio had based his sketch on a personal conversation with Cartier himself and thus it must undoubtedly be accurate. Victor Morin later balked at Sulte's glorification of an Iroquoian settlement. Hochelaga, he instructed Harkin, was more properly "an indian [sic] village surrounded by palisades."[39] Such questions could easily prevent a historic plaque from being completed and, in the two cases noted here, did contribute to delays. But the precise location of the site to be marked was a more crucial issue.

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[37]NA, RG 84, v. 1172, J.B. Harkin to W.W. Cory, 13 October 1920.

[38]NA, RG 84, v. 1260, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 25 August 1925.

[39]NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Benjamin Sulte to J.B. Harkin, 13 December 1920; Victor Morin to Harkin, 23 April 1923.

The site of the Battle of Repentigny, another of Sulte's recommendations, ignited a furious internal debate between Sulte and the rest of the HSMBC. Sulte thought the exact site of the battle a minor quibble; his colleagues disagreed and Sulte's failure to find it drew arrows from Harkin and Cruikshank. After two years of debate Sulte grew increasingly impatient: "Any military man," he claimed "can find out the spot, or very near." Besides, such precision was trivial: "as we have no means to show where the house of the battle stood, we are free to select a convenient place." Sulte, apparently, was incorrect in his assessment of the HSMBC's freedom: he died decades before the dispute was settled.[40]

Sulte's Battle of Repentigny site involved much more complicated and contentious issues than precise locations. Repeated changes in the HSMBC's Quebec membership caused repeated changes in the battle's place in the pantheon of national historic sites. Along the way it became a major battleground for the competing interests of the HSMBC and its vision of its work, national importance, and the collective memory of Canadians. The Battle of Repentigny, to use its 1920s name, was a skirmish between twenty-five French soldiers and about one hundred Iroquois warriors on the farm of Jean Grou at the extreme eastern tip of Montreal island in 1690. Sulte began looking at the site in 1919 and formally proposed it in February 1920. Nonetheless, despite being an early military struggle between Canadians and their Iroquoian nemesis, the Board repeatedly rejected the plan after Sulte's death. Partly, the HSMBC could not sanction a battle at which only eight Europeans died.

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[40]NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Benjamin Sulte to J.B. Harkin, 17 January 1922. Sulte's site was not only off by six or seven kilometres, but placed the battle near the town of Repentigny on the north shore of the St. Lawrence River rather than at today's accepted site on the Island of Montreal. Sulte's opinion notwithstanding, this would not have been a minor error.

When in 1927 Cruikshank, after waffling for years over the significance of the battle, proudly professed the struggle to have been "bloody," Harkin and Howay complained of too little gore for the use of that adjective. In light of this, the recognition of the battle site was again delayed while a fourth successive Quebec member, Philippe Demers, studied its national importance. Demers, who thought Canada's transportation history of greater importance than early battles, delayed the question for two years. Only the prompting of Cruikshank, who uncovered another report greatly increasing the number of Iroquoian dead, compelled Demers to draft an inscription for a plaque in 1929. But, with the proposal so near to completion, Demers quit the HSMBC and the new Quebec member, Maréchal Nantel, advised another delay while he completed his own review of the site's national importance. Once again the site's detractors complained of the lack of bloodshed and military significance. More interestingly, they added the site's lack of a clear sense of "steady European victory" to their grievances.[41] The HSMBC clearly saw Amerindians as precursors to be vanquished. Their national historical importance was reduced to being the "other" against which Canadian nationhood could be formed.

HSMBC members' personal whims and the Board's self-directed mandate to recognize historic sites of "national importance" thus influenced its choice of sites. National importance expressly excluded local or private events. But being fresh to the study of historic sites, as opposed to history in the older sense, the Board relied on local historical societies to find its way. It asked local historical societies to furnish it with a list of local

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[41]See, in particular, NA, RG 84, v. 1241, E.A. Cruickshank to J.B. Harkin, 3 June 1929; Harkin to Maréchal Nantel, 27 March 1931. See also Morin, *Légende dorée*, p. 167.

sites in three categories: national importance, provincial interest, and local or personal interest.[42] But it could not define national importance. Not until spring 1928, eight years into the Board's operations, did it even consider the question. At the annual meeting for that year, the HSMBC resolved that "national importance" was "a very elastic term," and refined the issue no further than one member's assertion that all events associated with early French-English struggles were of national importance. After another year of reflection, the Board decided that every French and English fort, as well as every battlefield, be considered of national importance.[43] Thus by the end of the 1920s, the HSMBC had still not decided on a definition of national importance beyond a vague notion of French-English, generally military, struggle.

In the end, the HSMBC's idea of national importance reflected the reading interests of its members. Its national narrative consisted of the steady progress of European civilization overcoming Amerindian savagery. Native peoples were gradually overcome by the settlers and soldiers of the French absolutism who themselves eventually succumbed to Great Britain's superior civilization. The violence of Amerindian resistance to French encroachment merely confirmed the brutality and savagery of their cultures. Military victory justified the moral superiority of British civilization over earlier "stages" of Canada's past. Although some members of the Board, particularly the French Canadians Morin and

[42]See for example NA, RG 84, v. 1172, Fred Williamson to M.J.L. Black, 2 December 1919. The Board also intended to take the credit for the work of local societies when they commemorated events it deemed nationally important. v. 1172, J.B. Harkin to Benjamin Sulte, 30 November 1920.

[43]NA, RG 84, HSMBC minute books, 17 May 1928; 17 May 1929.

Demers, balked at this focus on bloodletting, and the Board examined other examples of national "progress" such as exploration, trade and commerce, and the arts, military struggles gave a clear picture of steady victory.

Paralysed by the inconsistency of its Quebec representatives and the other members' ignorance of Quebec history, Board members rarely proclaimed sites in Quebec to be of national importance. Although Cruikshank, at least, was happy to pronounce on military affairs anywhere in the country, most members restricted their involvement in Quebec history to commentary on submissions from Quebec's members. Thus the inconsistency of Quebec's representation meant that the HSMBC accepted only 47 sites in Quebec to the end of 1929, having marked 38 of these. In comparison, 45 Maritime sites, 97 Ontario sites, and 51 sites in western Canada had been recognized by the HSMBC, with 36, 58, and 40 marked respectively. Quebec, despite the length of its history and the size of its population, received a disproportionately low share of the HSMBC's plaques. Montreal was particularly shunned, despite being the home of most Quebec members of the HSMBC. Montreal contained only three of Quebec's thirty-eight marked sites (an equal number had been identified but not yet approved).[44]

Perhaps the federal initiative in Quebec was so weak because of the ambitious local efforts of the ANSM, SHM, and the provincial *Commission des monuments historiques du Québec* (CMHQ). The CMHQ was born in 1922 almost as the HSMBC got rolling, meeting for the first time at Montreal's Chateau de Ramezay in April that year. Its birth surely filled a need for Quebec to write its own historical narrative in response to anticipations of federal

[44]NA, RG 84, v. 1173, "Schedule of Historic Sites to 31 December 1929."

plans. But it also coincided with an increased interest in the growing tourist trade. CMHQ members included Adélard Turgeon as President, Victor Morin, W.D. Lighthall, E.-Z. Massicotte, and P.-G. Roy, with C.-J. Simard sitting as the government's representative. Stability of membership characterized the CMHQ's first decade, setting it in sharp contrast to its federal counterpart. But more importantly, stability allowed for good working relations amongst the members. These good relations also followed from their similar backgrounds, most of them had worked together before. In this sense the provincial board, like the HSMBC nationally, was the child of the spontaneous, amateur heritage movement in the province. The CMHQ was an extension of Quebec's "heritage elites," groups of historically minded men of the wealthy "petit-bourgeois" social milieu. These same men dominated Montreal's heritage movement through the 1890s to the 1930s, with six being particularly noteworthy. As table 4.1 reveals, cross-representation was not uncommon on the key agencies of the Quebec heritage movement. The various agencies drew their members and depended on information from the same group of individuals. In short, despite the involvement of the state, the direction of the movement remained in the same amateur hands. This is not surprising. As one historian notes for the case of social services, government involvement in new areas routinely relies on the established experts of the field.[45]

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[45]James Struthers, *No Fault of Their Own* (Toronto, 1983), pp. 75-79; James Struthers, *The Limits of Affluence* (Toronto, 1994), pp. 129-131.

Table 4.1: Cross-Representation on Heritage Agencies[46]

Name	ANSM	SHM	HSMBC	CMHQ
Fauteux	M	M	M	
Lighthall	M		I	M
Massicotte	M	M	I	M
Morin	M	M	M	M
Roy*	I	I	I	M
Turgeon	M	M	I	M

M = member of agency
I = frequently provided information to agency
* = Pierre-Georges Roy lived in Quebec City, limiting his direct involvement in Montreal's heritage, but his knowledge of Canadian history made him a frequent correspondent with many active groups.

Including the usual parade of local politicians, heritage elites were drawn from a remarkably narrow background. Nineteen of the most active participants between 1891 and 1930 made a living in the "knowledge trades." Ten worked as lawyers, two as notaries, three as librarians, two as archivists, and three as teachers.[47] All of these professions required regular use of historical sources such as books and archival collections. And all of these men might be expected to exhibit similar professional and class interests. Public history, by drawing attention to the tools of their respective trades, might be seen as a means to augment their own, "petit-bourgeois" social stature. Such an interpretation would be too cynical. A closer analysis of the major players in the heritage movement indicates that the typical participant's heritage career lasted only a decade or so beginning in his early fifties.

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[46]Biographical information compiled from the following sources: *Biographes Canadiennes-françaises* (1921-1938); *Who's Who and Why in Canada* (1912); *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* (1912); W. Stewart Wallace, *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* 2 vols. (Toronto, 1945).

[47]Massicotte was both a lawyer and an archivist.

At this point in a career, most professionals had already established their stature in their field. Indeed, it was during this waning period of their careers that they turned what had been a career skill into a hobby and a philanthropic effort. The youngest of the major players was Archibald Chaussegros deLéry Macdonald, who was only thirty when he helped his friends Lighthall (then 35) and William McLennan (then 36) organize the ANSM plaques project. More typical was E.-Z. Massicotte, whose career bounced between journalism and law before he became an archivist in 1911 and a consistent participant in public memory making six years later at the age of fifty.

These members of Montreal's heritage elites formed a loose circle of friends. In 1936 the Université de Montreal invited one hundred and twenty people to a banquet to celebrate the honourary degrees conferred on Massicotte and Aegidius Fauteux. Many players in the heritage movement attended, including W.D. Lighthall, Victor Morin, P.-G. Roy, Philippe Demers, Maréchal Nantel, Marius Barbeau, and Quebec's current member of the HSMBC, E.-F. Surveyer. Also in attendance were Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, W.H. Atherton, Elzéar Roy, Alfred Laliberté, Léon Trépanier, Arthur St.-Pierre, and Emile Vaillancourt.[48] These men, likewise, played key roles in shaping Montreal's public memory in the early twentieth century. But the presence of so many men together in one room cannot overshadow the fissures separating their visions of Montreal's past. Lighthall's imperialism guided his responses to Montreal's military past. Many francophones, especially members of the SSJBM, would have rejected his version of history; they would also have been suspicious of Morin's bilingual Canada. And while Lighthall's sentimental attachment

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[48]Morin, *Trois docteurs*, pp. 43-44. Each of these names appears below.

to French regime folklore made him sympathetic for Massicotte's and Barbeau's efforts, he was, nonethless, one of the few anglophones in attendance in 1936. Moreover, the SSJBM, CHA, and private philanthropists approached commemoration from an even wider variety of perspectives.

Fittingly, private initiatives prompted the formation of the CMHQ. In 1921 the sale of Louis-Joseph Papineau's mansion in Montebello fuelled widespread anxiety about the fate of the "national treasures" contained in the house. In an open letter to L.-A. Taschereau, the premier of the day, the granddaughter of F.-X. Garneau called for the rescue of these treasures of national heritage. The following day, picking up this thread, Antoine-Aimé Bruneau, a Superior Court judge and long-time participant in the province's heritage movement, wrote the premier demanding legal protection for the province's heritage.[49] Taschereau acted quickly. In February 1922, the Provincial Secretary (and ardent reformer) L.-A. David tabled Bill 170 in the Legislative Assembly. David's involvement in numerous reform programmes of Taschereau's government sets this law squarely in the broader statist tradition of the Liberals noted by Bernard Vigod.[50] Bill 170 created a historic monuments commission with the power to designate and mark historic sites throughout the province.[51]

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[49]See *La Presse*, 24 aout 1921. A.-A. Bruneau's involvement in the movement dates from 1887 when, as editor of a local paper, he condemned the proposed destruction of a windmill at Sorel. Cited in Martin "Copnservation du patrimoine culturel," pp. 8-9. The "treasures" remained at Chateau Montebello thanks largely to a 1930s campaign led by Lionel Groulx and the SHM. Béatrice Chassé, "Manoir Louis-Joseph Papineau," in *Chemins de la mémoire* v. 1, p. 510.

[50]Bernard L. Vigod, *Quebec Before Duplessis: The Political Career of Louis-Alexandre Taschereau* (Kingston and Montreal, 1987).

[51]*Journaux de l'assemblée législative* v. 56 (1922, 1st session), pp. 201; 266, 361.

Keeping with the spirit of middle-class amateurism and voluntarism that had permeated the heritage movement, service on the Commission was unpaid. This spirit established three criteria for membership: competence in Quebec history; sufficient free time to devote to its pursuit; and financial independence. The petit-bourgeois gentlemen of Montreal's heritage elites fit the bill.

"An Act Respecting the Preservation of Monuments and Objects of Art Having an Historic or Artistic Interest," made Quebec the first Canadian province to take an active role in its public heritage. The CMHQ got to work quickly. It first assigned itself the task of developing an inventory of provincial historic sites, which it accomplished in its first year with the publication of *Monuments commemoratifs* as well as a serialized list of monuments in the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*. The inventory listed some 46 monuments in Montreal and 177 across the province.[52]

Adélard Turgeon was the Commission's first president, but its real workhorse was the secretary, Pierre-Georges Roy. The son of a small-town notary, Roy took an interest in letters early in life. After completing his education at the *Séminaire de Québec*, he worked variously as a journalist and editor founding, at age 25, the respected *Bulletin des recherches historiques*. His work as an amateur historian led him to archival sciences; he worked for the Dominion Archives before becoming Quebec's first chief archivist in 1920.[53] Roy was thus a natural choice to assume the duties of the secretary of the Commission. His personal renown among amateur historians lent an instant prestige to its work. Moreover, Roy's

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[52]Roy, "Inventaire des monuments historiques," pp. 3-13; 33-38.

[53]*Biographes canadiennes françaises* v. 9 (1931-31), p. 436.

personal interest in history, accompanied by enthusiasm for this new task, made the initial years of the Commission its most productive. Although it published only three annual reports of progressively diminishing value, the first years of the Commission's life were crucial to the well-being of the heritage movement in Quebec. Acting mostly alone, Roy raised public consciousness of the Commission's mandate, identified and enumerated the issues it faced, wrote its reports and minutes, and through a series of publications, laid the groundwork for future efforts.

The government specified the Commission's goals when framing the legislation, but members refined them at their first meeting, declaring two levels of historic landmarks starting with "statues, columns, etc., etc., *erected outdoors.*" After this first rung of monuments, the CMHQ listed "crosses, crucifixes, ... churches, chapels and old houses."[54] But right away, members recognized that the law gave them no real power and petitioned for more. Classifying historic landmarks, they argued, was impossible due to the requirement of permission from the owner of the property. Typically liberal, Bill 170 did nothing to infringe on property rights. Indeed, it specifically preserved them. Partly, as well, the protection of property rights met the requirements of the Catholic Church in Quebec, which viewed classification of church property as "state intrusion" in its affairs.[55] Lacking the power to classify historic sites, the CMHQ resolved itself to finding provincial

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[54]ANQ-Q, E52, CMHQ Minute Books, 13 juin 1922. Emphasis in original.

[55]ANQ-Q, E6, "Rapport de R.-A. Benoît à la Commission des Monuments historiques," (1944), n.p.

sites and marking them with plaques. In addition, in its the first year, the CMHQ initiated

a historic plaques programme and the planning of ceremonies to mark historic anniversaries.

The plaques programme began in 1923 in order to "signaler par des plaques

commémoratives les *sites* historiques de nos campagnes qui *méritent* d'être connues par les

touristes et les passants."[56] The design, entrusted to Montreal's Ecole des Beaux-Arts, took

the form of the trunk of a young maple with the inscription peering through the branches.

Both the CMHQ and the HSMBC used the maple as a symbol; in the early 1920s it had not

yet taken on the federal connotations of today. Although the fleur-de-lys was a recognized

symbol, it would not achieve its current symbolic value until the creation of a new provincial

flag in the 1940s. But, this conjoint use of the maple also represents the overlapping ideals

of the two state bodies. At least on the level of public rhetoric, the HSMBC and the CMHQ

saw their efforts as being complementary. In practice they fought a subtle battle over

concepts of history. Although they repeatedly pledged aid to one another due to their

"similar" objectives, this aid was confined to their "respective domains."[57] The need each

felt to reaffirm their commitment to mutual aid suggests the apprehensions each had of the

other's plans and visions.

One issue that created no dispute was the rural focus of Canada's history. Like the

HSMBC, the CMHQ initially considered plaques to be important only for the countryside,

planning them for Quebec's growing network of highways, where travelling motorists could

reflect on the history of Quebec along their journey. Both felt obliged to re-design their

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[56]ANQ-Q, E52, CMHQ minute books, 14 février 1923. Emphasis in original.

[57]ANQ-Q, CMHQ minute books, 22 juin 1923.

monuments to suit the aesthetics of the urban environment, something neither envisioned in the planning stage.[58] Like the HSMBC, the CMHQ repeatedly turned to depictions of Quebec's rural history to satisfy anticipated tourist tastes. Indeed, the CMHQ's efforts guided the Department of Highways and its Tourist Board's advertising for American travellers. The Tourist Board released a number of tour guides that accented the rustic environment of Quebec and emphasized its historic charms. These pamphlets did not ignore Montreal. They pointed to the city's numerous historic monuments as ideal sights to appease the urban tourist's appetite for the past. But depictions of the natural beauty and old world allure of Quebec far outweighed the attractions of its bustling metropolis in marketing the province.[59]

Only grudgingly did either the HSMBC or the CMHQ acknowledge Quebec's urban past. Although Montreal's membership on the Commission was quite strong, with Morin, Massicotte, and Lighthall, the CMHQ regarded Montreal's history with a disdain similar to that displayed by the HSMBC, giving the city only seven of its 150 plaques in the years before 1930. This meagre assessment of Montreal's historical significance reveals some similarities between the HSMBC and the CMHQ, but the scale of their respective plaque

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[58]The HSMBC learned from Ramsay Traquair of McGill University that its standard cairn and plaque did not suit the architecture of Montreal. The CMHQ needed to abandon the young maple's trunk in order to mount its plaques on the walls of buildings.

[59]Compare Roads Department (Tourist Board) pamphlets *The French Canadian Province: A Harmony of Beauty, History and Progress* (1927) and *The Old World at Your Door* (1930) with *See Quebec First: Week End Trips and Holiday Suggestions for Motorists* (1928) and especially *4,5, and 6 Days in Quebec, Canada* (1929). The Tourist Board rarely intervened directly in the building of historic monuments or the placing of historic plaques. It confined its efforts to attracting travellers to those sites and monument already erected.

projects shows their most substantial difference. While the HSMBC agonized over the value of every historic site, the CMHQ revealed a phenomenal degree of consensus in its pantheon of historic sites and events. This consensus had probably been created during the long prior association of the members in the amateur heritage movement. But, more importantly, it indicates the careful selection of CMHQ members to reflect such a consensus as to the nature of Quebec's history. The provincial government selected its public historians to reflect a francophone perspective of history and not surprisingly chose Lighthall to represent the anglophone segment of the province's population. The homogeneity of perspectives among the CMHQ's Montreal-based members permitted a greater degree of consensus than the HSMBC, with its selection of intellectuals from accross Canada, could hope to achieve. Canadian regional, linguistic, confessional, and disciplinary disputes all prevented the formation of a truly national vision of history.

Equally interesting, the CMHQ did not share the HSMBC's obsession with precise texts and locations. Plaques approved so quickly never endured the rigorous and meticulous fact-checking that characterized those of the HSMBC. The CMHQ, it was clear, cared more for the feel of history than for the precise details of the past. This difference of opinion may help explain the repeated exasperation of Quebec members of the HSMBC with their more empirically-oriented anglophone colleagues. Sulte could barely believe that a difference of a few hundred metres would prevent the recognition of what he saw as an important military struggle at Repentigny and Morin's resignation may also have been spurred by his disbelief at the HSMBC's inability to go beyond minutiae.

The CMHQ plaque project proceeded with little discussion in the minutes; members approved 50 plaques in 1924, and repeated this feat in subsequent years. Needless to say, such haste produced a phenomenally idiosyncratic depiction of history.[60] In the case of Montreal alone, the seven plaques approved in 1927 included four at the courthouse on Notre-Dame Street, and another at the courthouse annex around the corner on St.-Gabriel Street. The first four plaques depicted the history of the site of the courthouse, including the original land grant to Lambert Closse in 1658, the Jesuit college that stood from 1692 to 1803; the residence and warehouse of John Richardson built in 1793, and the use of the site for a courthouse beginning in 1800. The fifth noted the first Presbyterian Church in Montreal and replaced an ANSM plaque lost when the church was demolished in 1911. To focus so much on one block of Old Montreal was idiosyncratic at best, but, more crucially, it reveals the CMHQ's view of history: the history of site occupation. Although some plaques, like one in Maisonneuve noting the capture of Ethan Allen during the American invasion attempt of 1775, noted events, the majority of CHMQ plaques directed the reader to the first European land grant and subsequent uses of the property. Perhaps this simplistic view of history accounts for the lack of discussion, and the speed with which the CMHQ could locate and designate sites.

The CMHQ's plaque project was a substitute for its prior plans, proven unattainable by the weakness of the legislation, of classifying (and hopefully preserving) historic buildings. (The French use of the term "monument" is broader than the English, referring

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[60]The HSMBC was likewise idiosyncratic: Sulte's first three recommendations to the Board commemorated events in and around his home town of Trois-Rivières.

to buildings as well as statues. Hence the CMHQ directed its attentions more to venerable churches and houses than to such old site markers as Nelson's column.) Roy had initially compiled a catalogue of old churches and manors in the province with the goal in mind of classifying them, but was delayed by the requirement that he obtain the permission of the property owners. Indeed, it was only at the request of the ANSM that the CMHQ was able to classify its first building.[61] Once again, the power of the amateur "bourgeois spontaneity" remained in the Montreal heritage movement. Despite the intrusion of the state into the field, the virtues of liberalism embodied in the men of the heritage movement (and they were all men) remained the virtues of the movement throughout the period 1891-1930. Although both the CMHQ and HSMBC strove to attract and influence tourists with their plaques, individual personal idiosyncrasies guided commemorative practices more than state policy. The narrow class historical consciousness of notaries, lawyers, and librarians (both anglophone and francophone) dominated and in a sense unified Montreal's public memory; but ethnic and religious fissures divided it.

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[61]ANQ-Q, CMHQ minute books, 16 février 1929.

PROBING THE PUBLIC PAST

Chapter Five:

British Citizenship:

Material Progress, Class Harmony, and Imperial Greatness

A cold wind swept Montreal as the city's "clans" gathered at Dominion Square on a Saturday afternoon in October 1930. The sounds of pipe and drum bands, coupled with the light rain, prompted one reporter to remark how Scottish Montreal seemed that day. It was a fitting comment. The clans had converged to witness the inauguration of a monument to Robbie Burns, Scotland's "national poet." But not only Scotsmen held their heads high. Rodolphe Lemieux, the francophone Speaker of the House of Commons, asked the crowd not to forget that "Franco-Scottish friendship has long ago taken root in the soil of British North America." Indeed the Burns monument was a project of the Franco-Scottish Association of Montreal and Lemieux's remark was lifted from its propaganda. But speakers such as Mayor Camillien Houde played on the apparent incongruity of Scottish and French to great success. Assuming the name "Mayor McHoude" and generously trilling his "r's," he kept the audience giggling through his speech.[1]

Notwithstanding any light-hearted ribbing, *Le Devoir* commented on the appropriateness of a Scottish monument in a French-speaking city. Most Scottish nobles had descended from Norman stock, noted the newspaper, and the Franco-Scottish "Auld Alliance" of the Hundred Years' War had brought these two peoples together against the English. Following the Conquest of New France, many Scots immigrants had taken French-

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[1] Montreal *Gazette*, 20 October 1930.

Canadian brides and both cultures continued to resist English assimilation in the twentieth century. As a result, Scottish- and French-Canadian citizens "furent aussitot amis et bientot frères. La transfusion du sang opérée autrefois entre les ancêtres communs avait déjoué tous les calculs."[2] To some Montrealers, these bonds of blood had made brothers of modern Canadians despite their religious and linguistic differences. But this fraternal impulse was far more limited among French Canadians than it was among their English-speaking compatriots.

English-speaking Canadians often assumed that their values were universal. The support of universal values enshrined in historic sites and monuments can be illustrated with reference to specific examples from Montreal's monuments. Monuments were a pretext for a deeper veneration of the moral lesson of history and Montreal's English-speaking monument builders grasped this concept at its most rudimentary level. Through monument building, they attempted to convey ideas of British patriotism as adapted to Canadian perceptions of imperial history. At the Burns monument inauguration, John Williamson described the British Empire as a multicultural mosaic that spread progress and liberty via the British constitution.[3] Here were the universal moral values of the Empire. Certainly British Canadians frequently compromised in order to invite French Canadians to join with them in forging an inclusive historical memory. But despite such efforts, they never felt the universality of their beliefs compromised and remained incapable of understanding why others might not embrace the public memory they presented.

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[2]*Le Devoir*, 18 octobre 1930.

[3]Montreal *Gazette*, 20 October 1930.

I Mad Kings and Englishmen

Early students of monuments in Montreal believed the first monument in the city to

be a bust of George III set at Place d'Armes in the 1770s.[4] Thus, although Place d'Armes was

known as the "French Square" as late as 1807, it was marked by a monument to the British

sovereign. And if Place d'Armes remained the centre of French Montreal after the Conquest,

holding both the parish church and the Seminary, this bust claimed the public space at the

centre of the town for the conquering British.[5] It asserted British sovereignty over the

French colonial town.

Ephemeral though it was, this monument opens an interesting window on public

memory and its uses. Beginning in 1897, correspondents of the *Bulletin des recherches*

historiques debated the history of a bust at "une des places publiques" of Montreal.[6] E.-Z.

Massicotte ended this seventeen-year dialogue in 1915 with an authoritative account of the

bust's brief and undistinguished existence. Installed at Place d'Armes on 7 October 1773 and

twice vandalized, it survived a scant two years in the city. In 1775 vandals attacked the bust,

painting it over and leaving it draped with a banner reading "Voilà le pape du Canada et le

sot anglais." Governor Carleton ordered the mess cleaned up and offered "deux cents

piastres" for the capture of the culprits. They were never found and the next attack was

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[4]CMHQ, *Troisième Rapport de la Commission des Monuments Historiques de la Province de Québec* (1925-1926), p. 18.

[5]Marc H. Choko, *Les grandes places publiques de Montréal* (Montréal, 1987), p. 29.

[6]*Bulletin des recherches historiques* (décembre 1897), p. 192; (novembre 1901), p. 352. See also the response by G.B. in *Bulletin des recherches historiques* (janvier 1902), pp. 21-25.

more serious.[7] Tradition holds that the invading Americans destroyed the bust; Massicotte notes that a similar bust of the same King George in New York City was among the first symbols desecrated during the American Revolution, being melted down for cannon balls to lob back at the King's soldiers. According to this line of reasoning, the same fate befell Montreal's bust during the American occupation in the winter of 1775. The pedestal, however, sat empty in the middle of Place d'Armes until the Grand Jury ordered it destroyed in 1790. But the bust was later found in a well near the parish church. During the 1834 excavation of Notre-Dame Street in preparation for laying water pipes, workers discovered a hitherto unknown well, about 108 feet deep with some 60 feet of good water just opposite the gates of the Seminary, not far from Place d'Armes.[8]

The rediscovery of the bust of George III in 1834 provoked no revivalist movement. No loud cries for its reinstatement rang through the city streets; no editorialist (in a city packed with political journalists) penned a manifesto for the monument. This silence is not difficult to understand. When the bust was apparently discovered Patriote agitation had raised political tensions in the city. A restored bust of the first British king of Canada might again have been desecrated, heightening hostilities. However, it is equally likely that Montreal's British monarchist residents would themselves have been unsympathetic to any such schemes. Allegedly insane, George III had lost his popularity long before his death in 1820. Linda Colley's account of the cult of George III suggests that he found renewed

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[7]E.-Z. Massicotte, "Réponses," *Bulletin des recherches historiques* (juin 1915), pp. 182-184.

[8]Montreal *Gazette*, 6 May 1834. The article makes no mention of the bust's discovery.

support in the years of the French Revolution and the wars against Napoleon, but her analysis is perhaps overstated. Moreover, after 1805, Admiral Horatio Nelson better symbolized British unity and patriotism than did the King and Montreal already had a monument to the memory of Nelson.[9]

The lack of a movement suggests a great deal about local popular memory during the last years of Lower Canada. It appears that few, if any, residents remembered much about old Montreal. No one had previously known of the French well and its discovery sparked no interest in French Regime archaeology. Given the prevailing nineteenth-century anglophone attitude to the history of New France, this is not surprising.[10] Even educated French Canadians knew very little about their own history. Jacques Labrie's work, published posthumously in 1831, was of interest only to his friends and political allies in the *Patriote* movement. Montrealers greeted George III's bust with little interest, suggesting that he represented an era they had gladly put behind them.

A similar pattern unfolded in the twentieth century. Despite a number of citations and revival movements for other early monuments, the bust remained an obscure curiosity. No twentieth-century champion appeared to call for its replacement. Despite reigning during a period of tremendous expansion for the British Empire, adding Canada, Australia,

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[9]Linda Colley, "The Apotheosis of George III: Loyalty, Royalty and the British Nation, 1760-1820," *Past and Present* (February 1984), pp. 94-129; Gerald Jordan and Nicholas Rogers, "Admirals as Heros: Patriotism and Liberty in Hanoverian England," *Journal of British Studies* (July 1989), p. 224. Montreal's Nelson monument was unveiled in 1809 and is discussed below.

[10]Lord Durham probably summed up this attitude best when he called French Canadians a people without history. *Lord Durham's Report*, p. 150.

New Zealand, India and much of the West Indies (suffering only the significant loss of the thirteen colonies), George III's reputation remained sullied by his bouts with mental illness and his association with resistance to democratic principles. More pressing events demanded commemoration during the monument boom. Queen Victoria's Jubilee and her death, the Boer War and the valour of Canadian soldiers, all demanded recognition from the patriotic. As a reminder of the Conquest, George III's association with the cession of New France was at odds with the spirit that inspired turn-of-the-century monument building among both the English- and French-speaking citizens of Montreal.[11]

The uninspiring story of the bust of George III is of interest for three reasons. First, its nineteenth-century obscurity suggests how recent concerted public history in Montreal is. Few people cared about the past in a young country such as Lower Canada. Second, the apathy with which Montrealers met the monument's rediscovery points to a political motivation behind public history projects. Subsequent advocates of public monuments, although they would also persist in seeing their own priorities as somehow "true," never lost sight of political realities. And third, as the bust had originally attempted to claim the entire settled territory of Montreal for a British suzerainty, it suggests the primary function of public memory: to support social *mythomoteurs* and political legitimacy.

In the eighteenth century, the first children of Britannia to erect a monument chose the head of their king. It was a choice that established the basic difference between the two "founding peoples" of Montreal for the following century and a half. Quite simply,

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[11]Aside from these issues, the appropriate spot for a re-enactment had already been occupied by the statue of Maisonneuve since 1895.

anglophone Montrealers saw their city differently than did their francophone counterparts. Both saw themselves as legitimate founders of Montreal, possessed of legitimate memories of ancient institutions and customs vesting "their" past with historical authenticity. As we shall see, French Canadians drew on memories of the French regime. But for British (or British-Canadian) imperial patriotism, those memories were forged around the "age-old" principle of loyalty to the monarch.

II Patriotism

The use of public monuments underwent a significant change over the course of the nineteenth century. Whereas many of the monuments of John Richardson's Montreal were private memorials, W.D. Lighthall looked to public monuments to teach lessons about patriotism. Certainly Lighthall's associates disputed the specific nature of this virtue. It was one thing to demand patriotism, but quite another to spell out the specifics of patriotic practice and devotion. However, anglophone Montrealers, whatever their political stripe, found in their sovereign an easy "auxiliary" to maintain the illusion of a universal value of patriotism.

Anglophone patriots commonly explained to one another the complexities of French-Canadian attachments to the Empire. While in times of crisis they suspected French-Canadian ambitions, more typically they presumed French-Canadian patriotism to be benign. They repeatedly exalted French-Canada's "British" patriotism, based on the "facts" of French-Canadian loyalty to Britain in 1775 and 1812.[12] In 1898, McGill University scholar

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[12]Berger, *Sense of Power*, pp. 131-147.

Leigh R. Gregor put the anglophone view of French-Canadian patriotism succinctly: ethnic minorities in the British Empire, like French Canadians or Indians, had developed an attachment to the freedoms of their "mother country". In short, he argued that French Canadians saw themselves as Britishers who spoke French, united with the whole Empire under the British flag.[13] Anglophone Canadians, by building monuments to the South African War and Queen Victoria, assumed they were memorializing the universal virtue of fortitude through the particular celebration of the glory of the Empire; and they assumed francophone agreement.

i) Admirals and Other Heroes

Of course, the anglophone concept of patriotism did win the hearts and minds of some French-speaking Montrealers. In one case, the words of French-Canadian and Irish "representatives" echoed anglophile descriptions of patriotism. Nelson's column at Place Jacques-Cartier is one of Montreal's oldest monuments, dating from 1809. But over the course of the century the ice, snow, and wind of Montreal's brutal winters had worn down the inscriptions around the monument's base. The account of Nelson's valour in the name of the Empire was no longer legible. This was something that no English imperialist could accept, but the rededication ceremony of October 1900 reveals how British Montreal's concept of patriotism was one that many Montrealers could embrace.

Indeed, the accepted story of the origin of Nelson's column is not only one of the city's more popular monument myths, but also demonstrates the power of the British-

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[13]Leigh R. Gregor, *The New Canadian Patriotism* (Quebec, 1898), pp. 17-20.

Canadian conception. According to popular memory, Montrealers learned of the Battle of

Trafalgar on a snowy December evening in 1805, when a messenger interrupted an evening

dance with the news. Samuel Gerrard, the president of the ball, quickly proposed a

monument be raised to the memory of Lord Nelson and himself subscribed £20 on the spot.

Other leading citizens jumped to the fore. The great fur barons of the day, William and

Duncan McGillivray, Joseph Frobisher, James McGill, Alexander Henry, Thomas Forsyth,

as well as the fathers of the Séminaire St.-Sulpice and "les grandes familles canadiennes-

françaises" also pledged £20. Within minutes they had collected enough for the proposed

monument.[14]

Many of Montreal's most popular historians, including both Stephen Leacock and

Robert Rumilly, repeat this account. But its broad acceptance hides a number of

complications in the details. In particular, the depiction of subscriptions to the monument

fund is illogical. Popular memory maintains that sufficient moneys were pledged

immediately, but as late as 20 January 1806 the *Gazette* continued to call for contributions:

> The Subscribers to the fund for erecting a Public Monument in this City to
> the memory of that first of Naval Heros, are requested to meet on Tuesday
> next, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon, at the Magistrates Room in the Court
> House, to appoint a Committee for collecting the monies subscribed, and
> carrying the measure into effect.

Moreover, in an apparent bid to improve the size of the monument committee's coffers, one

citizen offered the incentive of "some very elegant worked handkerchiefs, tuckers, sleeves,

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[14]Leacock, *Montreal, Seaport and City*, p. 136; Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal* v.2
(Montreal, 1971), p. 120. No one questions the presence of the Sulpicians at a dance.

&c, which will be disposed of at a low price for [raising] money [for the monument]."[15]

This delay cost Montreal the widely-cited honour of being the first city to raise a monument to Nelson. The citizens of Glasgow built a 140-foot sandstone obelisk in 1806, while Montrealers continued to hunt for funding for theirs. The Glasgow monument is strikingly similar to Montreal's version, bearing inscriptions honouring Nelson's valour at Aboukir, Copenhagen, and Trafalgar. It cost £2,075. According to one nineteenth-century observer, Montreal's monument was comparably cheap at only £1,300.[16]

The Montreal monument committee established in 1806 included John Johnson, James Monk, and the three fur barons John Richardson, John Ogilvie and Louis Chaboillez. The inclusion of the fur barons is no surprise, for as Donald Creighton notes, these men were the richest in the colony.[17] Sir John Johnson, a Legislative Councillor since 1796, a Loyalist soldier during the American Revolution, and commander of the British Indian Department from 1782 until his death in 1828 knew, like many successful Loyalists, how to work the colony's patronage system. He also knew how to organize, a skill he shared with Monk, Chief Justice of Montreal from 1795 and a close political ally of the "merchants' party."[18]

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[15]Montreal *Gazette* 6 January 1806. Montreal *Gazette*, 13 January 1806. It is perhaps notable that the *Gazette*, which normally published everything in both French and English, including the call for contributions, noted the articles for sale in English only.

[16]*Canadian Courant*, 2 May 1808; Maurice Lindsay, *An Illustrated Guide to Glasgow 1837* (London, 1989), pp. 97-98; Donald Saunders, *The Glasgow Datebook* (Edinburgh, 1984), n.p. Compare with Bosworth, pp. 153-157.

[17]Creighton, pp. 23-28.

[18]Lower Canada was divided into three judicial regions centred on Trois-Rivières, Québec and Montréal. The latter two had a chief justice. James Lambert, "Monk, Sir James," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* Hereafter (*DCB*) v. 6, pp. 511-513; Creighton, p. 112.

Nelson may have been an "anti-establishment" hero at home, but in this far-flung outpost of the Empire, his veneration was a matter for high society.[19]

The Committee hired two Londoners to design and build the monument. They promised an "amazing" monument, resistant to all climates, and this masterpiece arrived at Montreal's docks in mid-April 1808. The committee then hired William Gilmore, a local stone mason and subscriber of seven pounds to the monument fund, to assemble its seventeen parts. No doubt Gilmore's financial contribution, not his speedy work habits, recommended him for the job: he did not lay the first stone until 17 August 1809.[20] The Committee, being comprised of the denizens of established society, chose an appropriate site for the monument, conveniently located for its practical use. As it was placed just outside the Court House, the town pillory was moved across Notre-Dame Street to the base of the monument where miscreants could be punished in full view of the great naval hero who had so well done his duty.[21] Nelson's patriotic sacrifice might thus inspire emulation among both passers-by and recalcitrant wrong-doers.

Ninety-one years later British Montreal's concept of patriotism still followed from the example of sacrifice offered by Admiral Nelson. The president of the monument repair committee opened the dedication with comments on the importance of monuments in

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[19]Jordan and Rogers explain that Nelson's appeal was far greater outside London, pp. 221-222.

[20]Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, p. 165. Gilmore's delay no doubt explains the date of 1808 on the monument's base. Mackenzie carved it, doubtless expecting it to be in place that same year.

[21]Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal*, v.2, pp. 124-125.

"cultivating a spirit of loyalty and emulation among the people," while another speaker explained that monuments taught the young about the glory of patriots and impressed upon them the lessons of history.[22]

Speakers at the ceremony drew on a myth of ethnic harmony. Judge François Baby of the ANSM emphasized that the monument had originally been raised through the contributions of both the English and the French in the colony.[23] Henri Cesaire St.-Pierre went on to stress that the original idea had been French-Canadian, suggested by "Girard", and that the Sulpicians had been major contributors. (In fact, Samuel Gerrard was born in Ireland and had not a drop of French-Canadian blood in him.)[24] St.-Pierre's assertion not only claimed a French-Canadian origin for the monument, but also portrayed French-Canadian patriotism in terms imperialists would have found comfortable. The lesson of "duty performed" was not lost on French Canadians. St.-Pierre and Baby ostensibly drew an image of bicultural harmony from Montreal's past, an ideal presentation of history that may have been difficult to swallow in the era of the Boer War. But, at the same time, both phrased their comments in terms that reified ethnic divisions. They accented the loyalty of their forefathers, but their implicit ethnic particularism cannot be missed. Judge Curran's comments were even more striking. Pointing out that French Canadians had given speeches

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[22]Montreal *Gazette*, 22 October 1900.

[23]Judge Louis-François-Georges Baby had been a founding member of the SHM and served as President of the ANSM from 1884 to his death in 1906. Among other notable accomplishments, he settled the Jesuits Estates question for the Mercier government. Michèle Brassard and Jean Hamelin, "Baby, Louis-François-Georges," in *DCB* v. 13, pp. 26-27.

