

**Memories of a Wall in Old Montreal
Reassembling the Puzzle of the Past**

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Abstract:

An existing five storey building in Old Montreal has an exposed wall revealing a remarkable history of contributions from at least five building states, the earliest of which was constructed in the eighteenth century. Using the framework of semiotics as proposed by Charles Saunders Peirce (1839-1914) and Jacques Derrida's (1930-2004) exploration of the *parergon*, this thesis examines aspects of the wall relative to its history, in relation to the presentation of official narratives and national identity, as well as to the experience of an Anglophone Montrealer's personal history and identity.

Archival sources such as those of the City of Montreal, Adhémar and the Ministère des Ressources naturelles et Faunes, along with the Bibliothèque nationale and ArchivesCanadaFrance.org, provide the historical basis for the reconstruction of the development of this site, a wall that only in its latest form is exposed in such a way as to inspire this research. Works by Andreas Huyssen, Alain Gordon, M. Christine Boyer, and Pierre Nora form the basis of the question regarding the building of national narratives as they relate to the quarter of Old Montreal. This thesis culminates in a better understanding of my own experience as a fifth-generation, bilingual English Montrealer in a predominantly Francophone city.

Dedication:

In loving memory of Dr. Robert Earl Lemon (1933-2012).
I hope I made you proud.

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Introduction

In this thesis I will attempt to reassemble the story of a site in Old Montreal, Quebec, of which the only visible remains are outlines of at least two buildings embedded in the wall of an existing structure that overlooks a parking lot (fig. 1). This is the only time in its history that it has been visible in this form, and it is the details of its earlier phases that caught my attention and enticed me to further exploration. It is located at 439-447 rue Saint-Francois-Xavier, a few doors south of the Centaur Theatre which now occupies the former Montreal Stock Exchange. The wall backs onto the south-west corner of the garden of the Old Saint-Sulpice Seminary to which the Notre-Dame Basilica is attached (fig. 2). This seemingly unimportant place contains physical and metaphoric links to the past and to the people who built, worked or lived on the premises. This research project sets out to retrace the various stages of the story of this wall, as a potentially valuable component in the chronicle of the city through its role in cultural and commercial development. It will also play the role of *parergon* as a point of exploration of the significance of the presentation of this quarter of historic Montreal to a fifth-generation non-Francophone Montrealer.

As an initial method of framing this exploration, so as to gain access to this story, the indexical and iconic signs of semiotics as proposed by Charles Saunders Peirce (1839-1914) will be used to link the object to the theory, tracing to meaning, and the past to the present. These signs will allow the interpretation of the recognisable shapes formed by the elements of this wall, and will also permit the investigation of the building of national identity through the presentation of history through context. Following those two specific aspects of semiotics, the general aspect of context will be implicated, and will

give access to the concept of the *parergon*, which while not strictly an aspect of semiotics, is built upon its foundation.

The icon can be represented by the tracing of an outline, but tracing will also be required in the recording of the history of this location, and the tabulation of ownership and occupancy. A search of the primary sources will produce the pieces of the puzzle that together will reveal the evolution of the wall as it stands today. The index, or trace, will open the way for the discussion of ruins and their link to the past. This connection is physically embodied in the wall by the remnants of structures, the only remains of which are those present as the components of this division between two property lots.

The romantic attraction I feel for traces of the past introduces the idea of imagination, and its place in the creation of historical narratives. This is an important piece in the puzzle surrounding the evaluation of this kind of narrative, in its development, and in its display for the purpose of providing evidence of an imagined history.

Semiotics also opens the discussion on context, which is important not only in the interpretation of symbols, but also in the reception and understanding of the experience of historical sites, such as those that accompany this wall in this quarter. Context then leads to the concept of the *parergon*, a detail or a frame that draws attention to something that might have been hidden, or positioned to be overlooked. The wall becomes a *parergon* for my own observations of living as an Anglophone in Montreal, drawing my attention to the current focus on the artefacts of French history to the exclusion of those from other sources.

Located in the historic area of Old Montreal, this site is subject to municipal and provincial regulations concerning the protection of patrimonial heritage, and yet it is not considered important to the official narrative, as it is not commemorated in any way. Yet, in its remnants, the visible bricks and stones, this wall records fragments of the history of its occupants.

There are four appendices at the end of this thesis, and they require some explanation. Appendix 1 contains the sum of my archival research on the ownership and building details of the wall. Archival sources such as those of the City of Montreal, Adhémar and the Ministère des Ressources naturelles et Faunes, along with the Bibliothèque nationale and ArchivesCanadaFrance.org, provide the historical basis for the reconstruction of the development of this site. This matrix of data is in reverse chronological order, with the most recent entries at the beginning of each section. Lot numbers separate the sections with the two major sections being the north side of the wall where the building is still standing and the south side where the parking lot is located. Each section is further divided, as each of the current lots is made up of several lots from the older cadastral systems. To avoid overlapping registrations of ownership, each lot is sectioned separately. To avoid repeating entries, when a single owner owned multiple lots, these entries appear only for the first lot that appears in the matrix, but with a note in later sections of where to find the entry, so as to ensure that as much information can be gleaned as simply as possible.

In the first version of this thesis I explored the ideas of authenticity and the related problem of conservation. During later revisions these aspects became more peripheral, and in order to create room for newly relevant material they were removed from the main

body of the text. However since authenticity and conservation hold related information, and show the development of this thesis, they have been included in Appendices 2 and 3.

While this project was initially conceived of as one where I would avoid any personal observations, as my research progressed it became evident that there was a strong personal connection behind my choice of topic. I presented a paper at the Concordia University / AHGSA conference *Situate Yourself* in March of 2012, which described some of my own thought processes concerning my attraction to walls of this type. As it has some bearing on the personal nature of the subject of this thesis I have included a transcript of my presentation in Appendix 4.

Chapter 1:

Why did I choose the theory of semiotics as the framework for the investigation of a wall made up of the remnants of buildings that no longer exist? Semiotics is generally used as a way to search for meaning through structure. The investigation of structure is an approach that can easily be applied to anything that is built, such as this wall, or the history of the city over time. Often it is used to analyse specific sections of the object under observation, even up to the analysis of why one room may follow another in the layout of a house.¹ Certain concepts as proposed by Peirce are clearly applicable to this particular object of study. First, the icon specifically addresses the physical appearance of the wall. Second, the index offers several other ways to build a more theoretical investigation of how this wall relates to its surroundings. Beyond specifically Peircian concepts, semiotics also highlights the effects of context in interpretation, which along with the indexical sign will lead to the conceptual aspects of this study. The iconic sign will facilitate the interpretation of the wall itself.

In addition, all these aspects can be employed to highlight specific details in an analysis, as illustrated by Jacques Derrida's (1930-2004) examination of Immanuel Kant's (1742-1804) "*parergon*". The wall will be examined as a liminal detail of the quartier of Old Montreal, in order to highlight questions surrounding the concept of national narratives and the use of museums and heritage sites as validation of those narratives.

¹ Donald Preziosi, *The Semiotics of the Built Environment*. 61.

Peircian Semiotics

Semiotics is an approach containing both theory and practical tools, for the understanding of the transmission of messages, that is, communication. The method of semiotics, which is the study of signs, forms the basic framework for this discussion. The subject seemed to call for this method for reasons that will become apparent further on. This particular branch of semiotics was originally proposed by Charles S. Peirce, and while these models he proposed were initially intended for the field of logic, they came to be used in literary theory, and were later picked up by such disciplines as art history, architecture and archaeology.

Peirce proposed a dynamic system for deriving meaning composed of models of the sign, and detailed the process in which signs gain their significance. He described two types that readily apply to this case study. They are the iconic sign, which applies to the “reading” of the wall, and the indexical sign that will lead this investigation toward more theoretical topics.