[24]See Peter Deslauriers, "Gerrard, Samuel," in *DCB* v. 8, pp. 320-322.

representing their people, and that Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal represented the Scots of Montreal, he professed to speak "on behalf" of the city's Irish community. In Curran's mind each speaker represented his "race."[25]

Both English- and French-speaking intellectuals of the day commonly believed in race as an objective category. According to this view, each race had unique characteristics and, as some took it, even a racial mission to perform. In the British-Canadian concept of a huge, multi-ethnic empire, in which all races pledged loyalty to the sovereign and patriotism to the Empire, racial differences were the underlying weakness. Although imperialists often imagined a racist imperial mission (the crux of the Anglo-Saxon mission in the world was White Man's Burden), they slid easily into phrases of racial equality. But as Carl Berger points out, their confident racial rhetoric hid a deeper confusion about the issue. It was frequently unclear whether racial characteristics were construed as innate or merely cultural and environmental. Nor, for that matter, did imperialists have any monopoly over the language and attitudes of racism. French-Canadian missionaries, likewise, incorporated White Man's Burden into their proselytization on the Canadian prairies and Henri Bourassa, as staunch an anti-imperialist as ever there was, imagined Confederation to be a compact between Canada's two main "races." His bi-cultural Canada was one of arms-length racial cohabitation.[26]

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[25]Montreal *Gazette*, 22 October 1900.

[26]Berger, *Sense of Power*, p. 117-118; 126-130; Joseph Levitt, *Henri Bourassa on Imperialism and Bi-Culturalism, 1900-1918* (Toronto, 1970), p. 9. That André Siegfried's classic study of Canadian party politics at the turn of the century was entitled *The Race Question in Canada* (London, 1907) reveals the extent and acceptance of the language of racism.

In the fall of 1900, even as Baby, Strathcona, St.-Pierre, and Curran sang the praises of racial harmony, other Montrealers showed a different attitude. With the Boer War over, two separate groups of Montreal's leading citizens formed themselves into committees to erect monuments to the soldiers of the war and to Lord Strathcona, Canada's High Commissioner in the United Kingdom. Over the winter these two committees merged in response to Strathcona's preference for a monument that "subordinated" him "to the recognition and commemoration of broader issues." The combined committee raised over thirty thousand dollars for the monument. But this large sum, mostly in donations of $100 or more, hid the divisiveness of the committee's work. The committee did not encourage subscriptions from "French citizens." Nor did committee members invite the president of the ASJB to join them, though the presidents of Montreal's other "national" societies attended meetings. Theirs was to be an anglophone monument: in the design contest of 1902, G.W. Hill's "Anglo-Saxon" design beat out Andrew Taylor's "Peace with Honour."[27]

"Anglo-Saxon," with some modifications, became the South African War and Lord Strathcona monument. It depicts a Canadian soldier standing beside his horse with two bas-reliefs of the battles at Belfast and Paardeberg on the pedestal beneath him. On the monument's north face the committee added a medallion of Strathcona's profile and his coat of arms in homage to the man who personally raised, equipped, and supported the five-hundred-man Strathcona Horse regiment for the war.[28] But the Boer War had been

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[27]MUA, Strathcona Monument Fund Committee minute books, 13 February 1901; 8 November 1901; 20 December 1902; 3 October 1907.

[28]MUA, Strathcona Monument Fund Committee minute books, 24 December 1902; 12 June 1903.

unpopular with Montreal's French Canadians. Following the leadership of Henri Bourassa,

they considered it to be England's concern and England's fight. When Laurier agreed to pay

partial costs for volunteers wishing to serve, Bourassa accused him of abandoning French-

Canadian rights to curry favour with anglophone jingoists. The men of the monument

committee did little to alter this belief.

On the birthday of Queen Victoria in 1907, three thousand spectators, mostly soldiers

and relatives of the fallen, celebrated the unveiling of the monument. At precisely 11:00 the

artillery fire of a twenty-one gun salute and the playing of "God Save the King" honoured

the lost men as Earl Grey, the Governor-General, unveiled the monument. But despite this

impressive military presence near Montreal's main shopping district, attendance was

minimal. Dominion Square had seen much larger crowds for similar ceremonies. Lack of

popular enthusiasm for this monument suggests the degree of dissent surrounding it. [29]

ii) "An important auxiliary to the sentiment of patriotism"

Anglophone Montrealers of the Victorian period accented their conceptions of

patriotism and civic duties with monuments to the Queen. Victoria, in her turn, had

punctuated her reign with close attention to the mystical symbols of antiquity, a practice that

her subjects readily followed. [30] Discussing the monarch's role in British politics, Kingsley

Martin noted an inverse relationship between Queen Victoria's public popularity and her

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[29]Montreal *Gazette*, 25 June 1907.

[30]Tom Nairn, "Britain's Royal Romance," in R. Samuel (ed) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* v.3 *National Fictions* (London, 1989), pp. 72-88.

political power. No doubt Victoria's personal relationship with her favourite Prime Minister, Benjamin Disraeli, played some role in her gradual withdrawal from active politics. But Victoria did not withdraw so much as the British parliamentary system gradually removed her (as the monarch in general). Linda Colley suggests that this development began during the reign of George III. However, she exaggerates her claims in seeking out a loosely-defined "Anglo-British nationalism" in its nascent phase. In overestimating royal popularity and underplaying anti-establishment heroes such as Nelson and Wellington, Colley fails to accommodate the political issues surrounding the monarch in her explanation.[31] Struggles between "Court and Country," well documented by Sir Lewis Namier among others, tied the popularity of the monarchy to partisan disputes, preventing royalism from transcending political struggles between centrists and localists until the monarchy withdrew from the disputes altogether.[32]

For David Cannadine monarchical ritual, although conspicuous as early as the 1820s, did not become persuasive until the 1877 ceremonies installing Victoria as Empress of India. Prior to that date, the actions and personal characteristics of George III and his progeny made them among the least-loved sovereigns of Europe. The private lives of members of the royal family continued to interface with the political struggles of the period. Continued

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[31]Kingsley Martin, *The Magic of Monarchy* (New York, 1937), pp. 60-61. Linda Colley, "Apotheosis of George III." See also her "Whose Nation?: Class and National Consciousness in Britain, 1750-1830." *Past and Present* (November 1986), pp. 97-117.

[32]Lewis Namier, *Crossroads of Power: Essays in Eighteenth-Century England* (London, 1962), pp. 30-45. See also E.P. Thompson, *The Poverty of Theory and Other Essays* (London, 1978), pp. 258-266 and Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer, *The Great Arch: English State Formation as Cultural Revolution* (Oxford, 1985).

royal political power made ceremonials elevating royalty above society and politics a dangerous proposition. As both politics and society centred on London, the royal family was further circumscribed by local antagonisms. For the majority of Britons, local allegiance took precedence over national affairs and any broadly "national" sentiment tended to gather around popular heroes such as Nelson and Wellington. The coronation of George IV, while obviously an attempt at ceremonial grandeur, was an overblown farce. But four important dimensions of British society and politics changed during the long reign of Victoria. First, the gradual decline of the monarch's real power allowed an increase in its ceremonial trappings, legitimating a state that, at least in name, served the monarch. Second, Britain became increasingly urban, industrial, and mobile in the latter half of the nineteenth century, a trend which helped to break down local loyalties. Third, press coverage of the monarchy changed with the emergence of the "yellow press" of popular, sensationalizing newspapers. These newspapers relied on illustrations and vivid descriptions of events to convey their message. Ceremonials were ideal for this brand of journalism. Fourth, developments in transportation technology made the carriages used at royal ceremonies at once anachronistic and splendidly mystical. As anachronisms, they carried an air of tradition and thus legitimacy; their splendour added to the grandeur of the occasions.[33]

In Montreal, the image of the monarch left politics only after 1840. During the Rebellions, *Patriote* propaganda characterized the young Victoria in unflattering terms, linking her politically and personally to the unpopular governor of the day. The *Patriote*

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[33]David Cannadine, "The Context, Performance and Meaning of Ritual: The British Monarchy and the 'Invention of Tradition', c. 1820-1977," in Hobsbawm and Ranger, pp. 101-164.

conception of citizenship specifically excluded women and they frequently made an issue of her gender during pre-Rebellion agitations. One *Patriote* described the young Victoria as a "damned whore with her legs in the air."[34] Such *personal* attacks were not limited to young girls who would be Queen. Victoria's father had been "warned" by toasts at the Saint-Jean-Baptiste feasts of the 1830s that only the people could save him from calamity.[35]

It took the development of competent ritual management, not to mention the defeat of the rebels, to cleanse the monarch of partisanship. Such competency in ritual management developed in Canada around the middle of the century. Colonial ritual-planners for royal visits faced two unique situations: the scale of ceremonies was necessarily less grandiose than in the imperial capital, but the rarity of royal visits ensured enthusiastic welcomes from the people. Making do with less (and less frequently) colonial planners paid closer attention to the image they wished to present. With infrequent and relatively minor events, they had few chances to shine. Nonetheless, shine they did: in 1860, for instance, on the occasion of a visit by the Prince of Wales, Montreal staged a successful ceremony inaugurating both a replica of London's Crystal Palace and the Grand Trunk's engineering masterpiece, the Victoria Bridge.[36]

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[34]Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People* (Toronto, 1993), p. 191.

[35]*La Minerve*, 25 juin 1835.

[36]The bridge, covered to keep the tracks clear of snow in winter, was the first to span the St. Lawrence River. Although inaugurated on 25 August 1860, it actually opened to rail traffic on 17 December 1859. The inauguration ceremonies of 1860 were organized by the Citizens' Reception Fund and led by the head of the Harbour Commission, John Young.

The future Edward VII's visit was a source of excitement throughout British North America. Montreal's English-language newspapers reported the lavish dances and concerts held for the prince in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia and eagerly anticipated his arrival in their city. On his arrival their enthusiasm was matched by the celebratory decorations that adorned the city streets, transforming them into a landscape of celebration. No fewer than seven triumphal arches graced the procession route between the two sites the Prince inaugurated and, as Edward hammered the ceremonial last rivet into Victoria Bridge, the guns of Ile Ste.-Hélène fired a salute and church bells rang out across the city. Edward's visit to Montreal was a success in ritual management that cost the public coffers $48,031, but the image of Victoria was not fully cleansed of the memory of 1837.[37]

While Edward danced his way through the Maritime provinces, Montreal's city council considered changing the name of Commissioners' Square (named for the 1811 Planning Commission) to Victoria Square. A council that could spend $20,000 illuminating buildings for the Prince of Wales was certainly attentive to symbolic gestures and sympathetic to the monarchy. But the name "Victoria Square" was contentious. Citing "historical reasons," twelve francophone councillors voted against the change and some backed their decision with bravado. Councillor Duhamel angrily threatened to topple Nelson's Column if Place Jacques-Cartier was to be renamed Nelson Square next. He threatened the very monument François Baby would later call a symbol of French-Canadian loyalty. Others threatened "another '37" if the change went through. Resistance was also

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[37]E.A. Collard, *Montreal Yesterdays* (Toronto, 1963), p. 84; Claude-V. Marsolais, Luc Desrochers, and Robert Comeau, *Histoire des maires de Montréal* (Montreal, 1993), p. 73.

popular and the council chamber cleared in the face of violent demonstrations from the public gallery.[38]

The direct political power of Victoria may have declined, but the symbols of empire could still divide Montreal. The monarch's direct connection to politics had not yet left colonial memory by the time of competent ritual management. The proposed name change, not a part of the ceremonies planned for Edward's visit, did not significantly alter genuine French-Canadian enthusiasm for Edward's visit, but reaction to it revealed the fissures in Montreal's attachment to the sovereign. French-Canadian affection and respect for Victoria was real, but it clearly had its limits. Nonetheless the name changed, at least in the anglophone press. Francophones insisted on using the name Place du Castor, only capitulating in the 1870s.[39] In 1872 Governor-General Lord Dufferin inaugurated a monument to Victoria at Victoria Square. The statue sealed the name of Victoria Square and, by no coincidence, completed the conquest of the site for anglophone Montreal. Commissioners' Square had once been a French-Canadian address, but it slowly turned anglophone. The first Protestant church opened on the square in 1826 and, in the decades

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[38]Montreal *Gazette*, 11 August 1860; Montreal *Herald*, 11 August 1860; *La Guêpe*, cited in *Commercial Advertiser*, 11 August 1860; Montreal *Witness*, 11 August 1860. See also Ville de Montréal, *Les rues de Montréal: Répertoire historique* (Montreal, 1995), pp. 489-490.

[39]Compare *La Minerve*, 1 juillet 1867 with Montreal *Witness*, 29 August 1860. Choko p. 65 claims City Council made it official 10 October 1860.

following 1860, anglophones moved into St.-Antoine Ward (from Victoria Square west) in increasing numbers.[40] French Canadians gradually abandoned the west end of the city.

Montrealers acknowledged the British-Canadian depiction of Victoria in other anglophone places. In honour of her 1897 Jubilee, the Sun Life Insurance Company erected a fountain in the form of a stone lion in Dominion Square. It declared for all the great achievements of Victoria's reign. Typical of the genre of Victoria Jubilee rhetoric, the monument includes a dizzying list of the "facts" of advances in science and technology accompanied by evidence of cultural progress in the form of a list of the names of poets and authors. And of course a monument paid for by a bastion of corporate power cites, as evidence of the greatness of life under Victoria, the "enormous expansion of British commerce." Material progress, invention, expansion of territory, and even the arts, the monument proclaims, benefit from the person of a British queen. Tapping Victoria's double image of Empress and mother, another monument was unveiled in front of Royal Victoria College in 1900. This version, the design of Victoria's daughter Princess Louise, portrays a seated aged queen, very much the picture of a stoic mother.

Victoria's son, Edward VII, who had visited Montreal in 1860, is honoured with the last monument to a British sovereign erected in the city. It was inaugurated in October 1914 when war enthusiasm and patriotism again ran high in Montreal. Its inauguration thus

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[40]*Lovell's Montreal City Directory* (1890-91); Choko, p. 66; Robert Lewis, "Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901," *Journal of Urban History* (February 1991), pp. 134-137. The square's prestige diminished over the 1880s (as Dominion Square became a more fashionable address), but began to revive near the turn of the century, beginning with the arrival of the Bank of Toronto in 1893. Choko, p. 87.

presents an unsubtle look at patriotism in the early twentieth century. Aside from its accompanying jingoism, wartime patriotism closely resembled the late-Victorian bluster of the Sun Life Fountain. The monument captures the faith and aspirations of late-Victorian Montreal. Below a bronze statue of Edward VII, allegorical figures hug the pedestal, illustrating the roles of the sovereign. On the north (front) face, a seated woman, a naked sword lying in her lap, represents armed peace, while at the rear a male, winged spirit of liberty breaks his chains. Figures of four women on one side represent the four peoples of Canada: the French, Scottish, and Irish sitting beneath the dominant English. Another quarto representing education, agriculture, industry, and abundance, precisely the message of the Sun Life Fountain, balances these four.

The message of material wealth through social harmony presents a typically "bourgeois" ideal. A shirtless man holding a sledgehammer (he is not resting, but merely paused for this pose) reveals the noble place of the workingman. But the overall message of social harmony reminds us that wealth comes from respecting and retaining one's place in the social order. The vision is one of class harmony as much as patriotic appreciation for the sovereign. The "roles of the sovereign" presented the Edwardian vision of patriotism nicely. Material progress, peace, liberty, and learning are owed to the person of the king. Both the symbolic figure and Maurice Hodent, a reporter reviewing the monument for a Parisian magazine, represented liberty as achieved in the "modernization" of the coronation ritual, one of Edward's accomplishments in the name of British freedom. Edward had altered his coronation oath to eliminate the traditional pledge to persecute the Catholic

faith.[41] Class, religion, or ethnicity might divide people, but under the guidance of the king society was an organic whole embodying peace, another of the king's roles. Many working-class citizens might aspire to such ideals, but for many more they were neither attainable nor relevant. And for this the patriotic owe allegiance to the sovereign.

The irony of Edwardian armed peace, a fitting tribute to the king known as "peacemaker," was not lost on the speakers at the unveiling. Mayor Médéric Martin noted that, if in wartime a monument to peace seemed odd, it also symbolized hope.[42] Most speakers chose to emphasize the Anglo-French amity precipitated by Edward VII, even stressing that, for this reason, he was particularly loved by French Canadians. The allegorical group of the four peoples of Canada was an appropriate backdrop to such ethnic discourse. Yet, early in the war, the loyalty and patriotism of His Majesty's francophone subjects needed emphasis from the Governor-General, the Duke of Connaught.[43]

The Edwardian monument is the best public depiction of British Montreal's world view. Representations of prosperity, progress, and liberty clearly depict the class-centred liberalism of the city's anglophone elite. The broad liberalism of English-speaking Montreal is often mistaken for conservatism. Montreal's liberalism was a form of situational conservatism, owing as much to Edmund Burke as to John Stuart Mill or John Locke. Burke, in opposition to Locke, saw society as a "partnership not only to those who are living

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[41]Maurice Hodent cited in Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, pp. 301-302

[42]*La Patrie*, 1 octobre 1914. The irony is double, both for the start of the war and because Edward took this epithet for forging the *Entente cordiale* with France, one of the alliances that helped drag all of Europe into a minor Balkan conflict in 1914.

[43]*La Presse*, 1 octobre 1914.

but between those who are living, those who are dead and those who are yet to be born."[44]

The Edward VII monument built a similar picture of social harmony. There is an implied statement of generational obligation in its allegorical representations that reify race and class, and cast society as an organic whole. Indeed, the representation of education as a young boy drives home the intergenerational nature of the social contract. Like the Old Whig Burke, Canadian Tories defended the status quo as the wisdom of the ages.

To some degree, this recourse to Burke reflected an antimodern sentiment among some members of Montreal's middle classes. Burkean conceptions of social harmony revived the spiritual values of an imagined prior, organic, collectivist society in the face of the secularizing tendencies of the modern era. At the same time, they performed a hegemonic function. The antimodern sentiments evident in these values helped preserve the class position of the very men who worried about the course of modernity. A Burkean vision of social harmony and social duty thus eased the transition from the classical liberalism of the nineteenth century to the corporate liberalism of the twentieth century.[45]

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[44]Edmund Burke, *Reflections on the Revolution in France* (New York, 1968), pp. 194-195. There is also a possible connection to the organic society of the "new" liberalism of such thinkers as Thomas Green. However, the monument presents Edward standing far above the allegorical figures. He is not of society, but is elevated above it. See for comparison, José Merquior, *Liberalism, Old and New* (Boston, 1991) and especially I.M. Greengarten, *Thomas Hill Green and the Development of Liberal-Democratic Thought* (Toronto, 1981), pp. 50-60; 90-97.

[45]T.J. Jackson Lears, *No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture* (New York, 1981), pp. 135; 301-303.

Figure 5.1: Edward VII Monument

Photo by the author

Figure 5.2: Edward VII Monument, Detail
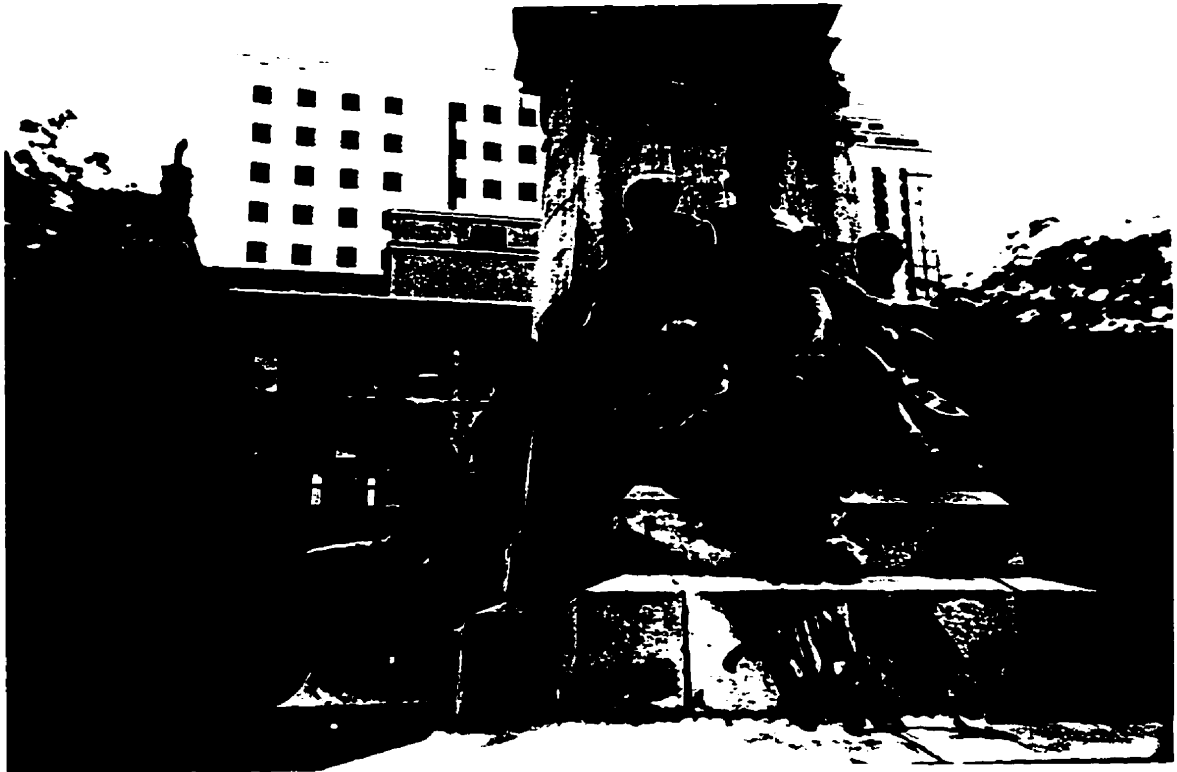
Photo by the author

iii) King and Country or *La Patrie* ?

About the same time as Edward's monument was conceived another group of Montrealers drew up a plan to honour George-Etienne Cartier on the centenary of his birth. Cartier was John A. Macdonald's partner in the celebrated coalition that engineered Confederation. Montrealers had honoured Macdonald with a monument in 1895. It seemed high time for them to honour their own Father of Confederation.[46] The plan was conceived by Eugène Walter Villeneuve, a retired Montreal merchant and Conservative member of Montreal's Board of Control, and his friends in Montreal's Conservative circles. Cartier Centennial Committee members included Narcise Perodeau, a Legislative Councillor and Director of Montreal Light, Heat and Power; Joseph-Aldric Ouimet, the President of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank and a former Minister of Public Works from 1892 to 1896; and Sir Henry Vincent Meredith, the President of the Bank of Montreal.[47] The honourary patron was Sir Charles Tupper, who had served in Cabinet with Cartier and was Canada's sixth Prime Minister.

At 3:00 p.m., 2 September 1913, the Lieutenant-Governor of Quebec, Sir Charles Fitzpatrick dedicated the corner stone of the Cartier Centennial monument in Fletcher's Field, a park on the eastern face of Mount Royal, less than a block from Villeneuve's home.

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[46]It is significant that another Montreal Father of Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, has no memorial to this day. McGee inspired the Canada First Movement (which George Taylor Denison claimed became the Imperial Federation movement), but Canada First had little influence in Montreal, while Imperial Federationists were commonplace. See Berger, *Sense of Power*, p. 76. See also Peter Goheen, "Parades and Processions," *Historical Atlas of Canada* v. 2, plate 58.

[47]*Who's Who and Why* v.5, (1914), pp. 668-669; 726-727; 764; 931.

(This proximity suggests an ulterior motive of neighbourhood beautification on Villeneuve's part.) In front of 5,000 people, Fitzpatrick touched the stone with a ceremonial silver trowel, then watched the workmen set it in place, initiating Villeneuve's dream of a $100,000 monument scheduled for inauguration on 6 September 1914.[48]

Events in Europe complicated construction. Just over two months before the scheduled completion, a Bosnian assassin shot Austrian Archduke Ferdinand, initiating a series of events that would draw virtually all of Europe into war. By early September the German army had overrun Belgium. In the panic of the German advance the sculptor, G.W. Hill, fled to England where he enlisted and climbed to the rank of Major. The finished bronze statue of G.-E. Cartier, the final piece for the monument, was left behind.[49] With no Cartier, Montreal's attention turned to what was widely expected to be a short war. Villeneuve reluctantly postponed the unveiling of the nearly complete monument. Instead, Cartier's centennial was marked at the site of his grave in Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery with a sale of French and British flags symbolizing Anglo-French entente.[50]

Entente guided some of Canada's domestic relations as well. A group of English Canadians organized the *Bonne Entente* movement of 1916. On the face of it, the movement tried to promote understanding across the country's language divide by sponsoring speeches

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[48]Montreal *Gazette*, 2 September 1913; *La Presse*, 2 septembre 1913.

[49]Although it seems implausible, legend has it that the German army, despite its need for metal, did not melt down the statue and it survived in storage until the end of the war. Archives of Ontario (AO), MU 1379, John George Hodgins Papers, "George-Etienne Cartier."

[50]*La Presse*, 4 septembre 1914.

in Quebec by prominent anglophones and return engagements by francophone orators in English Canada. Beneath this, no doubt genuine, urge to soften animosity hid the ulterior motive of winning back some Quebec business lost to boycotts over Regulation 17. Ontario's notorious Regulation 17, prohibiting French-language instruction in public schools even for francophone children, was seen in Quebec as an affront to an embattled minority and a violation of the spirit of justice.[51] And it figured prominently in the speeches of French-Canadian anti-war campaigners after the initial entente crumbled.

War recruitment at the start of the war had been enthusiastic even among French Canadians. But the excitement was short-lived. Sixty per cent of the men who volunteered joined in the first year and a half. By spring 1916, voluntary recruitment had dried up. The Montreal *Gazette* cited cowardice as the cause and called on the government to conscript slackers and French Canadians and force them to do their part. Sir Wilfrid Laurier's plea for calm and understanding fell on mostly unsympathetic ears. The issue polarized the country and isolated French Canadians. In the spring of 1917, the Liberal Party disintegrated in the face of constituent pressures to win the war. Most English-speaking Liberals abandoned Laurier for a coalition with the Conservatives as the officially non-partisan Union Government, whose chief policy was to "win the war" through conscription. Even the *Bonne Entente* movement fell apart, to be reconstituted as a pro-conscription Win-the-War Movement backing Borden's Union Government coalition.[52]

[51]Mason Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760-1967* (Toronto, 1968) v. 2, p. 741; Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, pp. 204-207.

[52]Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal* v. 3, pp. 490-494; R.C. Brown and Ramsay Cook, *Canada, 1896-1921* (Toronto, 1974), pp. 265-273.

The Governor-General signed the conscription bill on 20 August 1917. At least one French-Canadian officer urged his men to desert in response and for a week Montreal's French Canadians demonstrated more forcefully. Typically, thousands of demonstrators assembled at Lafontaine Park and marched to the Champ de Mars for fiery anti-conscription speeches and frequently ended the night with attacks on property. Vandals chose their targets carefully. On one occasion, a crowd attacked the offices of the *Gazette*. On another night police arrested another group for an attempt to dynamite the home of the Governor-General in the Montreal district of Cartierville. But the greatest confrontation happened on the night of 30 August when demonstrators marching down Ste.-Catherine Street met police at Place Phillips in the heart of the anglophone-dominated commercial district. In the ensuing riot, the mob attacked symbols of anglophone corporate power, such department stores and streetcars, but left the Edward VII monument alone. It may have escaped the wrath of the demonstrators as a result of the position the police staked out in the square. But demonstrators might not have identified it with Anglo-Saxon domination and the "draconian" conscription law. Its message of harmony may have resonated even if it could not be heard that particular night.[53]

Montreal's mayor, who opposed conscription and had helped sow some of the ethnic animosity, announced a crack down the next morning. Smaller demonstrations on subsequent nights met with a massive police presence and the quick arrest of the speakers. Beaten at the ballot box, and again by truncheons, French Canadians slowly acknowledged

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[53]The police waited for the rioters at Phillips Square. Thus they occupied the square and blocked easy access to the monument. Montreal *Gazette*, 31 September 1917.

that the state might very well have its way. But in reality conscription did not drum up the massive numbers of French Canadians anticipated. Conscription brought in only 19,050 Quebecers, with nearly an equal number failing to report when called.[54] The division over conscription had been profound and violent. Canada's fragile harmony needed rebuilding.

E.-W. Villeneuve's Cartier monument became the first step towards that rebuilding and, typically, it relied on the monarchy to cement social unity. A scheduling misfortune prevented a crowning triumph of having another popular Prince of Wales attend the inauguration, but the "marvellous agency of electricity" allowed his father, George V, to unveil the monument. Montreal's newspapers, including its French-language ones, praised the Prince of Wales during his 1919 tour of Canada. He arrived at Montreal on 2 September for a whirlwind automobile ride through the city that lasted only five hours. However this did not dampen Montrealers' enthusiasm. *Le Devoir* described his ride past a "human hedgerow" lining the streets of Montreal's French-Canadian neighbourhoods.[55] Villeneuve and his Conservative friends arranged for the Prince of Wales to inspect the monument at Fletcher's Field, though the statue of Cartier remained shrouded in the Union Jack. Between one and two thousand people met the prince as his car pulled to the side of Park Avenue, some even climbing into the car in their enthusiasm. But the prince had a golf date to keep and exchanged only a few words with Villeneuve.

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[54]Wade, v. 2, p. 768.

[55]*Le Devoir*, 2 septembre 1919. The reporter stressed the Prince's greater popularity in "popular" neighbourhoods near Lafontaine Park over the affluent districts of Outremont.

A few days later, on the one hundred and fifth anniversary of Cartier's birth, the monument was officially unveiled. In the presence of the Governor-General, Cartier's daughter Hortense, Thomas Chapais, the gentlemen of the Cartier Centennial Committee, members of the Imperial Order of Daughters of the Empire, and a curious crowd of five thousand people, Cartier's statue officially joined the allegorical figures that had awaited him on the monument since 1914. In a gesture that symbolically and electrically united the Empire, His Majesty the King pressed a button at Balmoral Castle in Scotland that triggered the release of the Union Jack covering the statue. A variety of orators took the podium following the unveiling to acknowledge Cartier's place in history as a Father of Confederation. The symbolic figures of Canada's nine provinces around the monument confirmed this role. But the Cartier monument represents a strange mix of British imperialism and Canadian nationalism.

Four British lions, as well as figures representing education, law, and liberty, summarize the imperialists' vision of French-Canadian allegiance to the Empire. Cartier's words, "We are of different races not for strife, but to work together for the common welfare," inscribed on the face of the obelisk suggests the way to healing the wounds inflicted by conscription. The overall message of the project, as Thomas Chapais surmised, teaches how even a former rebel like Cartier abandoned his antipathy for England's rule in favour of the multi-national imperial patriotism expressed by anglophone intellectuals. Accompanying the rhetoric and symbols of imperial unity, another of Cartier's phrases emphasized his "Canadianness": O Canada, mon pays, mes amours.[56]

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[56]Montreal *Gazette*, 7 September 1919; *La Presse*, 7 septembre 1917.

Figure 5.3: George-Etienne Cartier Monument
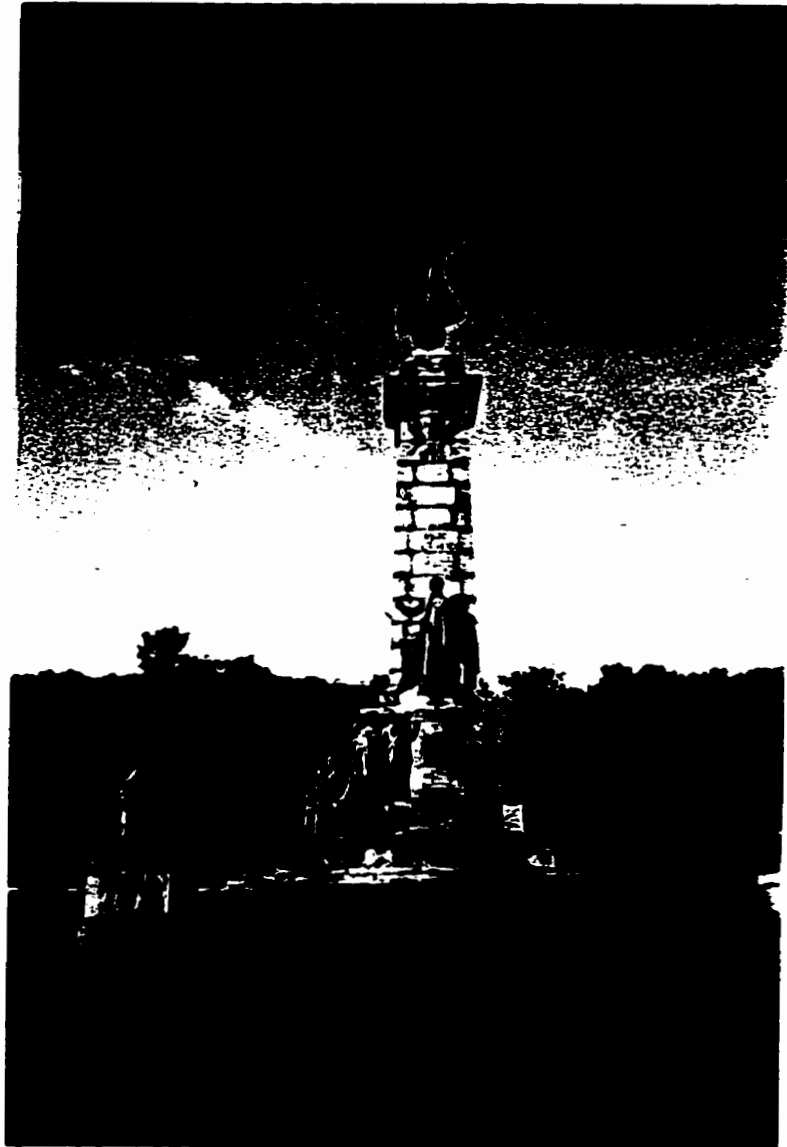
Photo by the author

Despite war-time reminders that not all Montrealers agreed with them, British Montrealers persistently saw their memories as legitimate and inclusive. Yet the language of inclusion on the Cartier monument hardly struck everyone equally. Certainly the francophone reporter for *La Presse* subscribed to much of Villeneuve's vision and celebrated Cartier's career as culminating in the birth of Quebec's autonomy. A similar subtext wove through the speech of Thomas Chapais: Cartier calculated his patriotism to safeguard French-Canadian rights by using the constitution of his "enemy" to build political liberties in Quebec. Some French Canadians sought to carve out their own place in this "universal" system of values. Their choice of the famous anglophile Cartier was certainly appropriate.

By the 1920s, anglophone Montreal had seemingly forgotten the excesses of anti-French sentiment exhibited in the recruitment and conscription drives. The post-war distribution of captured guns and artillery pieces as war trophies was spread more or less equally among the city's francophone and anglophone institutions.[57] The British vision that triumphed after the war returned to the old *Bonne ententiste* form of emphasizing French-Canadian loyalty and service to the Empire. City after city across Canada planned and raised monuments to the war dead and corporations, such as the Canadian Pacific Railway, unveiled plaques and monuments to its employees who had died overseas. Montreal, the site of bitter wartime animosities, likewise planned to submerge its divisive memories. On the boundary of the city's Catholic and Protestant cemeteries, a cross of sacrifice stoically honours the memory of the men who never returned. Its shadow, beginning the day in one

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[57]The distribution of war trophies in Montreal can be followed in NA, RG 37, v. 375 and is discussed in greater length below in Chapter Seven.

cemetery and ending it in the other, symbolized Montreal's attempt to bury the ethnic crisis of 1917.

Under the direction of architect Percy Nobbs, the cross went up amidst the military graves cared for by the Imperial War Graves Commission and the Last Post Fund. If inclusion was the goal of the simple inauguration ceremony, it was wide of the mark. While the English inscription on the west face of the monument announced the sacrifice for "King and Country," the French-language version mentioned only "la Patrie." Although the cross is a pan-Christian symbol that includes Catholic sentiment, its message was more complex. The cross of sacrifice form of war memorial was designed by a British architect, Sir Reginald Bloomfield, for the Imperial War Graves Commission and was quickly and widely copied throughout the Commonwealth.[58] But more fundamentally it ignored the popular use of the cross in French Quebec. So too, the military nature of the proceedings, with the Minister of Militia reviewing the troops and the militia band playing military hymns, offset any efforts at bi-cultural inclusion. In an atmosphere of disillusionment with warfare even some former soldiers could not feel a part of such displays. One dissenter at the dedication shouted "what have they done for us?" in answer to the praises of the veterans. The malcontent was shouted down by the remainder of the crowd, but the *Gazette's* reporter failed to see the irony of the minister's appeals to the British spirit of tolerance of divergent opinions.[59]

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[58]Robert Shipley, *To Mark Our Place* (Toronto, 1987), p. 175.

[59]Montreal *Gazette*, 30 October 1922.

III The Limits of Fraternity

Eight years later, on 28 September 1930, Montrealers convened in Lafontaine Park to watch the unveiling of a monument to the park's namesake, Louis-Hyppolite Lafontaine. A crowd of 10,000 people (according to *Le Canada*, mostly French Canadians) encircled the monument and jammed nearby Sherbrooke Street. They huddled together to ward off the cold and freezing rain for the duration of a brief inauguration ceremony at which the distinguished French-Canadian politician, Rodolphe Lemieux, delivered the main address. Lafontaine, he informed the crowd, had worked to bring Responsible Government to Canada alongside his ally Robert Baldwin. But for French Canadians he was best remembered for his stubborn defence of the French language in parliament that defeated Lord Durham's recommendation of assimilation. Lawrence Baldwin, nephew of the famous politician, sent his regards through Arthur Hawkes, special envoy from the City of Toronto. Baldwin's message emphasized that French and English Canadians were forging a new nationality in North America. *Le Devoir* faithfully relayed this message of national harmony to its readers, but the reporter mistakenly captured Baldwin's message as one of good relations between the *two* Canadian peoples.[60] The effectiveness of the fraternal impulse had limits that neither memories of the great Lafontaine-Baldwin partnership nor sniggering references to "Mayor McHoude" at the Burns unveiling three weeks later could overcome.

British-Canadian patriotism in the Montreal of 1891 to 1930 emphasized three features: a fraternity of races in the Empire, material progress, and personal devotion to the

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[60]*Le Devoir*, 29 septembre 1930; Montreal *Gazette*, 29 September 1930; *Le Canada*, 29 septembre 1930.

monarch. The sovereign, noted the Montreal *Gazette*, was "an important auxiliary, in times of crisis, to the sentiment of patriotism."[61] British-Canadian imperialists repeatedly pointed to Anglo-Saxon civilization's modernizing tendencies, but that same British-Canadian imperialism directed itself to an age-old personal allegiance to the monarch. To a large extent, this direction stemmed from the elite's mistrust of French-Canadian and working-class abilities to understand the deeper complexities they assumed to exist in British patriotism. Patriotism needed such auxiliaries because so few people could grasp the necessity of civic duty.

In some ways the anglophilia of British Montreal's public memory might be construed as an antimodernist reaction to the decline of an earlier vision of Montreal as a shining outpost of Empire. Ian McKay has found parallels between anglophilia among Anglo-Canadian cultural elites and the "medievalism" T.J. Jackson Lears insists is central to American antimodernism.[62] Lighthall's fascination with the virtues of old regime French Canada (and his consequent sympathy for French-Canadian historical narratives) suggests such an antimodern sensibility. McGill University professor Ramsay Traquair, among others, shared Lighthall's enthusiasm for the quaint and exotic "Old World" charm of the legacies of New France. To some degree antimodernism informed the patriotism of many English-speaking Montrealers. Persistent beliefs in the sovereign's *personal* attachment to his subjects and his role in building social order, as captured in the Edward VII monument, suggest the salience of such a reading. Speaking at the Cartier monument inauguration, the

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[61]Montreal *Gazette*, 24 May 1897.

[62]McKay, *Quest of the Folk*, pp. 65-66.

Governor-General emphasized Cartier's "historical achievement" of meeting Queen Victoria.

Cartier himself might have agreed. But the absence of "le roi" on the Cross of Sacrifice

suggests a slip in the symbolic value of the monarchy among French Canadians.

Chapter Six:

Devotion and Rebellion:

The Contest for French Canada's Public Memory

Every Montrealer knows the cross that looks out over the city from atop Mount

Royal. By day its metallic frame gleams in reflected sunlight. By night electric light

perpetuates its radiance. Its never-ending vigil over Montreal has become an enduring

symbol of the city, appearing on postcards and souvenir T-shirts. This simple cross now

serves as an emblem for the great metropolis for tourists to carry home with them. But it

was never intended for commercial gain. The nationalist SSJBM incorporated the inaugural

blessing of the cross in its 1924 *fête nationale* ceremony. The traditional parade reached

Parc Jeanne Mance at about 5 p.m. on 24 June 1924. At that point, a signal was given and,

while the fanfare played "Au Canada" [sic], in the presence of the Bishop of Joliette and

Senator L.-O. David, Monseigneur Deschamps blessed the cornerstone of the cross at the

summit.[1] Their cross symbolized the unity of nationalism and Catholicism that both

complicates and supports Benedict Anderson's insistence on the importance of spiritual

immortality for nationalism. For French Canadians, the nation did not supplant the faith, but

reflected it.

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[1] *Le Devoir*, 25 juin 1924.

165

I Devotions: The Cross on Mount Royal

The Mount Royal cross was an attempt to recapture the religious spirit that had inspired the early years of Montreal with a re-enactment of an inspirational event. In December of Ville-Marie's first year, the tiny colony nearly drowned under the waters of the St. Lawrence rising in the winter floods. Maisonneuve set up a wooden cross in the path of the rising river waters, praying that God would intervene and save the infant colony. This ephemeral cross was, in a sense, Montreal's first monument, but it was hardly so intended. It was meant as an active defence against nature. Devout seventeenth-century Catholics, such as Maisonneuve, held to a providential theory of nature in which God remained active in the world. Prayer had an immediate, practical use and in this case, from the standpoint of results, it worked. The *Jesuit Relation* for that year tell how the flood waters receded on Christmas Day and Maisonneuve, in thanks and to fulfil his promise to God, erected the colony's first "permanent" monument on the feast of the Epiphany.[2]

On 6 January 1643, Maisonneuve and his followers blazed a trail to the summit of the mountain, with Maisonneuve himself, Christ-like, carrying a wooden cross on his shoulders. At the summit, after blessing the cross, Père Duperron celebrated mass on an improvised altar. Thus began an annual pilgrimage.[3] Like Jacques Cartier's wooden cross in Gaspé, Maisonneuve's monument proclaimed from the heights of the mountain the

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[2]Atherton, v.1 *Under the French Regime, 1535-1760*, p. 76; *Relations des Jésuites, contenant ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, Relation de la Nouvelle France, en l'Année 1643*, p. 53.

[3]Atherton, p. 76. Of course, when Atherton wrote (in 1914) there had been no cross on the mountain for over 200 years. No wonder the ritual had been discontinued.

dominion of God over the Montreal plain. But it also asserted the human conquest of nature. Maisonneuve announced his presence atop the mountain by leaving behind a cross as a marker of his conquest of nature, a spirit akin to that which pushed exploration itself. And he made a symbolic declaration of Christian civilization's possession of Montreal over the Amerindians.

Mount Royal occupies a privileged place in the mentality of Montrealers. Alongside the river, it is a defining feature of Montreal's topography. Natural features are central to collective memories of place in that nature implants specific memories in the imagination and can affect language, culture, and common morals. Prevailing geographical features can shape the ways in which people express themselves in metaphor and simile. Quebecers imagine their province as a territory of virgin forests and vast rivers, a place where isolation is tempered by solidarity and faith. Landscape thus influences perceptions of idealized behaviour.[4] Mountains represent this image of isolation and the vast territory of Quebec. Moreover, the dominant position of Mount Royal at Montreal is a romantic symbol of the endurance of place over person and of the strength of nature. Nineteenth-century water-colourists frequently depicted Quebec City huddled beneath the heights of Cap Diamant. Although Montreal is not Quebec City, and Mount Royal has none of the majestic presence of Cap Diamant, early depictions of Montreal often portrayed Mount Royal prominent in the background.[5]

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[4]Mathieu and Lacoursière, *Mémoires québécoises*, pp. 41-44.

[5]François-Marc Gagnon, "Vues de Montréal," in Jean-Rémi Brault (ed) *Montréal au XIX*^e *siècle: Des gens, des idées, des arts, une ville* (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 199-210.

Christian civilization has long imagined mountains as alternately frightening and mystical places. But they have also had practical uses. By the sixteenth century, Europeans believed that mountain heights could provide an unobstructed view of nature: Jacques Cartier scaled Mount Royal on his first visit to Hochelaga specifically to reconnoitre the surrounding country. From the heights Europeans felt they could grasp the underlying unity of nature and reveal the magnitude of God's creation. Still others saw in mountains a symbol of human potential. Climbing the mountain was a victory over nature and the possession of the mountain top was a proof of man's dominion over creation.[6]

A subsequent popular tradition is related to the cross: the spontaneous, peasant practice of setting up wayside crosses. The wayside cross is a French-Canadian tradition dating from at least the eighteenth-century. The Swedish traveller, Pehr Kalm described such crosses he encountered on his journey through New France in 1749. Some of Kalm's informants claimed that they marked parish boundaries, but he noted many more crosses than borders. Some crosses, decorated with hammers, nails, ladders, and often topped with a rooster, showed a clear association with the Passion of Christ.[7] These wayside crosses were spontaneous acts expressing the Christian piety of the peasants.[8] In contrast,

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[6]Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (Toronto, 1995), pp. 411; 421-423; 431.

[7]Pehr Kalm in Jacques Rousseau and Guy Béthune, *Voyage de Pehr Kalm au Canada en 1749* (Montreal, 1977), p. 430. Often confused with a "coq gaulois", the rooster is the "coq du reniement de Saint Pierre", a symbol of the crucifixion. See Jean Simard, "Introduction: Les archives de la religion populaire," in Jean Simard (ed) *Un patrimoine méprisé: La religion populaire des Québécois* (La Salle, 1979), p. 12. Note also that Kalm called it a "coq de Pierre".

[8]There is some debate on this. Among the symbols are pagan symbols like the sun (for the feast of the winter solstice, since converted to Christmas Day). Moreover, the motives

Maisonneuve's cross, while spontaneous in one sense (that it was a sincere response to a perceived act of God), was nonetheless the deliberate act of a man intending to convert the "savages" and establish a religious colony in the wilderness. However, like subsequent wayside crosses, Maisonneuve's shared the motive of giving thanks to God for protection.[9]

The twentieth-century cross is more closely related to the wayside cross to than to its seventeenth-century predecessor. Quebecers continued to erect wayside crosses into the 1920s and a survey of the Island of Montreal, listing some two hundred at the beginning of that decade, attested to the continuing piety of the island's inhabitants.[10] During the Conscription crisis of the First World War, French Canadians raised wayside crosses to ask God to protect their sons against army recruiters and young men hiding in the woods sometimes promised a cross if God would prevent their capture.[11] The Mount Royal Cross, while drawing on this strong popular tradition in Quebec, was nevertheless a product of organized, not spontaneous, religion.

The cross today's Montrealers see atop Mount Royal is a product of the SSJBM and its attempt to reclaim Mount Royal for the city's francophone residents. It saw its genesis in a sermon delivered during the mass of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day 1874. In Notre Dame

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for erecting such crosses suggest a peasant view of God active in every aspect of nature, much as a pagan god. See Simard, "Introduction," pp. 11-14.

[9]René Bouchard, "Calvaires et croix de chemin en Beauce," in Jean Simard (ed) *Un patrimoine méprisé: La religion populaire des Québécois* (La Salle, 1979), p. 32; See also Marie-Aimée Cliche, *Les pratiques de dévotion en Nouvelle France* (Québec, 1988), p. 15.

[10]Cited in Edgar Andrew Collard, *All Our Yesterdays* (Montreal, 1988), p. 28.

[11]Simard, "Introduction," p. 16.

church, that sunny June day, the Reverend Deschamps delivered the annual sermon on patriotism and religion.[12] Deschamps borrowed from a number of nineteenth-century intellectual traditions surrounding patriotism, likening a patriot's love for his country to a child's love for its mother and setting out a theory of divine mission for the French-Canadian "race." From Jacques Cartier forward, he claimed, Canada's history was the history of evangelism.[13] Moreover, as patriots of the late-nineteenth century tended to do, he imagined Canadian history as the history of past heroes. Indeed, he called for more monuments to these great and noble men to be erected:

> En vain sur la terre qu'ils nous ont donné les images de ceux auxquels nous devons et la gloire du passé et l'espérence de l'avenir. Ah! dressez donc sur vos places publiques des monuments qui parlent et qui racontent à nos [neveux] les grandeurs de notre histoire.

Deschamps went on to tell how Maisonneuve raised his cross to thank God for saving Ville-Marie, concluding with a specific plea to recreate that cross on the summit of the mountain as a physical symbol of the connection of Catholicism to French-Canadian patriotism. Through this new cross God would once again protect the city: "Enlevez-là donc un nouveau

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[12]Other than the coincidence of names, and the fact that Mgr. E.-A. Deschamps was born in 1874, there seems to be no connection between the two clerics with the same last name. E.-A. Deschamps, the son of a farmer, was elected vicar-general of Montreal in 1923. His function at the ceremony seems more likely to do with his nationalism and long-time membership in the SSJBM. *Biographes Canadiennes françaises*, v. 3 (1923), p. 78. David, on the other hand, was a veteran nationalist who, in 1874, played an important role in shaping the parade. See below Chapter Eight.

[13]Luca Cardignolo, "The French in Early America: Religion and Rationality," in Deborah Madsen (ed) *Visions of America Since 1492* (London, 1994), pp. 35-56.

sur le sommet de votre montagne et que ses deux bras étendus elle protège toujours Montréal."[14]

It took another fifty years for Deschamps's call to be answered, in part because it was only one of a number of proposals for Mount Royal. In 1888, for instance, City Council heard a petition signed by such luminaries as Mgr. Fabre, J.-J. Curran, and B.-A. de Montigny to place a 200-foot-high bronze statue of the Virgin Mary on the mountain. They commissioned sculptor Philippe Hébert, then at the beginning of his illustrious career, to produce a maquette. But for a number of reasons, not the least of which was a lack of funds, the project died in the plenary phase. A more bizarre scheme involved running a cable car between the mountain and Ile Ste.-Hélène.[15] For obvious reasons this project never went beyond the drawing board. With so many proposals in the air, it was difficult for that of Deschamps to be heard. After the failure of the Madonna project, it became obvious that powerful backers alone would be insufficient for any such project. A firm organizational structure was also necessary.

One such organization was the SSJBM. It had long been the chief agent of nationalist expression in Montreal. Many of the leading figures of French-Canadian history in Montreal were members. Presidents of the SSJBM have included local politicians D.-B. Viger and Hormisdas Laporte, national politicians G.-E. Cartier, Olivar Asselin, and L.-O. David, respected judges such as Thomas-Jean-Jacques Loranger, as well as intellectuals such as Louis Fréchette. In 1924 the executive of the SSJBM was a petit-bourgeois body in which

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[14]*La Minerve*, 26 juin 1874.

[15]Léon Trépanier, *On veut savoir* v.1 (Montreal, 1960), pp. 58-59.

the notary Victor Morin presided over a committee of small businessmen and professionals. The SSJBM attracted the great capitalists as well. Raoul Dandurand, once the richest man in French Canada, sat on the executive in 1911. But division of the society into local sections kept this organization from becoming too elitist. Working-class members of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parish section considered themselves the vanguard of SSJBM action.[16]

At its annual convention of 1923, the SSJBM voted to reconstruct the cross and incorporate its unveiling into *fête nationale* celebrations the following summer, finally fulfilling Deschamps's dream. But the task took longer than expected and by June 1924 the workers had not yet finished the job. Indeed, months elapsed between the blessing of the cornerstone and the first illumination of the completed cross on Christmas Eve 1924.[17]

For Robert Rumilly, the cross recalled the spirit of the founders of Montreal. More importantly, it also revealed the link between the history of the city and the history of the SSJBM.[18] But such claims seem less probable than the explanation given at the blessing. First, the cross symbolizes Jacques Cartier's claim of possession of Canada for France on 24 July 1534; second, Maisonneuve's cross; and third, the survival of the "peuple canadien" which had maintained its faith, language, and traditions despite many persecutions. Thus,

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[16]The definitive study of the SSJBM is Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal* (Montreal, 1975).

[17]*La Presse*, 24 décembre 1924. Rumilly claimed that, although the cross lacked its granite facing, the metal structure of the cross was finished *Histoire de la SSJBM*, pp. 315-316. Yet *Le Devoir* reported that the cross would reach its height of over 100 feet a few months after June 24th.

[18]Rumilly, *Histoire de la SSJBM*, p. 316.

it enshrines a past of glorious struggles.[19] This more romantic message stresses the importance of public memory to French Canada. The cross, facing francophone eastern Montreal, reminds the faithful of the connection between their religion and their city: as Abbé Deschamps asserted in 1874, their faith and their fatherland are one.[20] The connection between Montreal's great cross and the popular tradition of wayside crosses was easily made. Moreover, in 1924, the fresh memory of the Conscription Crisis added a new political message to that tradition. The anti-conscriptionist symbol of the "croix de guerre" strengthened the connection between the persecuted people and their religion. Indeed, thanks in part to Conscription, the cross had become something of a symbol of national resistance rather than sacrifice.

By 1924, French-Canadian nationalism was remarkably unified. It was a nationalism about a small people, forced by history into the position of a minority, compelled to turn to itself for survival as the only French and Catholic society in North America. (Quebec's ignorance of the Acadians was phenomenal in the 1920s). Little remained of the divisive battles that drove French Canadians against one another through the formative years of French-Canadian nationalism in the nineteenth century, a divisiveness that had resulted from seemingly incompatible views of the nation. Indeed, the faith had taken a leading role in French-Canadian nationalism and it continued to provide the spiritual support that Anderson presumes nations themselves evolved to replace. But at the same time (and in partial support of Anderson) nationalism infused Catholicism with a new vigour.

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[19]*La Presse*, 24 décembre 1924.

[20]*La Minerve*, 26 juin 1874.

II Rebellions

i) "Au nom de ceux qui ont versé leur sang"

There is a monument just to the east of old Montreal, sitting rather inconspicuously near the corner of St.-Denis and St.-Antoine streets. It honours the memory of Dr. L.-O. Chénier, leader of the "rebel" forces at the Battle of St.-Eustache. It is a fairly simple monument, really just a statue of Chénier, a musket in one hand, his other arm raised to urge his men forward. The pedestal bears the simple inscription, "Chénier, 1837, 1895." Commonly called the first monument to the "Patriot" heroes of 1837-38, it was erected some fifty-five years after Chénier met his fate in a village church eighteen miles west of Montreal. This belated monument is a curious statement of French-Canadian patriotism. It appears to attest to the survival of the spirit of 1837. But at the same time, coming five and a half decades after Lord Durham's *Report*, it suggests the weakness of that very spirit through the nineteenth century. Its unveiling, on 24 August 1895, likewise revealed the degree to which memories of the Rebellions remained contested terrain. Certainly the enthusiasm of the several hundred people who braved the rain to attend the unveiling is undisputed, but the occupants of the fashionable homes opposite the site kept their shutters closed. Yet three decades later, the inauguration of another monument to the memories of 1837 would draw a crowd of a quarter million people. In those intervening thirty years public memories of the *Patriote* cause were sanitized through parallel processes that involved the homogenization of French-Canadian nationalism and a juggling of public

memory, producing (for the first time) a broad consensus as to the meaning of the Rebellions and their place in French-Canadian history.

In the years immediately following the Rebellions French Canada remained ideologically divided, but ultramontanism slowly gained the upper hand. Partly this was driven by the politics of the Union. The inter-cultural coalitions of the united parliament of Canada East and Canada West rewarded moderation. The radical element that opposed Lafontaine forced Lafontaine's followers to identify themselves as conservatives and unwittingly married them to the ultramontanes. Beginning in 1845, during debates over public schools in Canada East, Lafontaine spoke of religion as a defining feature of French-Canadian culture. And, from the 1847 election, the ultramontane clergy openly associated the nation and the faith.[21] However, outside of parliament, antagonism between liberals and Catholics continued to smoulder.

Even as Montreal's ultramontanes struggled to push the *rouge* position aside, the city's liberals planned to revive the reputations of their *Patriote* predecessors by raising monuments to their memory. In the spring of 1853, partially prompted by the recent success of the Rebellion Losses Bill, some young men in Montreal proposed a monument to the *Patriotes*. The President of the *Institut-Canadien*, E.R. Fabre, enthusiastically took up the challenge. Established in 1844 as a non-partisan, academic society, the *Institut*'s membership included many young sympathizers of the insurgents. Internal dissention rapidly evaporated the *Institut*'s nonpartisan status, a development accelerated by the return

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[21]Jacques Monet, "French Canadian Nationalism and the Challenge of Ultramontanism," CHA *Report* (1966), pp. 42-52; Louis Balthazar, *Bilan du nationalisme au Québec* (Montreal, 1986), pp. 70-74.

to public life of the old *Patriote* Papineau in 1846. By the spring of 1848, the Lafontaine-Papineau schism had driven the *Institut* leftward into what became the camp of the *rouges*. President Fabre had supported many key *Patriote* leaders, including Ludger Duvernay, and had likely financed many *émigrés* during their years of exile. He had never taken up arms himself, but had been arrested for his connections to the rebels. His brother-in-law, C.-O. Perrault, died at the Battle of St.-Denis and his daughter married the up-and-coming gentleman, George-Etienne Cartier.[22]

Fabre organized a committee to inquire into the means of raising such monuments that eventually settled on a threefold commemoration: one monument in Montreal to remember the twelve executed in 1838; another at St.-Denis in memory of C.-O. Perrault and his companions; and a third at St.-Eustache to honour Chénier and his comrades-at-arms.[23] It called on members of the *Institut* and like-minded men across the province to contribute generously to the monument fund, appealing to the benefits all Canadians enjoyed from 1837-38.[24] No doubt many responded to the call and sent in their money. But many more refused to contribute and, by 1858, the grand scheme had been reduced to a single monument in a Montreal cemetery.[25]

[22]Jean-Louis Roy, "Fabre, Raymond-Edouard," *DCB* v. 8, pp. 282-286.

[23]Joseph Doutre, "Notice biographique sur feu" in Institut-Canadien, *Institut-Canadien en 1855* (Montréal, 1855), pp. 137-138; Léon Pouliot, *Monseigneur Bourget et son temps* v.4 *Affrontement avec l'Institut canadien (1858-1870)* (Montréal, 1976), pp. 15-25.

[24]Institut-Canadien, "Bureau du comité nommé par l'Institut pour organizer les moyens d'élever des monuments aux victimes de 1837 et 1838." n.d., n.p.

[25]*La Minerve*, 13 novembre 1858.

That monument's unveiling was similarly muted and contested. The executive of the Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste (ASJB),[26] which in 1853 included numerous ex-*Patriotes*, had subscribed $100 to the fund. But eight conservative members protested and overturned the decision. In the ensuing fight, nine liberals quit the ASJB in protest. As a result of this dispute, still unsettled in 1858, only about one thousand of Montreal's thirty thousand French Canadians attended the ceremonies installing the monument in a recently-opened Catholic cemetery overlooking the village of Côte-des-Neiges. By contrast, the unveiling of a nearly identical obelisk, raised in 1855 to the memory of the old *Patriote* Duvernay, drew nearly ten thousand onlookers.[27] Combined, these two make an interesting case. Duvernay had supported the *Patriote* cause and fled to the United States in 1837, but he had also established the French-Canadian national holiday Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. Following his return from exile, he helped the clergy re-establish the holiday and found the Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste. His obelisk, built by conservative members of the Association, commemorates this latter historical role. Its failure to mention his support of the *Patriote* cause effectively severed Duvernay from the Rebellions. The two monuments captured a central dispute in French-Canadian nationalism and confirmed public memory as contested terrain.

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[26]The ASJB became the SSJBM in 1912.

[27]*La Minerve*, 18 novembre 1858; Rumilly, *Histoire de la SSJBM*, pp. 73-79.

Figure 6.1: The First Patriotes' Monument

Photo by the author

Nevertheless, and perhaps as a result of this contested terrain, factionalism and an obsession with "unity" drove many French Canadians to abandon the *rouges*. Hector Langevin of Montreal's *Mélanges réligieuses* newspaper consistently argued that internal division would always be French Canada's greatest enemy. The clergy likewise lent its considerable influence to the unity drive: the annual Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade marched under the slogan "l'Union fait la force" and parishioners heard sermons on the subject every 24 June. In 1854 most French Canadians chose to back the right-wing Liberal-Conservative coalition, forcing the *rouges* further to the margins. They never held more than 25 of Canada East's sixty-five seats in the House of Assembly, their inability to hold power further weakening their appeal in a patronage-driven job market jammed with lawyers and notaries.[28] Confederation, as a defeat of liberal nationalism and a tacit approval of ultramontane nationalism, completed their marginalization. Although the Catholic church took no official position on Confederation, in the elections for the new Parliaments in 1867, clerical and *bleu* political expertise managed to slash *rouge* representation. Indeed, consistent *rouge* opposition to Confederation had failed to prevent or even significantly to amend the proposed union of British North America.[29]

The clerical offensive continued after Confederation. The Guibord Affair is the most celebrated demonstration of the strength ultramontanism would ultimately attain among the

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[28]Jacques Monet, *The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 240-241; Paul Cornell, *The Alignment of Political Groups in Canada, 1841 - 1867* (Toronto, 1962), pp. 60-66; Ralph Heintzman, "The Political Culture of Quebec, 1840-1960," *Canadian Journal of Political Science* (March 1983), pp. 3-59.

[29]Trofimenkoff, *Dream of Nation*, pp. 107-110.

city's francophones. But a clearer expression of ultramontane memory came in the celebration of Bishop Bourget's Golden Anniversary as a priest in late October 1872. On the morning of 29 October, an honour guard of Papal Zouaves led Bourget from his palace to the Notre-Dame church where the parish celebrated mass. Afterwards a dinner was laid on at Bonsecours market where the canopy above the Bishop's seat was said to have been used at the coronation of the restoration King of France, Charles X. Over the next two days Bourget's supporters staged more events, including parades, illuminating Montreal's main Catholic buildings, banquets, and sermons. Protestant Montreal dismissed the celebrations, but no one opposed Bourget and his ideology. The Bishop's many opponents, when harangued for previous insubordination by Bourget's Jesuit supporters, kept their silence.[30] The parish remained divided (the Guibord Affair was in full swing), but ultramontanism was at a zenith. Certainly ultramontanism suffered a series of setbacks within the Church in the 1870s and Bourget, sensing the prevailing winds, retired rather than continue the fight. But, in Montreal at least, ultramontanism had come to dominate nationalist rhetoric and most nationalists felt compelled to acknowledge its basic tenets.

Despite the ascendent position of ultramontanism, liberalism never died in Quebec. Although virtually shut out of representative government, electoral support for the Liberals hovered around forty per cent through the 1870s and into the 1880s. Notwithstanding the dominance of the ultramontanes in Montreal, French-Canadian nationalisms continued on their separate paths. Indeed, Honoré Mercier once called for an end to the "fratricidal strife"

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[30]Montreal *Daily Witness*, 29 October 1872; 30 October 1872; 31 October 1872; Montreal *Herald*, 29 October 1872; 30 October 1872; *La Minerve*, 30 octobre 1872; *L'Opinion publique*, 31 octobre 1872; 7 novembre 1872.

that continually divided liberals from conservatives.[31] However, one event from the 1890s reveals a willingness of French Canada's cultural, political, and intellectual elites to unite for national purposes. Using the Golden Anniversary of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in 1884 as a backdrop, the ASJB launched a fundraising drive to erect a national theatre in Montreal. The planned *Monument national* was to back on the Champ de Mars where a balcony would permit French-Canadian speakers to address crowds at the traditional site for political rallies. Conceived as a theatre and meeting place for French-Canadian intellectuals of all political stripes, the *Monument national* might never have existed.

Although the corner stone at Gosford and Craig streets had been blessed in 1884, inadequate funding forced the ASJB to abandon the project. It was revived five years later under the direction of the nationalist journalist, politician, and publisher L.-O. David. David negotiated the purchase of another site on St. Lawrence Boulevard south of Ste.-Catherine Street and supported by the considerable fundraising talents of Honoré Mercier and the financial backing of a provincial lottery, the *Monument national* opened in 1893. Almost constantly plagued by financial woes, the *Monument national* assumed a central place in French Canada's intellectual and cultural life. Its magnificent rooms became a source of national pride.[32]

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[31]Cited in Gilles Gougeon, *A History of Quebec Nationalism* (Toronto, 1994), p. 38.

[32]Jacques Lachapelle, "Monument national," in *Chemins de la mémoire* v 2, pp. 84-86; Andrée G. Bourassa et Jean-Marc Larue, "Le Monument National de Montréal et ses avant-projects (1883-1901): valeur symbolique et impact culturelle," *Bulletin du Regroupement des chercheurs-chercheuses en histoire des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec* (été 1992), pp. 25-44.

ii) From Chénier to the Birth of Liberty

Memories of the Rebellions did not die with the generation of 1837; they lived on in family, local, and partisan environments. Anglo-French strife in the city periodically provoked recollections of 1837 and the rebellions entered the historiography of French Canada as a defining moment. Ultramontane editors rewrote subsequent editions of Garneau's *Histoire* so that it conformed to their memories of the events of 1837. Even if ultramontane ideological dominance of Quebec limited dissenting opinion, the continued, though muted, persistence of *rouge* memories demanded a renewed effort. But such efforts demanded vigilant promoters and, in Dr. David Marcil and the Club Chénier, such men eventually appeared.

Marcil, a Legislative Councillor and former mayor of St.-Eustache, began to push for a monument to the hero of the Battle of St.-Eustache in the early 1890s. Claiming to have found Chénier's remains in a local cemetery in 1893, he attempted to have them transported to the monument in Montreal's Catholic cemetery, but met opposition from Mgr. Fabre, then Bishop of Montreal. Chénier, noted the Bishop, had ignored the commands of Mgr. Lartigue and so could not be buried in consecrated soil. Rebuked, Marcil turned his thoughts to a plan to build a monument to fulfil the *Institut-Canadien's* 1853 ambitions. This project, too, seemed destined to flop until Honoré Mercier gave it his tacit support later that year.[33]

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[33]Robert Rumilly, *Honoré Mercier et son temps* v. 2 (Montreal, 1975), pp. 243-244. Mercier had been disgraced and forced from politics in 1891, but he continued to be influential with French-Canadian liberals.

The Club Chénier, founded by *rouge* supporters of Marcil to resuscitate the reputation of Chénier, reveals the persistent sympathies of liberal-leaning Montrealers for the rebellions. But continued Church opposition to the veneration of the *Patriotes* also revealed the continued divisiveness of Montrealers' memories of 1837-38. *La Minerve*, for one, refused to support a cause it tied to a narrow partisan effort for revenge against the clergy.[34] As a result, support for Marcil's scheme was less than wholly popular. Competing against similar funding drives for the Maisonneuve and Macdonald monuments, Chénier's appeal was restricted. Contributions to the Chénier fund varied. A subscription list published by *La Presse* totals contributions from private citizens at some $1242.69, the majority of which came in large donations. Adolphe Caron, Alfred Caron, Amedée Papineau, and Alfred Thibaudeau, all surviving relatives of prominent *Patriotes*, each contributed $100 while Marcil himself kicked in $50. The contribution scheme thus descends from the largest donation of $100, to a low of 5 cents, with a median contribution of just below $15. Below that figure, 121 individuals and four companies combined for $377.69. At the $15 and above range came the remaining $865 from a mere nineteen individuals and four companies.[35] The Chénier monument was far from a popular undertaking, lending credence to *La Minerve's* criticism. Although it is impossible to identify the class position of every contributor, if those who lived in Montreal are representative, donations came from middle-class, "petit-bourgeois" benefactors. The specific nature of nationalism was an intra-class dispute, not one between social clases.

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[34]*La Minerve*, 26 août 1895.

[35]*La Presse*, 24 août 1895. See also *Le Monde*, 24 août 1895.

The unveiling, held at Viger Square on 24 August 1895, likewise shows the degree to which the memory of 1837 continued to be contested. Although the enthusiasm of the crowd of between 600 and 1,000 people at the unveiling is undisputed, monument inaugurations of the period typically drew much larger crowds. Aside from weak support, the message of the memory of St.-Eustache was unclear. Speaking that evening at the *Monument national*, Marcil drew links between the Conquest, 1837, and the more recent Northwest Rebellion of 1885. Other speakers noted similarities between Chénier and "freedom fighters" around the world, including the Polish hero Kosciuszko, the Hungarian Kossuth, and the biblical Moses. Yet the speeches of Toronto M.P., J.D. Edgar, and criminal lawyer, H.-C. St.-Pierre, moderated the more extravagant remarks. Edgar noted that Toronto had monuments to Upper Canada's rebels and St.-Pierre emphasized that Chénier represented an attitude of "Canada first." Canadians, he claimed, are not French, Scottish, or English, but one people. As if to emphasize such confusion, the congregation cheered the memory of both the *Patriotes* and the Queen at the close of the service.[36]

Building Chénier's monument hardly indicated a ringing appreciation of liberal nationalism in Montreal. Indeed, only a few years later, Montreal's Catholics turned out by the thousands to celebrate the memory of the liberals' nemesis, Ignace Bourget. On Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, 24 June 1903, a crowd of fifty thousand people assembled in front of St.-Jacques Cathedral on Dominion Square to witness the unveiling of a monument in honour of the late Bishop of Montreal. Church bells rang and an honour guard of papal Zouaves

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[36]*Le Monde*, 24 août 1895; 26 août 1895; *La Presse*, 24 août 1895; 26 août 1895; *La Patrie*, 24 août 1895; 26 août 1895; *La Minerve*, 26 août 1895; Montreal *Gazette*, 26 August 1895.

stood by as Dr. William Hingston, L.-O. Taillon, and the Bishops of Ottawa and Quebec honoured Bourget's memory with their words. But the record on the monument could stand alone. It depicts Bourget standing facing Dominion Square, his right arm raised in blessing. Beneath the statue the sculptor, Philippe Hébert, incorporated allegorical figures of Religion and Charity and scenes from Bourget's career, including his blessing of a company of Zouaves on their departure from Montreal.[37]

Memories of the Zouaves were entwined with that of Bourget himself. The Zouave movement was a response to events in Italy that pitted liberals against the Papacy in the struggle for a unified Italy. Bourget had taken advantage of the wounding of a French-Canadian volunteer at the Battle of Mentana in 1867 to organize a recruitment drive in Quebec in spite of the wishes of his own immediate superiors.[38] Bourget's memory was thus encoded as part of the long contest between liberalism and ultramontanism through the nineteenth century. The Zouave movement might then be seen in organic unity with his reaction against liberalism at home. Certainly some Montrealers saw the issue in these terms. On the day of the Bourget monument unveiling, someone reacted by wrapping Chénier's monument in the red, white, and green flag of the *Patriotes*.[39]

The *Patriotes* had come to represent a variety of competing ideas to French Canada's different nationalists. Many, like the ex-Zouaves who stood guard over the inauguration of

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[37]*La Patrie*, 23 juin 1903.

[38]See René Hardy, *Les Zouaves: Une stratégie du clergé québécoise au XIXe siècle* (Montreal, 1980).

[39]*Le Canada*, 25 juin 1903.

Bourget's monument, condemned their memory as representative of the very liberal cause they themselves had vowed to fight. To Henri St.-Pierre, himself a son of a *Patriote*, they represented a multicultural "Canada first." St.-Pierre was a follower of Henri Bourassa whose idea of Confederation was a compact between two founding peoples. This was not a majority view among French-Canadian nationalists. Many of them had reacted to the execution of Louis Riel by turning to Honoré Mercier's *parti nationale* and its programme of provincial autonomy. Marcil's own image of Chénier was part of this strain of nationalism that channelled attention away from Bourassa's pan-Canadian vision and towards one focused on the Province of Quebec.

Over time this attitude strengthened. The "accomplished fact" of military assistance to England, Bourassa declared in 1899, not only set a precedent of automatic military assistance, but surrendered French-English equality to British-Canadian jingoism. Further erosion of bi-cultural equality followed in Canada's northwest. Ontario had revoked the North West Territories Act's provisions for French Catholic schools in that part of the territories it annexed in 1890 and again with its Regulation 17. The creation of two new provinces in 1905 also denied official recognition for the French language and Catholic schooling, but it was the Conscription Crisis of World War One that shattered Bourassa's vision. Conscription destroyed both the liberal principle of voluntary service and the concept of French-English equality. Liberalism and one version of an expansive bi-cultural nationalism had failed French Canadians.

Canon Lionel Groulx set the tone for yet another French-Canadian nationalism from the end of the war. Beginning in 1912, Bourassa launched an editorial campaign in his *Le*

Devoir newspaper calling for the teaching of Canadian history at Montreal's Catholic university. By 1915 he had his answer and the thirty-seven-year-old Groulx occupied the university's first chair of Canadian history. Groulx would use this position to further his already growing influence among young French-Canadian nationalists in Montreal by influencing their view of their history. Like many before him, Groulx founded his nationalism on the belief that God had assigned French-Canadians a specific national task. But Groulx took this idea further. He devised a nationalism that aggressively cultivated the "ethnic core" of the nation. He fused Catholicism to the French-Canadian nation so solidly as to make him incapable of seeing one without the other.[40]

The Dollard movement of the 1920s was typical of this new nationalism. In 1660, Adam Dollard, Sieur des Ormeaux, led a small band of French settlers and Hurons in battle against an Iroquois war party. After a long, bloody battle at the Long Sault of the Ottawa River, the Iroquois overpowered and killed Dollard and his companions. When Groulx arrived in Montreal, he recognized in Dollard's story the very essence of his nationalism: religiously inspired, the men had celebrated mass before departing. Their sacrifice, performed by the youth in the name of the *patrie*, exemplified the kind of nationalist Groulx wanted to lead Quebec. But he did not inaugurate the cult of Dollard.

In 1910, a number of young Montrealers initiated a ritual on the anniversary of the battle. After mass at Notre-Dame church, they placed wreathes at the Dollard depiction on the statue to Maisonneuve at Place d'Armes thus beginning an annual event. Led by Emile

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[40]J.-P. Gaboury, *Le nationalisme de Lionel Groulx: Aspects idéologiques* (Ottawa, 1970), pp. 135-139. For a different look at Groulx's nationalism see Esther Delisle, *The Traitor and the Jew* (Toronto, 1995).

Vaillancourt and J.-B. Lagacé, they formed a monument committee to raise funds to celebrate Dollard's memory in stone and bronze. The following year, they built allegorical floats depicting Champlain and Dollard which they displayed at a variety of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day events in hopes of increasing subscriptions to their proposed monument.[41] Dollard's merit was such that, during World War One, recruiters invoked his image to inspire French Canadians, like Dollard, to leave their homes and meet the enemy far from home. But this attempt to capture a nationalist hero for a competing nationalism was a failure; Dollard was not to be repackaged so easily. Indeed, Dollard's rising popularity was partially a response to anglophone accusations of French-Canadian cowardice during the Conscription Crisis. Groulx and others taught the lesson of Dollard as defence of the homeland, not participation in a foreign war. Dollard, they remembered, left his home only to thwart an invasion, something no Canadian could realistically fear in 1916. Although one anglophone remarked that French Canadians did not know of anglophone appreciation for the hero's feats, the source of that appreciation was a more important divide.[42] In 1918 French Canadians dubbed 24 May, alternately Empire Day and Victoria Day to English-speaking Canadians, la fête de Dollard. The following year, a monument was unveiled at the site of the battle, a small town called Carillon on the Quebec side of the Ottawa River.[43]

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[41]*La Presse*, 23 juin 1911.

[42]Shipley, p. 39. Indeed, the editor of the Montreal *Herald*, J.C. Walsh, urged the creation of the monument committee. Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, p. 325.

[43]J.-D. Tourigny, *Fêtes patriotiques et récits populaires des événements qui s'y rapportent* (Montreal, 1921), pp. 45-56.

The annual pilgrimage continued, but another Dollard monument was unveiled in Montreal's Lafontaine Park the following year.[44] Like its predecessor, this monument was the work of sculptor Alfred Laliberté. The monument depicts a woman symbolizing France protecting a defiant Dollard who in turn stands over a fallen comrade. To Dollard's left is a bas-relief scene of the company, muskets in hand, receiving a priest's blessings prior to leaving, while to the right another scene depicts the men leaving the fort under the gaze of women and children. Inscribed on the monument are the names of Dollard's 19 French companions, the Huron chief Anahontaha, and Mitiwimeg, the Algonquian chief. Most significantly, at the top of the central column of the monument is a medallion showing a young woman's face. She is New France, the daughter of France, that Dollard's action protected and permitted to blossom into full nationhood. Of course, Dollard himself would never have understood his actions in such terms. As a seventeenth-century servant of Catholicism in a mission bent on proselytization, he would hardly have seen himself protecting the birth of a new nation.

The Montreal monument depicts Dollard as Groulx had taught him over the previous five years. But, more importantly for the mythology of the cult of Dollard, proponents portrayed it as the work of *all* French Canadians. The monument committee, aided by the ACJC and *Action française*, raised $20,000 for the project. *La Patrie* insisted that only ten people contributed more than $100 and that most donations came in the modest sum of one dollar, allowing its proponents to claim that the Dollard monument was a truly popular - and

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[44]Originally placed near rue De Lanaudière, it was moved to its current site at the north-west corner of the park in 1956.

national - endeavour.[45] Under Groulx's tutelage nationalism in Montreal slowly homogenized. But if the Dollard monument (and, for that matter, the cross on Mount Royal) demonstrate the development of a nationalism re-united by faith, the 1926 *Patriote* monument reveals how far that nationalism could go to reclaim the heroes of French-Canadian history.

Memories of the Rebellions continued to be contested as late as 1895, pitting, most famously, liberal anti-clericalism against Catholicism. Yet only two years after raising the Mount Royal Cross, the SSJBM staged another ceremony and encouraged French Canadians to celebrate the memory of 1837. By 1926 the divisive memories of 1837 had more or less unified. Under Groulx's brand of nationalism, the Rebellions no longer cast French Canadians against one another. 1837 had become another step in the development of the French-Canadian race. Nontheless, before the *Patriotes*, long (and more or less accurately) accused of the sins of liberal anti-clericalism, could be revived as national heroes for Catholic nationalists, they needed to be re-Catholicized.

Once again, Groulx played an influential role. Leading up to the monument's inauguration in June 1926, Groulx penned a series of articles for his *Action française* magazine that exonerated the *Patriotes* for their sins by the cleansing power of history.[46] Groulx's argument was threefold: first, Mgr. Lartigue had not excommunicated any of the

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[45]*La Patrie*, 24 juin 1924.

[46]The journal was known as *Action française* from 1917 to 1927 when it changed its name to *Action canadienne-française* to distinguish it from a right-wing French group by the same name recently condemned by the pope. In 1934 Groulx reorganized the journal as *Action nationale*.

insurgents; second, the parish priests had sided with the *Patriotes*; and third, Lartigue and

his successor Bourget had also sympathized with them. The first point, explained in April's

edition, is rather complex. According to Groulx, Lartigue did not expressly excommunicate

anyone, although he did deny the sacraments to anyone taking up arms against the civil

authority. But this point was irrelevant because no one outside of Montreal knew about it.

Although Lartigue sent out letters confirming his command as early as 4 December 1837 that

reached St.-Eustache at least by 12 December, Groulx concluded that the parish priest - a

staunch supporter of the government - had kept it a secret. Hence, and here Groulx

obviously disagreed with Bishop Fabre, no one should censure the *Patriotes*.[47]

In the following months, Groulx argued that the local parish priests had supported

armed rebellion. But even more incredibly, he found the motives of Bishops Bourget and

Lartigue to have been the protection of the peasants from battles they could not win rather

than opposition to insurrection.[48] Presumably their strategic insight, not their ideological

opposition to revolution, prevented them from joining the cause of the free-thinking

Papineau. Of course, Groulx's exoneration of the *Patriotes* ignores the fact that the 1926

monument honours twelve men executed in 1839 who twice tried to create a *republican*

Lower Canada with a distinctly liberal separation of church and state. Moreover, they had

staged these two insurrections in February and November 1838, in open defiance of the

church and in full knowledge of Lartigue's views. Indeed, the monument expressly honours

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[47]Lionel Groulx, "Les Patriotes de 1837 et les chatiments de l'église," *Action française* (avril 1926), pp. 217-231.

[48]Groulx, "Les Patriotes et les chatiments," *Action française* (mai et juin 1926), pp. 294-311; 347-354.

"the sacrifice of De Lorimier" and the "armed struggle" of Nelson. It was thanks to Groulx's selective memory as much as to his creative history that the new nationalism rehabilitated the *Patriotes*.

The prison that had held the *Patriotes* was a similarly contested site of memory. Built between 1830 and 1840, it opened in 1836 just in time to welcome the hundreds of rebels arrested in the following years. Proving too small for its task, the prison was enlarged in the 1850s and again in 1890-92, finally closing its doors in 1912 when Montreal's new Prison de Bordeaux opened on the banks of the Rivière des Prairies. Sitting in eastern Montreal, the old prison was soon encircled by francophone neighbourhoods, becoming a symbol of the domination of the British state. But if the prison originally represented authority to its architects and wardens, it quickly exemplified triumph over oppression to French Canadians. Known officially as Prison du Pied-du-Courant, it was popularly called the "prison des Patriotes." In 1921 the old building became the headquarters and warehouse for the Provincial Liquor Commission and, in February 1923, popular pressure, led by the powerful SSJBM rechristened the site "Place des Patriotes."[49]

Nearly 90 years after the insurrections the *Patriotes* had become martyrs of French-Canadian liberty, appropriate subjects for a patriotic monument. The sanitization of the memory of the *Patriotes* was complete, capped with a major monument to the twelve men who mounted the scaffold in the coldest days of 1839. Montreal already boasted two monuments to this defeated side, but a "national" marker, set in the public space of the city,

[49]Luc Noppen, "Prison des patriotes," in *Chemins de la mémoire* v. 2, pp. 150-154; Rumilly, *Histoire de la SSJBM*, p. 309. Montreal Planning Department, *How Our Streets Got Their Names* (1961), p. 80.

was missing. Both the monuments of 1858 and 1895 had been the work of partisans, and implicity spoke of division more than of French-Canadian unity. Groulx's brand of nationalism needed a celebration of its unity to create a national bond and overcome the memories that divided French Canadians. Adding to this discomfort both existing monuments were marginal: Marcil's Chénier symbolized only one local group of heroes and the *Institut-Canadien*'s offering was tucked away in a cemetery. With the growing privatization of death, cemeteries, once the grandest open spaces in the city and an important part of the recreational land of the city, no longer attracted promenading couples and picnickers as they had in the mid-nineteenth century.[50] A new statue, like a national cleansing, seemed a virtual necessity.

The SSJBM undertook the project itself, establishing a committee charged with the task of erecting a monument to coincide with the *fête nationale* of 1926. The emphasis was to be on the now national memories of the heroic rebels. Important members of the French-Canadian heritage elite lent their expertise to the project. Led by SSJBM president, Victor Morin, the committee asked the renowned sculptor Alfred Laliberté to compose a fitting monument to the dead. Laliberté had worked with patriotic scenes before, having designed both monuments to Dollard des Ormeaux. But the truly "national" aspect came, as the newspapers informed one and all, from the popularity of the ceremonies. Organized by E.-Z. Massicotte, and tied to the year's Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade, the inauguration was a massive display of ritual management.

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[50]Réal Brisson, *La mort au Québec: Dossier exploratoire* (Ste.-Foy, 1988), pp. 59-62.