In his first model Peirce proposed a way to comprehend how communication works, and in particular how the signification of the sign, or *semiosis*,² works. This model was divided into three parts, which are the object (the signified), the signifier (the sign or *representamen*), and the interpretation of the sign, which is the mental image (or *interpretant*).³ In an example of this system the object in question could be a house, the signifier could be the word “house”, and the interpretation of the sign is the image that is made in the mind of the receiver of the message.⁴ The sign stands in for or takes the place of the object in the receiver’s mental image, and is based on the idea or concept of the

² Bal & Bryson, “Semiotics and Art History”, 188.

³ Anne D’Alleva, *Methods & Theories of Art History*, 30.

⁴ It should be noted that it is the interpretation, not the interpreter that is detailed in this model.

object. For an interpreter to be able to understand the sign, to make the connection between the object, which is the actual house and its signifier, which is the word “house”, one has to have the requisite knowledge.

Peirce’s second model demonstrated his premise that there are three basic types of signifiers: the symbol, the icon and the index. The first of these, the symbol, is a cultural construct, an arbitrarily attributed sign that requires a common instruction in its interpretation.⁵ The other two types, the icon and the index, which will be described shortly, are critical in directing the lines of exploration for this thesis.

The Peircian icon is the second sign and is a representation, usually of an object that can be recognised by the viewer, often across many cultures, because it contains aspects that are far more general than local language. In the example of the house, the icon could take any form of image of any type of house: bungalow, mansion, semi-detached, etc. It could be a photograph or a very simple line drawing, such as a square surmounted by a triangle. The important aspect of the icon is that it is generally recognisable as the item it is meant to represent. Norman Bryson and Mieke Bal state, “Iconicity is in the first place a mode of reading based on a hypothetical similarity between sign and object.”⁶ This idea is applicable in this case because the forms that appear on this wall are familiar to the people of most cultures globally. It is how one may recognise the form of the house, through the peaked roof and chimney outline, along with

⁵ An example would be the learned connection of the word “house” (alternately it could also be “maison” or a word for house from another language, which would require other culture specific learning) to the actual domicile. These designations can be what one would generally recognise as specific to a language, such as English or French, but the sign might take any form, as long as someone has designated that form to signify the object or concept, and that it requires that the interpreter have the knowledge of that association. This type of sign is frequently employed in Art Historical interpretations, but it will not be used in this investigation.

⁶ Bal & Bryson, 189.

the windows and arches. It gives the viewer a link to the history of the evolution of this site.

The use of the icon is the result of cultural projection, where items of common usage are known through experience within that culture. These tracings show outlines that are common to many building styles found worldwide and would be recognisable to many people, even though few have ever seen these specific buildings. It is the common aspects that are recognisable from other human-made structures found anywhere that permit the reading of the wall in the next chapter.

The third type of sign, the index or the trace, could be anything that refers back to or can be traced back to the original object. It could be a product of that object, such as smoke from a fire, the imprint of a foot in the sand, or the effect of the reflected light that is captured on the film in a camera. A trace could also be something as direct as an actual piece of the object which is left behind, like the stump of a tree, or a fingerprint made up of the normally excreted oils of the skin. Other possible indexes would be the trace of the maker as in the aforementioned oils, a result of a simple movement in the single stroke of a paintbrush, or even something as complex as the signature. In the present study, the traces left behind are the original bricks and stones, which are all that is left of the buildings that at one time formed part of this wall. These need not be interpreted as having meaning, in that they are “real” or “authentic”, since they once formed a part of the original buildings they describe. Without any outside participation, they make the connection between the present and any number of stages of evolution of the site in the past.

One understanding of the idea of trace is in the gathering of evidence, as often seen in popular television programs, but was introduced by Giovanni Morelli (1816-91). His work in art historical interpretation in which he devised a new method for identifying true works of the great masters by examining specific details influenced the writings of his contemporaries, including Sigmund Freud, and Sir Arthur Conan Doyle.⁷ In the process of gathering evidence, the placement of the traces that are collected is recorded, so that when everything is reassembled in a stratified fashion and interpreted, the traces can be used to describe the nature and order of events that made up the crime. This is the same principle behind the methods of modern archaeology, where each level uncovered might reveal another chapter in the history of the site being excavated. There is a similar stratification that is visible in this wall, and the ground level down approach usually used in archaeology is turned on its head in this case, working from the ground up. The oldest remains are the stones that outline a structure that is the lowest on the wall. This will aid in the interpretation of the remnants that can be seen at present.

The idea of the trace is complex. It invokes not only the Peircian model of the indexical sign in the remnants of the past structures, but also the act of tracing, the drawing of a line over the contour of an object or distinctive feature. This is a way in which the indexical sign can be transformed into the iconic sign, where a representative image of the object stands in for the object itself. This is recognisable by those who are familiar with the form, i.e. those who have the requisite knowledge.

Returning to concept of the index, what is it that forms the basis for my attraction to this particular line of thought with regard to the object at the centre of this thesis, which is the wall embedded with, and in fact made almost entirely from, pieces from the

⁷ Carlo Ginzburg, "Clues: Morelli, Freud and Sherlock Holmes: Clues and Scientific Method", 83-84.

past? It is the connection formed between the observer and the recorded and/or imagined past, due to the presence of such visible evidence of prior forms of existence, and links with earlier times. The remnants of ruins invoke the imagining of times gone by, evoke questions about what has happened on this site in the past, and how the people who built, worked, and lived here were different from ourselves, and yet in some way the same. It is an approach or interpretive process that enhances the idea of a connection with the past. In this instance these architectural and quasi-archaeological remnants make, allow, or enhance the link of the viewer in the present to the site's past history, or at least an imagined version. The remnants bore witness to the human occupation of this site over the passage of time, and can act as a symbolic repository of memory. As such, theoretical and philosophical aspects surrounding archaeology were my starting points for building a theoretical framework for this thesis. I find it perplexing that this field of study has seemingly ignored the idea of the trace in their inclusion of semiotics in their methodological tool kit. While there are general sources on archaeological theory and specific ones on the application of semiotics in this discipline, none of these mentions the index in any critical fashion. When mentioned, it is done only in passing in order to detail the history of the development of this method of analysis.⁸

Context

One aspect that shapes the interpretation of any sign is context. Initially and vernacularly considered immutable, in more recent debate this aspect of context has been exposed for the fallacy that it is. If one seeks to find the context of production for a

⁸ In two recent publications, Matthew Johnson's *Archaeological Theory: An Introduction* and Robert W. Preucel's *Archaeological Semiotics*, the concept of the index was mentioned several times, but never explored as a point of access to the concepts of memory, and the connection to the past, which one would think would be an obvious offshoot of the field of archaeology.

certain work of art, one must consider such factors as the historical period in which it was produced, the social aspects of the artist's life, friends, standing, education, etc. At the same time, one must keep in mind that this interpretation of the past will forever be focused by the lens of the interpreter at the time of that interpretation. One must keep in mind which assumptions are based in current modes of thinking. One might think that a doctor in the nineteenth century who described his patient as an imbecile was being insulting, when in fact the term was valid diagnostically at that time for describing a level of mental "deficiency", and was only later used in a pejorative sense.⁹ This is often the result of, and adjustment in, thinking due to current sensibilities when interpreting historical actions.

Bal and Bryson suggest that part of the problem is the assumption that context is immutable, as mentioned before, and is somehow independent of the "text" it is supposed to support.¹⁰ They suggest that it must be observed that the word "context" in fact contains the word "text", and as such is revealing of its connection to the text it is supposed to support. The pitfall is that context is not a set of parameters that are *a priori*. Meanings have been assumed to be static, and were thought to be based on "sets of internal oppositions and differences mapped out within a static system".¹¹ While this has since been challenged, the expectation that context is a fixed quality is still fairly common.

Context, as Bal and Bryson state is fluid depending on which parameters are included, and the deeper, more complex, and greater number of relevant details

⁹ David Wright, on *Downs: the History of a Disability*, as interviewed on *Quirks & Quarks* from CBC Radio One.

¹⁰ Bal & Bryson, 177.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

employed, the more accurate the picture.¹² This is the same effect that Donald Preziosi notes in *The Semiotics of the Built Environment*, where he proposes a multidimensional method of interpreting the structure and layout of human-made structures. Using this method he seeks to develop as detailed and comprehensive an understanding of the forms, placement and uses of built space as possible. For example, he states, “[T]he analysis of architectonic communication, representation and expression must take into account every distinctive feature of organization, both materially and formally.”¹³ He warns however that one must not attempt to take everything into account, because not every detail relates to the parameters of every inquiry. He gives the example of looking at a Roman structure that has been converted into modern storefronts, where the window and doorframes are painted red, white and blue. The question becomes: are these colours significant to the analysis of the building? Do they represent the national identity of the current occupant, a personal preference of the owner, or are they simply the remnants of an older colour scheme left by a previous occupant?¹⁴ Therefore the relevance of details must be determined before they are incorporated into the analysis. In effect, the conclusion of both sources is that context must be considered within certain limits.

The context of the receiver influences the perceived meaning beyond the intentions of the creator of the artefact, be it a painting or architecture. The interpreter’s life experience impinges on the intentions the producer may have had in the transmission of his or her message, whether they are contemporaries or separated by centuries, are products of the same culture, or are residents of the same region yet are socially diverse, such as the Anglophone and Francophone residents of Montreal. William Whyte

¹² Bal & Bryson, 177.

¹³ Preziosi, 89.

¹⁴ Preziosi, 10-12.

describes one such example, of the TWA terminal (1962) of the John F. Kennedy International Airport in New York designed by Eero Saarinen, who had in mind to “express the drama and specialness and excitement of travel”,¹⁵ whereas the public interpreted the form of the building as “a bird in flight”.¹⁶

In addition to the composer of the message and its receiver, context is influenced by the surroundings of the object, and in the case of this wall, with the surrounding built environment that is of particular interest. In using visual, auditory and olfactory stimuli in a deliberate manner, context can be staged, and even specifically constructed in the space surrounding the observed, for the purpose of leading the receivers of the communication to produce a particular, framed mental image. While it is a complex topic of great interest in the field of museology, it is not limited to the confines of the museum where the choice of background colour, what the object sits next to, or the choice of whether to include a description of the origins of the artefact are known factors which influence the viewer. The space becomes the overwhelming contributor to the production of context, especially with regard to architecture and the built environment. It not only presents the object for study in a particular light by framing it, the space also surrounds and envelops the viewer, making one a part of the scene, and if one is open to the experience, bringing one into the frame. This aspect of context will play the greatest role in my interpretation of the quarter of Old Montreal.

¹⁵ Eero Saarinen, as quoted in William Whyte, “How Do Buildings Mean? Some Issues of Interpretation in the History of Architecture”, 175.

¹⁶ Whyte, 176.

In “Present Pasts: Media, Politics and Amnesia”, Andreas Huyssen writes of what he calls the “culture of memory”,¹⁷ where there is the active musealisation of heritage and patrimony, used to produce “mythic past”,¹⁸ through the context of staging.¹⁹ A recognisable application of this concept can be found in the tourist industry, where the effects of presentation employed in this culture of memory construct a context of display for the reception of historical evidence to be interpreted in a desired fashion. While this is not a foolproof process, it can be very effective when the viewer is not aware of its influence, and is not in the habit of questioning methods of display and marketing. Even for those who do question it is often difficult to peel away the layers of fabricated framing in order to reduce their influence on the perceived context of the object of observation. It has taken this entire process for me to make this realization with regard to my own experience.

Parergon

While not strictly an example of semiotic analysis, Jacques Derrida’s examination of Emmanuel Kant’s *Parergon* takes advantage of Derrida’s experience working in post-Structuralist semiotics. He discusses the application of the *parergon*, that which is not part of the main structure, or the object. What is added, or not intrinsic, and possibly what frames the object can be interpreted as ornament.²⁰ One example Derrida uses to illustrate this concept is the use of drapery on the portrayal of a nude, in particular, “[Lucas] Cranach’s Lucretia [sic] [1532] holds only a light band of transparent veil in front of her

¹⁷ Andreas Huyssen, “Present Pasts: Media, Politics and Amnesia”, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, 15.

¹⁸ Huyssen, 15.

¹⁹ Huyssen, 19.

²⁰ Jacques Derrida, “The Parergon”. 53.

sex.”²¹ He questions the purpose of the gauzy fabrics in paintings and on statuary, as they rarely actually conceal anything on the subject’s body, and may even accentuate certain aspects. In some ways these ornaments, the drapery or the columns on the façade of a building are difficult to separate from the subject of the work. There is often a question of where the object ends and the *parerga* begin.

Another example of *parergon* is that of the picture frame, external and yet attached to the object of art. In addition, in this alternate form, it is linked to the concept of context, the framing of a text, or situation, where this externally applied information is situated to influence the experience of the reader or viewer of the object. Its placement may be incidental, which in the case of this wall is the fact that it faces onto a parking lot, or it can be contrived, as is the designation of the quarter of Old Montreal as being of patrimonial significance.

These examples suggest two ways in which these types of *parerga* might be used as a means to bring attention to certain aspects of a work of art, or in a broader application to a discussion on a particular topic. In this fashion the trace and iconographic dimensions of this wall drew my attention to specific attributes of its construction and stimulated my curiosity concerning its history. To continue this line of thought, this wall as a liminal site to the quartier of historic Old Montreal, neither inside nor outside, will be the *parergon* for the purpose of drawing attention to questions surrounding the presentation of history as a method for supporting a national narrative. It will also be explored as the aspect that drew my attention to my own feelings as an outsider within my own city.

²¹Derrida, 57.

Chapter 2:

Making use of the concept of the icon from semiotics, this chapter will address the physical description of the condition of the wall at the present time, and what that can reveal. This will be followed up with information derived from primary archival sources detailing as much of the record of ownership as I was able to find during the course of my research. The results will contain information that will confirm or question the interpretation based on the visual analysis, and allow for a more complete understanding of the history and development of this site.

Description of the Wall

The focus of this thesis is the wall on the southern face of the building at cadastral lots 93, & 94-95, in the Ville-Marie borough, Old Montreal (fig. 3). This building is five-stories high in the front three quarters of the structure, and only four in the back, which now supports a terrace. This current building appears to have a flat roof, and has a Montreal greystone (limestone), smooth-finished front facade, with red brick covering much of the other two exposed sides. The northern²² face is common to the next building. This southern exposure has been recently restored and repointed; therefore some alterations have been made through the replacement of bricks, stones and mortar. It would seem that the patterns thereof have been intentionally maintained; otherwise the entire facade would likely have been replaced by a new brick covering, obliterating the traces here which are the inspiration for this inquiry.

The connection between the front facade and the wall in question is grey stone coin, which in the top three quarters leads into the aforementioned red brick, but at the

²² The cardinal directions used here are based on the grid system of the streets of Montreal, which is skewed about 60° off true north counter-clockwise.

bottom quarter, the coin transitions into irregular, mostly rounded, dark grey stone, which looks to be field stone, and mostly uncut. This uncut stone fills an area in the shape of a small two-storey building with a pitched roof of nearly 45 degrees, and a chimney that extended slightly beyond the height of the roof's peak. Additionally, there are sections where the stone has been replaced when repairs to the wall have been made (fig. 4).

These are visible in that they are not as rounded, and were likely cut or shaped for the repair, but are still irregular and rough, so as not to stand out too much from the original construction. The areas where the stones were replaced above a ledge, which was likely a shoulder and used as a support for a second floor, is a curious feature of this repair. The stones are placed in an irregular fashion, but there are two well-defined, straight-edged vertical sections at the ground floor level that would appear to have been a door toward the rear and a window closer to the street. It seems unlikely that during restoration the choice would have been made to create shapes that had not existed in the original.

Therefore these areas represent penetrations, which had been filled in previously, and that whatever material had been used originally had degraded enough at the time of repair that it all had to be replaced.