On 23 June, in a brief, twenty-minute ceremony, Morin unveiled a plaque commemorating Ludger Duvernay's founding of the SSJBM. Coupled with the monument unveiling scheduled for the next day, this was intended to link these "two facts of historic importance," reconnecting Duvernay and the SSJBM to the Rebellions. It was a sort of family reunion. But the real celebration was held the following day. Shortly after three o'clock, the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade marched down-hill from Lafontaine Park to the Place des Patriotes where the assembled dignitaries and a crowd of onlookers waited in anticipation. In comparison with the tiny gatherings that had witnessed the previous unveilings, one newspaper estimated that 250,000 attended the ceremony of 1926. Each float in the parade depicted an aspect from the history of the *Patriotes* as understood by Massicotte. *La Presse* counted fifteen floats mixing together depictions of the lives of prominent *Patriotes* and Catholic themes, but the crowd reserved the biggest cheer for the de Lorimier float.[51]

As the last of the floats reached the square, a great hush fell over the crowd. Out of the silence, a single, sorrowful bell rang out. It was the very bell, so they said, the British had sounded when the martyrs hanged. Its ring signalled Madame Marion, daughter of the executed *Patriote* J.-N. Cardinal, to release the Canadian flag covering a winged figure of Liberty atop a three-sided monument. Liberty, so Morin claimed, now stood on the very site where the British had erected the scaffold nearly ninety years earlier. In the shadow of the

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[51]*La Presse*, 24 juin 1926; 25 juin 1926.

Figure 6.2: The 1926 Monument to the Patriotes

Photo by the author

Patriotes' prison, French-Canadian liberty had been born. Inscribed beneath Liberty on the *Patriote*'s monument were the names of the executed twelve, including Mme. Marion's father and the ancestors of at least two other dignitaries sitting in the place of honour at the ceremony. The presence of the descendants of the dead, duly noted by the press, served to authenticate the memories presented by the speakers. If the memory of 1837 was now "national," it needed the implicit endorsement of surviving family members to attest to its authenticity. This was both a national and a personal family reunion.

Creative as Groulx's reading of history was, he cannot be accused of fabricating a new memory of 1837. He merely tapped into an existing nationalist sentiment as did Victor Morin. As a respected historian, Morin's views added further academic certainty to public and private remembrances. Fittingly, his speech at the unveiling captured the spirit of rehabilitation that drove the project. Linking 1837 to the American Revolution and the general struggle for liberty in North America, he not only made the site the "birth-place of Canadian freedom," but, as with 1776, connected war against the British Crown to the birth of a nation. Many liberals, such as Honoré Mercier, had often pointed to 1837 as the beginning of Canada's freedom. But significantly, the 1926 monument was the first in Quebec to include an allegorical figure of Liberty in connection with the *Patriote* cause. After nearly a century of clerical censure, the *Patriote* project had become the dream of a free, Catholic nation. In this sense, the monument's inscription, "Defeated in battle, they triumphed in history," rings true.

III Memory and Nationalism

Benedict Anderson's concept, "the reassurance of fratricide," is instructive as a way of exploring the homogenization of French-Canadian nationalism. In Anderson's formulation, the struggles of the past, the very aspects of history that show a people to be divided, are re-imagined as elements of a history shared by all. Thus France's bloody St. Bartholomew's Day massacre has become a unifying element in French historical memory. [52] Memories of the Rebellions play a similar role in French-Canadian nationalism. But rather than portray the Rebellions as a reassuring fratricide, the nationalists of the 1920s simply swept nearly a century of dissention under the rug. What had long been a contested event of French-Canadian history became a trial by fire of an emergent nation. Thus the SSJBM, which had tried to sever its connection to the *Patriote* cause throughout the nineteenth century, suddenly re-imagined its own origins as coincident with those of French-Canadian liberty.

Origins are a major component of homogenized nationalism. In old world nations, national origins are generally portrayed as an awakening of a metaphysical essence from centuries of slumber. But in the new world, where history cannot readily support such founding myths, nationalists turn to founding events. Anderson notes that new world revolutionaries saw themselves reversing the old patterns of colonial subordination. Their profound sense of newness can be seen in such acts as the American Declaration of

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[52]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 199-200.

Independence, which emphasizes the creation of the new nation as a rupture with the past.[53]

Yet for French Canadians, whose "war of independence" had failed, such a rupture could not

be postulated. The long struggles of nineteenth-century nationalists against one another

capture this profound difference in French-Canadian nationalism. They could claim neither

a rupture with colonial domination, nor a timeless mythical origin. Yet French Canadians

could point to both an ultramontane divine mission in French regime colonialism *and* the

rupture of a liberal tradition. With no single origin to point to, nationalism could not unify.

Groulx's re-Catholicizing of the *Patriotes* and Morin's formulation of 1837 as the "birth of

Canadian freedom" helped bridge the chasm that had long divided French-Canadian

nationalism between its ultramontane and *rouge* factions.

Exclusion is another integral part of the homogenization of national memory. The

Dollard myth required Quebecers to minimize the roles of Huron and especially Algonquian

warriors in a fable of patriotic sacrifice. More importantly, it required the demonization of

the Iroquois as a hostile, savage "other." In Groulx's understanding, Iroquois war parties had

tried to murder the infant French-Canadian race.[54] Exclusion helps public memory eliminate

the messy inconsistencies of history. The undifferentiated time of memory permits nations

to conceptualize their own unity by pitting timeless "others" against them.

Thus the unified nationalism of the 1920s was a historical novelty built over the

previous decades, in part through public memory. French-Canadian nationalists of the mid-

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[53]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 191-193; Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, pp. 177-183.

[54]See his lengthy accusation of Iroquoian efforts at genocide in Lionel Groulx, *Dollard, est-il une mythe?* (Montreal, 1960), pp. 40-49.

nineteenth century could find no common ground on the place of the Rebellions in their quest to develop the nation. Their memory remained contested terrain. While the *Patriotes'* obelisk of 1858 attempted to preserve one partisan vision of 1837, ultramontane hostility prevented it from gaining widespread appeal. Similarly, Chénier's monument, as much as it presents the survival of a *rouge* nationalism, was more profoundly an indication of the weakness of that vision. The 1920 monument succeeded because the pressures of Conscription had briefly coalesced French-Canadian opinions into a general agreement as to the nature of the national struggle. Emile Vaillancourt's monument found support from both the priest Groulx and the moderate liberal Morin. Public memory, John Bodnar reminds us, is a discourse about structures of power.[55] The monuments of public memory pass off as universal specific ideologies supporting particular power structures.

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[55]Bodnar, *Remaking America*, pp. 14-15.

Chapter Seven:

Contested Terrain, Contiguous Territory

I The National Question

Anyone with reason to venture near Montreal's City Hall on 23 June 1930 would have seen an unusual event. Certainly a visitor to Montreal would have recognized the trappings of a holiday in the city. Every building on Notre-Dame Street sported Union Jacks and French Republican *Tricouleurs* the full four blocks from Notre-Dame Church to the Chateau de Ramezay. Twenty thousand people jammed the street rendering streetcar traffic impossible. As the trapped tramways lined up behind the crowds, their occupants spilled out into the throng, inflating it further. And at Place Neptune between City Hall and the Court House a bicultural honour guard representing the Canadian Navy stood in front of a monument hidden beneath a *mélange* of French and British flags.

On the surface there was nothing exceptional about this scene. It mirrored civic festivals witnessed across North America in the early twentieth century. But this event was unusual in that it gathered together thousands of residents of a city in the British Empire to honour the memory of an eighteenth-century French naval commander with no real connection to local history. Indeed the monument to Jean Vauquelin can only be understood in light of international events. The Vauquelin project fit into a pattern of Anglo-French monument raising that ranged from a plaque in Nova Scotia commemorating the Duc D'Anville's expedition to recapture Louisbourg during the War of the Austrian Succession to the colossal Vimy Ridge Memorial in France. Post-war Anglo-French relations had

disintegrated over British disapproval of the Republic's Rhineland policy and the reparations question. And in 1923, in spite of British disagreement, France occupied the Rhur valley. Diplomats for both countries, including the French Consul in Montreal, tried to mend the fences. In June 1927, he met a group of civic-minded men and formed a committee to honour the patriotism of Vauquelin, "the last naval defender of New France." In the words of one observer, it provided "another link in the chain of Anglo-French amity."[1]

Vauquelin had commanded the French naval force in the St. Lawrence in the spring of 1760, as France tried to undo the defeat of Montcalm. Outgunned and beaten by the Royal Navy, Vauquelin refused to lower his flag. While his crew swam for the safety of shore, the captain stayed with his ship. After his British captors released him, Vauquelin continued to serve Louis XV's navy in France's far-flung possessions. The last years of his life, including a brief stay in the king's prison for the patriotic virtues of smuggling, reveal him to be less a faithful son of New France than a typical career-minded French mariner. Partly on these grounds, some historians, such as the respected members of the HSMBC, questioned the legitimacy of the monument. Cruikshank complained that Vauquelin had not even been Canadian and added that La Giraudais was the true "last naval defender of New

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[1]Montreal *Gazette*, 23 June 1930. France's Consul in Montreal not only helped found the Vauquelin monument committee, but served as liaison between the Canadian committee and its French counterpart raising an identical monument at Vauquelin's birth place in France. NA, RG 84, v. 1279, Pamphile du Tremblay to J.A. Robb, 3 January 1928; du Tremblay to A.A. Pinard, 19 January 1928; G.K. Ward and Edwin Gibson, *Courage Remembered* (Toronto, 1989), p. 162. The Canadian committee included such men as Léon Trépanier, Victor Morin, Emile Vaillancourt, and Georges Vanier. The honourary chair of the French committee was the French Minister of Culture; the French Consul-General in Montreal coordinated affairs. On the Vimy Ridge Memorial see NA, RG 38, Veteran's Affairs, v. 419.

France," having engaged the Royal Navy at the Battle of Restigouche on 8 July 1760.[2] But Vauquelin's diplomatic backers ignored such quibbles about accuracy and legitimacy.

The inauguration ceremony displayed a bizarre mix of French and British symbols with comical effect. The monument itself was hidden between a *mélange* of British and republican flags, a mix that might have made Vauquelin, that servant of absolutism, shudder. But the attending dignitaries paid this no heed. The men who spoke at the unveiling struggled to find domestic justifications for the monument, but any domestic message drew more on the reassurance of fratricide than on patriotism. One speaker, after comparing Vauquelin to Montcalm, called the monument a lesson in ethnic harmony.[3] Monument Committee President, Pamphile du Tremblay, outlined the virtue shown by two peoples, locked in mortal combat in the eighteenth century, coming together to honour Vauquelin. More than *Bonne Entente*, ancient fratricide made the monumental face-off of Vauquelin and Horatio Nelson a public lesson in the correct historical memory. But on this day only the *Gazette* condescendingly noted the absurdity of such a memory:

> The Nelson monument, which the new statue faces, proved a very popular point of vantage; and from his perch atop the column the old English admiral bent a quizzically attentive gaze on those who had come to do honor to a representative of that race of French "seadogs" against whom he himself had fought so valiantly.[4]

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[2]Vauquelin died in France in 1772. Etienne Taillemite, "Vauquelin, Jean," in *DCB* v. 4, pp. 751-752. NA, RG 84, v. 1279, E.A. Cruikshank to J.B. Harkin, 19 January 1928. A CMHQ plaque placed near the battle site notes only a "heroic action against two British men-of-war." CMHQ, *Deuxième Rapport annuel*.

[3]*La Presse*, 21 juin 1930; 23 juin 1930; *Le Devoir*, 23 juin 1930.

[4]Montreal *Gazette*, 23 june 1930.

This stony contest between two historic mariners suggests the contested and contentious nature of public memory, but the words of the men who addressed the crowd were more clear. The French Consul portrayed the English ships as sneaking up on Vauquelin in the night, an act of treachery. And Mayor Camillien Houde could not avoid depicting Britain's Royal Navy as "l'ennemi." Houde's harmony was one between French Canadians and "les autres" who inhabited Montreal.[5] The symbolism of the event was confused because it was a bizarre mix of contemporary politics and history. Houde's failure to discover an alternative to the term "enemy" in referring to the Royal Navy suggests the weakness of using military heroes to depict ethnic cohabitation. This flaw revealed itself in more than just symbolic farces. Although everyone's lips carried a message of Anglo-French harmony (both domestic and international), the majority of the speakers recounted themes of French glory. Yet, notwithstanding the Vauquelin monument's incongruities, it fit nearly seemlessly into the pattern of public memory in Montreal at the end of the 1920s.

By 1930 public memory in Montreal had determined the boundaries of the competition. Public memory had become a discourse focussed on the "national question" that worked itself out as a territorial struggle between the city's dominant ethnic groups. The contest between Nelson and Vauquelin, captured in bronze and stone, continued a long struggle to assert a presence in Montreal's main public spaces. Although the Vauquelin monument was a project of international diplomacy between the Empire and the Republic, some Montrealers saw in it the reassurance of fratricide. This domestic message, aside from its comical effects, points to the nature of the contest of public memory.

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[5]*La Presse*, 23 juin 1930.

Prior to the 1890s, public memory expressed a short-sighted view of history. Most of the twenty-three historic monuments and plaques existing in Montreal in 1890 commemorated events from the post-Conquest period. Montrealers commemorated people who were, roughly speaking, their contemporaries (see Table 7.1). Only one monument and one plaque honoured pre-Conquest, French Regime subjects. The former, in the courtyard of the Old Seminary, depicted the Seminary's founder, Jean-Jacques Olier; the latter noted the establishment of the Hôpital-Générale des Soeurs-Grises in 1755. Two monuments honouring nineteenth-century subjects, those to Duvernay and the *Patriotes*, raiseed French Canada's position in public memory to four of twenty-three markers. Even with an additional two monuments, the typhus stone and Catholic firemen's monuments, celebrating the city's Catholics, emphasis was on the city's Anglo-Protestant wealth. This emphasis is hardly surprising for an era of staunch ethnic and religious chauvinism. The plaques and monuments of nineteenth-century Montreal reflected the wealth and power of the city's anglophone social and economic leaders.

Table 7.1: Period Commemorated Before 1891[6]

	Plaques	Monuments	Totals
French Regime	1	1	2
Post Conquest	2	18	20
Not Datable	0	1	1
Totals	3	20	23

[6]Sources: Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*; Morin, *Légende dorée*; Fournier, *Liuex et Monuments*; *Canadian Annual Review* (1926); Stokes, "Monuments of Montreal"; ANSM, "Tablettes historiques"; Adrien Leblod de Brumath, *Guide de Montréal et ses environs* (Montreal, 1897); NA, RG 84, v. 1173, "Schedule of Historic Sites ... to 31 December 1929"; ANQ-Q, E6, "Index des monuments historiques."

Nineteenth-century historic markers were, by and large, memorials to individuals who had touched the daily lives of people (see Table 7.2). Hence John Richardson, the fur baron who helped found the Protestant General Hospital, was commemorated in 1832 with a new wing of that institution and a plaque outlining his contributions. The hospital wing itself was built from money intended for a cenotaph in Richardson's honour. Similarly, the monument to Anglican Bishop Francis Fulford depicts him as "a wise master builder," a reference to his role in constructing the second Christ Church Cathedral. In those days of frontier life, British North Americans set out to build a country and a culture by opening up new lands and creating the institutions that would frame settler life in the New World.[7]

Table 7.2: Themes of Plaques and Monuments Before 1891[8]

	Plaques	Monuments	Totals
Memorials	2	16	18
Social institutions	3	10	13
Individuals	2	12	14
Military	0	5	5
Politics and Statesmen	0	0	0

Certainly exceptions to this rule existed. Monuments to Nelson, the *Patriotes*, or Queen Victoria commemorated battle heroes and the imperial sovereign, not local elites. However, the Protestant elite's sense of its own importance outweighed these enthusiasms. But as the building of historic markers increasingly fell into the hands of historical societies,

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[7]See Margaret Turner, *Imagining Culture: New World Narrative and the Writing of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston, 1995), pp. 3-22.

[8]The categories are not mutually exclusive in order to better capture subjects in spite of the relatively small sample. In total, 3 plaques and twenty monuments were erected prior to 1891. Sources as for Table 7.1.

public history in Montreal changed. "Expert" memories and conceptions of the historic took over as Montreal's heritage elites emerged in the 1890s.

Historic markers of the period 1891 to 1930 reveal a shift in historical consciousness over the previous century. The ANSM had commemorated French regime history on over half of its plaques, a trend that continued during the subsequent forty years. But this trend obscures a gulf dividing the historical consciousness of anglophones and francophones. Although it is difficult to certify the ethnicity of a given plaque or monument (bilingual committees often designed monuments), many individual sponsors can be located. In addition, the language of commemorative texts offers some measure of ethnicity, helping to tease out some patterns. Table 7.3 demonstrates the expected result: French-language plaques and monuments primarily commemorated French regime subjects, while English-language ones mostly celebrated post-Conquest subjects.

Table 7.3: Period of Commemoration by Language
Plaques and Monuments Combined, 1891-1930[9]

	French-language	English-language
French Regime	31	17
Post Conquest	13	30
Not Applicable	2	0
Totals	46	47

Thirteen French-langauge plaques and monuments depicted events or people from the post-Conquest period, but this can be a misleading indicator. These markers commemorated French Canadians of the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. For

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[9]Figures exclude plaques and monuments with bilingual texts or those that cannot otherwise by assigned to one or the other linguistic group. Sources as for Table 7.1.

instance, the SSJBM celebrated Bishop Bourget, the *Patriotes*, and its own founding. Only one of these markers noted anglophone participation in Montreal's history: Amédée Papineau, the son of Louis-Joseph Papineau and himself a former *Patriote*, sponsored an ANSM plaque noting the site of the American army's headquarters in 1775. Papineau's historical consciousness might have been at odds with that of his compatriots. He also erected plaques commemorating his family's ancestral home in Montreal and celebrating Pierre du Calvet's attempt to win representative government for Canada. The latter plaque was rejected when Papineau suggested it for the ANSM. Amédée Papineau appears to have been interested in fitting his family into his own ideas of a broader historical tradition.[10]

English-language commemorations of the French regime contained more anomalies. In many cases, building proprietors sponsored a plaque the ANSM had deemed appropriate for a site. For example, Dr. William Hingston sponsored one placing the site of Hochelaga beneath his home at the corner of Metcalfe and Sherbrooke Streets and W.W. Ogilvie of Glenora Flour Mills paid for one identifying the site of the Chateau de Callières at his offices at Port and Foundling Streets. Another case is more puzzling. George Hague, the general manager of the Merchants' Bank of Canada, sponsored a plaque commemorating Dollard des Ormeaux. Although the plaque was placed near the bank's offices on St. James Street, there is little indication that either Hague or the bank had any connection to the plaque's location. Nor can Hague's personal motivation be uncovered. Perhaps this choice indicates an anglophone sympathy for the story of Dollard prior to the development of his cult among French Canadians. Other examples more clearly indicate a mentality. W.D. Lighthall paid

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[10]Morin, *Légende dorée*, p. 126.

for plaques commemorating the Hotel-Dieu and the founding of Montreal. Sometimes

motives coincided. Lighthall's friend, R.W. McLachlan, through the Imperial Insurance

Company, placed two plaques on his firm's building at Place d'Armes. One commemorated

Maisonneuve's first confrontation with the Iroquois and the other noted a land grant to

Urbain Tessier, both at Place d'Armes. But Lighthall's personal stamp cannot be missed: the

only English-language markers commemorating French Regime subjects stemmed from the

ANSM project.

Lighthall ushered in a new interpretation of history in Montreal's public memory with

its focus on the old regime. Such statistics also reveal a shift in the type of history

recognized by public memory (see Table 7.4). Social institutions continued to be important,

being the subject of seventeen plaques, but the profile of statesmen and politicians had been

elevated.

Table 7.4: Commemoration by Subject, 1891-1930
Plaques and Monuments[11]

	French	English	Bilingual
Statesmen and Politicians	3	4	2
Social Institutions (schools, charities, etc.)	9	3	5
Religion (churches, martyrdoms, priests, etc.)	13	6	2
Military (battles, forts, Headquarters, etc.)	10	16	8
Exploration and the Fur Trade	4	9	2
Other Topics	8	9	1

[11]Figures exclude 2 monuments with no texts and for which no other information indicates a linguistic group. Sources as for Table 7.1.

French-language markers emphasized social institutions and the celebration of religion in contrast to the anglophone focus on exploration and the military. Examining these data further enlightens our understanding. "Other" French-language markers covered a wide variety of subjects, including allegorical figures of France and agriculture, the "national" poet Octave Crémazie, a French-Canadian printing firm, and the Papineau home. English-language "other" subjects were more focused. Five celebrated the business history of Montreal, including the Bank of Montreal's centennial in 1917 and two plaques and two monuments honouring achievements in the transportation industry. These markers, together with nine plaques commemorating the fur trade and exploration, reveal English-language public memory's focus on Montreal's metropolitan position.

Table 7.5: Plaques and Monuments Commemorating Military Topics, 1891-1930[12]

	French	English	Bilingual
French-Amerindian	3	4	1
American Wars, 1775, 1812	2	1	2
Seven Years' War	1	5	2
Other French-British struggles	2	2	0
Rebellions	2	0	0
South African War	0	1	0
First World War	0	3	3

Military subjects received the most commemorations with thirty-four plaques and monuments. This category can be broken down according to specific conflicts (Table 7.5).

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[12]Sources as for Table 7.1.

The majority of military commemorations honoured conflicts of the French Regime or the War of the Conquest, but English-language and bilingual (state-sponsored) monuments to the dead of the First World War were also prominent.

Memorials, with their emphasis on the dead, were not Montreal's first response to the tragedy of the First World War. Initially Montrealers chose to commemorate the war with the display of war trophies. As early as 1916 the Dominion Archivist, A.G. Doughty, and his assistant, Gustave Lanctot, went to France to gather Canadian war trophies. As the war neared its conclusion, army units began to send home the guns and other machines of war they had captured. The general public jumped on the idea and requests for Canadian war trophies flooded the Ministry of Militia and Defence. At first Edmund Bristol, M.P. and personal secretary to the Minister, Sir A.E. Kemp, handled the requests himself. But official policy was to pool trophies under the control of the Dominion Archivist for distribution at the end of the war, so Bristol increasingly referred his correspondents to Doughty.[13]

War trophies proved immensely popular. A touring Canadian exhibition in the United States in support of the third American Liberty Loan campaign proved so popular that Washington asked to keep the collection indefinitely. Montreal's Mayor Médéric Martin, who had spoken against the war effort, secured a German trench mortar for his own property at Laval-des-Rapides. Shortly thereafter the city received another ten guns for its public parks. Other Montrealers also asked for and received war trophies, including McGill University, the Université de Montréal, the Bank of Montreal, the Great War Veterans'

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[13]NA, RG 37, v. 366, "Report on War Trophies," n.d.; RG 24, v. 1205, John Hendrie to S.C. Mewburn, 29 May 1918; Edmund Bristol to Quarter-Master General, 2 June 1917; Bristol to J.A. Templeton, 21 May 1917.

Association, the Royal Bank, the ANSM, and the Canadian Society of Engineers. By the end of 1921, Montreal's various applicants had gathered over fifty German machine guns, ammunition boxes, trench mortars, assorted field pieces, and one biplane.[14]

War trophies were an immediate response to the war, but war memorials were not long in following. Military monuments renewed the nineteenth-century penchant for memorials. Including the Boer War monument, Montrealers erected seven war memorials in the first years of this century. After the Great War, memorials ceased to glorify or celebrate warfare; they solemnly grieved the loss of life. After 1919 Canadian war memorials seldom mentioned victory.[15] Markers of past warfare, on the other hand, made abundant use of such terms as "vanquish," "triumph," and "defeat," as the HSMBC's interest in bloodshed demonstrates.

This newly-forged sympathy for the common soldier was not reflected in the treatment of military graves. The Papineau Avenue military cemetery in eastern Montreal was mostly ignored by the 1890s. It had opened in 1845, but had become a park in 1888. When workers uncovered human remains in 1897, officials blithely assumed they had found the remains of old British soldiers.[16] Fewer people cared. In 1920, the HSMBC proclaimed the cemetery completely lacking in national importance and left it to the jurisdiction of

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[14]NA, RG 37, v. 366, "Memorandum for the Hon. Secretary of State on War Trophies Exhibitions." RG 37, v. 375, File "M" deals with Montreal's war trophies allotment.

[15]Shipley, p. 118.

[16]Jean-Claude de Laplante, *Les parcs de Montréal* (Montreal, 1990), p. 76; Pauline Girard-Massicotte, "Le parc La Fontaine," in *Montréal: Activités, Habitants, Quartiers* (Montreal, 1984), pp. 87-89.

municipal authorities. Indeed, following a dispassionate debate, the HSMBC extended this judgment to all military cemeteries in Canada. The CMHQ was not much more obliging. In 1923 it proclaimed the grave markers of Lt. Jack Weir and Benjamin d'Urban to be historic monuments, but ruled against any intervention concerning remains.[17] By contrast, between 1891 and 1930 twenty-five monuments and plaques recorded the names of officers and commanders of military excursions in and around Montreal.[18] The intense personal memories and emotions of World War One tempered glorifications of past campaigns, but for both francophone and anglophone heritage elites, past glories were the point of warfare.

Sixteen ANSM plaques commemorated a "historic first." The ANSM's attention to historic firsts initiated a myth of origins. This myth was typical of late-nineteenth-century Victorian intellectual curiosity shaped by Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species*. The English positivist, Herbert Spencer, readily took up Darwin's ideas of natural selection and pushed the limits of "evolution" in seeking out the origins of social inequality. Spencer's works were well known in North America by the late-nineteenth century. Although such "social Darwinist" ideas were mostly directed at natural selection, they were built on a premise that the origins of phenomena such as poverty would explain their meaning.[19] Public history was

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[17]ANQ-Q, E52, CMHQ minute books, 6 octobre 1922; 3 avril 1924. Weir had been executed by *Patriote* captors in 1837; d'Urban had died in 1849, still commander of the Montreal garrison.

[18]The *Patriotes'* monument of 1858 names 56 men (and notes another 11 unidentified men) who died in combat at Odelltown, St.-Eustache, St.-Denis, and St.-Charles and the Dollard monument of 1920 lists the names of Dollard's companions. However, on these national monuments, these men are remembered not as soldiers, but as patriots.

[19]Pat Shipman, *The Evolution of Racism: Human Differences and the Use and Abuse of Science* (Toronto, 1994), pp. 110-111.

no exception to this widespread fascination with origins. Alongside the ANSM plaques, an additional seven markers explicitly noted a historic first.

A HSMBC plaque on Molson's Brewery in Montreal's eastern waterfront presents a complex example of the myth of origins. The plaque commemorates the "First Canadian Steamship," built at Montreal for John Molson and set on her maiden voyage in November 1809. Although the ANSM had already erected a plaque to Molson and the steamship "Accommodation" on the wall of Molson's Brewery, the HSMBC found the issue of sufficient national importance to add its own plaque. F.W. Howay summed the Board's attitude: "the fact that we were so advanced in steam matters, out of which our national being has grown, is sufficient to make [it] worthy of recognition."[20]

Of course Howay's assertion that "our national being" grew out of steamboat travel is rather eccentric, but his comments illustrate a myth of origins. This myth interprets the past as a continuous history, a coherent narrative of the past that ignores its messy inconsistencies.[21] It is a whiggish view of historical development that assumes the historic first to be a rupture with, in this case, a previous mode of transportation that was inevitably overwhelmed by steam power. According to this logic, the appearance of the new thing

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[20] NA, RG 84, v. 1267, F.W. Howay to J.B. Harkin, 5 November 1924.

[21] Raphael Samuel, "Continuous National History," in R. Samuel (ed) *Patriotism: The Making and Unmaking of British National Identity* v. 1 *History and Politics* (London and New York, 1989), pp. 9-17.

inevitably overwhelmed the old. History is just another struggle for the survival of the fittest: steam power replaced wind and muscle power because it was superior.[22]

Site histories are related to this myth of origins. Eighteen markers noted that they stood on an "exact site." Half of these simply recounted the history of the site, explaining who had owned the land or what building had stood there. The totalizing Tourist Gaze influenced public history. Site histories and historic firsts satisfied the tourist's thirst for a quick, all-encompassing explanation of local historical significance. Both offered themselves as immediately comprehensible: "the first" whatever or "on this spot" such and such happened requires no mediating knowledge to grasp the importance of the commemoration. The tastes of international tourism thus influenced the governments of Canada and Quebec in their efforts to become the authoritative interpreter of the past for those same travellers. Historic firsts and site histories, covered in over one third of all markers, exercised a more than parenthetical tug on local public memories.

II Contesting Nationalities

Montreal's French, English, and Scottish citizens celebrated their place in the city's history with public monuments, but public memory excluded other important ethnic groups. The Jewish community, for instance, had only a plaque to the first Jewish synagogue (paid

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[22]Steamboat travel was part of the transportation revolution of the nineteenth century, along with canal construction, railway building, and heavy-goods manufacturing. But wooden sailing ships continued to ply their trade well into the supposed golden age of steam. From 1820 to 1914 steamboats represented only 4.8 per cent of all tonnage newly registered in Canada's Atlantic region ports. Eric Sager and Gerald E. Panting, *Merchant Capital* (Montreal and Kingston, 1990), pp. 50-51; Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, p. 38.

for by Meldola De Sola) to fit it into public memory. Another notable Jewish site, the first Jewish cemetery in North America, remained uncommemorated. The city's Italians fared little better. Only the bust of Dante Alighieri, erected in Lafontaine Park in 1922 by an Italian-language newspaper, recorded their presence in Montreal prior to 1930. But this monument emphasized the broad acceptance by Montreal's Italians of the boundaries set by public memory. The promoters of Dante's bust tried to fit it into a public discourse that worked out the "national question" as a territorial struggle.

Cesare Consiglio, the president of the Dante monument committee, presided over an unveiling ceremony near the southwest corner of Lafontaine Park on Sunday 22 October 1922. To most eyes, this ceremony would have appeared every bit as normal as Vauquelin's. In front of the mayor, some aldermen, and a gathering of Montreal's Italian citizens, Consiglio offered the bust to the City of Montreal as a gift from a local organization. But Consiglio's speech revealed his supplication at the feet of the dominant culture:

> Nous croyons que ce monument vous inspirer, noble citoyens de cette ville,
> les sentiments les plus sympathetiques pour les Italiens, non seulement de
> cette ville, mais pour ceux qui viendront.

Sympathy "for those yet to come," Consiglio advises, is crucial. Then, drawing on memories of the Italian explorers Columbus and Cabot, he argued that it was only natural that Italians leave their own overpopulated country for the North American lands their ancestors had discovered for Europe. He offered his defence of the legitimacy of Italian immigration to Canada and, erecting a monument in an Italian neighbourhood, relied on public memory to establish a claim to a local quarter of the city. Despite the mayor's gracious manner, Consiglio's hopes might have been futile. One newspaper commented on the

inappropriateness of the monument's style for its outdoor setting. Italians might live in the city, but they certainly lacked the proper cultural aesthetics.[23]

The Irish of Montreal suffered the greatest exclusion from public history. Griffintown, an Irish working-class neighbourhood near the Lachine Canal, has never been recognized as a place of historic importance. Neither has the Irish contribution to Montreal's social history been marked. (One nineteenth-century monument, the typhus stone, has recently been re-christened the "Irish Stone" and encircled by a wrought iron fence adorned with shamrocks.) The tomb of the assassinated Father of Confederation, Thomas D'Arcy McGee, in Notre-Dame-des-Neiges cemetery, was ignored until the 1940s.[24] By contrast, the CMHQ identified the Mount Royal cemetery grave-marker of the Irish Protestant Lett Hacket, a historic monument in 1922. Hacket's tomb notes that he was "barbarously murdered ... on Victoria Square when quietly returning from divine service on the 12th of July 1877." This monument to an Irish Orangeman is a denunciation of Irish Catholics, one of whom murdered him during a sectarian riot on the anniversary of the Battle of the Boyne.[25]

Although the gentlemen of the Orange Lodges may have wished it otherwise, Montreal's Irish-Catholic population was huge. By 1861 fully one quarter of the city's population was Irish. The rate of growth slowed once the tidal wave of Irish immigration

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[23]Montreal *Gazette*, 23 October 1922; *La Presse*, 23 octobre 1922.

[24]NA, RG 37, v. 13. The typhus stone will be considered in greater detail below.

[25]Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, pp. 219-220. The elipses replaces a detail later erased from the monument's inscription for its offence to the city's Catholics.

ended after the 1840s, but the population remained numerous. These immigrants tended to cluster around St. Patrick's Church in the west end, as well as in Griffintown and further west along the Canal. Despite their relative geographical segregation from other ethnic groups in the city, Irish Catholics found themselves in a unique position. In religion, they associated with French-Canadians, but linguistically they communicated with the city's Protestants.[26] As a result, the presence of Irish Catholics, and their intermarriage with French Canadians, presented new dilemmas for national identity.

Identity, especially national identity, is often a deeply essentialist dialogue about the past and present of place. "Place" is an idea constructed out of the articulation of social relationships; disruptions between a place's present and its history can cause anxiety. While this essentialist angst ignores, indeed rejects, the historicism of place, it informs human understandings of place. Places are normally perceived in spatial terms, but they are also temporal. A people's rootedness to a given place is a product of its sense of the history of that location and the connection of their ancestors to it. Place names provoke memories and connect the temporal aspect of place to the articulation of identity. David Lowenthal notes that colonial societies often recreate the toponomy of home societies. Thus New York succeeds York as New France was born of France.[27] Irish Catholics thus doubly threatened francophone Montreal's memory: the Irish occupied "French" places and, by virtue of this, constructed their own memories.

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[26]Thornton and Olsen, p. 13.

[27]Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995), pp. 182-192; Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (London, 1977), pp. 153-154; David Lowenthal, *The Past is a Foreign Country*, p. 60.

A particularly enlightening example of this disruption and competition over memories of place can be seen in the furore aroused by the naming of a public park in the Pointe-St.-Charles district of Montreal. Patrick Monahan, the alderman for St.-Gabriel Ward in Pointe-St.-Charles, convinced city council to spend $134,317 for a park for his constituents. Monahan Park opened in August 1913. This simple transaction was one of many similar park constructions in the early-twentieth century. Indeed, the slogan "un parc par quartier" was a popular rallying cry of urban reformers, shouted by petitioners, politicians, and newspaper editors alike.[28] But, in this case, the park and the neighbourhood tapped larger issues than the beautification of the city.

Only three years after Monahan Park opened, Arthur St.-Pierre wrote Mayor Martin to request it be re-named Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys in honour of the Congrégation Notre-Dame founded by Bourgeoys in the seventeenth century whose farm had occupied the site. St.-Pierre's supporters organized themselves into a "comité du nom du parc." The committee was really just the LaSalle section of the SSJBM, whose territory included St.-Gabriel Ward.[29] The Board of Control quickly agreed to the name change, but Council divided on the recommendation. Alderman Larivière moved the immediate adoption of the new name, but some anglophone aldermen objected and demanded the issue be dropped altogether. The issue came down to language and ethnicity: seven anglophone aldermen opposed nine

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[28]See, for example, *La Presse*, 19 juillet 1909.

[29]AMM, Rapports des commissaires 3227, Arthur St.-Pierre to Mérédic Martin, 10 mars 1916. This urge may have been a reaction to the treatment of French Canadians during the war years as much as it was an initiative to correct an error in judgment and nomenclature. Shut out from power in the major issues of the war, French Canadians could control local affairs and ride over the objections of the anglophones.

francophones. As Victor Morin would later recount, "les Hiberniens" led the opposition, but in the end "le bon sens et l'esprit de justice du conseil de ville prévalurent."[30] But it did not prevail out of any sense of fair play; the eventual victory came through a combination of political pressure and recourse to the exclusionary powers of public memory.

The reasoning of the "comité du nom du parc" reveals its own historical revisionism. Its most rational argument observed that Marguerite Bourgeoys had once owned the land and her status as one of the great figures of French regime history rightfully deserved commemoration. In Europe, St.-Pierre argued, it was established practice to rename public squares after historical figures and this would "éveiller la curiosité publique et augmonté [sic] la fierté nationale." Accordingly "il vaut mieux donner aux endroits publics un nom tiré de l'histoire locale plutôt qu'une appelation anglaise ou française quelconque." However the committee's insistence that the park had no official name was patently untrue. Monahan Park honoured the Irish alderman who had spearheaded the opening of the park.[31]

Despite the strong objections of the anglophone (or "Irish") aldermen, Council passed the motion. A parade of ranking SSJBM officers through the offices of the Mayor, Commissioners, and sympathetic aldermen was too great a political pressure on the majority francophone city administration, especially coming in mid-June as the celebrations of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day approached. Scorn from the organizers of the fête nationale was not wise to court so near their annual glory. But the passing of the new name did not end the battle.

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[30]AMM, Minutes of City Council, 11 June 1917; Morin, Légende dorée, p. 112.

[31]AMM, Rapports des Commissaires 3227, "Raisons pour lesquelles le nouveau parc ... devrait s'appeler 'Marguerite-Bourgeoys'"; Section La Salle to City of Montreal, 15 mai 1917; Morin, Légende dorée, p. 112.

It needed further reinforcement; two years later its proponents moved to secure it. As part of the Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebrations for 1919, the city placed a stone monument at the entrance to the park with bilingual inscriptions explaining the significance of the name. The SSJBM added its own clout to the unveiling by making it the centrepiece of celebrations that year. The next year a local division of the SSJBM chose the name Section Marguerite-Bourgeoys.[32]

The dispute around Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys involved competing ideas of the sense of place of the neighbourhood. For the Irish who lived there, the neighbourhood was Irish space; for the SSJBM the area was of French origin. These competing visions, while expressed in ethnic or linguistic opposition, involved a deeper dispute between the past and present of place. The Irish residents of St.-Gabriel Ward saw Monahan Park as part of their daily life experience. One of their own had opened it and it was used by the people who lived and worked in the district. To men like Arthur St.-Pierre, on the other hand, this land's historic importance superseded the current use. His argument focussed on origins. The farm had been an important aspect of local French-Canadian history which had only been covered up by the "less historical" development of the city since the conquest. St.-Pierre and his associates were simply trying to revive the original character of the public memory. Although the issue died slowly over the years, at least in open politics, the repeated vandalism of the monument at the park's entrance suggests a lingering resistance to the name on the part of some residents of St.-Gabriel's Ward.[33]

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[32]*La Presse*, 23 juin 1920.

[33]Morin, *Légende dorée*, p. 112.

The territoriality of public memory is not simply a matter of claiming sites for a specific mnemonic tradition. It also elevates some sites and ignores others. The absence of any recognized historic sites in Griffintown, for instance, implies that nothing historic ever occurred there. Yet Griffintown was the centre of Montreal's industrial revolution and, arguably, the birthplace of Canadian industry.[34] The canal built to by-pass the Lachine Rapids quickly drew other interests. The water power of the canal's deepest locks powered the machinery for Montreal's early industrial factories in the neighbourhood that became Griffintown. But the canal is commemorated by a plaque in the town of Lachine, about twelve kilometres from Griffintown.[35] Similarly, the axis of the Boulevard St.-Laurent, generally accepted as the centre of Montreal's territorial growth through the nineteenth century, is unmarked. The physical, demographic, and political expansion of the city northwards is uncommemorated.

Historic sites clustered in a pattern that closely mirrored the social geography of the city. French Canadians tended to place the markers they sponsored in French-Canadian neighbourhoods. Similarly, anglophone sponsors placed theirs in regions of the city with a high degree of anglophone property ownership. This is hardly surprising. Liberal principles of property ownership demanded that property owners approve any

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[34]This is a contentious point. Notwithstanding the simultaneous (and occasionally earlier) development of industry elsewhere in Canada, Montrealers tend to see the Lachine Canal as crucial to Canadian industrialization.

[35]Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, pp. 210; 224-228. A Jacob Livingston of Montreal's City Improvement League asked the HSMBC to mark the Montreal end of the canal in 1943, but the Board declined. NA, RG 37, v. 13, "Agenda for the Annual Meeting of the HSMBC, May 1943."

commemorations placed on their holdings. Often the property owner was the sponsor (see Map 7.1). But it would be inaccurate to suggest that socio-economic status alone influenced the geography of public memory. Certainly heritage elites assiduously avoided Montreal's worst neighbourhoods, although slums did encroach on historic markers after the fact. They may have avoided the slums because they wanted unveiling ceremonies to be events building civic pride and the wretched living conditions of Montreal's poorest citizens would have scandalized the dignitaries at the ceremonies. To some extent, this explains the absence of markers in, for example, Griffintown.[36]

The kinds of neighbourhoods in which plaques and monuments are placed influences the sorts of people who witness them every day. (Whether or not those people absorb the intended message is open to debate.) The geography of Montreal's historic sites and monuments suggests the aims of the heritage elites. Considering the narrow, "petit-bourgeois" background of the major players in the heritage elite, the geography of public memory supports a message of class. Public history was directed at broadly-defined middle classes. In particular, differing elements of the middle class entertained differing notions of idealized behaviour and civic responsibility. For the declining bourgeois segment of liberal professionals (those engaged in the knowledge trades), the past offered a potential validation of their previous social position and, in encouraging others to look to history, gave them a way of propping up their particular professional skills.

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[36]See *Historical Atlas of Canada* v. 3, plate 30.