The next section of interest is above, as well as in between the two stone sections. There are two arches outlined in bricks (fig. 5), one just above the other, though the upper one extends further toward the front of the building. The brick used to fill these areas is different from that used beyond the demarcation of the arches, including some that would seem to have been painted. To the rear of the upper arch is a small, almost square area, outlined on the sides by a solid line of concrete, and a very slightly curved double row of small bricks at the top. At a height slightly above the upper arch, the wall above the

square protrudes until it terminates at the terrace that extends from the fourth floor toward the back of the lot. The wall to the front of this is recessed by a few inches, or maybe ten centimetres; in the back, the wall is recessed more noticeably, and extends all the way down to the stone section. Above the upper arch, just below the recessed wall, there is a double layer of bricks laid widthwise, not lengthwise, as if they were spanning a double row of masonry. This kind of brick laying appears a number of times at other points higher up on the wall, although each is only a single layer thick.

Currently, the lot to the south is occupied solely by a parking lot, which is why this wall is visible today. Through much of its history it would simply have existed as the connection between two structures of which the northern one alone still stands today. This is in fact the only period when it could have appeared as it does today, for the earlier chapters of its existence have all culminated in this ultimate form.

Reading the Wall

At this point the iconic aspect of semiotics becomes of great use in examination and interpretation of the structure of the wall itself, and is the first mental exercise that intrigued me, and attracted me to this subject. It will allow for the recognition of certain elements and forms that can be traced out, sorting the puzzle pieces in its construction. As such, the understanding of the stages of evolution visible here will be derived from nothing more than this object itself, and the requisite knowledge that comes from living in communities where the houses are of brick, stone and mortar. This process will not involve any sources of historical data, and will be derived only from what is visible on the actual wall at the time of writing, not on any previous images that might be available. In a way the wall can be read in a similar fashion as the strata of sedimentary rock, or the

layers of an archaeological dig, a kind of vertical archaeology. What is lower down is older, and what is higher up was built on top of those earlier remnants. Approximate ages could be inferred through the analysis of the materials used to build the various levels, and some basic knowledge of the construction practices of the area, as well as local history, but that is a project for another time.

There are several evolutionary stages or strata embedded in this wall (fig. 4). In the stone sections alone there are three visible stages: the first made of very rounded, and multi-coloured fieldstones, which is nearly exclusively below the peak of this portion. The second makes up most of the peak and the chimney and is quarried grey limestone, but the blocks are still irregular in shape. The third stage is much more recent, and was likely from the period of repairs that were made in the past two to three decades. These blocks are much more regular with strong chisel marks, and look fresh. They were used to repair an area that was once a window in the earliest structure, as well as what might have been a door, or possibly a fireplace and chimney.

If it were a fireplace, the outline of this first stage, this house (this word was chosen because of the iconic shape) could have had a profile as shown in Figure 6, with the second floor having been laid on the shoulder, or ledge that is still present today. The roof might have had a wooden framed gable that would have sat on a higher ledge. Since this was made of wood, if there had been any traces remaining when the repairs were made, they would likely have disappeared at that time, since they would have required regular maintenance to prevent them from rotting and creating a hole in the wall. The existence of the shoulder in this lowest, oldest, section of wall is what indicates that this stage of the building occupied a part of what is now the parking lot.

The next layer of old stone, with the visible peaked roofline and the stone chimney would seem to be from the second stage of evolution since it is built on top of the lower structure (fig. 7), and because the stones look to have been quarried, rather than simply found. Details of the chimney lead to the inference that the fireplace this chimney was built for was actually on the far side of the wall, in a second structure built with a common wall to the first house. This is due to the fact that there is no visible scar from the fireplace or flue, where stones would have been laid so that they would form the four sides of the exterior of the chimney. If the chimney had been on the visible side of the wall, there would be stones that would protrude, or tool marks that would indicate that these return pieces had been trimmed, and neither are present. This second construction would likely have required the closing off of the window from the first structure.

To this point the interpretation has been fairly straightforward, but from here on it becomes less clear. A possible third stage (fig. 8), built of red brick, required the extension of the visible chimney, which suggests that an expansion or a replacement for the earliest stone structure within the area of the parking lot. This assumption is problematic in that there is again no visible scar from the chimney flue, which there should be, and so upon rethinking, had the chimney placement been maintained in place, the extension would have been built along with the additional height. Since the chimney is clearly visible, due to the continuous line of cement that outlines its form, one might assume that it was built as a separate entity from the rest of the wall, possibly for structural integrity due to the need for fire safety.

An alternate, and more likely, third stage could have been the construction of the five-storey structure that is currently there, though it might not have been as tall as it is

now (fig. 9). Here the clues are not clear. The visible evidence is inconsistent with what we would expect to see. There are details like the pattern of the bricks, and how the chimney breaks that pattern (fig. 10), suggesting that the chimney and the wall were built at different times, or that they were part of buildings on opposite sides of the wall, if the construction was not, as assumed earlier, for the need of a separate flue to prevent fire from spreading. The wall is obviously part of the existing structure, but the questions raised about the others are not clarified by the traces.

What may be the final stage is outlined by the black tar that would have sealed flashing from the wall to the roof of the structure that unquestionably extended over what is now the parking lot (fig. 11). This stage includes the construction clue that this occurred after the remaining building was put up, because of the chimney's height above the black roofline, though again, there may have been intermediate steps, before the construction of this apparent final state.

The portion of the wall behind the stone house offers fewer clues regarding its development. The grey stone at the bottom rear corner (fig. 12) may date to be from a similar period as the second stage of the stone house because of the colour and morphologies of the stone. However, it is unlikely that it would have been attached to the front structure. It is unlikely that the area filled in with brick was a doorway, and was probably done simply to fix a structural flaw.

At some point it would seem that there was direct passage through the wall by way of these two arches (fig. 13). The base of the upper arch lines up with what seems to be a shoulder in the front of the stone structure, so it is not unreasonable to assume that there was a second floor which was more elevated than the original second storey in the

first stone building. This newer incarnation extended further toward the back of the property.

Another clue that appears on the wall is the small opening located at the base of a vertical section of wall that protrudes over the parking lot, almost like a pilaster (fig. 14). These details together suggest that there was an iron stove installed at this spot, due to the size and placement of the opening, and that the protruding brick encased the chimney for the stove. Also it is evident that at one time a second storey was extended over the parking lot area toward the back of the property away from the street, possibly extending from the stone house section of the wall, but which stage of evolution this extension accompanied is unclear based on visual analysis alone. There is the hint in this photograph that there was a similar installation on the ground floor.

The approximate dates of some of the stages could also be estimated with the measurement of the bricks, as specific suppliers produced certain dimensions at particular times. Other stages could be given a time frame due to building codes and processes that were in force during known periods if they could be interpreted from the traces left on the wall. This, however, will have to be left for some future investigation.

Chain of Ownership

The chain of ownership, in as much as it can be traced, can yield information about the development of the buildings that formed the parts of this wall, through information found in notary records and tax rolls. While there is a certain amount of information that can be gleaned through the examination of plans of the city, such as approximate building placement, shape and relative size, more accurate historical data could be assembled through tracking the owners, and developing more pieces of the

puzzle. This could lead to the occupants of the buildings, the builders, the dates of construction and modification.²³

The primary sources of information used for this thesis are the official city of Montreal property tax rolls, and Adh mar, the website of le Groupe de recherche sur Montr al founded by the Canadian Centre of Architecture, with some supplementary information from the website of the Bureau de la publicit  des droits of the Minist re des Ressources naturelles et Faunes (MRNF), and the official website of Old Montreal. The reliability of these sources is good. Both the tax rolls and the MRNF are made up of official governmental records and archives, and can with confidence be taken as factual evidence. Adh mar, the CCA and Archives national du Qu bec project, is a database that was compiled from original sources like the previous two. The Old Montreal site is authored and managed by the city, therefore the information available here is likely to be fairly accurate, but it lacks reference to the primary resources from which the information has been sourced. The results of my research can be found in Appendix 1, and will be referred to throughout the interpretation that follows.

There are some conflicts in some of the details, such as dates of renovation. This may have occurred due to the different criteria used to compile each piece of data. For example, the MRNA site might state that a building was modified in 1923, while the Old Montreal site may say 1924-25. There are two points that should be kept in mind: the first is that the interpretation of the above information could be that 1923 was the date that the construction permit was issued and 1924-5 was the period during which the construction actually took place, and the second is that unless there was an important event that had to

²³ Had this been a longer project the potential of uncovering additional documents, such as diaries and letters, could be a font of information about the circumstances of their construction, but this will have to be left for later scholars.

be looked at relative to the dating of various stages of the wall, the difference in these dates holds little importance in the grand scheme of the history being traced here.

There is a great deal of repetitive information in Appendix 1, with many entries related to the same owner due only to a small change in the status of the property, so it will be distilled in the next section. Before this is done, however, it must be understood that this inquiry has required the gathering of information on what was originally seven different cadastral numbers for identifying the lots. When a system was first implemented, the parcels of land in question were numbered 132 A&B, 133, 134 and 135 to the north, where the hotel sits currently, and 136-137 to the south, where there is the parking lot (fig. 15). These were later changed to 178-180 to the north, and 181-182 to the south (fig. 16). These were changed once again to 94-95 to the north, and 93 to the south (fig. 17). These lot numbers still remain in effect except that ownership is now followed by an account number that may cover multiple lots at one time.

The Chain Distilled

While there are gaps in the data, some of the records collected detailed ownership, as well as occasionally the structures on the properties, back to 1649. Entries regarding buildings constructed of wood can be ignored, as well as any stone structure recorded before a period when there was no structure on the lot. Any leftover stone from the demolition of a house would have been removed, to be reused elsewhere. Therefore one should not assume that remnants were left behind during a period when no structure was recorded. With this in mind, the earliest evidence of a building on the site of what is now

the parking lot is the list of personal taxes and business duties from 1865²⁴ and shows a number of businesses occupying the street addresses from 39-45 St-François-Xavier. There are entries for lot 181 (AT:136)²⁵ from 1748-1770, stating there were no structures (appx. 1, note 7), and prior to that, where it is noted that some time between 1717-1725 there was a wooden structure on the site, not a stone one (appx. 1, note 8). This will be of interest later when examining the idea of remnants after the fire of 1721.

The rest of lot 93 was originally designated 137,²⁶ which became 182. This flanked 181 to the south and to the rear. From 1762-1772, it is recorded that there were no structures on the property (appx. 1, note 10). There was a stone house, *voûte*, and *dépendance* noted to be in existence during the period of 1789-1805 (appx. 1, note 10). As there has been no documentation found concerning structures on the south side of the wall before the occupancy data from 1865, it is possible that a corner of one of these structures remains as the small stone section at the back of the wall.

The evidence of the date of demolition of the last structure on the site of the parking lot is the notation on the property and school tax rolls for the year 1935.²⁷ On this page, the information has been typed, presumably based on the rolls from the year before. The value of the structures for the cadastral number 93 has been crossed out, and the total value of the property has been corrected by hand. This shows that the building was likely still in existence when the taxes were assessed in 1934, but had been removed by that date the next year.

²⁴ This listing is not included in Appendix 1 due to the fact that this document is only of occupants, and not property owners. *Archives of the City of Montreal*.

²⁵ This is the small lot where the stone house would have sat.

²⁶ Now referred to as "AT".

²⁷ This is available on microfiche at the city of Montreal archives.

In the recording of any structures north of the wall, there is the note that prior to 1773 there were no structures on the site²⁸ (appx. 1, note 5), but at some time before 1805 a stone house was constructed (appx. 1, note 4). This may have been second stage as shown in figure 7. While there is no specific evidence that the house mentioned in this record was built with a common wall to the south, the existence of this structure at the time of the building of the three-storey edifice as outlined by the tar line (fig. 11) would explain the need to extend the chimney, as noted in figures 9-10.

The year 1886 saw the construction of the Joseph-Amable-Berthelot building²⁹ (appx. 1, note 3), which is still in existence, and is currently the Auberge Bonaparte on the north side of the wall. It was erected the year after the purchase of the property by a Superior Court judge, the honourable Joseph A. Berthelot, and was designed by the architect Victor Roy.³⁰ At this time, the building was only three stories tall, and housed a bank, an insurance company, and an importer, amongst others. In 1905, while still in the possession of the Berthelot family, an additional two stories designed by architect Joseph Ovide Turgeon were added.³¹ In 1998-1999, the building saw major renovations to convert the function from offices and a restaurant, to a hostelry.³² It is possible that the work to restore the wall was performed at this time, but it is not specifically noted.

²⁸ There are many entries with regard to the northern lots that appear to record other stone structures that could be candidates, however, these are in entries that cover many additional properties, and it is most likely, and in some cases it is evident, that these structures were not built on the lots concerned in this investigation.

²⁹ "Vieux-Montréal – Fiche d'un bâtiment : Immeuble Joseph-Amable-Berthelot."

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ "Vieux-Montréal – Fiche d'un bâtiment : Immeuble Joseph-Amable-Berthelot."

³² Ibid.

Additional Information

An interesting piece of local history is that structures built on this site before June of 1721 was either damaged or destroyed by the great fire of that year.³³ There is a plan that documents the area damaged by the conflagration, but it does not record specific details of what occurred to each building, nor which might have been spared total destruction.³⁴ There are certain assumptions that can be made based solely on the knowledge that all buildings in this area were at least partially affected by the fire, and would have sustained some damage. Therefore the earliest *complete* building on the site that could have been incorporated into the existing wall would most likely have been constructed in the two years following the incident. This does not infer that no portions could remain from prior to the conflagration, simply that there could only be a partial structure at most. If there had been some structure still intact, the likelihood is that it would, at most, only form a portion of the oldest stone section.

There is also the possibility that structures which were there before the fire were not built of stone at all, so there would be nothing left from this earlier time. Of the 138 buildings affected, over half had been built of wood. A decree by Intendant Michel Bégon was implemented after the incident requiring all structures to be made of stone to prevent such a devastating spread of the conflagration. It also required that all buildings be at least two stories in height and built of stone.³⁵

³³ Peter Moogk, *Building a House in New France*, 51.

³⁴ There is also a report by Intendant Michel Bégon that fleshes out the details on the plan, but unfortunately neither of these period documents have been available for this case study. This document is supposed to be available on the archivescanadafrance.org website, however the link did not initiate downloading of the document. Attempts to contact administrators of the site did not produce any results. Alternate sources for the document were not uncovered.

³⁵ Moogk, 51.

There is little additional information that has been found for the period after the fire, but some later maps of the area show the footprint of the buildings on both sides of the wall at various periods. These are rare, as most show only a shaded area to indicate the built environment with no distinction between structures, or show no structures at all, detailing only streets and parks. The earliest example uncovered with useful information for this study is an insurance plan of the city, published in 1909 (fig. 18). This map details the uses and often names of buildings in existence at the time. To the north side of the wall, in the Joseph-Amable-Berthelot building, the plan indicates that it comprised various offices. It includes a section of the structure that abuts the wall of the seminary, along with an open area following the wall to the north (fig. 19).

To the south of the wall, there is the notation of the Union Building, confirming the details derived from the property tax rolls. Also indicated is the use of this structure to house offices of various companies. Of interest is the footprint of the structure. The north face is completely in contact with the common wall as far as the seminary compound. Further into the lot there is a smaller attached structure in contact with the southern edge of the compound's garden, but this portion is not included in the analysis. This plan would seem to indicate that the Union building was possibly three stories tall, and that there was a tunnel passage from the street to a small courtyard in the back. There are two short wings to either side of the tunnel, as well as two additional small, attached structures. There are additional notations, including colour coding, but they are not all clear on this image of the document, and they may have particular meanings important to the insurance industry.

The next available insurance plan is from 1940 (fig. 20). It shows the Bethelot Building much as it was in the previous document, though the colours are a little different (fig. 21). The Union building, however, has been demolished, and it is noted that the space is being used as a parking lot, just as it is today. This state of evolution of the site is seen again in the insurance plan of 1950 (figs. 22-23), and in the ground usage plan of the city of Montreal produced between 1930 and 1957. The section that covers this area appears to have been made in 1946, due to a pencil notation in the lower right-hand corner (fig. 24). This drawing shows the footprint of the Union Building, but has the pencil notes “demoli” and “paking [sic]”, though it would seem most likely that it should read “parking” (fig. 25).