Map 7.1: Map of Sites by Sponsorship
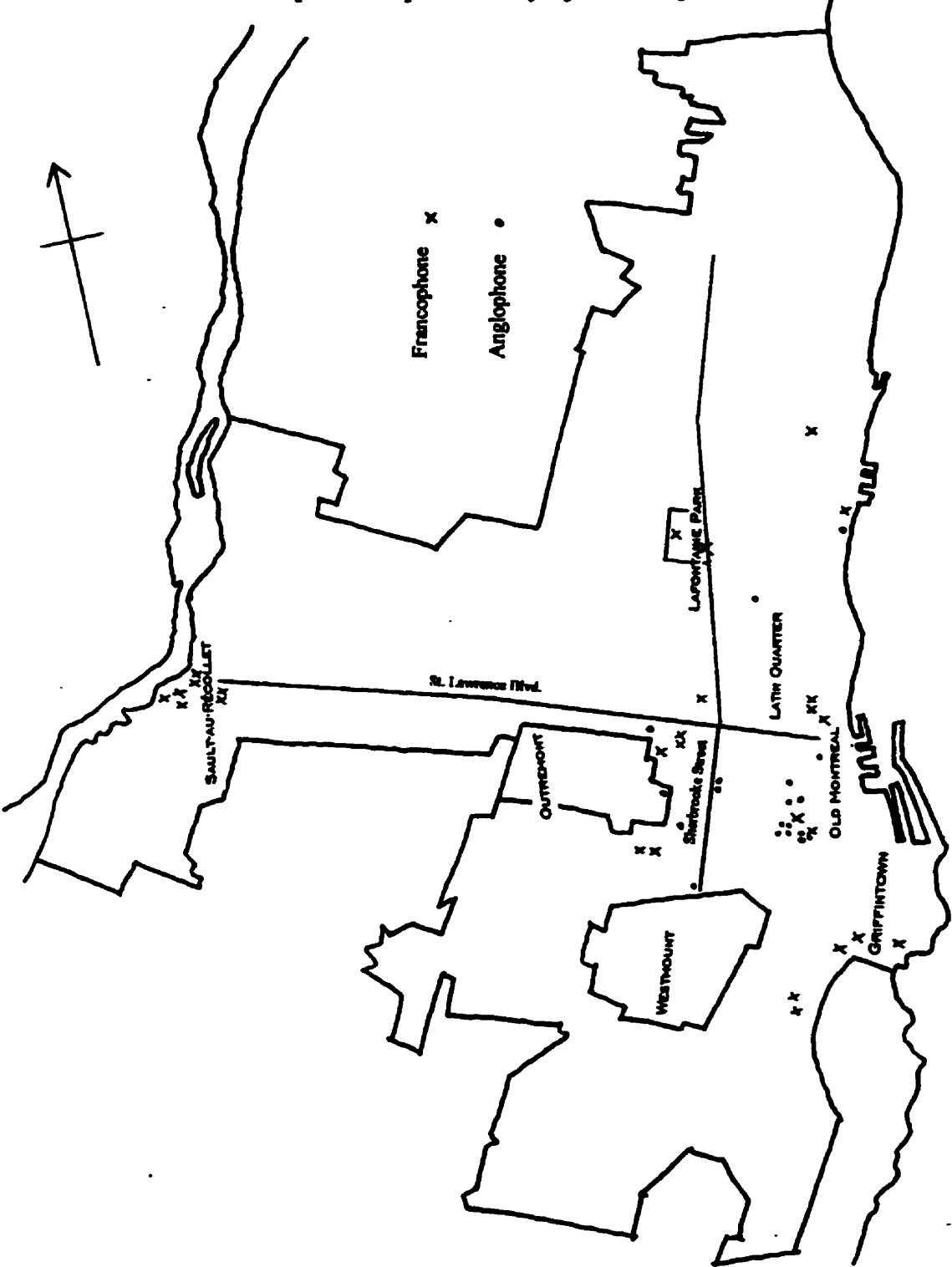
Sources: as for Table 7.1 and Robert, *Atlas historique*, p. 128.

Map 7.2: Map of Sites 1891 to 1930
By "Ethnicity" of People and Events Commemorated

Francophone ×

Anglophone •

LAFONTAINE PARK

LATIN QUARTER

St. Lawrence Blvd.

SAULT-AU-RÉCOLLET

OUTREMONT

Sherbrooke Street

OLD MONTREAL

WESTMOUNT

GRIFFINTOWN
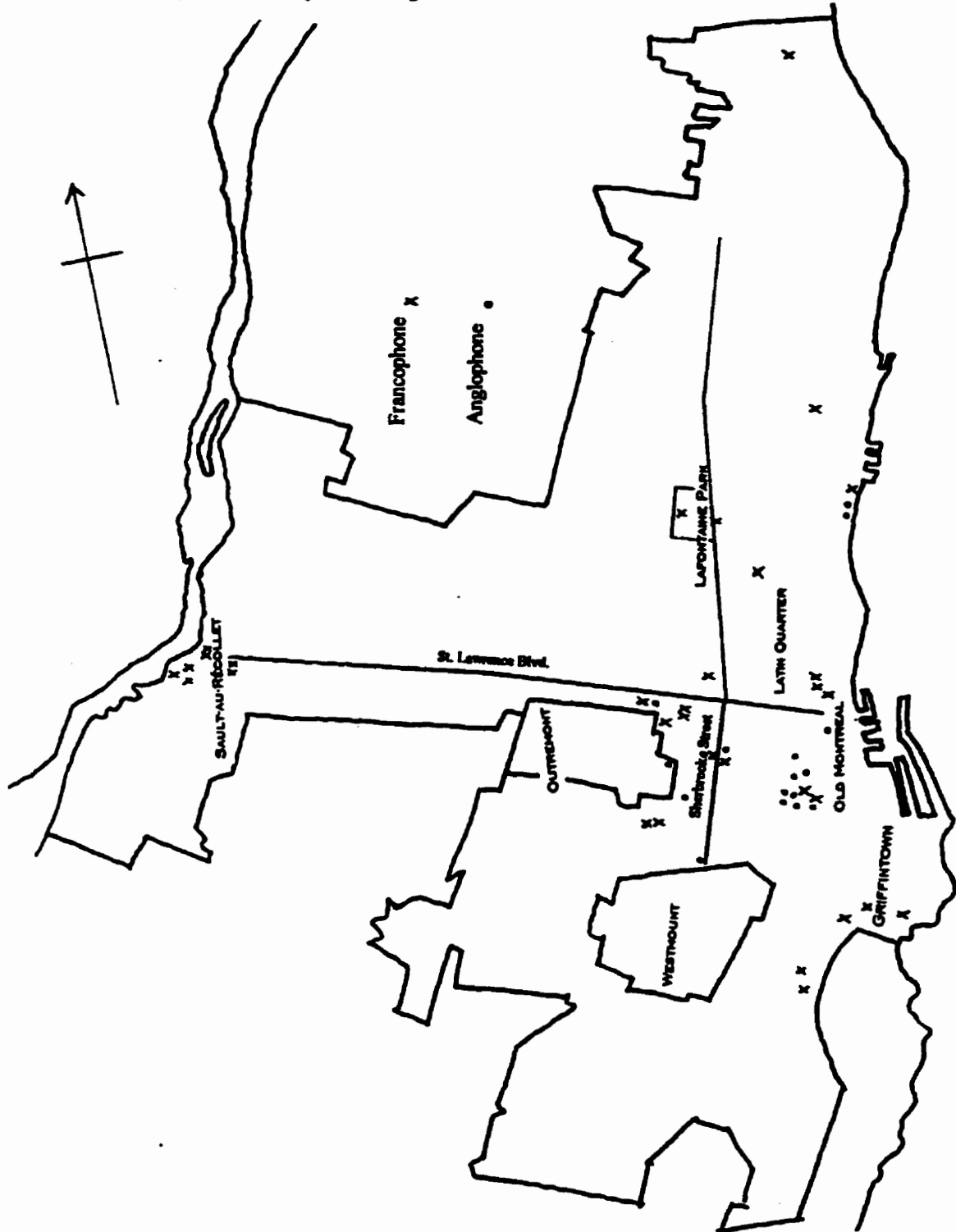
Sources: as for Table 7.1 and Robert, *Atlas historique*, p. 128.

However, examining the historical subjects commemorated by each marker reveals that Montreal's social geography also influenced which aspects of the city's history would be commemorated in which neighbourhoods. Map 7.2 illustrates the point: historical subjects celebrating French-Canadian memories clustered in francophone neighbourhoods. The spatial division Raoul Blanchard exposed was similarly a mnemonic division.

But socio-economic factors alone do not explain the geography of public memory. The case of Old Montreal is particularly illuminating. Old Montreal extends from roughly St.-Antoine (Craig) Street south to the river and from McGill Street east to Berri Street. Inside this roughly rectangular district lay 63 historic sites, but socio-economic factors fail to explain their locations. Old Montreal had been relatively uninhabited since the 1860s. In 1891 it accounted for only 3% of the city's population, a figure that dropped to below 1% by 1930. Moreover, as the city's "downtown" core, Old Montreal drew a wide spectrum of the city's social classes between 1891 and 1930.

Nonetheless the historic sites fell into a pattern. Dollier de Casson intended Notre-Dame to be the main street of the city when he laid out its principal roads in 1672. He made it wider than any other street and set the parish church in its axis, drawing attention to the devotional vocation of the city. This plan was successful. During the French- and early British-regimes Notre-Dame attracted the city's social and political institutions. The Catholic parish church, the Governor's residence, the Seminary, Anglican cathedral, Presbyterian church, and courthouse all stood on this street. Public history reflected this. Heritage elites placed thirty-one historic markers along the street or within a half a block of its axis by 1930. A secondary node of eight sites gathered around Place Royale. This too

has a somewhat historical origin. Champlain had chosen Place Royale for a settlement in 1611 and Maisonneuve laid the foundations of the colony there when he arrived in 1642.

This historical geography is possible because heritage elites agreed with Dollier de Casson and subsequent city builders as to what constituted importance. An alternative public memory might privilege the Montreal docks, one of the sites where Canada's early labour movement and class consciousness formed. In 1864, for example, Montreal's carters staged a strike to protest the proletarianization of their trade. During the 1843 Lachine Canal strike, workers demonstrated outside St. Anne's Market at today's Place d'Youville and marched along Notre-Dame Street indicating that they too saw these as important sites of power.[37] But the alternative memory of working people highlights the contested nature of the sites of memory.

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[37] *L'Aurore des Canadas*, 23 mars 1843; Raymond Boily, *Les Irlandais et le Canal de Lachine* (Ottawa, 1980), pp. 22-23.

Map 7.3: Sites in Old Montreal 1891 to 1930
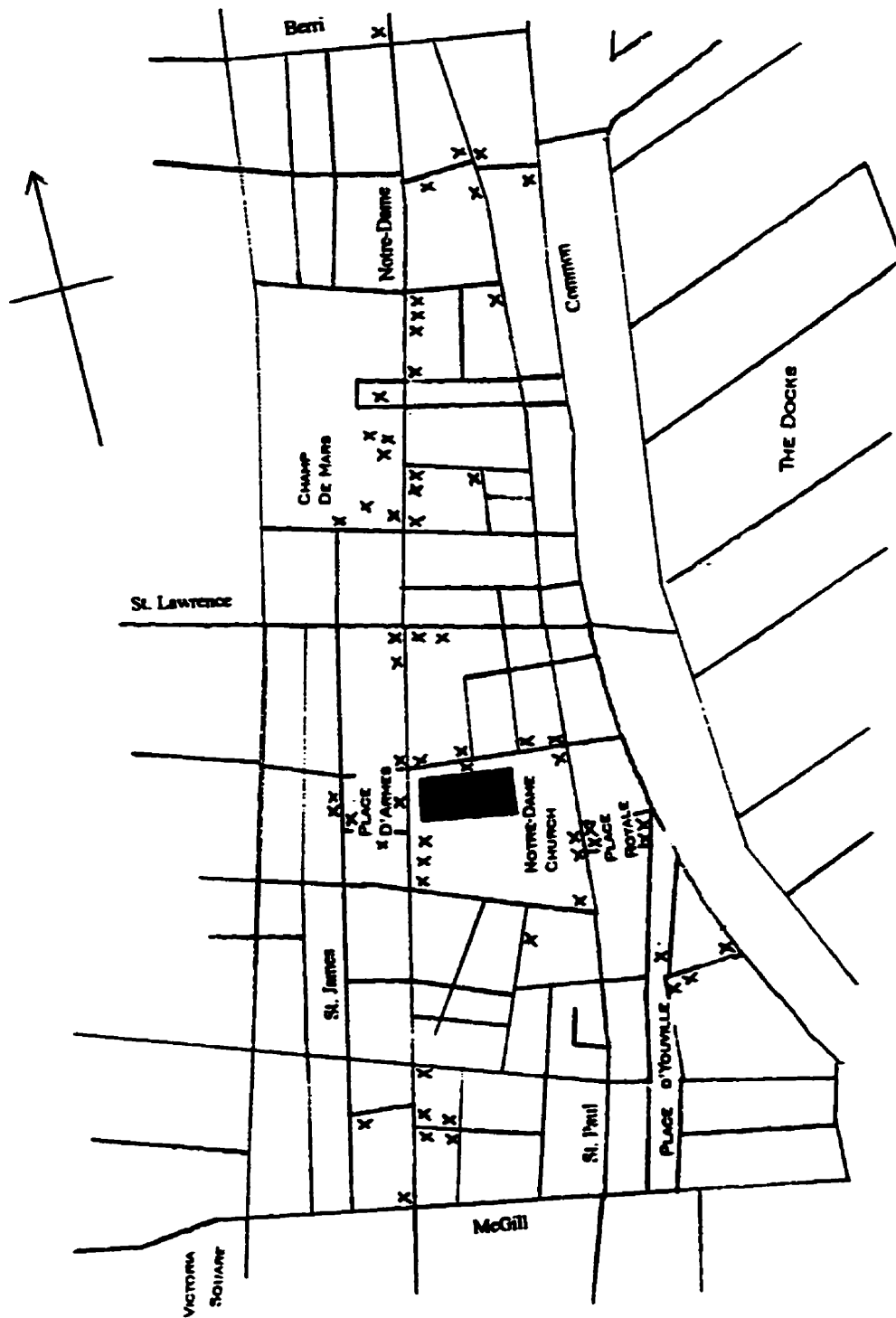
Sources as for Table 7.1.

The site of Hochelaga is another contested "place". The nineteenth-century archaeologist, John William Dawson, opened the debate in 1860 when he unearthed the remains of an Amerindian site he believed to be Hochelaga on the south flank of Mount Royal.[38] Dawson's site captured many imaginations. The ANSM accepted it and the HSMBC, working on Lighthall's advice, accepted it as well.[39] Dawson placed Hochelaga south of Sherbrooke Street, but the HSMBC decided that McGill University's campus north of Sherbrooke was the "precise" location. The Board extracted McGill's permission to use its land (though not until Professor Ramsay Traquair's demand for a complete redesign of the standard plaque and cairn was satisfied) and moved towards an unveiling scheduled for early 1922. But at the last second these plans nearly collapsed out of the panic caused by a single letter from Aegidius Fauteux.[40]

Fauteux wrote Harkin to caution him against staking the Board's reputation on the Dawson site. One of his colleagues at the SHM, one Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, had discovered evidence to counter the Dawson claim. Beaugrand-Champagne intended to publish what he called "conclusive proof" and establish the "true" site of Hochelaga. His thesis was that Cartier's voyage had taken him around the northern shore of the Island of

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[38]John William Dawson, "Notes on Aboriginal Antiquities Recently Discovered in the Island of Montreal," *The Canadian Naturalist and Geographer* (1860), pp. 430-449.

[39]Lighthall would later study the Ramusio plan of Hochelaga's features and conclude that it was a much later rendition based on a Mayan village. The HSMBC had planned to include the Ramusio plan on its plaque but did not for financial reasons. Board members would have been embarrassed had the idea been carried out. NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Benjamin Sulte to J.B. Harkin, 13 December 1920; W.D. Lighthall, "The False Plan of Hochelaga," RSC II (1932), pp. 181-192.

[40]NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Ramsay Traquair to A.P.S. Glassco, 8 March 1921.

Montreal, following the Rivière des Prairies rather than the commonly accepted St. Lawrence route. Thus Cartier, according to this thesis, had landed at the Sault-au-Récollet on the north shore of Montreal Island rather than at the Lachine Rapids. Cartier's *Relations* could hence be read to place Hochelaga on the north side of Mount Royal. Beaugrand-Champagne situated it in the city of Outremont near the intersection of Maplewood and Pagneulo Streets.[41]

Fauteux and Beaugrand-Champagne had done more than simply dispute an accepted archaeological fact. They had enlisted Hochelaga and the Dawson site into a larger contest of social geography. In placing Hochelaga in Outremont, Beaugrand-Champagne rewrote Cartier's journey so that his route traversed francophone neighbourhoods rather than the primarily anglophone-neighbourhood route of Dawson's hypothesis. When incorporated in 1875 Outremont was a predominantly anglophone town, but it quickly developed into a battleground in Montreal's social geography. By the turn of the century, the francophone proportion of the population had climbed from below 20% to over 40%. In the meantime, Outremont had become the "French Westmount," an upper-middle-class suburb to rival the anglophone Town of Westmount. For many French-Canadians, moving to Outremont was a sign of having "arrived." But as the anglophone population of Outremont declined, French Canadians had to compete for Outremont's neighbourhoods with their Jewish neighbours. By 1931 nearly a quarter of the city's residents were Jews. French Canadians, who had never comprised more than 45% of the population, felt their place threatened by unwanted

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[41]NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Aegidius Fauteux to J.B. Harkin, 23 December 1921. The "conclusive proof" can be found in Aristide Beaugrand-Champagne, "Le chemin et l'emplacement de la Bourgade d'Hochelaga," *Cahiers des Dix* (1947), pp. 115-160.

outsiders. Hochelaga, although it was an Amerindian village, was marshalled in defence of the French face of Outremont.[42] Jacques Cartier and the narrative of French discovery reinforced francophone claims to historic occupation of the northeastern flank of Mount Royal.

Of course the HSMBC's trepidation was not caused by its acute attentiveness to Montreal's social geography. It was caused by its own standards of accuracy. A flurry of letters whisked between Montreal and Ottawa as Harkin and Sulte tried to resolve the crisis. Ironically Fauteux proved the saviour of the Dawson site. He recommended saving the McGill campus plaque by the ruse of deliberate ambiguity. As no definitive proof could be found, he suggested simply noting that Hochelaga had been "near this site." The HSMBC quickly adopted his idea and unveiled the plaque on 22 May 1925.[43]

The HSMBC did not have the last word in the Hochelaga debate. In July 1926, the Sault-au-Récollet section of the SSJBM unveiled two historic plaques to celebrate the one-hundred-and-seventy-fifth anniversary of the Sault-au-Récollet church. The plaques commemorated the first celebration of mass at Montreal in 1615 and the martyrdom of the Récollet priest Nicolas Viel. In 1625, Hurons escorting Father Viel back to Quebec killed him and his Huron companion Ahuntsic, tossing their bodies into the rapids. But one plaque

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[42]Census of Canada, (1881), v. 1, pp. 256-257; (1901), v. 1, pp. 366-367; (1921), v. 1, pp. 434-435; (1931), v. 2, pp. 374-375. Robert Rumilly disputes the notion that any widespread animosity existed in Outremont, but he describes "le mouvement de francisation" and outlines a heated battle concerning publicly supported Jewish schools in Outremont in the early 1930s. Robert Rumilly, *Histoire d'Outremont, 1875-1975* (Ottawa, 1975), pp. 81-86; 157-160; 241-248.

[43]NA, RG 84, v. 1241, Aegidius Fauteux to J.B. Harkin, 3 June 1922.

Map 7.4 Contested Sites of Hochelaga
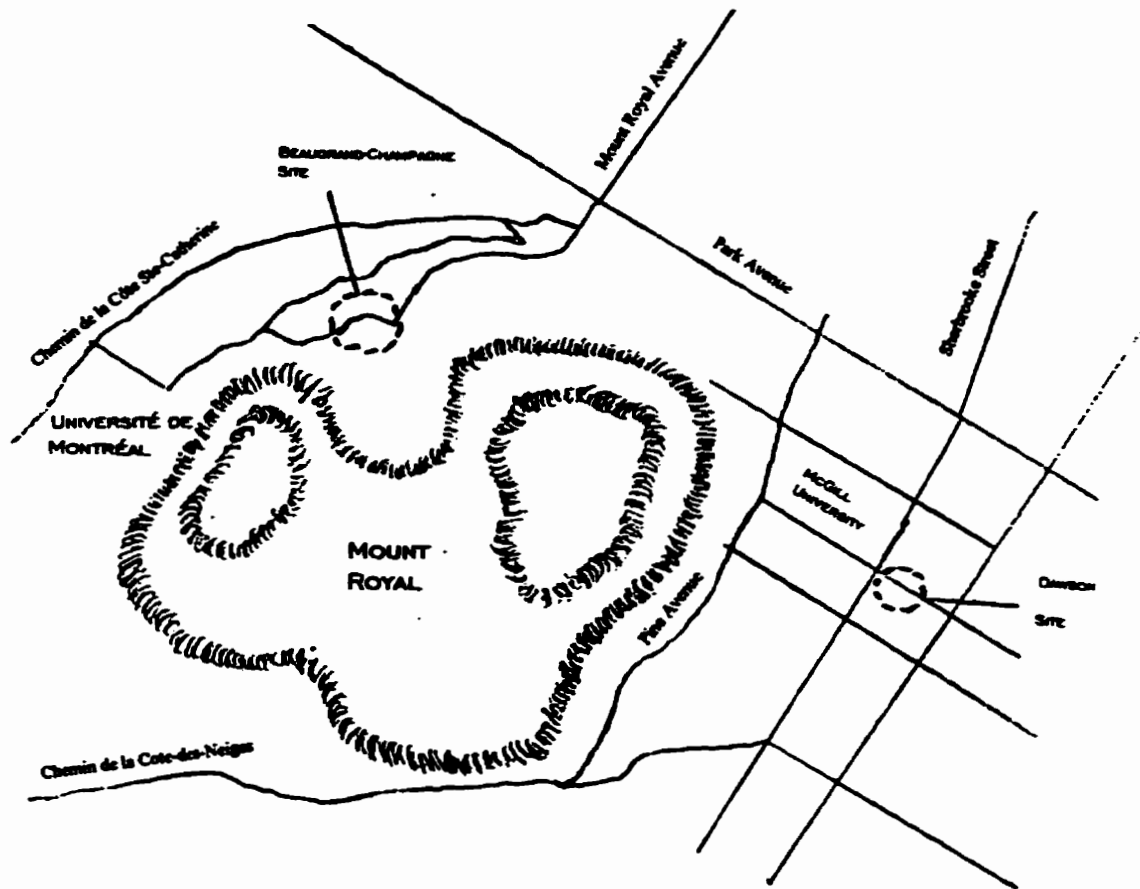
Source: Robert, *Atlas historique*, p. 25.

also supported the Beaugrand-Champagne thesis: "Ici au pied du dernier sault de la Rivière

des Prairies le 2 octobre 1535 est debarqué Jacques Cartier en route pour Hochelaga."[44]

Gustave Lanctot attacked the northern route thesis in 1930 arguing the improbability

of Cartier following a smaller river and his failure to notice that he was on an island when,

looking south from atop Mount Royal, he must have seen the St. Lawrence. Nonetheless the

dispute continued through the twentieth century. Beaugrand-Champagne's defenders have

included Victor Morin, Lionel Groulx, and more recently Lucien Campeau. The southern

route's main proponents are Samuel E. Morison, Bruce Trigger, and Marcel Trudel. This

thesis is more plausible, but the confusion between the two routes is such that some authors

combine them, as Gustave Déry did in his 1987 account.[45] Nonetheless, the issue cannot be

resolved. Neither archaeological nor documentary evidence is likely to produce a clear

answer. Cartier's descriptions are too vague to point conclusively to any site and his

reference, on his second trip to Montreal, to another town further confuses the issue. Indeed,

Fauteux's deliberate ambiguity is probably the best response. Nonetheless, continuing

disagreement between the predominantly francophone-supported northern route and the

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[44]*Le Canada*, 8 mars 1924; *La Presse*, 12 juillet 1926.

[45]Gustave Déry, *A la découverte de Montréal, 1535-1987: Leurs origines, l'histoire des arrivants: Biographes enrichies de nombreuses photos* (self published, 1987), pp. 15-31. The literature on the site of Hochelaga is expansive. Bruce Trigger's "Hochelaga: History and Ethnohistory," in Trigger and James F. Pendergast, *Cartier's Hochelaga and the Dawson Site* (Montreal, 1972), pp. 21-32, provides the most thorough summary of the dispute. See also, S.E. Morison, *The European Discovery of America* v. 1 *The Northern Voyages AD 500-1600* (New York, 1971), p. 413; Trudel, *Les vaines tentatives, 1524-1603*, pp. 97-98, 161; Lionel Groulx, *La Découverte du Canada* (Montreal and Paris, 1966), pp. 123-126; Jacques Cartier, *Relations* Michel Bideaux (ed) (Montreal, 1986), p. 372.

predominantly anglophone-supported southern route underscores the social territoriality of historical memory.

Competing commemorations of Hochelaga largely ignored Amerindian history. Indeed public memory treats the Hochelagans as unhistorical. The texts of plaques and monuments simply regarded Hochelaga as the context of Jacques Cartier's arrival. Public history pointed to Hochelaga five times, but each time its significance was reduced to welcoming the French explorer. Cartier, who spent only a few hours at Montreal almost constantly in the company of Hochelagans, overwhelms centuries of an Amerindian past. This unhistorical treatment extends to other Amerindians. Eight plaques mention the role of Amerindians in Montreal's history: six describe them in a state of war (once under British command) while another mentions Britain's influence over them. Amerindians enter Montreal's history only to massacre the French or succumb to Europe's civilizing influence. They are portrayed as external to Montreal's past and, as invaders, also external to its territory.

The HSMBC summed up prevailing attitudes towards the city's Amerindian history. The secretary of the Ontario Historical Society, A.F. Hunter, wrote to the HSMBC in 1922 to propose that "As the Indian has played such a prominent part in the history of Canada should we not have a tablet to specially commemorate his part?" He suggested a single plaque to record the first occupants of Canada. Board members met the suggestion with mixed sentiments. Although he thought the idea acceptable for Ontario, the Quebec representative, Benjamin Sulte, sniffed that with respect to Lower Canada, Amerindians were "so insignificant in number and of meagre importance that they need not be

considered."[46] Sulte was apparently unaware that more Amerindians lived in Montreal than did French settlers near the end of the seventeenth century. The exact historical role of Amerindians in Montreal can be argued, but in the memories of the city's European-descended residents, they barely figured.[47]

Public memory is a discourse about structures of power that treats those traditionally excluded from power as unhistorical. Women, although they represent roughly half of Montreal's population, rarely appeared on the city's public monuments. This silence is telling, but it is hardly surprising. Classical liberalism confined women to the home. Moreover, the consequences of liberalism meant that women participated in very few of the kinds of events that heritage elites found historically significant.[48] Still, the roles of some women had been commemorated: by 1930 eight sites honoured four female historical figures. Three of these were monuments to Queen Victoria. Jeanne Mance was commemorated with both a plaque and a monument as well appearing on both the Maisonneuve monument and Pioneers' obelisk, Marguerite Bourgeoys also merited both a plaque and a monument, and in front of the French consulate Joan of Arc's monument reminded Montrealers of the Hundred Years' War. Along with Jeanne Mance, the SHM's Pioneers' Obelisk included the names of another ten women on its list of forty-seven original

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[46]NA, RG 84, v. 1172, A.F. Hunter to A.A. Pinard, 21 December 1922; Memorandum by Pinard, 1 March 1923.

[47]Grabowski, p. 408.

[48]Billie Melman, "Gender, History and Memory: The Invention of a Women's Past in the Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries" *History and Memory* (Spring/Summer 1993), p. 10.

colonists. Including such supporting references, men out scored women 641 to 43 in mentions or depictions in the plaques and monuments raised in Montreal between 1891 and 1930.

Queen Victoria was the only anglophone woman to appear on Montreal's historic plaques and monuments. Forty others were French regime settlers and nuns, their supporters in France, and Joan of Arc. This presents an interesting contrast between the remembered experiences of Montreal's women. French-Canadian women were shown "real life" examples from an old regime history to emulate; their anglophone counterparts could look only to the anomaly of a female sovereign. This difference flowed out of the differences in the heritage elites. Anglophones drew on the monarch as an "auxiliary" to patriotism and French Canadians looked back at heroic figures and religious duty.

The monument to Jeanne Mance reveals the limits of women's place in Montreal's public memory. Jeanne Mance was a member of Maisonneuve's company and among the original settlers to arrive at Montreal in 1642. She came specifically to establish Montreal's first hospital, the Hotel-Dieu. (The Hotel-Dieu operated at various locations during the French regime and moved to its present location on Pine Avenue in 1861.) In 1909, to mark the two-hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the arrival of Mance's replacements, the hospital erected Mance's monument on its grounds.[49] It portrays Mance comforting an injured colonist. Three fleurs-de-lys adorn each of the four sides of the pedestal while at the front an inscription proclaims her to be the founder of the Hotel-Dieu. On the rear of the

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[49]Elie-J. Auclair, *Les fêtes de l'Hôtel-Dieu en 1909: Pour célébrer le 250e anniversaire de l'arrivée au pays en 1654 des trois primières hospitalières de Montréal* (Montreal, 1909), p. 60.

monument is another inscription quoting from Jerôme Le Royer de La Dauversière, the

financial backer and founder of the Company of Montreal. The text reads as follows:

> Dieu veut se servir de nous pour l'établissement d'une nouvelle congrégation
> dédiée à la Sainte-Famille sous le nom de Saint-Joseph et qui fasse voeu de
> servir les pauvres. Il nous faut travailler à cette ouvre - Paroles de M. La
> Dauversière à Mlle de la Ferré.

The inclusion of La Dauversière on the monument links Mance and the hospital to the

origins of Montreal. The quotation comes from a letter to the founder of the Hotel-Dieu at

La Flèche, France. But rather than celebrate the historical role of Jeanne Mance, attesting

to her piety or patriotism, the quotation ignores her. La Dauversière's words convert the

hospital to a sign of providential history and suggest its founder confirmed woman's place

in God's plan. Certainly La Dauversière and Mlle. de la Ferré played a role in financing,

training, and equipping the eventual hospitalliers of Montreal, but the quotation relies on

masculine authority to validate Jeanne Mance's work and her place in history.[50]

Memory constructs roles. It is a double-barrelled process of commemorating and

selective forgetting in which historical examples designate models of pious, patriotic, or

otherwise praiseworthy conduct.[51] For women that role follows from a conception of a

timeless, trans-historical femininity that dominated popular mentality during the period

between 1891 and 1930. Despite profound social changes over the late nineteenth century

and the first thirty years of the twentieth, femininity continued to be construed in traditional

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[50]J.K. Foran, *Jeanne Mance or the Angel of the Colony* (Montreal, 1931); Marie-Claire Daveluy, *Jeanne Mance* (Montreal, 1934).

[51]A similar issue is raised in Linda Kealey, Ruth Pierson, Joan Sangster, and Veronica Strong-Boag, "Teaching Canadian History in the 1990s: Whose `National History' Are We Lamenting?" *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Summer 1992), pp. 129-131.

patterns. Even anglophone first-wave or maternal feminists of the suffragist era construed woman's political role in ways that emphasized traditional notions of service and Christian duty. The Catholic church similarly emphasized domestic duty as woman's particular social obligation. These perspectives are hardly startling for a time when Canadian men and women viewed citizenship in terms of obligations rather than of rights. Under such basic conditions, woman's role - even when it entered the public domain - focused on traditional motherhood values and obligations.[52]

In a cultural climate in which men assigned values to femininity, it is not surprising that allegorical figures offer the most frequent representation of the female form in the statuary of the city. The Lett Hackett memorial, raised in Mount Royal Cemetery in 1886, provided the first female allegorical figure to grace a Montreal monument.[53] But during the heritage boom female allegorical figures spread like wildflowers. As late as 1890, only one stood in the city; by 1930 forty-five female allegorical figures appeared on thirteen of the city's monuments. Another eleven male figures, often portrayed as boys, appeared on five monuments. Although a male Spirit of Liberty breaks his chains on the Edward VII monument, Liberty typically appears as a winged female figure (4 times). The John A. Macdonald, Edward VII, and G.-E. Cartier monuments make the most extensive use of

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[52]Jill McKalla Vickers, "Feminist Approaches to Women in Politics," in Linda Kealey and Joan Sangster (eds) *Beyond the Vote: Canadian Women and Politics* (Toronto, 1989), pp. 20-22. The literature on maternal feminism is too extensive to cite here, but two relevant examples are Denise Lemieux et Lucie Mercier, "Familles et destins féminins: Le prisme de la mémoire, 1880-1940" *Recherches sociographiques* (1987), pp. 255-272 and Andrée Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec, 1919-1939* (Toronto, 1994).

[53]The statue of Neptune erected in 1858 at Place Neptune (today's Place Vauquelin) can be seen as a male allegorical figure symbolizing Montreal's maritime vocation.

allegories, using them to represent the founding peoples of Canada, the Canadian provinces, and the classical virtues of education, agriculture, freedom, and the law, among others. That women served to represent the virtues merely conformed to the constructed notion of a timeless femininity.[54]

This mnemonic discourse on gender was more fundamentally concerned with displaying ideals of masculinity. Between 1891 and 1930, Montrealers erected seventeen statues of male historical figures (excluding busts and war memorials). These divided into three even categories of traditional male leadership roles with six representing soldiers, six representing political leaders, and five representing a mixed category of priests, novices, and poets. Of these seventeen representations, only that of the Huron novice, Ahuntsic (martyred in 1625), strikes a humble pose. Ahuntsic, although displayed standing, has his head bowed and one knee bent. The Nicolas Viel monument, a few paces away, depicts a confident priest walking forward, head held high and Bible in hand. More typical are the poses of the Maisonneuve, Dollard, Iberville, Jacques Cartier, and Edward VII monuments, each of which depicts a broad-shouldered, proud man. Physical masculine strength is united with

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[54]Artistic use of the female form in the allegorical depiction of virtues stems from the classical tradition and, to some extent, has a grammatical origin. In Romance languages such abstractions as virtue, beauty, liberty, strength, and charity are, with only a few exceptions, feminine nouns. But the regulations of grammar alone cannot fully justify the practice. As the author of a seventeenth-century handbook for painters noted, the tradition runs counter to popular convictions regarding woman's relative weakness and greater temptation to sin. Yet, despite his admitted bewilderment, Cesare Ripa insisted on remaining faithful to the tradition. Another explanation draws on a Classical and early Christian association between virginity and the victory of the virtues over the vices. Virginity, or chastity, a mark of youth and purity, is more strongly associated as a feminine than a masculine virtue. However this too is an incomplete interpretation. See Marina Warner, *Joan of Arc: The Image of Female Heroism* (London, 1981), pp. 226-231.

traditional male leadership roles. Balancing the timeless femininity idealized by liberalism, public memory displayed an equally idealized view of masculinity. Yet it was a masculinity delimited by middle-class values. Nowhere, with the partial exception of the Edward VII monument, was the rough masculinity of working men portrayed as historical or patriotic. Indeed relatively few monuments celebrate the majority of Montreal's population, its working people.

Nonetheless, the residents of the city below the hill left their mark on the hill itself: both Protestant and Catholic firemen left monuments in their respective cemeteries on Mount Royal. Montrealers had long relied on volunteer fire brigades divided by ethnicity and religion to put down its frequent fires. But by the middle of the nineteenth century, city officials became increasingly concerned about the rivalries between the different companies. Rival companies of volunteer firemen occasionally fought each other rather than fires and, in 1849, one prominent firefighter led the assault that burned down the Parliament Building at St.-Anne's Market. Town fathers had good reason to suspect the volunteers and slowly worked to eliminate them. Between 1859 and 1867 the city gradually introduced full-time firefighters and these professional corps quickly won the respect of the city. When Samuel Bertram, the first Chief, died in 1875, citizens quickly raised enough money to erect a memorial stone over his grave in Mount Royal Cemetery.[55] His memory was still respected in the 1920s when the CMHQ declared this monument to be of historic importance.

Another monument to labour is more enigmatic. In 1859, the workers employed in the construction of the Victoria Bridge erected their own monument. They placed a simple

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[55]Donal Baird, *The Story of Firefighting in Canada* (Erin, 1986), pp. 77-85; 101-104.

black boulder near the bridge in Pointe-St.-Charles and inscribed it to the memory of the

roughly 6,000 Irish men, women, and children who contracted "ship fever" on route from

Ireland to Canada and died of it in 1847-48. Many of these unfortunate souls were buried

at Bridge Street, near the fever sheds set up by Bishop Bourget to accommodate them.[56]

This stone expressly recalls the memory of unfortunate Irish immigrants and has been

associated with Montreal's Irish community. But it also serves a subtly subversive purpose.

The Victoria Bridge was named for the sovereign and inaugurated by her son (who even took

credit, however ceremonial, for completing the work), but the typhus stone recognizes the

work of faceless labourers in the employ of the Pets, Brassey, and Betts construction firm

who built the bridge that captured the wonder of the world.

Such an instance of "ground up" memory is rare. Moreover the three firemen's

monuments and the typhus stone were all placed prior to 1891. Only two "historic"

monuments placed after 1890 commemorate working people, and then only indirectly. The

grave markers of Louis Archambault and J.-A. Rodier, erected in 1909 and 1916

respectively, hold up French-Canadian labour leaders as heroes. Archambault had founded

the *Société des artisanes canadiennes-françaises d'Amérique*, a church-sponsored

"professional association" that claimed a membership of 350,000 in 1909. Official church

sanction made the Archambault monument unveiling a special affair. On the society's *fête*

patronale, members celebrated a pontifical mass at Notre-Dame Church then assembled in

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[56]At Grosse-Ile there are two other monuments to the same epidemic. The first dates from the 1840s, the second was erected in 1909 by the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, pp. 99-106.

Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery to watch Canon La Pailleur inaugurate the monument.[57]

Rodier wrote a regular column for *La Presse* covering working-class problems. He also

encouraged the founding of unions and launched the *Parti ouvrier* in municipal affairs. His

monument, paid for by "quelques unions ouvrières," was erected on 12 October 1916 and

inaugurated near the end of that month. Unlike Archambault's ceremony, however, the

Rodier inauguration received little coverage in Montreal's newspapers. The *Parti ouvrier*,

although hardly a socialist party, did not command the attentions of journalists. Rodier's

tomb notes simply "les unions ouvrières reconnaissantes."[58] By contrast, Montreal's

bourgeoisies left behind twelve plaques and monuments that either honoured capitalists or

thanked them for their patronage. A national *mythomoteur* requires the submergence of

class conflict in a contiguous social unit. Consequently public history was silent on class

relations and glorified the philanthropy of the hegemonic classes.

III Mental Geography

The geography of historic sites is not confined to physical locations. A wider

"mental historical geography" can be seen in the territories associated with the subjects of

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[57]*La Presse*, 13 september 1909. Archambault came to Montreal to work as a carpenter in 1863. In 1876 he was elected President of the ASJB and likely organized the Artisans' Society in 1884. From that date Society members marched in the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade. See Robert Comeau, "Archambault, Louis," in *DCB* v. 13, pp. 20-21.

[58]*La Presse*, 12 octobre 1916. Although it was unnoticed by the city's newspapers, the CMHQ classified the Rodier monument as "historic" in 1923. CMHQ, *Monuments commemoratifs*, p. 309. Although Rodier was denounced as a socialist, he was really a labour activist. Mgr. Bruchési saw him at his death bed. Jacques Rouillard, "Rodier, Joseph-Alphonse," in *DCB* v. 13, pp. 886-887.

commemoration. A plaque to the explorer Alexander Mackenzie, for instance, directs the

mind to the Rocky Mountains, connecting Montreal's history to the vast territorial reach of

the Montreal fur trade. On the other hand, depictions of Lambert Closse confine the

immediate mental picture of Montreal's history to the city itself. Such territorial imaginings

can be seen in two types of mythical space. The first is the "terra incognito" discussed by

Evitiar Zerubavel. Although Columbus encountered the New World in 1492, Europeans

took centuries to understand that the Americas were new continents. In the meantime, they

invented conceptions of the western hemisphere that fit preconceived notions of how the

New World should look.[59] A second type of mythical space is the spatial component of a

world view; it is ideology played out in geography. Both types of mythical space mix

memory with incomplete knowledge about other places and times.[60]

Ralph Heintzman has recently built such an argument for the mental geography of

French-speaking Quebec. Heintzman posits that the ways in which French Canadians

perceived their economic space defined their political space and therefore influenced the

rhetoric of French-Canadian nationalism up to the 1920s. Thus the Conquest, and the

subsequent loss of the western fur trade, narrowed French-Canadian political space from the

expansive territorial ambitions of New France. But following the railway boom from the

1840s through the 1920s, Montreal re-emerged as the metropolis of the west. French-

Canadian political geographies expanded as a result, encompassing Confederation and its

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[59]Evitar Zerubavel, *Terra Cognita: The Mental Discovery of America* (New Brunswick, 1992); John Barton Russell, *Inventing the Flat Earth* (New York, 1991).

[60]Tuan, pp. 86-87.

western extension. Cartier, he notes, was both a Father of Confederation and an enthusiastic railway man. However, the wheat boom of the Laurier years represented the high water mark for the Empire of the St. Lawrence and its influence on the French-Canadian mind. After the 1920s the concepts of economic and political space diverged as biculturalism ascended and the commercial aspirations of French Canadians contracted into a Quebec-centred provincial economy.[61]

Table 7.6: Mental Geography of Public Memory[62]
Number of Plaques and Monuments Commemorating Events

	pre-1891	1891-1930
Inside Montreal	15	84
Outside Montreal	2	8
Outside Quebec	0	2
Outside Canada	0	1
Outside North America	3	18
no classifiable location	3	3

Public memory in Montreal is dominated by local history. Thus the numbers of markers commemorating sites outside the city are too small to lend valid statistical support to Heintzman's thesis concerning the mental geography of Quebecers. However, a closer look at the places commemorated outside of Montreal offers a more revealing, tentative

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[61]Ralph Heintzman, "Political Space and Economic Space: Quebec and the Empire of the St. Lawrence," *Journal of Canadian Studies* (Summer 1994), pp. 19-63.