A final piece of evidence is a photograph taken some time in the 1980s (fig. 26). It shows the bottom half to two thirds of the wall as it was prior to the renovation to its current state. This image reveals a very different state of evolution for this wall. There are elements that were maintained through the repairs, such as the arches and stove openings, as well as the stone house form with extended chimney, but there are several notable differences. There is a nearly complete extra layer of bricks above the house (fig. 27), and although it is difficult to see where it stops, it is evident that close to the street these bricks make the stones of the house level with the rest of the wall. This extra layer was removed during the repairs, resulting in the present situation where the stone section protrudes from the wall. There is also an extensive repair that was made prior to this renovation (fig. 28), which could have been made at the time of construction of the Union Building, or after its demolition. Its intersection with the house form is the same area where the newest greystone blocks can be found today. This proves that these new blocks

formed part of the last repair, but does not reveal whether the assumption that this was once where a chimney stood is correct or not.

I originally anticipated that visual records of the Union building, or of its predecessors to be found in the files of the Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum, but my search resulted in no useful images. There is more primary research that could be done for a deeper analysis, although what was found to date does allow for an interesting comparison with the visible evidence of the wall in its current state.

Adaptation of Interpretation

There has been no record found that mentions the stone house, however, as there was evidence of a wooden structure in its place at the time of the fire, the oldest stones could not date back to this time. In actual fact, this structure could not have been built before 1770 as it would have been recorded in the chain of ownership. While the shoulder in the stone portion indicates that it occupied the area that is now a parking lot, it was built much later than originally thought.

Ownership of the lots on both sides has, from the evidence found, been separate. Therefore the two buildings were not amalgamated, leaving the reason for the arched openings unclear. One possibility could have been that while the stone house still stood, when nothing occupying the rest of the lot, the arches may have provided access to allow deliveries to the first and second floors of the Berthelot building. These would have been closed off when the Union building was built.

Another option is that the arches allowed delivery access to the Union building (or its predecessor) before the Berthelot building was constructed in 1886. This is the more likely scenario since there is evidence of occupancy of a number of offices at least

twenty years prior to its northern neighbour's erection. The iron stoves would likely have been used in this older structure, and give further credence to this version as they all line up very well with the floor structures as noted in Figures 13-14.

Ultimately, the physical and archival evidence show an early stone house, which was later replaced by the Union building, or a predecessor on the south lot(s). It was three stories at its tallest, or four if the space under the peaked roof was utilised. This building had an enclosed courtyard to the rear, and a tunnel passage through the center of the building for access to the street.

The construction on the north lot may have required the need of a common wall when the second stone house was erected by 1805. This was replaced by the Berthelot building, originally in the form of a three-storey building with a Montreal greystone façade and flat roof, which was later extended in 1886. The Union building was demolished c1935, exposing the common wall for the first time. This was renovated approximately twenty-five years ago, resulting what can be seen today. The puzzle is only partially reassembled, as many of the pieces are missing, but the resulting image is recognisable.

Chapter 3:

Where the previous chapter developed from the use of the iconic sign, this chapter will follow the line of inquiry introduced by Peirce's indexical sign concerning the physical traces of past construction. While this wall is not a ruin, and nor were the former structures ever in ruins, the remnants of no longer extant buildings lend themselves to the idea of ruins, in that both ruins and these remnants are incomplete, and display a sense of age. They both create the feeling of connection with the past, and while ruins are rare in Montreal, walls with traces are more common. The reason for this connection I have made between the wall and the idea of ruins comes from the question I have been asking myself about why this wall, and others like it, hold such fascination for me, and came out of my imagining the possible forms the vanished buildings once took. I find this practice similar to the imagining I experience when I go to historical sites that have ruins, or to sites where demolition has taken place between two buildings, which a common sight here in Montreal.

On Ruins and the Imaginary

In my experience, physical traces of buildings long gone, such as the specific instance of this wall on one of the oldest streets in the city of Montreal, or some other site with ruins, are the subject of fascination for many. There have been periods in history when such sites were, if not venerated, then certainly admired and appreciated. Ruins were at times integral parts of the cultured landscape of great homes, and made an appearance in the backdrop of famous paintings. Some were even dismantled from their original sites, and transported long distances to become an element in a lavish garden.³⁶

³⁶ Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, "A Perfect Ruin: Nineteenth-Century Views of the Colosseum", 120.

Romanticism highlights the documented fascination with ruins, and is the historical precedent of their reception. Edwin Burgum writes, “The general definition generally agreed upon is that Romanticism comprises the myriad escapes from Neoclassicism [sic]”³⁷, but he does not find this satisfactory. He then compiles a list of other authors’ definitions. These include that Romanticism is search for the ego, that it is the return to nature, that it draws inspiration from the return to the mediaeval, and that this fascination was seen as a reawakening of wonder and aspiration.³⁸ It was also seen as frivolous, irrational and decadent, thereby confirming the Romantic trend to seek an escape from the reality of the day,³⁹ at times through mysticism, but always through observation and fantasy.⁴⁰ At the height of the “pleasure of ruins” in the eighteenth century, the period when it was fashionable to have ruins constructed in one’s own garden, many historical sites being plundered.⁴¹ During the Romantic period (~1750-1850), ruins were seen as alluding to the differences between the past and the present, with the tendency to hold the former in greater regard. They would also have been seen as a demonstration of the supremacy of nature over the abilities of mankind.⁴² The reception of ruins was an experience of aesthetic appreciation, as illustrated by the statement of Thomas Cole, the English-born American painter, on the topic of the Coliseum in Rome, “It was stupendous, yet beautiful in its destruction.”⁴³ In addition, it

³⁷ Edwin Berry Burgum, “Romanticism”, 479.

³⁸ Ibid, 479-80.

³⁹ Ibid, 480.

⁴⁰ Ibid, 481.

⁴¹ Szegedy-Maszak, 120.

⁴² Ibid, 121.

⁴³ Thomas Cole as quoted in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 123.

would seem it was also for the purpose of contemplation, as seen in Cole's statement, the Coliseum provides "a sad, not unpleasant meditation."⁴⁴

By the nineteenth century, ruins began to take on the nature of a moralistic example when English writers of the period began "equating the ruins of ancient buildings with the ethical collapse of ancient civilisations."⁴⁵ With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, ruminations on ruins implied a search for more primitive, simpler times, as a foil for modern advancements and the rapid, sometimes brutal, change that accompanied them. In all cases, the escapist aspect of these inquiries is evident in the choice of subject. Ruins, incomplete and showing the patina of age, proved to be a ready object for the purpose of psychological escape through meditation and contemplation.

Contemplation and meditation necessarily involve imagination as the component that permits inspiration. Imagination is a critical aspect of the romantic attraction of ruins, and the traces from the past. Since these are not complete, they allow the viewers to build in their imagination how the original structures looked. The effect of anticipation heightens the reception of a gift, and may be even more enjoyable than the gift itself, because it involves the imagining of the potential of what it may be without any limitations. The perception of the ravages of time, or the incomplete, opens the door for this limitless imagining, giving a more interesting experience than if it had been whole. That which is complete is easy to walk past without a second glance, unless one happens to be actively looking. The absences, voids, remnants are surprising, and are capable of drawing the attention of the passer-by more easily than that which is whole.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 124.

⁴⁵ Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 121.

Traces lead to ruins, which encourage imagination. Imagination begets mythology, in that myth is the imaginary interpretation of historical or fabled events. An ideal past permits the possibility to create an alternate future. It is what permits the mental construction of an ideal society, based on the wish that things had transpired differently. This exercise is also often an integral part of the foundation of many a national narrative, and a basis for the development of group identity. While imagination is a seemingly innocent practice for children, when performed by those who would wield power and incite hatred for those deemed as different, it is potentially horrific, and invariably exclusionary in its application.

Remnants and ruins of the past often elicit strong responses even where patrimony is not involved. In “Nostalgia for Ruins”, Andreas Huyssen suggests that the ruins of buildings induce the inseparable desires related to both time and location that result in nostalgia. He writes, “In the body of the ruin the past is both present in its residues and yet no longer accessible, making the ruin an especially powerful trigger for nostalgia.”⁴⁶ This idea can be seen as the extension of the indexical sign into the realm of the experiential, whether it is personal, or a societal construct.

Huyssen claims that this modern nostalgia has taken hold in countries subject to European influence, and belies the damage caused by earlier events in history. He writes,

[A] strange obsession with ruins has developed in the countries of the northern transatlantic as part of a much broader discourse about memory and trauma, genocide and war. This contemporary obsession with ruins hides a nostalgia for an earlier age that had not yet lost its power to imagine other futures. At stake is a nostalgia for modernity that dare not speak its name after acknowledging the catastrophes of the twentieth century and the lingering injuries of inner and outer colonization. Yet this nostalgia persists, straining for something lost with the

⁴⁶ Huyssen, “Nostalgia for Ruins”, 7.

ending of an earlier form of modernity. The cipher for this nostalgia is the ruin.⁴⁷

While yearning for an earlier time before such atrocities as World War I, the holocaust, the Bosnian, and Serbian conflicts is a practice in imagination, the denial and erasure of such events create a dangerous fiction. Apparently innocent, reimagining the past is a dangerous practice, permitting genocide to be covered up, permitting slights and exaggeration to magnify hatred, and permitting abuse to be justified. It is a terribly powerful tool in the hands of those who would warp the past to their own ends.

On Heritage and Patrimony in Official Narratives

Montreal has done much to promote its history, and the remaining architectural examples are highlighted as evidence of this. Old Montreal, at the heart of the first settlement built by the French was a crucial port, acting as the gateway from Quebec to the west. Since 1979⁴⁸ the old city has been restored and refurbished, and has been designated a heritage site by both the city and the province.⁴⁹ As the physical location of the early history of European colonisation, though mostly French, it is considered to be an important birthplace for the modern nation.

This focus on the past cannot be considered the immutable context it once was thought to be. As Huyssen states in “Present Pasts”,

Space and time are fundamental categories of human experience and perception, but far from being immutable, they are very much subject to historical change. One of modernity’s permanent laments concerns the loss of a better past, [...] Perhaps such days have always been dream rather than reality, a phantasmagoria of loss generated by modernity itself rather than by its prehistory.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ “Old Montréal – Agreement on the cultural development”
<<http://www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/eng/ententea.htm>>

⁴⁹ **Arrondissement historique de Montréal (Vieux-Montréal)** (1964-01-08) (jurisdiction provinciale)
Secteur de valeur patrimoniale exceptionnelle Vieux-Montréal (jurisdiction municipale).

Source: < http://www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33>

⁵⁰ Huyssen, “Present Pasts”, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, 24.

As all acts of remembering are enacted only in the present, the past will always be at a distance from the one who is remembering. Additionally, those who attempt to “remember” a past they have never experienced, will only ever succeed in “imagining” it, whether they stand on the site of the ruins of that past or not.⁵¹ Huyssen further reminds us that, “Memory discourses of a new kind first emerged in the West after the 1960s in the wake of decolonization and the new social movements and their search for alternative and revisionist histories.”⁵² Quebec society has not been immune to those discourses.

M. Christine Boyer examines this practice through the presentation of the “city” in *The City of Collective Memory*. She writes, “The image of a past preserved internally within our collective memory and connected with certain stylized images and legendary visions is an alluring ideal: it keeps alive our native myths, our quest for origins, and offers us assurance that we control our patrimony.”⁵³ The mythology of the ideal French society in Quebec, the supposedly lost and longed for past, imagined, but not authentic since the context has been manipulated, is the result of just such an alluring ideal. This mythology was created as will be explained below to counter the psychological trace of the British conquest and rule of the French settlers in the province, which was once known as *la Nouvelle France*, or New France. It has been the foundation upon which the identity of the Québécois nation is built. To understand the reasons for the development of this identity and the consequences of some of this group’s interactions with other groups, in particular the British, and later those who took on the name of Canadian, some brief, relevant history has to be covered in order to give context to the argument.

⁵¹ Huyssen, “Introduction”, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, 3-4.

⁵² Huyssen, “Present Pasts”, 12.

⁵³ M. Christine Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory*, 305.

The site of the city of Montreal in its current continuous occupation⁵⁴ began as a French missionary colony, set up to convert the aboriginal people to the faith of Christianity.⁵⁵ This initial mandate influenced this settlement's entire use under French rule, and while it expanded to house the resulting wares of the fur trade, and as a garrison for French soldiers, it was not a major commercial center until it was ceded to the British. At this time a number of English-speaking, mainly Protestant, entrepreneurs chose to make this city their base of operations, and the seeds of a cosmopolitan metropolis were sown.⁵⁶

This dichotomy between the English Protestants, some of whom were becoming quite wealthy or had arrived with family money, and the French Catholics who tended to be those who laboured in the agricultural fields or as hunters and trappers became the basis for much conflict between the two groups and which continues to this day. Although the British charter dictating the treatment of the French colonists allowed them to return to France, or remain and keep their holdings,⁵⁷ when tempers flared this division between the (supposedly)⁵⁸ wealthy English and the working French became a target for verbal or physical violence. In *A People's History of Quebec*, Jacques Lacoursière and Robin Philpot describe the *Canadiens*, the French settlers, as a new group, different from their ancestors' country of origin,⁵⁹ so there was little chance that they would choose to

⁵⁴ This site was occupied by an Iroquois First Nations tribe when Samuel de Champlain first arrived at this site in 1535. **Source:** *Old Montreal: History Through Heritage*, 20.

⁵⁵ *Old Montreal: History Through Heritage*, 28.

⁵⁶ Alan Gordon, *Making Public Pasts*, 21.

⁵⁷ John Dickinson & Brian Young, *A Short History of Quebec*, 49.

⁵⁸ There were many of non-French decent who were also laborers. A notable group were the Irish who were instrumental in the construction of the Lachine canal, a major innovation which allowed the goods found further inland to far more easily pass the Lachine rapids to be sent on to the European market. This major work played a critical role in the development of the city of Montreal as an important trading and later manufacturing hub in North America.

⁵⁹ Jacques Lacoursière & Robin Philpot, *A People's History of Quebec*, 35-42.

return to a country they had never themselves known despite experiencing the occupation by the English as oppressive.

There have been multiple instances of conflicts between some Québécois (later also known as nationalists or separatists) and the English, but certain actions during what is known as the Quiet Revolution (~1960-90)⁶⁰ have direct bearing on the current situation.⁶¹ From 1963-70, the *Front de libération du Québec* (aka: the FLQ, translated as the “Quebec Liberation Front”) waged a terrorist campaign against the English in the province, as well as federal interests.⁶² Amongst others, the FLQ bombed the original Montreal Stock Exchange⁶³ on February 13, 1969 and injured 27 people. They planted other bombs resulting in both injuries and fatalities, and also kidnapped the British Trade Commissioner, James Cross, and the Liberal Minister of Labour of Quebec at the time, Pierre Laporte, who did not survive his ordeal.⁶⁴ In 1969, the *Parti Québécois* was founded, and at its head was René Lévesque, the author of a proposal for the sovereignty of Quebec. Under that party’s government, Bill 22 (July 1974) was passed and “proclaimed French to be the sole official language of Quebec (notwithstanding official bilingualism at the federal level).”⁶⁵ The first of two referenda to determine whether the people of Quebec would become independent from Canada was held on May 20, 1980,⁶⁶ and the second on October 30, 1995.⁶⁷ Both failed to produce Quebec separation,

⁶⁰ Dickinson & Young, 305-44.

⁶¹ During this time there were many advances in the proposition that the Québécois are a distinct society within Canada. This was accomplished primarily through writing and social reform.

⁶² Peter Gossage & J.I. Little, *An Illustrated History of Quebec*, 254, 260-2.