[62]Locations were classified as follows: for monuments the place where the subject gained fame; for plaques the primary subject was chosen. For example, the plaque commemorating Cadillac, the founder of Detroit, is primarily concerned with the location of his house in Montreal and therefore is classed as in Montreal. Sources as for Table 7.1.

glimpse into mental geography. The evidence of public memory suggests that specific ethnic and political criteria played a greater role than economic factors in redrawing the mental geographies of Quebecers. This thesis identifies the Conscription Crisis of the First World War as the turning point in French-Canadian attitudes towards the outside world and in French-Canadian nationalism. A similar shift can be seen in the mental geography expressed by public history in Montreal.

Table 7.7: Locations Cited by Markers[63]

	pre-1891	1891-1918	1919-1930
Markers with multiple locations (excluding place of birth)	4	12	3
Places Mentioned:			
Elsewhere in Quebec	2	9	5
Elsewhere in Canada	0	4	2
United States	0	4	0
Great Britain	4*	1	1
France	1	3	7**
Other	2	2	2

* Scotland referred to as "North Britain" on the James McGill monument
** 6 War memorials assigned to France, one to lost sailors assigned "Other"

Two important shifts can be seen in the territoriality of Montreal's public memory. First, in partial agreement with Heintzman, Montreal began to imagine itself as the metropolis of Canada in the period between 1891 and 1918. Before and after those dates, relatively few historic markers noted a Canadian connection. Meanwhile the relative

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[63]Sources as for Table 7.1.

number of links to the province of Quebec climbed from 22% of places mentioned before 1891 to 39% between 1891 and 1918 (declining slightly to 31% from 1919 to 1930). Clearly Montrealers' tendency to see their history linked with Quebec grew slowly over the years. Secondly, public memory suggests that the imagined metropole for Montreal's history shifted from Britain to France over the same period. In other words, public memory's territoriality shifted from the expected ideas of British Canadians to those of French Canadians by the 1930s.

Obviously there are flaws in presenting these data as accurate reflections of the mentality of Montrealers. Three of these weaknesses are most important. For one, the numbers of markers situating Montreal in a broader geographical context are extremely limited. Nearly three quarters of historical markers raised over the four decades covered in this thesis commemorated events in Montreal. Public memory is primarily an affair of local history. Secondly, it is difficult to separate historical markers by ethnicity. (They are combined here to counter these two problems.) Many projects had the support of both communities, or at least the elites of both communities. Indeed many, such as the G.-E. Cartier monument and the Maisonneuve monument, were joint efforts. While it is possible to make generalizations about some differences in ethnic ideas of public memory, it is impossible to use these kind of statistics to clearly delineate French-Canadian from English-Canadian mental geographies. Thirdly, the data reflect only the ideas of local heritage elites who planned and executed local public history.

Nonetheless, mental historical geography does appear to have shifted to a Quebec-centred vision of history through the 1920s as the notion of French Canada contracted. In

part this reflects the increased activity of French Canadians and a relatively decreased role

of English-speaking Canadians in heritage projects. The shift in French-Canadian

ideological leadership from Bourassa to Groulx likewise entailed a tranformation of mental

geography. One example that spans the 1920s to 1950s bears out this point. The site of the

Battle of the Long Sault, where Dollard des Ormeaux and his companions fought off an

Iroquois war party, had been marked with a monument in 1919. But it was not universally

accepted. In 1927 Morin enlisted Lionel Groulx's support in encouraging the CMHQ to

recognize the battle site near the town of Carillon as a provincial historic site. Even as he

did this, Morin expressed his own reservations about the accuracy of the Carillon claim,

apprehensions that obviously disappeared after Groulx's intervention.[64]

Some twenty-five years later, in 1952, an archaeologist presented a theory that the

skirmish had actually taken place on the Ontario side of the Ottawa River, near the town of

Hawkesbury. The study, by T.E. Lee, became the focal point of a federal government plan

to build a historic park. Hawkesbury's claim seemed solid. It was based on the combined

evidence of the discovery of a French-regime encampment, Amerindian relics, the testimony

of an old "squaw" who identified the very spot of Dollard's fort, and the report of the

engineer of the Grenville-Carillon Railway. Nonetheless, Morin was sceptical. F.W. Alcock

of the National Museum in Ottawa quickly shot down Morin's protestations, but held out the

olive branch of an offer to excavate any site in the interests of "the truth." As letters flew

back and forth between the rival claimants, Morin's tone became increasingly hostile to the

suggestion that a significant event of Quebec's history had taken place outside Quebec. In

[64]ANQ-Q, E6 article 157, Victor Morin to Lionel Groulx, 19 mai 1927.

January 1952 he remained willing to discuss the merits of the Hawkesbury claim, but in a matter of months he scorned such "fantastic suggestions." Nearing the end of the summer he re-enlisted the father of the Dollard legend to press the claim of Carillon and, by autumn, Alcock buckled under the Morin-Groulx offensive.[65] The Battle of the Long Sault remained in Quebec.

As this example suggests, geography mates with public memory to gather shared memories together into a coherent, national past. Discussing a related issue, Raphael Samuel criticizes the historical syntheses of public life offered as "continuous national history." For Samuel, continuous national history presents a coherent narrative of the past by ignoring the messy inconsistencies of history.[66] Canada's continuous national history, the story of nation building, ignores the messy ruptures and rifts in the Canadian past, such as Métis resistance to the encroachment of central Canadian society. Memories of these ruptures are overpowered by the official public memory of nation building. Mental geography accomplishes for space what continuous national history does for time, creating a "contiguous national territory." The forgotten past and territorial memories repackage history along lines that are easy to narrate and delimit. And as French Canadians began to imagine themselves a minority in an anglophone, Protestant continent, a contiguous national

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[65]ANQ-Q, F.J. Alcock to Victor Morin, 14 January 1952; Morin to Alcock, 21 January 1952; Lucien Brault to Morin, 20 February 1952; Alcock to Morin, 20 May 1952; Morin to Lionel Groulx, 11 August 1952; Marcel Rioux to Louvigny de Montigny 5 November 1952; Morin to La Chute Watchmen, 11 March 1953.

[66]Samuel, "Continuous National History," pp. 10-11.

territory (the Province of Quebec) helped assuage anxieties about survival. Quebec emerged as the natural homeland of the French-Canadian people.

Public memory is a doubly contested terrain. It is contested most obviously as a face-off between historic sites and territories that closely mirrored the social geography of the city. But at a deeper level, public memory contested the ideological terrain of competing complexes of myths and symbols, or *mythomoteurs*. The dominant struggle between anglophones and francophones overshadowed the parenthetical tugs of other ethnic and class divisions. Public memory thus supported a myth-symbol complex that competed to create *the* constitutive political myth for the city. But the multiplicity of pasts in the city prevented any one historical vision from emerging as such a unifying myth. Public memory reflected a divided public.

Chapter Eight:

Public Memory on the Move:

Festivals and Parades

Public memory is more than just the static representation of the past found in monuments and historic plaques. While these reflected conceptions about the past and Montrealers' developing historical consciousness, they offer a fairly narrow vision of public memory. The planners and designers of monuments did not represent the masses. Popular subscriptions to monument funds do not give us insights into any popular input into the decisions that shaped such representations of the past.

Civic festivals, on the other hand, can be participatory. Parades offer a truer representation of popular memory because they are open to wider participation.[1] This chapter aims to demonstrate that civic festivals embody a living version of public memory that can be traced by contextualizing the depictions of the past expressed. Montrealers frequently marched in parades. Catholics marked religious occasions such as the Feast of Corpus Christi and numerous saint days with processions around the parish boundaries. Irish Protestants celebrated 12 July with an annual procession. And Montreal's Scots often marched in celebration of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland. But the most influential

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[1]Peter Goheen, "Symbols in the Streets: Parades in Victorian Urban Canada," *Urban History Review* (February 1990), p. 239.

of all festival has been French Canada's *fête nationale*, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and its history is the focus, but not the exclusive subject, of this chapter.

By the second half of the 1920s, Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day celebrations took a form most current observers would recognize. Each year the city shut down as French Canadians flocked to the streets and parks seeking amusement, camaraderie, and inspiration. The focus of the celebrations was the annual parade in which various francophone associations marched in a patriotic display of colours, uniforms, and banners. The highlights of each parade, with their beauty, originality, and especially, their lessons of morality and history, were the floats. After the parade, spectators and participants would converge on some public park for picnics, games, patriotic speeches, and religious observances. And, after nightfall, a massive display of pyrotechnics would astonish an enthusiastic audience and send them home happy.

Although many dignitaries of the day invoked the ancient origins of these traditions, this patriotic ceremony was historically constructed. Through the nineteenth century, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day passed through a number of manifestations that conformed to specific social structures. The specific form of 1930 was constructed through parallel forces of secular consumer capitalism and twentieth-century Catholic revivalism in response to the political environment of post-Conscription Canada.

I An Invented Tradition

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day falls on 24 June, about the time of the summer solstice. Long before the saint himself was born, the Celtic peoples of antiquity lit bonfires to

celebrate the longest day of the year. This pagan ritual was Christianized by the early church as the feast day of John the Baptist. By 1637 it had arrived in Canada. The *Jesuit Relations* note that the peasants had asked a reluctant Père Lalement to light the ceremonial bonfire on a hill near Quebec. They also note the Jesuits' reluctance to participate in what they considered a hedonistic holiday. For their part, in 1624 the Jesuits convinced Urban VIII to proclaim St. Joseph, Christ's adoptive father, the patron saint of New France. But notwithstanding this official church sanction, Saint Joseph's Day never captured the French settlers' popular imagination. Hampered by the March weather of the Saint Lawrence valley and falling during Lent, it was not as well received as a late June holiday. And, as Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day was a folk holiday for many immigrants from the northern and western provinces of France, its survival was an organic extension of peasant culture. The descendants of these French Regime settlers continued to observe Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day into the nineteenth-century.[2]

English, Scottish, and Irish immigrants to the new world also celebrated their saint days. Irish Protestants celebrated St. Patrick's Day in New York as early as the eighteenth century. Their Catholic compatriots began to use this holiday to celebrate their heritage in the nineteenth century. Perhaps this was part of the inspiration for Ludger Duvernay's initiative. His friend, E.B. O'Callahan, presided at the first Montreal Saint Patrick's banquet in March of 1834 and attended the first Saint-Jean-Baptiste banquet three months later. The

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[2]See, most notably, Rumilly, *Histoire de la SSJBM*; Benjamin Sulte cited and translated in James McPherson Le Moine, *Origin of the Festival of Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (Quebec City, 1880), pp. 1-9.

first St. Andrew's banquet was held in November of the same year.[3] Partisans of John the Baptist thus participated in a series of claims to legitimate national unity through the celebration of a patron saint. Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day was thus one of many positions in Montreal's multicultural contest. But Duvernay created Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day out of a more direct opposition to the colonial administration of Lord Aylmer.

The holiday had likely persisted in religious observance as *La Minerve* casually and erroneously referred to it as the Canadian "fête patronale" in 1834. Duvernay created, in his words, a "fête nationale" by tapping a well-established association between the French-speaking farmers of Canada and John the Baptist. During the War of 1812 British officers routinely referred to the French Canadians as "Jean-Baptiste," much as they would call the Irish "Paddy." But Duvernay wanted more than simply a Canadian version of the Irish feast day. He invited sixty friends to John McDonnell's garden to celebrate John the Baptist, the Canadian people, their representatives in the colonial legislative assembly, and the ideas of liberalism and colonial reform. His intention was to connect Saint-Jean-Baptiste with the reform cause of the *parti patriote*.[4]

Between 1834 and 1837, *Patriote* sympathizers observed Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day by holding banquets that doubled as occasions for light-hearted political meetings. In the four years prior to the Rebellions of 1837-38 the holiday spread to neighbouring towns, such as St.-Eustache and St.-Denis, and moved indoors to Rasco's Hotel in Montreal; the tone of

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[3]Denis Monière, *Ludger Duvernay et la révolution intellectuelle au Bas-Canada* (Montreal, 1987), p. 97.

[4]His efforts suggest that the legitimacy of the holiday was already established.

the meetings remained the same.[5] But the Rebellions changed everything. Many regular participants of banquets took up arms on the side of the insurgents and fled to the United States when the British army gained the upper hand. Their exile, alongside the garrison mentality of the colonial administration, prevented the observance of the now tarnished holiday.

Sustained Tory opposition notwithstanding, French Canadians revived the holiday. Renewal began with the celebration of a special mass at the cathedral in Quebec City in 1842. In Montreal talk of revival provoked fears of another rebellion plot among the city's Tories, but the revival was really the product of a conservative shift in French-Canadian social thinking.[6] Montrealers held a special mass in honour of John the Baptist in 1843, indicative of the substantial change in ideology. Many former *Patriotes* joined the new Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste, but its leadership fell to the Catholic clergy and its temperance crusade. Montreal's Temperance Society adopted John the Baptist as its patron saint and the maple leaf, which Jacques Viger had claimed for the Canadian people in 1836, as its emblem.[7] Thus the revived holiday was constructed in a new opposition against intemperance and immorality. The message of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day had shifted from political activism to religious devotion and abstinence. Indeed, popular enthusiasm for

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[5]Alan Gordon, "Inventing Tradition: Montreal's Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day Re-Examined," unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, 1 June 1996. See also Donald Boisvert, "Religion and Nationalism in Quebec: The Saint-Jean-Baptiste Celebration in Sociological Perspective," PhD (Ottawa) 1990, pp. 103-110.

[6]Montreal *Herald*, 24 June 1843.

[7]*La Minerve*, 27 juin 1836.

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day closely mirrored the fortunes of the Catholic temperance crusade for three decades following the revival in Montreal.

Montreal's temperance association initiated a tradition in 1843 when it marched to the parish church for mass and retraced its route to the cathedral following the service. The nascent ASJB, its band, and the crowd followed behind the temperance society. Regularity and eventually uniforms, indicative of parades promoting social order and obedience to authority, characterized the revival.[8] After 1845 this parade was a permanent feature. Parade routes typically wound from one francophone neighbourhood to another, linking them in the mental geography of the city. In 1856, an ordinary year, the parade began at the Faubourg des Récollets on the western edge of the city, wound its way through the streets of the old city to Notre-Dame Church and after mass continued through Old Montreal to Place Viger near the Faubourg Quebec.[9]

The official parade was an orderly affair conforming to the church's ideals, but working-class Montrealers demonstrated their enthusiasm in their own ways. Working people regularly celebrated the holiday with picnics where rough games, gambling, and a scandalous intermingling of men and women demonstrated their willingness to ignore official prohibitions. But working people were equally willing to participate in the development of the national holiday and the invention of its traditions. For example, the printers' Union typographique Jacques-Cartier staged its own parade in 1855, including the

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[8]Davis, p. 159. See also Jan Noel, "Dry Patriotism: The Chinquy Crusade," Canadian Historical Review (June 1990), pp. 189-207.

[9]La Minerve, 23 juin 1853.

first parade float (a working printing press on a wagon pulled by four horses). True to working-class culture, this spontaneous parade was an unruly affair. Paraders and regular street traffic mingled together as the printers ran into the crowds to distribute flyers they stamped with patriotic slogans while dragging their press through town.[10] Catholicism certainly influenced the holiday, but more and more it was a day of leisure and of secular messages.

During the 1860s, when the temperance crusade's popular appeal had declined considerably, the holiday was celebrated "with more or less enthusiasm."[11] But L.-O. David, then a young nationalist newspaper editor, initiated a campaign to revive the patriotic importance of the holiday in Montreal where, in contrast with the enthusiasm of the *habitants* of the countryside, it had "la plus piètre apparence."[12] Although Montrealers had persistently marked the holiday with a parade, David saw a potential for a more spectacular display of patriotism. At his invitation, francophone *émigrés* to the United States returned in impressive numbers to join the parade of 1874. Two hundred and fifty railway cars of visitors streamed into Montreal where they watched and joined an expanded parade that featured the first parade floats since 1855.

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[10]*La Minerve*, 28 juin 1855.

[11]Montreal *Gazette*, 25 June 1874. On temperance see Nive Voisine, "Mouvements de tempérence et religion populaire, " in Benoît Lacroix and Jean Simard (eds) *Religion populaire, religion des clercs ?* (Quebec, 1984), pp. 65-78 and Jan Noel, *Canada Dry: Temperance Crusades Before Confederation* (Toronto, 1995).

[12]*L'Opinion publique*, 30 juin 1870; *Souvenir du 24 juin 1874* (Montreal, 1874), p. 27.

From 1843 to 1885, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day went through a period of expansion and growth during which the religious nationalism of the ultramontane right expressed itself. But in the years following 1885, enthusiasm for the holiday contracted and the parade diminished in importance.[13] No one staged a Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade in Montreal in 1885, 1886, 1888, 1889, and 1891. When a city-wide parade was organized (as in 1893) commenters apologized for both the poverty of the decorations and the limited enthusiasm of the Montreal crowd.[14] Indeed, in the quarter century between 1885 and 1910, a single, city-wide parade was held only nine times. In an equal number of years no one paraded.

The reasons for decline were many. In part, commercialism had destroyed the distinctiveness of the day. Leisure became increasingly organized and commercialized over the second half of the nineteenth-century. Pay carnivals, sporting events, and fireworks displays had overwhelmed the particular religious and national aspect of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and rendered it indistinguishable from the relaxations of other North Americans. Certainly religious sentiment survived. The Corpus Christi procession often replaced the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade when it was not held. However, Corpus Christi is a solely

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[13]Readers may note that the execution of Louis Riel, in 1885, coincides with the contraction of the holiday. This was not a causal relationship. Although Riel's trial and eventual execution on 16 November 1885 aroused nationalist passions in Quebec, they did not enter Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day to any significant degree. Arthur Silver notes that, while French Canadians saw English-Canadian attacks on French Canada behind Riel's death, this did not drive them to bi-partisan nationalism. Conservatives had to defend John A. Macdonald's government, and the Liberals divided on the use of the issue for partisan gain. Riel was thus a divisive issue, the kind that was avoided on 24 June. If anything, Riel's execution pushed French Canadians towards a bi-cultural theory of Confederation. Arthur Silver, *The French Canadian Idea of Confederation* (Toronto, 1982), pp. 156-179.

[14]*La Presse*, 26 juin 1893.

religious event. All Catholics in the parish (not just French-speaking ones) participate in the procession behind the host, preventing it from forming a national celebration. In general Montrealers restricted their *fête nationale* celebrations to one or two parishes. Holiday carnivals and fireworks were a notable exception, but they took advantage of a day off more than they celebrated the nation. Nonetheless, the holiday persisted through the 1890s and into the twentieth century as commercial and religious interests combined to lay the groundwork for a renewal while conscription and the heightened patriotism of the war presented French Canadians with another social polarity to unite them. The following sections of this chapter will deal with each of these forces in turn.

II Trials, Tribulations, and Renewal

In 1894 the Grand Trunk, Canadian Pacific, and Richelieu railway companies cut their fares to Montreal in half for three days in late June. Visitors poured into the metropolis for *fête nationale* festivities that included fireworks, concerts, acrobatics, and the traditional parade. Ten cents paid for entry to a huge carnival at a park on the plateau overlooking the city. At nightfall tourists and Montrealers alike gasped at the city lit up below them. Both children and adults cheered the spectacular fireworks displays and clustered around the newly instituted "traditional" Saint-Jean-Baptiste bonfire to hear speeches and music. Doubtless many tourists, especially those new to Montreal, still buzzed about the massive parade that had wound through the city's eastern neighbourhoods a few days before. It had been one of the few city-wide parades held in Montreal in recent years and participants enjoyed an enthusiastic audience. Another procession, this time made up of departing

tourists filing into Windsor, Bonaventure, and Dalhousie stations, brought the holiday to a close the following morning.[15]

Commercial tourism rode to success on Canada's railways. The sixteen-mile line between St.-Jean and Laprairie opposite Montreal had inaugurated Canada's age of rail in 1836, but railway expansion only took off after mid-century. By 1885 Quebec boasted a railway network nearly two thousand miles in length.[16] This expanded network of tracks made leisure travel more accessible for a growing public of middle-class tourists. After the 1860s excursion travellers regularly ventured to nearby towns in the pleasant summer months. Railway companies were not long in taking advantage of the trend with reduced fares: by the 1870s newspapers commonly advertised excursion rates near holidays.[17]

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day adapted to the tourism industry as early as 1874; David relied on the railways to shuttle visiting Franco-Americans into Montreal. David's success (Montreal's hotels could not meet the demand and the organizing committee turned the city's Crystal Palace into a hostel to handle the overflow[18]) prompted other Montrealers to develop civic festivals as tourist attractions. But Montreal's social fissures, the divides between francophones and anglophones, Catholics and Protestants, hampered many efforts. The Orange parade of 1877 ended in tragedy when the Protestant Lett Hackett was killed by Irish Catholic rivals. Certainly murder was rare, but even festivals designed purely for tourists

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[15]*La Minerve*, 22 juin; 25 juin 1894.

[16]Tulchinsky, *River Barons*, pp. 107-200; Faucher, p.48; Hamelin and Roby, p. 129.

[17]Huskins, pp. 310-315; Hart, pp. 21-30.

[18]*L'Opinion publique*, 25 juin 1874.

suffered the effects of a divided Montreal. The Winter Carnival of the 1880s is a case in point.

Richard D. McGibbon, a Montreal lawyer and member of one of the city's many snowshoe clubs, invented the Montreal Winter Carnival in 1883 to attract American travellers during the slow winter season. The first carnival drew only a few hundred visitors and ran a deficit of about $250. But free advertising from American newspaper stories suggested potential growth. The following September organizers enlisted the financial support of the city's hotels, stores, and railways. With this powerful backing the carnival was successful enough for some to consider creating an annual event very much like Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. Unfortunately for McGibbon, competition from other winter carnivals hurt business and attendance declined in subsequent years. After 1889 the project died.[19]

This sudden demise should not be attributed solely to external pressures. The carnival played on shared memories and symbols of Canada, but British images hung over every event and attraction. While ice palaces, evergreens, and the omnipresent snowshoe emphasized the uniquely Canadian context of the carnival, ice sculptures of British lions reminded American visitors they were in British territory.[20] And frozen sculptures of Far East images suggested the vastness of the British Empire. The carnival was a British occasion. The storming of the Ice Palace by the city's snowshoe clubs was the most popular

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[19]Sylvie Dufresne, "Attractions, curiosités, carnival d'hiver, expositions agricoles et industrielles: Le loisir à Montréal au XIXᵉ siècle," in J.-R. Brault (ed) *Montréal au XIX siècle* (Ottawa, 1990), pp. 233-267.

[20]See Gillian Poulter, "'Becoming Native in a Foreign Land' - National Identity and Visual Culture in Victorian Canada," unpublished paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, Brock University, St. Catharines, Ontario, 31 May 1996.

single event, but only in 1884 did organizers invite French Canadians to participate. And when francophone snowshoe clubs organized parades through Montreal's eastern neighbourhoods, many anglophones sneered at the similarities to Saint-Jean-Baptiste procession routes. Tensions between anglophone and francophone snowshoe clubs were so great as to separate eastern and western carnivals from one another.[21] An inability to reconcile such rivalries contributed to the eventual failure of the carnival and, during subsequent revival efforts, the same problem occurred.

The innovations of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day did not attract the public dissention that plagued the Winter Carnival. No one disputed the authenticity or the ownership of the traditions of *la fête nationale*, whether they were presented as age-old customs or as patent innovations. French Canadians confidently expressed a collective memory that could easily accommodate innovation in national celebrations, thus containing any anxiety over the appropriateness of most inventions. Faith in the holiday's expression of *national* identity built a mentality that imagined the *fête nationale* as a public good open to every French Canadian. It was a celebration aimed uniquely at French Canadians. Visitors might witness images and ideas of French Canada and see Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day as a tourist event, but these images were not produced for outsiders. Regina Bendix outlines how festival organizers in Switzerland catered to their own interests rather than those of the tourist industry. Moreover, newspaper accounts of such events as a procession of yodellers reveal that local inhabitants might be more enthusiastic than tourists about these invented

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[21]Montreal *Herald*, 6 February 1884; 28 January 1885; Montreal *Star*, 10 January 1885; NA, MG 28 I 351, Montreal Amateur Athletic Association Papers, *Annual Report of the Montreal Snowshoe Club, 1883-4*.

traditions.[22] Saint-Jean-Baptiste organizers in Montreal likewise catered their holiday to their interests.

Certainly the bitterness seen in tourist festivals such as the Winter Carnival was also due to a belief that they displayed Montreal to the rest of the world. In 1904 some Montrealers opposed a plan to revive the winter carnival because they feared it would mislead potential immigrants. Ice palaces might deceive Europeans and Americans into believing Montreal endured in a perpetual arctic freeze.[23] During the planning of a winter carnival for 1909, some residents complained that an ice palace would, by extension, inaccurately depict all of Canada's climates. British Columbia, noted one correspondent of the *Gazette*, gets very little snow.[24] But festivals conceived entirely for tourism spoke more forcefully to local concerns.

1909 was also the year of a week-long tourist festival called "Back to Montreal Week" where former residents returned home to celebrate their love for Montreal by filling its hotels. But the week also fit into debates over municipal government reform. The "Citizens' Committee" coalition of businessmen had organized to clean up corruption and inefficiency at City Hall through a municipal referendum on local government reform. Back-to-Montreal Week, an occasion of civic pride, was held only days before the referendum. Tourists digested a daily discourse in Montreal's newspapers, French and

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[22]Bendix, p. 146.

[23]*Souvenir of the First Annual Convention: Master Painters' and Decorators' Association of Canada*, p. 37.

[24]Montreal *Gazette*, 2 January 1909.

English equally, about the progress and success of Montreal since their departure.[25] In an age of civic boosterism, this message was aimed at potential investors and immigrants, but so too was it aimed at Montrealers themselves. By drawing on the image of a past Montreal, the week's boosters used shared memories of the city to suggest an appropriate response to the referendum. The rhetoric of Back-to-Montreal Week linked individual pasts with the collective past and the collective future. Although the festival was planned before the referendum, it was a useful marketing strategy for reformers.

Tourism's reliance on marketing influenced Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, making it something of an advertising campaign. Montreal's major department stores began to hold special Saint-Jean-Baptiste sales after the turn of the century and this trend accelerated in subsequent decades as consumer capitalism cashed in on a ready-made event. This use of the *fête nationale* for marketing purposes was hardly limited to large stores such as Depuis Frères. As the brand-name revolution of consumer advertising took hold in Montreal, manufacturers sponsored parade floats to promote their brands. In 1904 *La Presse* did not bother to describe the floats for its readers, but simply referred to their corporate sponsors, such as Biscuits Viau. And, in 1908, the Montreal Brewing Company introduced a limited-time Saint-Jean-Baptiste beer to be consumed, presumably, with the greatest of patriotic vigour.[26]

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[25]Gordon, "Ward-Heelers and Honest Men," pp. 20-32. See also the proposal printed in Montreal *Gazette*, 9 April 1909.

[26]*La Presse*, 25 juin 1904; 23 juin 1908.

Corporate sponsorships and special-edition drinks did more than simply increase profits. In the context of summertimes crowded with special passtimes, these innovations helped the holiday to re-establish its uniqueness. To take advantage of a holiday for sales, promoters needed to remind potential customers of a given holiday's special attractions. A holiday must be an event. Thus commercialism, which had in the 1880s partially turned Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day into just another means to sell tickets to carnivals and picnics, re-packaged the holiday as a unique event in the twentieth century. This process relied on history and collective memories.

Memories of past ways of life stress what is important and unique about Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. In an age when people lived less and less like their ancestors, traditional festivals and rituals linked the past to the present. Eric Hobsbawm noted such a phenomenon in his 1972 article "The Social Functions of the Past," and he implied just as much in discussing the era of mass-producing traditions from 1871 to 1914.[27]

The "folking-up" of the holiday thus also involved Hobsbawm's process of inventing traditions. By emphasizing the traditions of the past, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day mimicked them. But customs removed from their original social and political contexts are not mere reflections of by-gone days. Placed in new contexts, they take on new meanings. The most significant invention of the period was the re-establishment of the "feu de joie" or Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day bonfire in 1894. La Minerve explained the history and significance of the bonfire for its readers, revealing how it had been kept by the Celtic peoples of Brittany, Scotland, and Ireland, as well as the French Midi, and how it had been used by Canadian

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[27]See above Chapter One.

settlers during the French regime to salute one another on their *fête patronale*.[28] In subsequent years this history was retold and reformed by competing newspapers.[29] But the incompletely understood history and meaning of the bonfire underscores its new context. No longer symbolic of the spiritualism of pagans, nor that of Christians, the bonfire became emblematic of the continuity of the French Canadian people. Not only did it link present citizens of the nation, but it connected them with their ancestors in a symbolic communion. As the bonfire was paid for by a local publisher, it incidentally also helped sell newspapers.

Newspapers took the lead in the commercial use of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day and of the city's dailies, *La Presse* ran ahead of the pack. As for Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, *La Presse* organized a hot air balloon race as a "patriotic endeavour" for the holiday in 1911. *Fête nationale* bonfires guided the aeronauts as their balloons raced down the St. Lawrence. And the newspaper ran annual contests for the best parade floats, awarding prizes for patriotism and decorations in a number of categories. By the end of the first decade of this century, *La Presse* had assumed a virtual monopoly on the *fête nationale*, sponsoring massive picnics and fireworks displays. All of this was part of a wider strategy used by *La Presse* to become the most widely-read newspaper in French Canada.[30] The extent of its readership and the popularity of its staged events suggests a degree of validity to Daniel Boorstin's assertion that

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[28]*La Minerve*, 25 juin 1894. Technically, Pius X only declared John the Baptist the patron saint of French Canadians in 1908. Rodolphe Fournier, *Le manuel des Sociétés Saint-Jean-Baptiste* (n.p., 1953), p. 5.

[29]*La Patrie*, 23 juin 1900; 23 juin 1903; *La Presse*, 25 juin 1901; 25 juin 1904.

[30]For example, it participated in such promotional gimmicks as a race around the world in 1901. See Cyrile Felteau, *Historie de La Presse* v. 1 (Montreal, 1983), pp. 258-260; 346-372.

modern audiences prefer pseudo-events to uncontrolled and unregulated spontaneity.[31]

Certainly the nineteenth-century rise of competent event planning and ritual management

adds considerable weight to Boorstin's position. But there remains a question of

consciousness. Did these innovators think they were creating "new traditions" for posterity

? Most of them were silent on the issue, but it is realistic to assume that they believed they

were simply symbolizing the cohesion or purpose they and their contemporaries felt.[32]

Widespread tastes for performance over participation do not render the preferences of the

masses and the displays produced for them by small groups of artists and backers

unauthentic. On the contrary, the appeal of these performances suggest that the average

French Canadian appreciated them.

A more significant innovation began in 1874 when the students of the Jacques-

Cartier Normal School carried parade banners naming twenty-five significant figures from

French-Canadian history. The banners honoured such French-Canadian families as Le

Moyne d'Iberville, Vaudreuil, Boucher de Boucherville, St.-Ours, and Salaberry. They also

drew attention to French colonial heroes such as Jean Talon, Bishop Laval, Frontenac, Lévis,

Champlain, and of course, Jacques Cartier. Picking up on the theme, the Reverend M.

Deschamps delivered a Saint-Jean-Baptiste sermon on the need to erect monuments to the

heroes of French Canada's history.[33] Neither of these appeals to historical figures initiated

Montreal's "cult of heroes," but they drew attention to an association between Saint-Jean-

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[31]Boorstin, pp. 92-106.

[32]Anthony Smith, "The Nation: Invented, Imagined, Reconstructed?" in Lerner, p. 14.

[33]La Minerve, 26 juin 1874.

Baptiste Day, the French-Canadian nation, and the glory of the past. In subsequent years

people added more heroes to the list. But more crucially, repeat depictions of historical

figures constructed an understanding of the order and significance of heroes of the cult.

Until 1874 Jacques Cartier was the only historical hero to appear at Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day

parades, being first represented by a costumed child in 1854. The banners of 1874, however,

introduced a new understanding of the wealth of important historical heroes in French-

Canadian history. In subsequent years many were portrayed on the allegorical floats of the

annual parade. By counting mentions and appearances, we are able to construct a three-

tiered ordering of French-Canadian historical figures through the nineteenth century.

Table 8.1: Historical Development of Heroes[34]

	1885	1915
First order	Jacques Cartier	Jacques Cartier, Champlain, Montcalm
Second order	Champlain, de Salaberry	de Salaberry, Maisonneuve, Papineau, Dollard
Third order	Maisonneuve, Montcalm, d'Iberville	Frontenac, Lafontaine, Marguerite Bourgeoys, George-Etienne Cartier

The cult of heroes was never static. The number of heroes celebrated multiplied over

the years and individual heroes moved up and down the hierarchy according to the ideals of

the time. Indeed, the cult of heroes was a reflection, not of the heroic figures themselves,

but of contemporary ideologies and assumptions about the nation. As one student of the

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[34]Measured according to recorded mentions in speeches or depictions during Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebrations fifteen years before and after each date.

subject comments, the cult of heroes was little more than a pretext for a more profound veneration of the nation.[35] And contemporary ideologies and assumptions - even political concerns - directed the rise and decline of individual heroes. An ephemeral case centred around the veneration of Justice T.-J.-J. Loranger. Loranger twice served as president of the ASJB, but his fame stemmed from his 1884 study of Confederation that argued for provincial autonomy and the subordination of the federal government to the provinces.[36] He never argued for any special status for Quebec, but as a defender of provincial autonomy he was associated with the defence of French-Canadian minority rights during the Riel affair. Loranger died during the furore over Riel's conviction and nationalists turned his funeral into a major demonstration.[37] No cult ever developed around Loranger, but the foundations were there. The use of his memory by pro-Riel demonstrators, however fleeting, reveals something of the politics of hero veneration. The cult of heroes, and to a lesser extent the particular veneration of Loranger, suggests that there may be a need for personified ideals in mass political movements to counter the impersonality inherent in modernity.

Over the years the popularity of individual French-Canadian historical figures rose or fell depending on the ideologies of the time. Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville provides an example of declining fortunes. His name was one of those carried in the 1874 parade. Through the 1880s and 1890s, as his popularity rose, actors portrayed him on floats in the

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[35]Hébert, *Monuments et patrie*, pp. 150, 268.

[36]Thomas-Jean-Jacques Loranger, *Lettres sur l'interprétation de la Constitution fédérale de l'Acte de l'Amérique britannique du nord, 1867: Deuxième et troisième lettres* (Montreal, 1884).

[37]Jean-Charles Bonenfant, "Loranger, Thomas-Jean-Jacques," in *DCB* v. 11, pp. 529-531.

annual parade. But the height of the Iberville cult was the unveiling of a monument to him in the Montreal suburb of Ste.-Cunégonde on 19 July 1894. Erected at the Ste.-Cunégonde parish church on the two-hundred-and-thirty-third anniversary of his birth (but not officially inaugurated until 24 June 1898), the monument lists the martial exploits of this hero. However, following 1898, Iberville gradually declined in popularity relative to other heroes. On the other hand, the popularity of Dollard des Ormeaux soared over the same period. In the nineteenth century his likeness appeared only at the massive demonstrations of 1874 and 1884. But following the turn of the century, Dollard's popularity increased. His story of leadership, patriotism, youthful self-sacrifice, and faith inspired young French Canadians who aspired to lead the recatholicization of Quebec. He appeared on a 1904 parade float, but his ascendency really began with the 1910 two hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the skirmish at Long Sault. Le Devoir devoted considerable space in its columns to Dollard and the ACJC toured the city with a model of their proposed monument to him during Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. Eight years later Lionel Groulx, who had recently joined the nationalist group Action française, applied his history-writing talents to Dollard des Ormeaux, claiming him as a symbol of French Canada and the potential of its youth.[38] With such a prolific enthusiast as Groulx behind a campaign for the recognition of Dollard, Action française launched Dollard's climb up the scale of heroes.

Students of nationalism note that praise of historical heroes was not an innovation of nationalists. Ancient Greeks canonized their historical heroes in the works of Homer. But the cult of great men surged in Europe in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth

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[38]Trofimenkoff, Action Française, pp. 43-44.

centuries. Like the stories of the *Illyad* and the *Odyssey*, these Romantic era cults focused on men of the distant past and made little distinction between myth and historical fact. Heroes were portrayed as vessels of a national essence, embodying virtues such as martial valour, generosity, temperance, self-sacrifice, endurance, loyalty, and patriotism. The hero's importance, then, lies less in a connection to the past than in the embodiment of virtue. But in this European romanticism, each hero's specificity lay in his historicity.[39]

Benedict Anderson, likewise, incorporates the veneration of national heroes into his analysis of the expression of nationalism and suggests that a connection to the past is of central importance. Anderson notes how humans construct their personal identity through personal records and narratives. Our personal memories cannot complete our sense of identity. That Anderson is the same person as the infant in the photographs his parents show him cannot be a personal memory. No one remembers their infancy. Rather, a personal narrative requires the construction of "historical" narratives through personal documents such as photographs and birth certificates. This personal narrative is one of our continuous development from child to adult.[40] The cult of heroes provides this record for the nation. Heroes, through their martyrdom or success, build a narrative of the nation that connects past and present. Like the photograph of the infant, the story of the hero provides the framework of a narrative that connects, or identifies, a previous person with ourselves. But the key here

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[39]Smith, *Ethnic Origins of Nations*, pp. 192-202. See also J.C. Henderson, "Ancient Myths and Modern Man," in C. Jung (ed) *Man and His Symbols* (London, 1964), pp. 110-123.

[40]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 204.

is that we imagine these heroes as part of our community; we imagine our identity with them. The strengths of the heroes are thus projected as shared "national" characteristics.[41]

Both the French-Canadian elite and the grassroots drove the cult of heroes. Elites might single out great men (and occasionally women) from the past for grassroots veneration, but their choices were as often rejected as accepted. Common people also suggested heroes for the national pantheon. Wide-spread use of "Jacques-Cartier" to christen schools and labour unions suggests the emotive power of this hero and his frequent appearance on Saint-Jean-Baptiste floats confirms it.[42] Monuments and historic plaques might display the historical consciousness of the erudite, but parade floats and banners expressed the memories of the people. Grassroots expressions of memory, absent at inauguration ceremonies, characterized the cult of heroes.

Grassroots collectivism and parish unity can be seen among many Saint-Jean-Baptiste celebrants in Montreal. While city-wide celebrations declined in importance following 1890, some militants refused to surrender the holiday. In many city parishes (Saint-Jean-Baptist parish in particular) parishioners staged small celebrations, countering the dehumanizing forces of urban modernity with a sense of parish community. For instance, in 1896, the people of St.-Gabriel's ward in Pointe-St.-Charles celebrated mass, held a small procession, and gave patriotic speeches at a local park. Although lacking both

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[41]Smith, "The Nation," p. 13.

[42]Cartier is usually seen as an explorer, but he was often compared to Abraham, the Father of his People. See Mgr. Laflèche's sermon "The Providential Mission of the French-Canadians," in Ramsay Cook (ed) *French-Canadian Nationalism* (Toronto, 1969), pp. 101-102.

the scale of previous years' celebrations and official recognition from the Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste, enthusiasm was not lacking. A large crowd of spectators attended the speeches despite a heavy rain.[43] Such displays of local patriotism better characterized the years 1885 to 1910 than did the large-scale spectacles of two hundred thousand people attending an outdoor mass in 1909. Following the success of 1896 localized events became the norm. The ASJB endorsed the idea after 1900 and divided its official programme into small celebrations spread among the sections of the city.

Recatholicization was the theme of this grassroots revival in the parishes. This theme carried over to city-wide celebrations held in Montreal between 1891 and 1917. Alongside the centrepiece of 1903's holiday, the unveiling of the monument to Bishop Bourget, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Parish inaugurated its new church on Rachel Street. Coming only one year after Louis-Adolphe Paquet delivered his famous speech reiterating (though considerably moderating) French Canada's obligation to preserve its faith, language, and soil from contamination by materialistic foreigners, both events were patriotic exploits in defiance of consumer capitalism. But not all secularization was foreign-inspired. In 1903 one newspaper pointed out the contrast between the Zouaves at the Bourget monument holding aloft the Carillon-Sacré-Coeur flag and the red, white, and green flag of the *Patriote* cause someone had wrapped around Chénier's monument.[44]

Twentieth-century French-Canadian patriotism continued the battles of the previous century. In an effort to capture the hearts and minds of the people, nationalists pointed to

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[43] *Le Monde,* 29 juin 1896.

[44] *Le Canada,* 25 juin 1903.

past heroes as emblems of the righteousness and authenticity of their claim to the true meaning of French-Canadian nationalism. But by the twentieth century, anticlericalism was a marginal position. Rather than battle assaults against its authority, Catholicism aimed, through such manufactured events, to counter the apathy on religious and moral issues caused by commercial capitalism and materialism. Devotional interests turned to the weapons of commercialism, product recognition and pseudo-events, to counter the marketer's influence on the flock. The combined effect of Catholic and commercial invented traditions re-invigorated Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day's popular enthusiasm, but, at the same time, re-directed political struggles towards it.

The contrasting flags of 1903 suggests the continued salience of rival nationalisms within French Canada. Revival of religious sentiment among many grassroots enthusiasts of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in the first decades of the twentieth century renewed the political immediacy of French-Canadian nationalism. Recatholicization coupled with the commercial motives of entrepreneurs to remind French Canadians that they were not British subjects who spoke French, but a unique and distinct society in North America. However, the effects of these contrasting forces, commercialization and recatholicization, did not converge until after the First World War. The Conscription Crisis forced French Canadians to see an opposition between their interests and their world view and those of English-speaking Canadians and the British Empire. The war exposed many divergences within nationalist thought, but its various crises (especially conscription) reinvigorated French-Canadian nationalism and its expression at Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. When war broke out, it revealed the myriad of ambiguities that continued to afflict French-Canadian nationalism. Olivar

Asselin, despite his anti-imperialism, enlisted as a volunteer out of his love for French culture. The province's bishops, for their part, acknowledged the legitimacy of Canada's war effort and encouraged their flocks to obey the civil authorities. And Henri Bourassa, despite his devout ultramontanism, spoke out against the war and insisted the Bishops had no jurisdiction in the matter.

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day did not change in the early years of the war. Celebrations in 1915 included a massive parade to Mount Royal for an open-air mass, an automobile tour to Sault-au-Récollet for the unveiling of a monument to the first mass on the island, as well as the usual games, races, concerts, and patriotic speeches. But the next year organizing was left to the discretion of parish organizers.[45] Heightened wartime patriotism, which often manifest as ethnic rivalry, then re-oriented Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in Montreal and cleared the ground for a massive reformulation of public memory.

In June 1917, the Borden government had not yet decided on compulsory military service, but rumours filled the air. Beside jingoistic claims that French Canadians lacked the patriotism of English-speaking Canadians, arguments against conscription went unnoticed. To emphasize French Canadian roots in this country, the SHM celebrated the 275th anniversary of the founding of Montreal in May 1917. Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day marked a new turn. Although *La Presse* lamented the weakness of decentralization, it admitted that the *fête* seemed more affirmative than in previous years. But this devotion was more out of conviction than joy. In a time of war, nationalist sentiment was portrayed in militaristic terms. Even among the small parades in the districts of the city, the mood was

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[45]*La Presse*, 24 juin 1915; 26 juin 1915; 24 juin 1916.

defiant and resigned, but also solemn, as though the very idea of the nation was at war. Indeed, it was. The enemy of North American materialism had invaded the terrain of the faith, as *La Presse* put it, making twentieth-century life seem unconnected to the days of Dollard des Ormeaux. But, perhaps more significantly, French Canadians needed vigilance to combat the enemy assimilation. At Lafontaine Park, Victor Morin presented Senator Landry with a medal on behalf of the SSJBM. It was a medal for his valour in the defence of French-Canadian rights in Ontario against Regulation 17. And that evening's speeches at the *Monument national* assessed the progress of the war on its diverse fronts: the threat of conscription, French-Canadian rights, and the Ontario situation.[46]

During the final years of the war and the first years of post-war reconstruction, the nationalism expressed at Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day took a decidedly different tone. Through the 1920s, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day once again became the domain of organized culture. Led by Lionel Groulx and his friends at *Action française*, nationalist memories blended into a unified collective memory. Some nationalists could invoke the memories of both the Zouaves and the *Patriotes* in one breath. Groulx had mastered the art of public amnesia and the blending of divergent ideologies into a single nationalist memory by 1926. However, the singularity of French-Canadian nationalism characterized official plans and the organization of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day festivities throughout the 1920s.

This unity took many forms. For example, it was expressed geographically. Through the nineteenth century, the route of the annual parade was rarely identical from year to year, but its general form remained consistent. Virtually every year, the procession would begin

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[46]*La Presse*, 23 juin 1917; 25 juin 1917.

at one end of town, wind through the streets to Notre-Dame Church, and end at the opposite

end of the city. However, during the years of decentralization, this consistency disappeared.

Routes followed the whims of the organizer on the spot. While they remained planned

events, small parades in each section of the city conformed only to the neighbourhood's

social geography. But as the central organizing committee of the SSJBM re-established its

direction of event planning and as single, city-wide parades once again became a feature of

the *fête nationale*, the route slowly coalesced. Lafontaine Park, by virtue of serving as the

focus of celebrations since the beginning of the century, had become entrenched as a

hallowed national site. Ceremonial bonfires, speeches, games, fireworks displays, and the

occasional open air mass had been held there since the turn of the century. And from 1921

to 1930, eight of eleven parades used the park as a major station. Following 1926,

Lafontaine Park became the standard meeting place for participants to assemble for the

parade. Following 1927 the procession marched straight from the park, along Sherbrooke

to Atwater Street.[47]

To some degree this coalescence of the parade route reflected a social geography that

divided Montreal by language. Lafontaine Park was surrounded by French-Canadian homes

and those parades that did not operate at the park, encircled other francophone enclaves in

the city. However, this social geography helped build a mentality that served the

homogenization of nationalism. While priests feared a loss of community engendered by
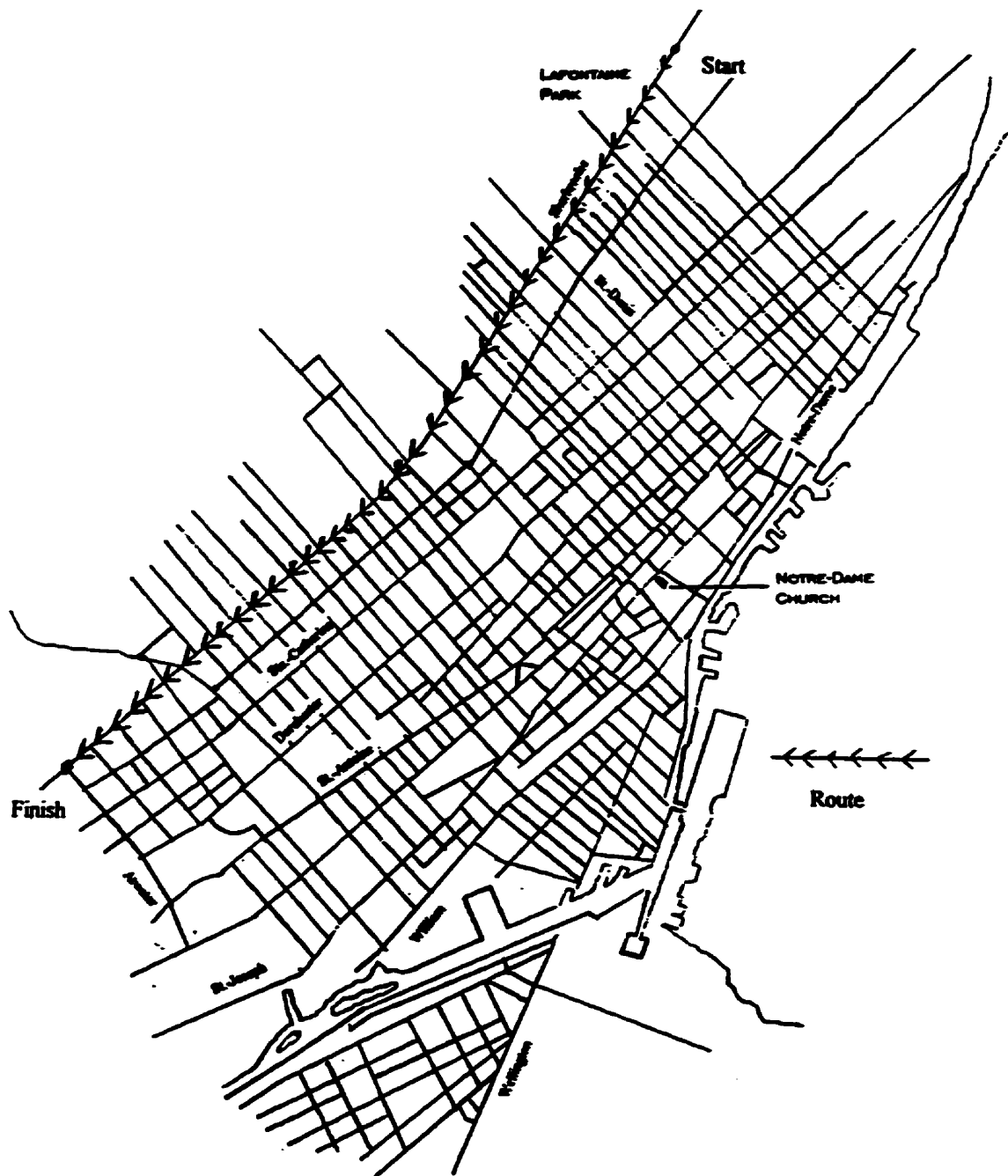
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[47]Compare with Peter Goheen, "Parades and Processions," in *Historical Atlas of Canada* v.2, plate 58.

Map 8.1: Saint-Jean-Baptiste Parade Route 1874
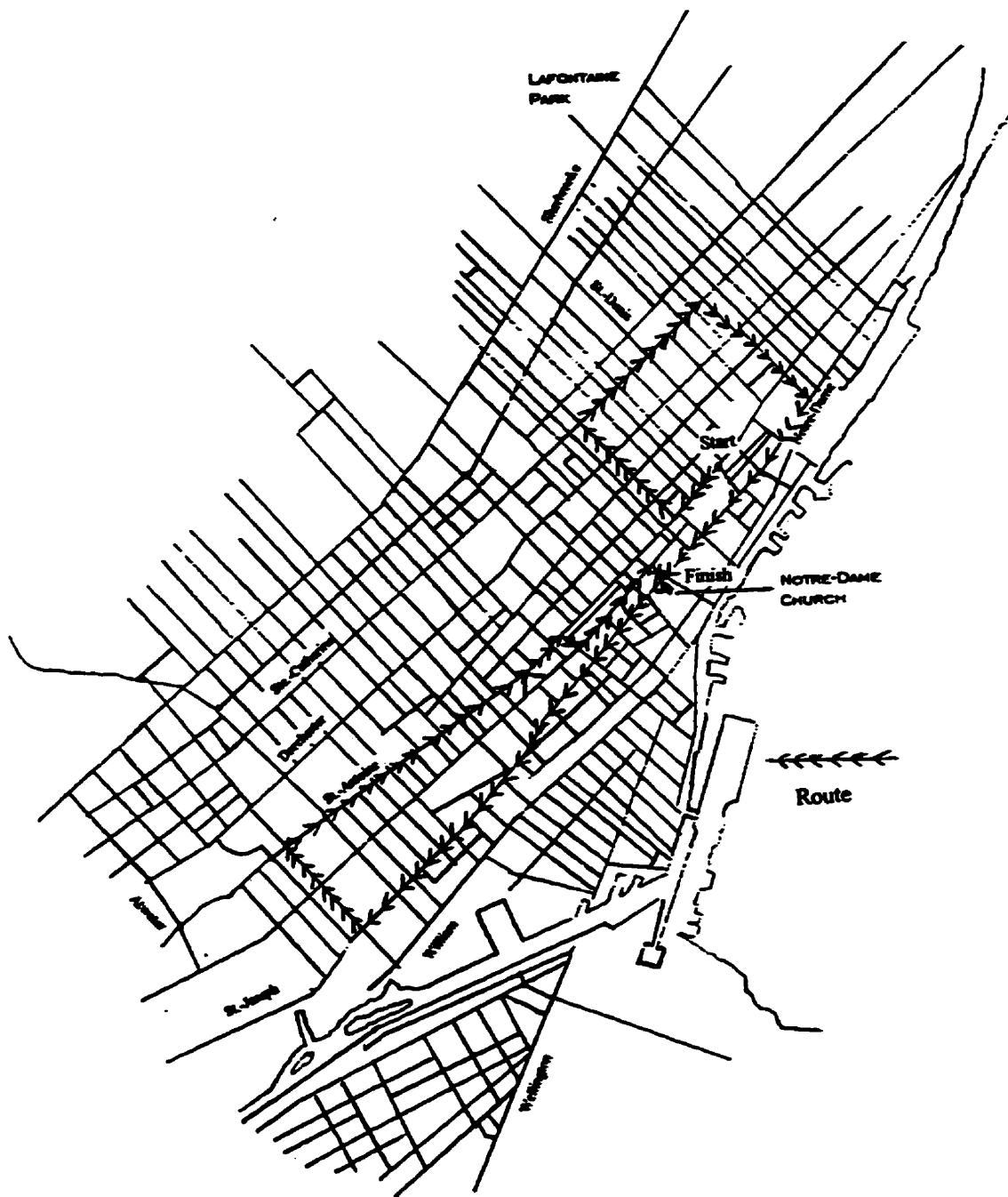
Source: *Souvenir du 24 juin 1874* (Montreal, 1874), p. 93.

Map 8.2: Saint-Jean-Baptiste Parade Route 1927

Source: *La Presse*, 25 juin 1927.

urban life, the parades of the *fête nationale* drew associations between francophone neighbourhoods and the French-Canadian nation. The neighbourhood community stood in for the larger imagined community of the nation. And, as the association between the national holiday and community strengthened, the emotive power of the festival grew. By the end of the 1920s, when the parade was once again unified, no one expressed any concern that massive, anonymous crowds of French Canadians threatened the traditional way of life. On the contrary, the multitudes lining the parade route represented a greater community, the nation.

A similar homogenization developed in collective and public memory. The patriotic festival of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day began to re-orient time as both a remembered and directly experienced phenomenon. Commercialism, Catholicism, and modernity had combined to make 24 June among the most significant days in the annual rhythm of life in Montreal. In 1921 Léon Trépanier initiated a drive to make Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day an "official" provincial holiday. Following his speech at Lafontaine Park, Morin took the podium to lecture the assembled thousands on French-Canadian history. The meeting that evening produced two resolutions: to make the holiday "official," and to renew French Canada's historical attachment to its language, traditions, and faith.[48]

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day thus re-directed historical memories. Beginning in 1919, the Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Montréal organized major monument unveilings to coincide with the annual parade. Prior to 1919, monument committees, when they had chosen symbolic dates for unveilings, had consistently shown a preference for anniversaries

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[48]*Le Devoir*, 25 juin 1921.

related to the subject of the monument. Villeneuve's Cartier monument, for instance, was

unveiled on the anniversary of Cartier's birth. In the twenty-seven years from 1891 to 1918

only four plaques and monuments had been inaugurated on 24 June, but through the

subsequent twelve years Montrealers inaugurated another seven plaques and monuments on

Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day. Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville's monument in Ste.-Cunégonde started

the trend. Although erected on the anniversary of Iberville's birth, it was officially unveiled

on 24 June 1898. But the real watershed was 1919-1920.[49] In 1919 the SSJBM solidified

the name of Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys with a monument unveiling following the *fête*

nationale parade. The following year the Dollard des Ormeaux monument was unveiled at

Lafontaine Park in the city's east end. Four years later, the cross on Mount Royal, though

far from complete, was "unveiled" during an open-air mass at the foot of the mountain. And,

in 1926, the parade marched from Lafontaine Park to Place des Patriotes for the unveiling

of the second *Patriotes'* Monument. These unveilings associated the national holiday of

French Canadians with the selected events of the past to construct an image of a primarily

national past, a fundamental component of the homogenization of memory. Many theorists

have described how public festivals re-orient time to support specific ideological positions.[50]

The festival of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day re-oriented the events of the past so as to confirm

a nationalist reading of history.

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[49]The monument naming Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys was unveiled in 1919, that to Dollard in 1920. Others unveiled on 24 June through the 1920s include Père Viel, the Mount Royal Cross, the SSJBM plaque, the *Patriotes*, and Vauquelin.

[50]See above, Chapter One.

This re-structuring of history's meaning was a product of elite control. Saint-Jean-Baptiste parades of the 1920s became subject to a degree of organization unseen for decades. Up to 1920, individual parishes continued to wield considerable power in the execution of the annual celebrations. That year, in defiance of the official programme to have all thirty-two city sections of the SSJBM meet at St.-Louis Square, most society members went straight to church for mass.[51] But over the decade the central organizing committee, which included many francophone members of the Montreal heritage elite, reasserted its control. Previously different parishes had designed and decorated their own patriotic floats and the re-establishment of a single, city-wide parade in 1918 did not impose organization on these dispersed expressions of patriotism. Parade floats continued to be the preserve of local sections of the SSJBM, as they had been since 1874. But in 1924, two Montrealers, no longer satisfied with the haphazard organization of the parades in the first half of their decade, set out to orchestrate the parade so as to make it a proper lesson in French-Canadian history. No more would there be multiple floats honouring Jacques Cartier. E.-Z. Massicotte and Elzéar Roy assigned each section a specific float to build. And through the decade they planned a new theme for each year.

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[51]*La Presse*, 24 juin 1920.

Table 8.2: Organized Parade Themes, 1924-1930[52]

1924	What North America Owes to the French Race
1925	Life of our Ancestors
1926	Homage to the Patriotes
1927	Four Centuries of French Canada
1928	Our Popular Songs
1929	Canadian Legends and Story-tellers
1930	Je me souviens: Morals and Customs of French Canada

American social workers, artists, and dramatists had promoted historical pageants as a powerful tool for civic revitalization, but had also worried that they could not control them. One openly fretted in 1910 that "If those pageants are not carefully planned and wrought out by historians and artists, ... they will be worse than useless. They will have no advantages over the vulgar carnivals and parades which we have always had."[53] If Massicotte was aware of apprehensions south of the border, he kept it to himself. Nonetheless, the similarity to his own concerns cannot be missed.

Thus organized and orchestrated, the parade no longer offered ordinary Montrealers a chance to express their own ideas of patriotism. Yet enthusiasm for the holiday did not diminish. Nonetheless, these spectators experienced representations of the past that reflected the social concerns of the heritage elites rather than their own historical memories. The Catholic Church watched a gradual weakening of what Père Archambault called the cornerstone of society: the family. A 1922 papal bull, *Ubi Arcano*, attributed this crisis to

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[52]Source: *Le Devoir*, 23 juin 1932.

[53]Cited in Glassberg, p. 106.

the recent war which had separated families and produced looseness among girls and women. Quebec's Bishops, though realizing that Quebec had not suffered the ravages of war discussed in *Ubi Arcano*, took this message to heart.[54] It was no accident that Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade themes centred on the family. At least eight parade floats displayed between 1924 and 1930 depicted women in traditional motherhood roles. And the parade of 1931 stressed proper gender roles around the theme "La canadienne, autrefois et aujourd'hui." Organization had turned public memory into a lesson in public morals.

III Reflections on a Theme

By 1930 French Canadians had developed a consistent and predictable celebration of their *fête nationale*. In 1930, as in other years, French Canadians flocked to the streets to watch the annual Saint-Jean-Baptiste parade. Massicotte had chosen the theme of "Je me souviens," emphasizing French Canadian morals and customs. He and Elzéar Roy organized twenty-six floats to illustrate the day's lesson, depicting such customs as a French-regime marriage, the sanctity of the home, a celebratory bonfire, and Christmas Eve celebrations. After the parade, spectators and participants converged on Lafontaine Park for picnics, games, patriotic speeches, and the celebration of mass.[55] Memories of the past entwined with the customs of the present in the celebration of the French-Canadian nation.

Nationalism and memory are intertwined concepts. Historicity is a crucial element in imagining the nation as a community. Without an accepted place for the nation in the

[54]Lévesque, pp. 19-20.

[55]*La Presse*, 23 juin 1930.

meaning of history, without a collective memory that affirms a national past, the nation's cohesion cannot be developed. Nationalists affirm this collective memory by relying on invented traditions for the evidence of a common historical descent. But on their own, invented traditions cannot create national consciousness. The nation must, to some degree, be pre-existent in the minds of many before invented traditions can be of any symbolic or emotive value. The history of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day demonstrates this connection.

From its re-invention in 1834, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day has been a tool wielded by elites for a broad social or political goal. At first it was a tool for the particular political reform favoured by Ludger Duvernay and his *Patriote* allies. The festival mirrored their ideals. In the pre-Rebellion years, Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in Montreal was a paradoxical holiday of the urban bourgeoisie banding together to celebrate their unity with the rural Canadian people and to use those images to connect the people to the cause of ministerial responsibility. After the Rebellions, the Catholic clergy re-invented the holiday as a popular weapon in the arsenal of the temperance movement. Again the invention fit the social vision of its leaders. It became an orderly affair centred on the city's religious foci where Montrealers paraded according to social rank. But successful popularization diminished the elite's relative control. Although never a subversive holiday, working people helped steer Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day away from the goal of temperance towards a more convivial culture of carnivals, drinking, and games. And while conviviality produced exactly the kind of elite disdain the literature on public festivals anticipates, ordinary people carried the celebration of the holiday through a period of official inattention around the turn of the century.

The revival of the holiday in the twentieth century was every bit as "invented" as Duvernay's original idea or Bourget's conversion of the holiday to the temperance movement. But in the twentieth century a number of competing interests had a stake in the success of the holiday as a site of collective memory. Commercial interests needed a popular occasion to excite potential customers; religious leaders saw the holiday as a means to protect French Canada from assimilating and corrupting foreign influences. Together they reformed shared memories in the public environment of the civic festival. In this sense, the twentieth-century pattern of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, especially its manifestation in the 1920s, was typical of Eric Hobsbawm's "invented traditions." It was a novel reaction to novel social situations that took the form of an appeal to a bygone age. Indeed, Massicotte's organized parade themes emphasized history, ancestors, and traditions. But this does not invalidate the "authenticity" of the sentiments experienced by participants and spectators of the celebrations of French Canada's *fête nationale* in Montreal.

Public memory is, as John Bodnar puts it, a body of beliefs and ideas about the past fashioned in a public sphere and speaking primarily about structures of power. [56] But Bodnar also emphasizes the competition in public memory between official and vernacular cultures. Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day fits this characterization. Its mix of organized and spontaneous cultures resulted in a highly popular and participatory, yet orchestrated, cultural event. The organization of events, and representations of the past during them, was a public dialogue about relations of power expressed as lessons in history and public morals. But for such messages to influence the target audience, the audience must be willing to hear them. At

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[56]Bodnar, *Remaking America*, pp. 14-15.

some level, a semblance of public memory must already be present before it can have an effect and create a collective memory. The idea of the French-Canadian nation must exist in popular mentality before elite manipulations of nationalism can be effective. Memory does not construct nationalism and nationalism does not invent memories: they develop together in an entwined and symbiotic relationship.

CONCLUSIONS

Chapter Nine:

Conclusion: The Angel of History

Historic markers suffer the ravages of time. Many do not survive as long as the history they tell. The seven plaques in the first Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal, for example, burned with the old church in 1856.[1] But accident is not the only threat to historic markers. Weather can destroy plaques as the HSMBC learned when investigating Montreal's history in the early 1920s. In a memorandum written in July 1922, the Board's secretary A.-A. Pinard noted two obscure plaques on the old custom house at Place Royale. The text of the first he could make out, but the second had been all but obliterated. Nearly eight months later, after considerable speculation on the origins of these mysterious plaques, W.D. Lighthall of the ANSM informed E.-Z. Massicotte, who relayed the information to J.B. Harkin, that both plaques had been placed by the ANSM in 1892.[2] The plaques had not only been forgotten, but had been destroyed by the elements in thirty years.

Another threat to the endurance of markers is deliberate removal. Often deliberate removals are followed by replacements. After the ANSM's plaque to Marguerite Bourgeoys was lost to the demolition of its host building in 1913, another was incorporated into the

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[1] These plaques are not counted in any statistics because they were interior plaques in a sectarian building and thus not truly open to public viewing. All were personal memorials.

[2] NA, RG 84, v. 1260, Memo 3 July 1922; E.-Z. Massicotte to J.B. Harkin, 29 March 1923.

design of the replacement building completed in 1922.[3] In some cases the removal was only

temporary, designed to correct historical inaccuracies uncovered in the texts of plaques and

monuments. The Pioneers' obelisk required such a face lift in 1917 and the ANSM plaque

to the first land grant in Montreal was twice corrected so that it eventually more properly

honoured the eighth land grant.[4] In other cases, the CMHQ went about replacing the

decaying ANSM plaques (and some of its own) during the 1940s and 1950s. But frequently

the lost plaques remained lost. Victor Morin lamented that demolition workers' negligence

all too frequently lost the historic plaques of previous generations.[5] Indeed of the 143

historic plaques and monuments erected in Montreal before 1930, thirty-one did not survive

to that year (see Table 9.1). But the greatest number went missing in the years of rapid

construction that followed the Second World War and today only about eighty remain.

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[3]Canada, National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, *Inventory of Buildings Constructed Between 1919 and 1959 in Old Montreal and Saint-Georges and Saint-André Wards* 2 vols. (Ottawa, 1981). Victor Morin claimed the Marguerite Bourgeoys plaque was on the Salada Tea building. But W.D. Lighthall supplied Salada Tea with the text for a plaque on its building on the south east corner of St.-Sulpice and St.-Paul Streets in 1915. The Salada tea plaque replaced one to Jeanne Mance paid for by Lighthall and erected by the ANSM in 1892. MUA, W.D. Lighthall Papers, c 17 f 22, W.D. Lighthall to Salada Tea Company, 3 February 1915.

[4]AMM, Procès verbaux du Conseil de Ville, 7 mai 1917; NA, RG 84, v. 1261, Aegidius Fauteux to J.B. Harkin, 6 September 1922; Fournier, *Lieux et monuments*, p. 30.

[5]ANQ-Q, E6, article 157, Victor Morin to Gérard Morisset, 12 août 1958. W.D. Lighthall noticed this pattern in 1934 when he wrote his friend A. delery MacDonald to complain that "the new generation at the Chateau de Ramezay" often "ignored the facts" and got the story of the 1892 project wrong. MUA, W.D. Lighthall Papers, c 2 f 17, W.D. Lighthall to A. Delery MacDonald, 26 April 1934.

Table 9.1: Estimate of Markers Lost or Removed[6]

	pre-1891	1891-1930	total
markers placed	27	116	143
markers lost or removed	4	20	24

This, perhaps, is the greatest irony of public memory. While historians might debate the merits of the narrative told by the markers of public memory and disadvantaged people might dispute their exclusion from local history, public memory is often ephemeral. It tries to perpetuate that which has been lost to time, yet it itself is often lost. Gérard Morisset, a leading activist in historical commemoration and preservation in Quebec in the 1950s, relied on the help of his esteemed predecessor Victor Morin to discover the sites that once had been marked. While Morisset knew well the history of Montreal, he was less familiar with the history of its public memory.[7]

Time, or more properly fear of its irreversible movement, structured the activities of Montreal's heritage elites. Memory is by nature ephemeral. Time and age cause memories to fade; details can be forgotten and different memories can be confused with one another. Human memory is not a precise record of the past. Heritage elites' interest in preserving memories of the historical past was partly spurred by growing awareness of modernity and the changes of time. The rapid social change modernity precipitated was accompanied by

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[6]Sources as for Table 7.1 as well as ANQ-Q, E6, article 157; NA, RG 84, v. 1260, A.A. Pinard to J.B. Harkin, 3 July 1922; MUA, Lighthall Papers, c 17 f 22, W.D. Lighthall to E.-Z. Massicotte, 14 December 1914. Including the seven Christ church plaques, the total removed equals thirty-one.

[7]ANQ-Q, E6, article 157, Victor Morin to Gérard Morisset, 12 août 1958.

a quickening pace of change in the physical urban landscape. Old buildings fell before the unrelenting push of "progress." Historic structures vanished into rubble to be replaced by functional office towers with all the modern conveniences. The physical environment of a bygone era disintegrated and many Montrealers anticipated a similar evaporation of the moral fibre of civic society. Commemoration, many of them hoped, would preserve memories of those bygone days.

Massicotte's folk revival of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day answered just such a concern with the loss of the past. Massicotte's answer was to preserve, or recreate, an awareness of "old fashioned" morals, beliefs, and values by parading them past the representatives of the nation every 24 June. His selection of themes reflected the values he feared were disappearing. Modernity threatened the French-Canadian nation, its struggles, and its way of life. Massicotte and the SSJBM turned to public history to re-instill those memories of the past and to maintain French Canada's identity. But such efforts were also directed against a competing set of shared memories. Fissures dividing Montreal's heritage elites kept its ongoing debates alive and animated. Competition repeatedly brought memory into the present and into the public.

Public memory is a discourse about identity and power. It infuses the national *mythomoteur* with the experienced past of its members. Public memory is thus more than simply public history. Public history constructs a narrative of the past in support of the present. Public memory, in turn, relies on public history, but it conscripts aspects of public history and enshrines them in defence of present power relationships. It portrays the "message" of the past, selected unhistorically, as common sense. Thus both public history

and public memory support contested national *mythomoteurs*. The metaphor of public memory as a discourse suggests that it is not a fixed text. The canons of public memory cannot be set down in stone (though, of course, this is precisely what public history attempts) because memories change with time. Public memory thus supports the *mythomoteur* by adapting historical meaning to temporal flux by paradoxically situating people and events in an undifferentiated time. The constitutive political myth of the community turns to memory's ability to internalize ideologies to aid the ongoing negotiation of hegemonic control.

Public memory, or more properly public memories, are influenced by deliberate, calculated attempts to instill patriotism. Patriotism glorifies imagined communities. Patriotic fervour is a hotly contested political prize simply because, once captured, it identifies the interests of the entire community with a specific ideological position. Nationalism makes the greatest and most frequent use of patriotism. While a patriot might well express affection for a *polis* that is not his birth-place or ancestral home, loving a community to which he has no other ties besides his loyalty, the nationalist usually imagines his patriotism as a love for a parent figure. The nationalist cannot imagine the separation of the individual from the nation. Nationalism, simply put, relies on bonds of emotion. It thus demands great emotional expressions of love and devotion to the homeland.

Public memory's service to nationalism is to support its myth-symbol complex. Nations are historical. They exist in time. The salient myths and symbols of one era quickly dissolve as the social and political contexts of their veneration shift. Memories, unlike history, remove myths and symbols from time and portray them as universal and unchanging

(even transhistorical) ideals. Benedict Anderson has argued that nationalism requires an empty, homogeneous, simultaneous time. National sentiment is formed in the "meanwhile" of historical narrative. A nation's members live, not only at the same time, but *in* the same time. But public memory shows how nations also require a past that escapes the constraints of conventional time. The past of the nation is a succession of experienced moments. Heroes and events from the past are projected as living memory in the present.[8]

Anderson writes that the immortal Angel of History casts his gaze to the past, but is irresistibly propelled backwards into the future.[9] For many historical narratives the Angel is nationalism and his gaze towards the past serves only to reveal the passing of wreckage after wreckage of founding moments and great illusions. But Pierre Nora's undifferentiated time distinguishes memory from history. Public memory asks the Angel to look, not back to the past, but inward into himself. Undifferentiated time is lived in the present. The heroes, origins, myths, and struggles of the national past live in the present of the imagined community. Nations imagine history as part of their community and imagine their identity with it. The strengths of the past are shared "national" characteristics.

Over two decades ago Carl Berger established that Canadian imperialists expressed "one variety of Canadian nationalism."[10] Imperial federation developed out of the Canada First movement of the 1870s and a faith in Canada's potential for the future. Many English-speaking Canadians combined the notions of imperial federation and Canadian nationhood

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[8]Lerner, p. 179.

[9]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, pp. 161-162.

[10]Berger, *Sense of Power*, p. 9.

and, over time, altered the emphasis from imperial union to Canadian greatness. Stephen Leacock, for one, bubbled with enthusiasm for Canada's future national greatness and yet remained a staunch supporter of imperialism and the Empire.[11] The historic plaques and statues erected in Montreal reflected such ideological complexities. John A. Macdonald's monument, with its endorsement of the National Policy lived out within the British Empire, negotiated the tension between a pan-Canadian and imperialist conception of Canada. Allegorical representations of the provinces of Canada and the National Policy of high tariffs to protect a developing manufacturing sector and settle the prairie west demonstrated a Canadian dream. Yet four British lions supported the Dominion and its seven provinces.

British-Canadian nationalism never solidified into a single ideal possessed of identical founding memories. Many anglophone Montrealers conceded the contested nature of the past, or at least its rudiments, and vigorously pursued a strategy of accommodation and incorporation of the French-Canadian past into the British imperial heritage. The strategy had its moments of success. The monument to Macdonald's counterpart, George-Etienne Cartier, was a picture of this accommodation and its workings. Cartier was a hero to both anglophone and francophone Canadians precisely because he personified this bargain. While Cartier's well-known anglophilia made him acceptable to many English-speaking Canadians, it hardly diminished his stature in French Canada. Other British Canadians were less accommodating. Certainly some blithely ignored French-Canadian concerns or actively excluded them from public history projects. The imperialist members

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[11]Stephen Leacock, "Imperialism and Anti-Colonialism," (Montreal, 1907), reprinted in Berger, *Imperialism and Nationalism*, pp. 47-51.

of the Strathcona (Boer War) Monument Committee cared little for French-Canadian apprehensions about the ethnic overtones of the war in South Africa. Indeed, they selected a model called "Anglo-Saxon" as the winning monument design. Neither the war, nor its commemoration, tolerated contesting opinions.

Both imperial federationists and advocates of full Canadian sovereignty sought a nationality that transcended "race." Both envisioned a nationalism that brought together people who shared the same territory in a patriotic union with a state regardless of their differing religious, racial, or cultural traits. But bridging these very differences proved beyond them. English-speaking Montrealers forged their nationhood around the "age-old" principle of loyalty to the monarch, a loyalty they assumed they shared with French Canadians. But English-speaking Montrealers, quite simply, never understood their French-speaking compatriots. Instead they simply expected French Canadians to share the same sentiments as they, and branded them ignorant when they did not.[12]

French-Canadian nationalism, on the other hand, became more united. It did not start that way. French-Canadian nationalism began as a liberal movement in the *parti canadien* which opposed colonial administrations from Governors Craig to Dalhousie. After radicalizing through the 1830s, the *parti canadien* became the *parti patriote* led by Louis-Joseph Papineau. The Rebellions of 1837-38, spurred by Papineau's rhetoric and carried out by his followers, may have succeeded in one sense. Out of the Rebellions, though their

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[12]Ramsay Cook, *Canada, Quebec, and the Uses of Nationalism* (Toronto, 1986), pp. 175-183; Jacques Monet, "Canadians, Canadiens and Colonial Nationalism, 1896-1914," in Eddy and Schreuder, pp. 167-168.

immediate political aims were thwarted, acceptance of French Canada's nationalism broadened. But with broadening, nationalism also split into two camps.

Beginning in the 1840s French Canadians expressed two visions of their nation: on the one hand, remnants of the *Patriotes* continued to espouse the liberal ideals of the 92 Resolutions; on the other hand, the Catholic clergy, led by its ultramontane wing, placed its faith in a national-religious vocation. With the weight of the Catholic Church behind it, ultramontane nationalism proved dominant. But the *rouge* ideals of such men as the members of the *Institut-Canadien* and Dr. David Marcil were never fully abandoned. Nonetheless, the French-Canadian public memory project helped ease a homogenization of these competing world views over the course of our period. The resentment Chénier's monument met in 1895 became adulation when, by one estimate, a quarter of a million Montrealers attended the unveiling of a monument honouring Papineau, de Lorimier, and Wolfred Nelson in 1926.

In some ways, French-Canadian nationalism was forged in the smithy of consumer capitalism and modernity. Historians often presume that commercial capitalism destroys the spontaneous variations of pre-industrial cultures. International (or American) mass society increasingly organized and commercialized local cultures. Distinctions of class, religion, and ethnicity disappeared in the neon-lit streetscapes of the marketer's making and consumer capitalism produced a regularity of cultural display. Yet such characterizations of modernity may exaggerate its atomizing, homogenizing impact. In this study, we have seen that modernity also forced members of French Canada's once highly stratified social formation to imagine their community of interests with other French Canadians.

World War One's Conscription Crisis forced French Canadians to accept a fundamental opposition between their interests and those of English-speaking Canadians and the British Empire. Certainly French Canadians had identified themselves as a minority in North America long before the First World War,[13] but the war's various crises (especially conscription) reinvigorated French-Canadian nationalism. Although they had initially been enthusiastic for the war effort, French Canadians drew the line at compulsory military service.[14] They raised wayside crosses to ask God to protect their sons against army recruiters and young men hiding in the woods sometimes promised a cross if God would prevent their capture by conscription's agents. Conscription infused the wayside cross with national meaning. The "croix de guerre" strengthened the connection between the persecuted people and their religion. So too did anglophone accusations of cowardice encourage French Canadians to elevate Dollard des Ormeaux as a national hero. Conscription shattered Bourassa's balanced notion of liberalism combined with an expansive bi-cultural nationalism and cleared the path for Groulx's more Quebec-centred reformulation of French-Canadian nationalism.

One might expect such a herculean effort at bonding French Canada's ideological opponents to be led, in conciliatory style, by the weaker faction. However, the SSJBM and the mnemonic juggling of Abbé Groulx paved the way for the acceptance of the Rebellions

[13]Ramsay Cook, *Provincial Autonomy, Minority Rights, and the Compact Theory, 1867-1921* (Ottawa, 1969).

[14]Desmond Morton, "French Canada and War, 1868-1917: the Military Background to the Conscription Crisis of 1917," in J.L. Granatstein and R.D. Cuff (eds) *War and Society in North America* (Toronto, 1971), pp. 84-103.

as a confirmation of French Canada's national vocation. This effort, like various British-Canadian efforts, was exclusionary. Forgotten were the non-francophone supporters of the *Patriote* cause, the common cause made by Lower Canada's Irish and French-Canadian politicians, and even the participation of English-speakers in the formation of Ludger Duvernay's *Association Saint-Jean-Baptiste*. Indeed, the SSJBM plaque on Windsor Station commemorating the site of that first banquet, unveiled by Victor Morin in 1926, turns the Duvernay's Scottish host into the francophone-sounding John de Belestre-McDonnell.[15]

Such exclusions neaten the messy inconsistencies that give rise to historical debate. However this finding should be interpreted as one which neither upholds nor censures the nationalist interpretation of history. Public memory, like all historical works must use the "facts" of the past selectively. Nor does public memory create a nationalist mentality; it merely helps guide perceptions. Public history helps shape collective memories by steering popular perceptions of history. French-language site markers erected between 1891 and 1930 favoured subjects from the French regime over post-Conquest subjects by a margin of 31 to 13. But among the post-Conquest subjects were the SSJBM plaque and two monuments to the Rebellions noted above, as well as monuments to Bishop Bourget, the "national" poet Octave Crémazie, and the statesman of the Union period Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine. French-language plaques and monuments followed the prevailing intellectual climate built by such leaders as Henri Bourassa, Olivar Asselin, and Lionel Groulx. The homogenization of nationalism was a product of politics reflected in public history and public memory.

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[15]This plaque can still be found on the Peel Street wall of Windsor Station.

Contrary to most studies of nationalism, which approach the subject from the perspective of intellectual history, the study of public memory reveals more of its underlying popular foundations. Nationalism was a new expression of imagined community in the nineteenth century as such authors as Gellner and Hobsbawm have ably demonstrated. But the novelty of the expression of nationalism does not confine it to a narrow, class-oriented ideology. Heritage elites clearly expressed historical consciousnesses that coincided with their class interests. But the willingness of working people to embrace such elements of nationalist ideology as the cult of heroes reveals a mentality that accepted nationalism as common sense. Moreover, persistent disagreement over visions of the nation expressed by middle-class political and social leaders suggests that nationalism might have been useful for certain classes, but its adherence transcended class.

Nonetheless, public memory is a discourse, not a unified text. The contested nature of public memory suggests that a multiplicity of meanings, audiences, and memories intersect through the public past. As Pierre Bourdieu cautions us, cultural production cannot be separated from cultural reception. So too must the production of public memory be united with its reception as a "mnemonic field." Memories are products of their times. To elevate public memory to an unhistorical text denies an essential component of its production and symbolic value. Memories have significance for certain groups and individuals based on their own objective position, cultural needs, and capacities for analysis of the symbolic appropriation. Historic sites and monuments thus cross between Bourdieu's cultural production and cultural reception, taking different meanings according to the needs and abilities of the public that routinely passes them. Bourdieu's ideas emphasize the role of

cultural production in the maintenance of hegemony and the negotiation of value between public history and a public profoundly divided along lines of class, gender, religion, language, and ethnicity.[16]

These case studies of Montreal reveal that, despite their resistance to the colonization of shared memories by dominant groups, marginalized groups express their own past in ways that accommodate hegemonic cultures. For instance, Cesare Consiglio offered his Dante monument as a symbol of the Italian community's legitimacy in Montreal and to encourage French Canadians to accept it. Consiglio negotiated an Italian space within a broader Canadian memory. Certainly this case does not reflect every use of historic sites and monuments. Persisting Irish resistance to the name Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys, as exemplified in the vandalized monument, suggests that some groups gave no quarter in the struggle to preserve their public past.

T.J. Jackson Lears has conscripted Antonio Gramsci's notion of a negotiated hegemonic political and social leadership of the bourgeoisie for the cultural field. Cultural hegemony, the spontaneous consent given by the masses to the general direction imposed on life by dominant groups, is instructive in analyzing this contest of public memory. Individuals possess their own memories. Public memory is only created when public history and the shared memories of groups of individuals intersect and confirm one another. Public memory is not imposed on populations, but is negotiated into their own complex of shared values and beliefs. Less powerful people may be thoroughly disaffected. At times some

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[16]Bourdieu, pp. 218-220. See also Richard Jenkins, *Pierre Bourdieu* (London and New York, 1992), pp. 110-119.

may openly revolt against the symbols of hegemonic cultures, but normally most find it difficult to translate their experiences into a conception of the past that can directly challenge the hegemonic public memory.[17]

Montreal was unique in this sense in that it contained two hegemonic cultures and at least two hegemonic public memories. In 1915 the SSJBM celebrated three centuries of Catholicism on the Island of Montreal by erecting a granite stèle in the neighbourhood of Sault-au-Récollet on the banks of the Des Prairies River. The text reads, in part: "En souvenir du troisième centennaire de la première messe au Canada, célébré sur le bord de la rivière des Prairies par le père Récollet Denis Jamet assisté du père Joseph Le Caron, en présence de Champlain le 24 juin 1615."[18] The reference is to Champlain's second trip to Montreal. While this monument acknowledges an historical fact (Jamet celebrated the first mass on the Island of Montreal), it attempts to tie the early history of Montreal to the official programme of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in the early twentieth century. Certainly the early history of Montreal involved a strong confessional element. But Champlain's intention for the island was for use as a trading post; Montreal's religious vocation only developed under La Dauversière. The SSJBM's monument adopts the collective memory of Montreal's religious history and reshapes it to fit the specific focus of a specific religious and nationalist group.

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[17]T.J.J. Lears, "The Concept of Cultural Hegemony: Problems and Possibilities," *American Historical Review* (June 1985), p. 569.

[18]The stèle can be found in Nicolas Viel Park on the banks of the Rivière des Prairies at St. Lawrence Boulevard.

The conscription of the past was above all a competition between Montreal's two "founding peoples," but it also conformed to the tastes of tourists. John Urry's Tourist Gaze, or more directly anticipation of it, shaped the margins of commemorative practices. Efforts to attract paying travellers led Montreal's public history to anticipate the gaze of outsiders and to centralize the production of public memory. Massicotte's orchestrated Saint-Jean-Baptiste parades were imposed on a prior tradition of local autonomy and spontaneity in expressions of public history. State entry into the field of public history, however limited, likewise imposed itself over the more spontaneous commemorations of private organizations. Certainly the CMHQ and the HSMBC recruited its Montreal opinion from members of the local heritage elites, but asked them to see their city from the totalizing perspective of "national" or provincial interests. Among such interests, as the minute books of each organization underline, was the attraction of tourists.

This centralization of local history was not accomplished without tension. Popular classes surrendered ownership of their traditions and customs to cultural elites, businessmen, or the state only reluctantly and local groups, especially the SSJBM, continued to outpace the state in erecting markers. But these people often willingly joined and aided centralization efforts as well. While Morin resigned from the HSMBC over its language policy, Lighthall, Massicotte, and Fauteux gladly provided the Board with all the information it needed to portray its perception of Canadian history in Montreal. Moreover, state initiative often confirmed earlier private initiatives. The HSMBC replaced previous ANSM plaques commemorating the founding of Montreal, the steamship "Accommodation," and

Cartier's arrival at Hochelaga. All three anticipated a tourist taste for founding events and historic firsts.

Tourism relies on both Benedict Anderson's empty homogeneous time and the mythical past of the nation. Tourists appreciate "foreign" cultures because they imagine their own communities as limited. The imagined community requires empty time for its members to see themselves as united and the community of communities requires the same empty time to shape its limits. As Anderson reminds us, no nation imagines itself coterminous with all human kind.[19] A nation's mythical time draws outsiders into the marketable aspects of the past. The tourist's totalizing gaze forces centuries of time together into bite-sized morsels. Public memory, by extracting "crucial" moments from the past, offers the tourist a pre-packaged history to consume. The tourist's limited knowledge guides a taste for a clearly delimited continuous past. Montreal's public historians thus anticipated a tourist taste for historic firsts that marked the beginning of a continuous historical development toward the present.

Anniversaries, such as the ones Montreal celebrated in 1892 and 1917, are commemorations based on supposedly significant dates rather than on significant events. Certainly they presume continuous history. In 1892 the ANSM and the SHM both celebrated the 250 years of Montreal's continuous inhabitation by Europeans. That they chose 1642 as the foundation of Ville-Marie is not surprising, but it is significant. Montreal, like many

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[19]Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, p. 7.

cities established in the New World has numerous "foundations."[20] However, in the case of Montreal, the disappearance of Hochelaga between 1535 and 1611 allowed the heritage elite to ignore the prior occupation of the Island of Montreal by non-European peoples and to consider the subsequent arrival of the Europeans a rupture.

Anniversaries do more than connect the present to the past. They simplify history. They delimit beginnings and establish duration as historical: the passage of this place from its foundation to its present is treated as a continuous process. In 1917, the year the SHM planned to celebrate Montreal's 275th anniversary, the Bank of Montreal unveiled a plaque to its own centenary at its headquarters on Place d'Armes. Noting, quite correctly, that the Bank of Montreal was the first in British North America, the texts celebrating the anniversary's importance rely on the celebration of an historic first, linking past to present regardless of historical importance or process. The text of the plaque makes explicit the direct line of descent from the founding moment to the present:

> 1817 - 1917. This tablet was erected to commemorate the centenary of the Bank of Montreal the oldest banking institution in British North America founded November 3rd 1817 incorporated by Royal Charter July 2nd 1822. This building was erected in 1847 the first to stand on this ground remodelled and extended to Craig St. 1905.

> 1817 first president John Gray. First cashier Robert Griffin.
> 1917 fourteenth president Sir Vincent Meredith Bart. Eighth general manager Sir Frederick Williams.

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[20]Consider Toronto which celebrated its centennial in 1934 and its bicentennial fifty-eight years later.

There is nothing significant to connect Meredith and Gray, but the plaque implies an equal importance to each. Centennials and sesqui-centennials are not significant in themselves, but confuse antiquity with historical importance.

Massicotte and Barbeau's "Evenings of French-Canadian Folklore" also represented a widening of cultural tastes to reflect the broader American and international market. A widespread taste for "oldness" directed Montreal's public commemorations to subjects of the French regime and an emphasis on the continuity of the old regime and French Canada's "folk society." The tourist industry ruthlessly exploited folk culture past the point of credibility, paradoxically entrenching folk essentialism and borrowing from modern sensibilities. This attention to the folk and to history as a tourist attraction relied on the tourist industry's ability to turn the past into a marketable commodity. Modern marketing distinguished one folk past from another.

Certainly tourism cannot be cited as the sole force shaping ideas of folk culture. Barbeau's struggle was to awaken urbanites to their rural roots. Interest in folk dances and handicrafts was part of this broader international taste for folklore, but it was also part of a specific re-invigoration of the idea of French-Canadian rural morality. The folk society thesis forwarded in the 1930s by American sociologists was not a marketing gimmick. The Catholic church did not promote "back to the land" colonization to entice secular American tourists further and further into Quebec's interior. Nor, for that matter, was Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day a fantasy holiday dreamt up by the C.P.R.'s marketing genius, J. Murray Gibbon. Public memory felt the influence of the Tourist Gaze, but it was more fundamentally a discourse for insiders. Public memory spoke with many voices.

This thesis began with a description of the contested messages and memories offered by two Montreal monuments erected within a month of each other. Both monuments, one to Sir John A. Macdonald and the other to Sieur de Maisonneuve, symbolized founding moments of Canadian society. Yet they commemorated events two-hundred and twenty-five years apart. Montreal's past was a contested terrain. For Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, the past pointed to the traditional duties and obligations of the British subject. Pamphile du Tremblay, on the other hand, saw in the struggles of the French and English of the past a lesson for the future of pan-Canadian harmony. E.-W. Villeneuve might have agreed with du Tremblay, but would have pointed to the career of his hero G.-E. Cartier as a past example of pan-Canadianism. And for messianic nationalists such as Lionel Groulx or, to a much lesser extent, Léon Trépanier, the values of the past demonstrated the need for the French-Canadian nation to be faithful to its traditions. The irony of the coexistence of such different concepts of origins and destinies would be lost on each of them.

Some sixteen years after Confederation the Province of Quebec chose the phrase "Je me souviens" as its motto. Raymond Giroux, a recent editorialist in Quebec City's *Le Soleil* newspaper has suggested that this motto is misleading. Quebecers do not remember their past, but conspire to forget it.[21] Despite Giroux's comments, memory is not academic history. Quebec does not use *je me souviens* to cover its lack of knowledge, but to emphasize the greater importance of memory over history. Anderson's Angel of History remembers by forgetting highly defined distinctions of time. Memory is not history. Public memory and its proponents often confuse history and myth because, like myth, public

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[21]*Le Soleil*, 2 juillet 1996.

memory's value is Durkheimian: it supports popular operating symbols and myths about the past and invigorates *mythomoteurs*. Heritage elites were not always fully conscious of their roles in this respect, but their work constructed unifying visions of the past for present and future consumption. The greatest contribution of public memory to the construction and maintenance of identity is its ability to repackage the past as a period removed from the present yet at the same time linked to the present by a continuity of social and political values. Public memory's selective use of the past tends, sometimes deliberately and other times unconsciously, to a conquest of time for identity.

Postscript:

The Reconquest of Montreal's Memory

Marc Levine introduced Canadian historians to the reconquest of Montreal. According to Levine, political action and public policy produced major social and economic changes in Montreal between the years 1960 and 1989. Montreal's linguistic character had long remained English despite the return of its French-speaking majority. But the refrancization of Montreal after 1960 through language legislation Levine characterizes as an attempt to undo the results of the conquest of two centuries before.[1] Led by nationalist language policies and economic development policies, Montreal was transformed from "an English city containing many French-speaking workers and inhabitants" to the city it is today.[2] In brief, nationalism "reconquered" Montreal.

This study of public memory suggests that this reconquest began much earlier as part of the 1920s homogenization of French-Canadian nationalism. The fraternal impulse that blended competing visions of the nation into a single nationalism focused imaginations on the past. Groulx's re-imagined national past provided French Canadians with a unifying national birth. As nationalism homogenized their memories of Montreal's past, so too did French Canadians begin to realize their power and position in Montreal's present. This reconquest, then, began in the years following World War One and accelerated in the

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[1]Marc Levine, *The Reconquest of Montreal: Language Policy and Social Change in a Bilingual City* (Philadelphia, 1990), p. 6.

[2]Jane Jacobs, *The Question of Separatism* (New York, 1980), pp. 11-12.

307

subsequent decades. In this sense, the language and economic policies of the Quiet

Revolution might be seen as a shift in the battle for Montreal from the symbolic past to the

symbolic present. From public memory, the struggle for a reconquest turned to the future.

In 1930 the oldest monument standing in Montreal was the McTavish column.

Placed by Simon McTavish's nephews on the slope of Mount Royal, it still stands up the hill

from Pine Avenue in a direct line with McTavish Street below.[3] McTavish's column once

occupied a prominent place in Montreal's iconography. Standing close to twenty feet tall,

and perched nearly four hundred and fifty feet above the river, the column was easily visible

to Montrealers a mile and a half away in the old city. It appears in George Heriot's 1807

lithograph "View of Montreal from the Mountain" and is pictured in the centre of a similar

view engraved four years later. Newton Bosworth included the column on the title page of

his 1839 description of Montreal, *Hochelaga Depicta*.[4] However, as the city crept slowly

up the slopes of Mount Royal the monument disappeared behind the shadows of factories

and skyscrapers. An aging symbol of the city's pre-industrial fur trade, the McTavish

column was eclipsed by the new economic order.

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[3]The monument can be found by following the path leading to the Mount Royal belvedere that begins near the corner of Pine Avenue and Peel Street. There is a common misconception that the Nelson monument was Montreal's first, which Robert repeats in his *Atlas historique*, p. 87.

[4]See C.P. DeVolpi and P.S. Winkworth (eds) *Montreal: A Pictorial Record* v. 1 (Montreal, 1963), pp. 11-14.

The McTavish Column, circa 1923

Source: Roy, *Monuments commémoratifs*, p. 159.

As early as the 1920s the McTavish monument needed considerable repairs. Victor Morin and E.-Z. Massicotte asked their colleagues on the CMHQ to consider repairing the damage done by long years of neglect and Montreal's brutal climate. At meetings held in 1923 and 1924, the CMHQ learned that the McTavish estate maintained its claim of ownership of the monument. It was not public property. When the Commission could not track down enough information to confirm or counter this claim, it let the matter drop.[5] These men had only a fleeting interest in Simon McTavish.
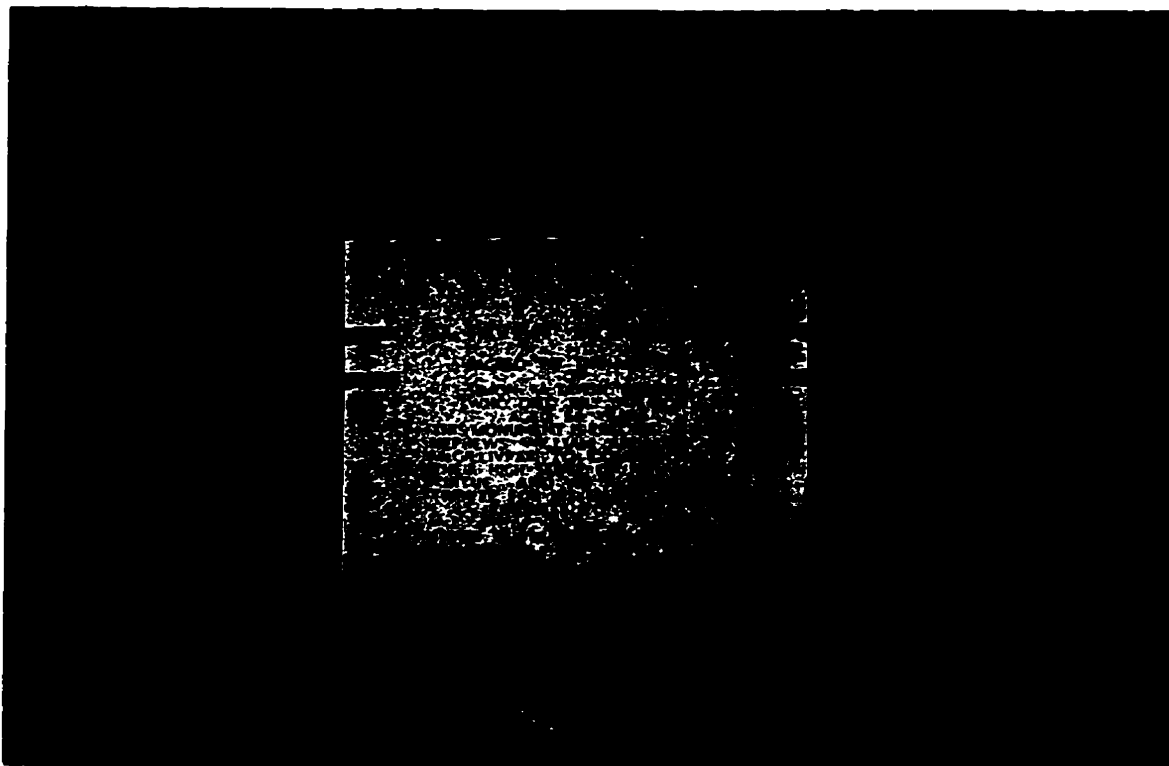
The "Restored" McTavish Monument

Photo by the author

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[5]ANQ-Q, Minutes CMHQ, 22 juin 1923; 3 avril 1924.

Almost twenty years later the matter remained unresolved. Aroused by the CMHQ's

inability to secure the monument in 1924, Alderman J.-A. Brodeur announced to the press

that the city would assume control of the situation. But with the three-hundredth anniversary

of Montreal's seventeenth-century founding approaching, the column, still unattended,

continued to wither away behind a palisade of trees.[6] McTavish's heirs had left Canada

centuries earlier. Indeed, McTavish's wife, Marie-Marguerite Chaboillez, and their children

refused to return to Montreal from London to live in the mansion McTavish was building

in 1803. They likely never returned. When McTavish died the following year, his nephews

arranged for his funeral, built his memorial, and saw to his affairs. Their column to their

beloved uncle symbolized his place in their memories and his former dominion over the

commercial city below his hillside estate. But the restoration of 1942 drastically altered the

monument. Rather than fix the existing monument, the City of Montreal redesigned it

entirely, reducing a twenty-foot column to a five-foot granite block. More than a change in

artistic tastes, this transformation - cutting McTavish down to size - was a reduction of the

symbols of past anglophone power in Montreal.

Although part of the celebrations of Montreal's 300th anniversary, the effect of the

"restoration" of the monument was to lessen the importance of one aspect of the city's past

in its public history. A similar result followed the 1944 relocation of remains from the

Papineau Avenue Military Cemetery. The numerous British officers burried at the eastern

end of Lafontaine Park were abruptly relocated to the suburbs of West Island. The cemetery

had been closed in the 1870s, had been largely forgotten by the 1890s, and was mostly

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[6]CMHQ, *Deuxième rapport annuel*, p. 9.

ignored by both the HSMBC and the CMHQ in the 1920s. French-Canadian nationalism of

the early-twentieth century chose Lafontaine Park as a sacred site and the continued presence

of the old graves attracted unwanted attention. Included amongst the buried dead was Lt.

Jack Weir, a young British soldier slaughtered by his *Patriote* captors in the unhappy fall of

1837. The presence of his tomb complicated the narrative of 1837 as a straightforward tale

of French Canadian victimhood. The removal of these tombs cleansed the park of images

inconsistent with official French-Canadian memory.

Yet although the reconquest was well under way, through the 1950s French

Canadians continued to find themselves out of power in Montreal. Montreal remained what

it had been for a century: a city where anglophones controlled the major corporations and

institutions and English remained the dominant language on the streets and in the stores.

But its position was under challenge. The most heated linguistic contest of the 1950s

involved the Canadian National Railway's (C.N.) development complex in mid-town

Montreal. C.N., a nationalized amalgamation of the old Grand Trunk Pacific and Canadian

Northern Railways, planned a massive complex of shops and offices connected to Central

Station, capped by a mammoth luxury hotel on Dorchester Boulevard. No issue galvanized

linguistic competition in Montreal more than the naming of this new hotel. C.N. proposed

the name the Queen Elizabeth Hotel.[7]

Opposition came from a variety of segments of French-speaking Montreal, but was

led by the intellectuals from Lionel Groulx's monthly *Action nationale*. In one *Action*

nationale polemic, Pierre Laporte denounced the affront to Montreal's French-speaking

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[7]Levine, p. 37.

majority. Toronto, he claimed, would never accept a French name for its hotels, so Montrealers should not accept an English one. These opponents launched an extensive media campaign and distributed a petition, eventually signed by 200,000 people, denouncing the project. The organizers proposed the alternative name, Chateau Maisonneuve.[8] In the end, C.N. simply ignored the pressure. The Queen Elizabeth was seen as symbolic of both anglophone corporate insensitivity and of the federal government's callous disregard for French Canadians.[9] When, only a few years later, the Quiet Revolution gripped Quebec, the battle over the Queen Elizabeth Hotel was often later described as the last gasp of a certain kind of anglophone corporate power.

The provincial election of 1960 ended fifteen years of uninterrupted *Union nationale* rule in Quebec and brought Jean Lesage's Liberals to power. With that changing of the guard, the Quiet Revolution had begun. Although political opposition to the long reign of *Union nationale* strongman Maurice Duplessis had been growing through the 1950s, the Quiet Revolution was a watershed in Quebec's social, political, and economic history. Since mid-century the traditional French-Canadian middle class of liberal professionals had been in decline. The great economic upheaval of the 1930s had revealed the inability of this class, the source of our heritage elites, to respond to the complexities of the twentieth century. At the same time, the Great Depression persuaded young middle-class

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[8]Pierre Laporte, "Queen Elizabeth ? ... Jamais !" *Action nationale* (avril 1955), pp. 668-678. Laporte, of course, ignored the "French" names of such Toronto hotels as the Hotel La Salle, the Frontenac Arms, and the Chateau Dufferin. C.N. later built another luxury hotel, the Chateau Champlain, a few blocks from what is now Le Reine Elizabeth.

[9]Levine, p. 37.

professionals to follow the social science studies popularized at such American institutions as the University of Chicago. Father Georges-Henri Lévesque of Laval University encouraged these young francophone technocrats and the ever-expanding bureaucracies of the Church's various social institutions nourished their skills. The secular teachings of the social sciences clashed with the Catholic clergy's determination to maintain control of French-Canadian society, but, so long as Duplessis was in command, the Church had a strong ally in the state. When Duplessis died in the autumn of 1959, the structure of the traditional Church-state partnership toppled with him. Within four years of taking power, Lesage and his "new middle class" allies had nationalized hydroelectricity, assumed control of public health and welfare, and re-created a provincial Ministry of Education.[10]

Perhaps the most striking effect of the Quiet Revolution can be seen among the changes in collective memory. Among the accomplishments of the Quiet Revolution and the active new middle class of provincial bureaucrats was the saving of old Montreal from the destructive forces of modernity and rescue the physical heritage of Montreal's public memory. Ironically, the drive was sponsored by a member of the old middle class: a journalist, and an anglophone one at that. In 1961 Eric McLean, an employee of the Montreal Gazette, bought the ancestral home of Louis-Joseph Papineau on Bonsecours Street near the Bonsecours Market in the old city. The Papineau family had sold the house in 1919 thus initiating forty years of decline. McLean pumped his savings into the old house and restored it to its original state, based on a sketch of 1885. Spearheaded by McLean's success,

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[10]See Kenneth McRoberts, Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis (3rd ed) (Toronto, 1988), pp. 90-100; 147-159.

the CMHQ convinced the government to classify Old Montreal a "historic district" in 1964 and thus to extend state protection over the architectural heritage of Montreal.[11]

The Quiet Revolution may well be over, but its effect on memory and its radicalization of memory continues. Jocelyn Létourneau, examining answer sheets from Quebec's Lionel Groulx prize for high-school history students, notes that the Quiet Revolution has entered the collective memory of Quebecers as a founding event. The election of a Liberal government under Jean Lesage (and the social innovations that accompanied it) has become, in the minds of many young French Canadians, both a rupture between "modern" and "pre-modern" Quebec and an event of fundamental historical importance on a par with the Conquest and the Rebellions of 1837. A complex historical event has been reduced by collective memory to a simple binary opposition between good and evil. This reification of the rhetoric of the Quiet Revolution personifies the old-versus-new dichotomy in the mythologies of Duplessis and Lesage. Students construed Duplessis as a simple villain and portrayed Lesage as an almost mythical saviour-hero.[12]

As Létourneau points out, the mythology inherent in memory is apparent. But this mythology should neither be seen as a mere simplification of the past, nor as a straightforward political construction. Certainly some have attempted to create and manipulate such a construction. But, in the main, public memory is the product of a more

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[11]Jean-Claude Marsan, "La préservation du patrimoine urbain" in *Chemins de la mémoire* v. 2, pp. 1-12;

[12]Jocelyn Létourneau, "L'imaginaire des jeunes québécois" *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* (printemps 1988), pp. 553-574 and "Le `Québec moderne': Un chapitre du grand récit collectif des Québécois" *Revue française de science politique* (octobre 1992), pp. 765-785.

subtle interaction between political motivations, mentality, collective memory, and collective forgetting. The struggle over the renaming of Dorchester Boulevard in 1987 is a final case in point. After the death of Quebec's first sovereigntist Premier, René Lévesque, municipal politicians agreed to a plan to rename a principal thoroughfare after the dead hero. Dorchester Boulevard, named for Guy Carleton, the second British governor of Quebec, was selected as an appropriate street to name for the man who had come the closest to "undoing the Conquest." Boulevard René-Lévesque runs from de Lorimier Avenue west to the border of the heavily-anglophone City of Westmount where it becomes Dorchester Street, Westmount having refused to rename its portion of the thoroughfare. However, in the heated public debate that preceded the official name change, no one noticed that Dorchester Street itself had originally been called Jean-Baptiste Street. [13]

The naming of Boulevard René-Lévesque, which runs past the such symbols of anglophone power as the Queen Elizabeth Hotel, the Sun Life Insurance building, and Dominion Square (re-named Dorchester Square in 1987), was the symbolic completion of the reconquest of Montreal. It was an overt political act but also an honest memorial to a much-loved statesman who had died suddenly only a month earlier. Memory, forgetting, and political motivation combined to create Boulevard René-Lévesque. Public memory is still contested today as it was in the heyday of Lighthall, Massicotte, Groulx, and Morin. Their ambiguities, failures, and successes are not far removed from our own.

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[13] The name change became official on Saint Andrew's Day, 30 November 1987. *Les rues de Montréal*, p. 401.

Appendix A: Men

A selection of the most active or most influential participants in public history in Montreal, 1891-1930

1) Cruickshank, Ernest Alexander (1854-1939)

Cruickshank was a respected expert on the War of 1812 when he joined the HSMBC. His contribution in Montreal was limited to his influence over the remaining Board members.

2) David, Laurent-Olivier (1840-1926)

Born at Sault-au-Récollet, David trained as a lawyer and became a journalist and politician. He founded the illustrated newspaper *L'Opinion publique*. He sat in the provincial assembly for Montreal East between 1886 and 1890 and became a senator in 1903. He spoke at many monument unveilings, reinvigorated Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day in 1874 and saved the project for the *Monument national*.

3) de Brumath, Adrien Leblond (1854-1939)

A French-born educator, de Brumath was the principal of a commercial academy in Montreal. He wrote numerous histories and tourist guides for the city and was an active member of the ANSM.

4) de la Barthe, Vicomte

A shadowy figure. A French citizen who lived from time to time in Montreal. He was close friends with many members of the ANSM and initiated both the plaques project and the Maisonneuve monument project.

5) Demers, Louis-Philippe (1863-1951)

Demers was a judge of the Superior Court at Montreal. He joined the HSMBC in 1927 to replace Fauteux. Demers's main historical interest was in transportation history. He taught law at Laval University's Montreal Branch and at the *Monument national*.

6) du Tremblay, Pamphile (1879-?)

du Tremblay was an active Liberal politician at all levels of government in Montreal. He married the daughter of *La Presse*'s Trefflé Berthiaume in 1907 which secured him a comfortable lifestyle. During the First World War he tried to organize a French-Canadian Brigade to serve with the first contingent, but failed. In 1917 he was elected to the House of Commons. He was named a Legislative Councillor in 1924. In 1929 he became Director

of *La Presse* and used this position to promote the Vauquelin monument.

7) Fauteux, Aegidius (1876-1941)

Fauteux began his career as a lawyer and journalist. He worked at *La Patrie* from 1901 to 1909 and at *La Presse* from 1909 to 1912. In 1912 he became the librarian of the Sulpicians' library. He was an active member of the ANSM, SHM, SSJBM, and HSMBC. He was well respected by both anglophone and francophone historians at the Royal Society (though the anglophones typically mispronounced his name "Faut*aux*.")

8) Harkin, James Bernard (1875-1955)

A newspaperman in Ottawa, Harkin joined the Dominion Parks Branch in 1911. Well known as a wildlife conservationist, he soon became a public historian (of a sort) when as Commissioner, he coordinated the activities of the HSMBC.

9) Hébert, Henri (1884-1950)

The son of Philippe Hébert, Henri was also a renowned sculptor. His most celebrated public sculpture is the Lafontaine monument in Montreal. He also taught sculpture at McGill University.

10) Hébert, Philippe (1850-1917)

Sculptor of many Montreal monuments including those to Maisonneuve, Bourget, Crémazie, John Young, Jeanne Mance, and Edward VII. He completed over forty public sculptures in Canada. As a young man he joined the Zouaves and saw action at the final siege of Rome 20 September 1870. Returning to Montreal, he studied art under Napoléon Bourassa.

11) Hill, George William

Montreal's leading anglophone sculptor. Hill's works included the Boer War memorial and Villeneuve's Cartier monument. See above Chapter Five.

12) Laliberté, Alfred (1878-1953)

Laliberté was a nationalist who succeeded Philippe Hébert as French-Canada's most popular sculptor. His most famous works include the allegorical fountain in Maisonneuve, the Dollard monuments, and the 1926 *patriotes* monument.

13) Legacé, Jean-Baptiste

Legacé studied at the Collège de Montréal and Collège Ste.-Marie and later taught art at the *Monument national* for the SSJBM. He was awarded an honourary doctorate by the University of Montreal in 1936 (along with Massicotte and Fauteux). Due to the number of his former students wishing

to attend, the University decided to hold a separate banquet for him. He helped Massicotte organize and design the floats for the Saint-Jean-Baptiste parades after 1924 and served on the Dollard Monument Committee of the ACJC.

14) Lighthall, William Douw (1857-1954)

Although born in Hamilton, Ontario, Lighthall spent most of his life in Montreal. He was active in civic affairs. He was Mayor of Westmount and served on Montreal's first Metropolitan Commission. He was a founding member of the Union of Canadian Municipalities. His antimodernism made him sympathetic to old regime history and French-Canadian readings of the past.

15) Macdonald, Archibald Chaussgros de Lery (1862-?)

A Conservative and Catholic, de Lery Macdonald's family was a mix of Scottish and French-Canadian. This friend of Lighthall and the Vicomte de la Barthe contributed to the ANSM's 1892 plaques project and Maisonneuve monument. He would later echo Lighthall's complaint that the "new generation" at the ANSM neglected the memory of those who had led the 1892 project. He made his living as a barrister.

16) Mackay, Robert (1840-1916)

Born in Scotland, Mackay arrived in Canada in 1855. He was a wholesale dry goods retailer and, eventually, a senator (1901). As a member of the ANSM, he supported many of its projects as well as those of other private initiatives.

17) Marcil, David

A Legislative Councillor and former mayor of St.-Eustache, Marcil's main contribution to public history was to spearhead the Chénier monument. This monument was a turning point in public history. It drew attention to the contested nature of public memory. See below H.-C. St.-Pierre.

18) Massicotte, Edouard-Zotique (1867-1947)

A journalist from 1886 and lawyer from 1895, Massicotte bounced between the two professions before becoming the Chief Archivist for the Judicial District of Montreal in 1911. His expertise in folklore (he was a colleague of Marius Barbeau) helped organize Saint-Jean-Baptiste parades after 1924. He was also a respected historian who repeatedly furnished the CMHQ and HSMBC with information.

19) McCarthy, Coeur de Lion

A Montreal sculptor who contributed to many public contests. His most

notable work was the CPR War Memorial at Windsor Station. Three of these were cast, one for Montreal, one for Winnipeg, and one for Vancouver.

20) McLachlan, Robert Wallace (1845-1926)

McLachlan studied at McGill and became a merchant in Montreal. He joined the ANSM in 1865 and developed a love for coin collecting. His personal collection exceeded 8,000 examples. From 1872 he edited the ANSM's journal and contributed to many (especially ANSM) public history projects.

21) McLennan, William (1856-1904)

An author and lawyer, McLennan drafted the texts for some of the ANSM plaques. He also translated French-Canadian folk songs and was a member of the Council of the Art Association of Montreal.

22) Morin, Victor (1865-1960)

Morin was the most prolific contributor to Montreal's public history. He was president of the SSJBM, SHM, and ANSM during the years of this thesis. He single-handedly saw many commemoration projects completed. He was also active in politics, helping push municipal reform in 1909 and becoming an alderman in 1910, and a member of the *Ligue anti-alcoolique*.

23) Nantel, Maréchal (1890-?)

Nantel was the librarian for the Montreal Bar Association. He replaced Demers as Quebec's representative on the HSMBC in 1930.

24) Roy, Elzéar

Roy taught architecture at the *Monument national*. He also judged the winning contestants in the SSJBM parades. This was a bit unfair as he also helped Massicotte choose the themes and organize the procession order each year.

25) Roy, Pierre-Georges (1870-1953)

Roy was the Chief Archivist for the Province of Quebec as well as Secretary of the CMHQ. His personal energy seemed limitless. In 1895 he launched the *Bulletin des recherches historiques* and published numerous articles and books. He produced the CMHQ's early reports and catalogues.

26) St.-Pierre, Arthur (1885-?)

St.-Pierre began his intellectual career in 1907 as a member of the ACJC. He was self-taught. He published articles in *La Presse* and *La Patrie*, promoted the Caisses populaires of Alphonse Desjardins, was active in the Semaines sociales and the SSJBM. He later taught social sciences at the University of

Montreal.

27) St.-Pierre, Henri-Cesaire (1844-?)

The son of a *patriote*, St.-Pierre became an advocate of pan-Canadianism. He served the Union side in the American Civil War (he was wounded in Virginia) and later studied law in G.-E. Cartier's office. His speech at the Chénier unveiling captured attention across Canada. At the turn of the century he was known as one of Canada's top criminal lawyers.

28) Smith, Donald, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal (1820-1914)

Born in Scotland, Smith came to Canada as a fur trader with the Hudson's Bay Company. Among the distinctions of his long career, he negotiated between Riel and Ottawa in 1869, supported the CPR and drove in the ceremonial last spike in 1885, and from 1896 to his death served as Canada's High Commissioner in London. He organized and supported his own mounted regiment for the Boer War and thus inspired the Montreal Boer War memorial. He also spoke at many unveilings and lent his considerable financial support to numerous projects.

29) Sulte, Benjamin (1841-1923)

Among French-Canada's most respected historians, Sulte was also Quebec's first representative on the HSMBC. His suggestions guided the HSMBC's activities in Montreal through the first half of the 1920s and his legacy lingered with the Board for decades.

30) Trépanier, Léon (1881-?)

Trépanier was a journalist in the first decades of this century. He covered the Paris Peace Conference for many French-Canadian newspapers. In 1921 he turned to politics and was elected alderman for Lafontaine ward. He did not become active in public history until the 1920s, speaking at many unveilings and helping to organize the monument and *fête nationale* plans of the SSJBM.

31) Turgeon, Adélard (1863-1930)

Turgeon was a Liberal provincial politician who served as President of the CMHQ. Although he lived in Quebec City, his contribution on the CMHQ influenced the depiction of history in the civic centre of Old Montreal (near City Hall and the Court House).

32) Vaillancourt, Emile (1889-?)

Vaillancourt studied at Montreal's Collège Ste.-Marie and became a journalist in 1907 with *La Patrie*. In 1910 he joined the ACJC's Dollard Monument Committee and served as secretary until the Montreal version was completed in 1920. He also served on the executive of the Battle of Chateauguay Centennial Committee (1913) and the organizational committee for Montreal's 275th anniversary (1917). From 1921 to 1927 he was Thomas Cook and Sons' agent in Montreal. Vaillancourt was also himself a world traveller, having visited Europe, Africa, and Asia by 1930 as a delegate of the SSJBM and the *Société des artisans Canadiens-français d'Amérique*.

33) Villeneuve, Eugène-Walter (1865-?)

Conservative and raised in a political family (his father was a senator and mayor of Montreal), Villeneuve served on Montreal's "reform" Board of Control during the First World War. He directed the Cartier Centennial Monument Committee.

Appendix B: List of Historic Monuments Erected 1891-1930

For the purposes of this thesis, a monument is "historic" if it honours or depicts historical events or people. This definition excludes the numerous religious statues that adorn Montreal's churches. Thus the monument of the martyr Nicolas Viel is historic, but any statues of the Virgin Mary (although she was a historical figure) are not. A secondary means of defining "historic" relies on those monuments recognized as such by the provincial government through Pierre-Georges Roy's *Monuments commémoratifs*. Thus the Temperance Fountain is counted as historic because the CMHQ classed it so. "Public" is taken to mean erected outdoors or in a non-sectarian building open to the public.

In square brackets following each entry the "ethnicity"; period; and a general "subject" for each monument is provided. See also above Chapter Seven.

1) 18 May 1892: Pioneers' Obelisk. Place Royale and Place d'Youville. Sponsor SHM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Exploration]

2) 14 June 1893: Jacques Cartier. Place St.-Henri, St.-Henri. Sculptor J.-A. Vincent; sponsor Toussaint Aquin. [French-Canadian; French regime; Exploration (see above Chapter Eight, note 42)]

3) 6 June 1895: John A. Macdonald. Dominion Square. [British; post-Conquest; Statesman]

4) 1 July 1895: Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. Place d'Armes. Sponsor ANSM; sculptor Philippe Hébert. [Bilingual; French regime; Exploration]

5) 25 August 1895: L.-O. Chénier. St.-Denis Street and Craig Street. Sponsor David Marcil. [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; military]

6) 24 May 1897: Sun Life Fountain. Dominion Square. Erected by the Sun Life Insurance Company; sculptor G.W. Hill. [British; post-Conquest; Statesman]

7) 24 June 1898: Pierre Le Moyne d'Iberville. Ste-Cunégonde, corner of St.-Jacques and Vinet. Unveiled 1898, but erected 1894. [French-Canadian; French regime; military]

8) 1899: Queen Victoria. Royal Victoria College, Sherbrooke Street at the head of Union Avenue. British. Donated by Lord Strathcona, designed by Princess Louise. Unveiled 1900. [British; post-Conquest; Statesman]

9) 24 May 1903: Nicolas Viel. Sault-au-Récollet. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Religion]

10) 24 May 1903: Ahuntsic. Sault-au-Récollet. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Religion]

11) 24 June 1903: Bishop Ignace Bourget. St.-Jacques-le-majeur Cathedral. Corner Dorchester Street and Metcalfe, facing Dominion Square. Sponsor SSJBM; sculptor Philippe Hébert. [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; Religion]

12) 24 June 1906: Octave Crémazie. St.-Louis Square. Sponsor Louis Fréchette. [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; literature]

13) 24 May 1907: Boer War Monument. Dominion Square. Sculptor G.W. Hill. [British; post-Conquest; military]

14) 1 September 1909: Jeanne Mance. Hotel-Dieu, corner Pine Avenue and Ste.-Famille Street. Sponsor Hotel-Dieu; sculptor Philippe Hébert. [French-Canadian; French regime; Social Institution]

15) 12 September 1909: Louis Archambault. Notre-Dame des Neiges Cemetery. Sponsor Société des artisans canadiens-français. [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; Social Institution]

16) 4 October 1911: John Young. Place Royale. Sponsor Montreal Harbour Commission. [British; post-Conquest; Transportation]

17) 6 October 1912: Jeanne d'Arc. French Consulate, Viger Avenue. Sponsor Government of France. [French; French regime; military]

18) 13 July 1913: La France. French Consulate, Viger Avenue. Sponsor Government of France. [French; no period; no subject]

19) Summer 1913. Leigh Gregor. Fletcher's Field. Sponsor City Improvment League; Henri Hébert, sculptor. Gregor died 1 January 1912. [British; post-Conquest; Social Institution]

20) 2 December 1913. Lord Mount Stephen. Windsor Station. Sponsor CPR. [British; post-Conquest; Transportation]

21) 1914: Maisonneuve Fountain. Public Market, Maisonneuve. Corner of Morgan Boulevard and Ontario Street. Sculptor Alfred Lalbierté. [French-Canadian; no period; Agriculture]

22) 1 October 1914: Edward VII. Philips Square. Sculptor Phillipe Hébert. [British; post-Conquest; Statesman]

23) 24 June 1915: First Mass - First Martyrs. Sault-au-Récollet. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Religion]

24) October 1916. J.-A. Rodier. Notre-Dame des Neiges Cemetery. Sponsor "quelques unions ouvrières." [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; Social Institution]

25) 1919: Bank of Montreal War Memorial. Bank of Montreal Headquarters. [British; post-Conquest; military]

26) 24 June 1919: Parc Marguerite-Bourgeoys. Marguerite Bourgeoys Park, Point St.-Charles. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Social Institution]

27) 6 September 1919: George-Etienne Cartier. Fletcher's Field. Sponsor E.-W. Villeneuve; sculptor G.W. Hill. [Bilingual; post-Conquest; Statesman]

28) 30 October 1919: Notre-Dame-de-Grace War Memorial. Notre-Dame-de-Grace Park. Sculptor G.W. Hill. [Bilingual; post-Conquest; military]

29) 1920: Sailors' Tower. Victoria Pier, Montreal Harbour. [Bilingual; post-Conquest; military]

30) 24 June 1920: Dollard des Ormeaux. Lafontaine Park. Sponsor SSJBM; sculptor Alfred Lalberté. [French-Canadian; French regime; military]

31) 8 August 1920: Saint-Jean-Baptiste de La Salle. St.-Henri College, St.-Henri. [French-Canadian; French regime; Social Institution]

32) 25 June 1922: Viel Cross. Sault-au-Récollet. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Religion]

33) 19 October 1922: Cross of Sacrafice. Mount Royal and Notre-Dame-des-Neiges Cemetery. Sponsor Last Post Fund; architect Percy Nobbs. [Bilingual; post-Conquest; military]

34) 22 October 1922: Dante Alegri. Lafontaine Park. Sponsor Caesare Consiglio. [Bilingual; pre-Conquest; literature]

35) 28 April 1923: Canadian Pacific Railway War Memorial. Windsor Station. Sponsor CPR; sculptor Coeur de Lion McCarthy. [British; post-Conquest; military]

36) 24 June 1924: Mount Royal Cross. Mount Royal. Sponsor SSJBM. [French-Canadian; French regime; Religion]

37) 1926. City of Montreal War Memorial. Dominion Square. [Bilingual; post-Conquest; military]

38) 24 June 1926: Patriotes. Place des Patriotes, De Lorimier Avenue at Notre-Dame Street. Sponsor SSJBM; sculptor Alfred Laliberté. [French-Canadian; post-Conquest; military]

39) 23 May 1927: David Thompson. Mount Royal Cemetery. Sponsor Canadian Historical Association; Sculptor Henri Hébert. Erected 1926. [British; post-Conquest; Exploration]

40) 23 June 1930: Jean Vauquelin. Place Neptune. Sponsor Pamphile du Tremblay. [Bilingual; French regime; military]

41) 28 September 1930: Louis-Hippolyte Lafontaine. Lafontaine Park. Sculptor Henri Hébert. [French-Canadian; post Conquest; Statesman]

42) 20 October 1930: Robert Burns. Dominion Square. Donated by the Franco-Scottish Association of Montreal. [Bilingual; pre Conquest; literature]

43) Temperance Fountain. Date unknown. Roy estimated it as being only a few years old in 1923. [unknown; post Conquest; Social Institution]

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