⁶³ Gossage & Little, 260.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid, 267.

⁶⁶ Ibid, 270.

⁶⁷ Ibid, 290.

however it continues to be a possibility when nationalist parties are in power in this province, and remains a dark cloud threatening those who are federalist.

Montreal has played a central role in the history of Quebec and Canada as the commercial hub, and after the initiation of British rule, as the seat of English influence within the province. At this time in 2012, when Quebec nationalism is strong, and yet many do not wish to scare away those of wealth and power, the context of an uneasy highlighting of the oldest buildings of the French settlement, which of course are the earliest illustrations of European occupation in the area, is the method of giving evidence of the city's French history. At the same time, the attempt is being made to avoid stirring up any remembrance of the clashes that have occurred between the two dominant language groups over the centuries. For example, *Old Montreal: History through Heritage*, (2004)⁶⁸ published by both the city and the province, while worded in an authoritative style, mentions conflicts between the French and the English only in passing. It is written as if it was an academic work, but it lacks any references that would allow for the independent verification of the factual content. This and other elements of the official narrative such as the historical sites themselves are contextualised by the government through its ministries and councils on cultural conservation within the framework of proof of this version of the past, and of patrimonial importance.

Huyssen realises, just as Hermann Lübbe did in the 1980's, that musealisation is no longer limited to the museum space, and has become a part of everyday life⁶⁹ "to compensate for the loss of lived tradition."⁷⁰ Musealisation of public space is used as a method of protecting social memory and presenting national, provincial or municipal

⁶⁸ Madeleine Forget & Gilles Lauzon, ed. *Old Montreal: History Through Heritage*.

⁶⁹ Huyssen, "Presents Pasts", *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*, 22.

⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 24.

identity as a part of the official narrative. In effect, what has happened to Old Montreal is that with its designation as an important patrimonial site in Quebec, the area in general has become a museum with no walls, whose exhibits are the specific sites highlighted as being of particular interest and importance by their placement on figurative pedestals.

This kind of historical location becomes what Pierre Nora calls “*lieux de mémoire*”, sites where the historic is crystallized into a moment of focus on a particular event. These he says have replaced “*milieux de mémoire*”, where true collective memory, of “peasant culture” for example, produced an environment of memory maintained through schools, church doctrine, and family life.⁷¹ With the advent of industrialisation, and the reduction of the rural population, these *milieux* have dissolved. The *lieux* have come into being in an attempt to fill the void.

These *lieux* or museums must draw the public if they are to function as the conveyors of official narratives to the local people, and as the means of disseminating the authenticity of these claims on the world stage. In Quebec it has often been a case of trying to prove something to those outside the province. The Canadian attitude of comparing this nation’s achievements with those of its neighbour to the south, the struggle of the Québécois to prove themselves as distinct from the English who occupy the rest of Canada, and the difficulty that Montreal has in proving itself as still vital despite the movement of population and industry out of the province, are all problems facing Quebec and Montreal now and in the future.

It is often said that history is written by the winners. Official narratives are by definition written by those in power, but the act of writing something down has never

⁷¹ Pierre Nora, “Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Mémoire*”, 7.

actually invested real veracity in the narrative. In *Making Public Pasts*, Alan Gordon states that,

[N]ationalism is an invented tradition. [...] 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.⁷²

The intention that a historical site should be attractive and pleasing to a visitor is understandable, but in the instance where conflict is ongoing, there may also be the intent to smooth over any confrontation by concealing flaws, and to suggest that the situation is better than it actually is by creating a context conducive to forgetting certain aspects of the past. The official narrative of Old Montreal is presented as if making others believe the story, this imagined past, would make it true by dint of popular acceptance, as if it were a testimonial, put forward as evidence that traces back to the foundation, for the sake of legitimacy, just as ancient kings did when attempting to prove their right to rule. It makes questionable the validity of any identity or narrative based on such evidence, but perhaps these things have never been more than a state of perception...

As the residences and workplaces of regular people, the site of the wall in question would seem to hold the interest only of the passer-by, or perhaps one who has a personal connection with a former inhabitant. Those past occupants are the people left out of the official narrative because they do not lend an appeal to the “historical” nature of the story; they are the people to whom history happens, not those who create it. This is where the wall as *parergon* comes into play on a personal level. This site is within the physical designated area of patrimonial importance of musealised Old Montreal, however it is not itself considered to be as important, if one is to accept the wall’s method of

⁷² Gordon, 8-9.

presentation as proof. This first contrast revealed to me a second that between the presentation of the French artefacts in this quarter and the absence of the presentation of others artefacts, so while the wall itself did not reveal remarkable non-Francophone history, though there was some, it is the *parergon* that drew my attention to this imbalance of representation.

Assembling the Puzzle

While the building of a national narrative seems to be a great distance from a wall that overlooks a parking lot, the process of researching this particular wall has led me to consider it within this context. The contrast of the anonymity of this site on one of the earliest streets of the city with the glorification of the official sites in the quarter is like the drapery on the nude. The tracing of the history of the traces in the wall spurred my questioning about this local narrative as supported by official heritage designations.

This area of supposed patrimonial importance, while not actively negating the role of the English in the development of this city, specifically highlights those historical aspects that glorify the legacy of the French Catholic colonists and their descendants. On the surface there is seemingly nothing wrong with drawing attention to certain examples of these in the form of architectural landmarks, rather it is in the selection of which sites are promoted, and which are left out, that the framing of the narrative presented as historical truth in the reimagining of Montreal's history occurs.

Boyer writes, "Historical phenomena portrayed as 'heritage' are cultural treasures of art carried by the authorities in every triumphal march, and these treasures reek of omissions."⁷³ While the presentation of Old Montreal today, and the reimagined history it

⁷³ Boyer, 377.

presents, is not remotely on the same level as the actions of genocidal regimes, the results demonstrate a special focus on promoting the French history of this quarter, to the exclusion of others. It is the insidious reimagining of history, as Huyssen described, that effaces the influences of other parties in the building of this city, and this includes not only the British, but also the Scottish and the Irish, not to mention the First Nations communities who interacted with the settlers, as well as representatives of other nationalities. As Gordon writes, “Public memory is [...] a discourse about power.”⁷⁴

The examples in Old Montreal of French historical remnants in part form the basis for identity of Francophones in Quebec, proof of their earlier presence and accomplishments. However, as described before, there are two factions within this community, and for both groups these sites and artefacts of early periods hold significance. For those of the federalist persuasion, the focus on French traces forms the basis of their history as French Canadians. For separatists, this improved context through the elimination of the evidence of the presence and accomplishments of non-Francophones in the province aids in their claim that Quebec should be an independent state, a nation unto itself, separate from the rest of Canada.

Of the promoted sites of this musealised quarter, there is a particular “exhibit” that embodies this exclusion. Not only is Montreal City Hall a visual reference to the French palace the Louvre, with its mansard roof, it is also the site of one of the more notable incidents for the modern sovereignty movement. On the evening of July 24th, 1967, then president of France, Charles de Gaulle, who was visiting the event of Expo ’67, gave an impromptu speech on the balcony, which ended with the phrase, “*Vive le*

⁷⁴ Gordon, 14.

*Québec libre!*⁷⁵ “Long live a free Québec” became a rallying cry for the separatist movement. Montreal City Hall is remembered as the location for this memorable moment in the city’s and the province’s history, with particular significance to the Francophone population, and creating unease for the Anglophone community.

Alternately, a site of forgetfulness is just a few doors away from the wall. The Centaur Theatre is now housed in the former stock exchange where the FLQ injured 27 people in their bombing.⁷⁶ It was an attack against the English and federalist interests in the province in general, but also in this city in particular. At that time, Montreal was the center of commercial interest in the country, with its largest population concentration, and was the home of the head offices of most of the important and profitable companies and corporations in Canada. The stock exchange was the seat of power of the English merchants whose predecessors had cultivated the influence of Montreal in the national flow of raw materials and goods in trade worldwide, so an attack there went straight to the heart of the English influence in Quebec. Neither the city nor the province – both of which have designated this area as having patrimonial importance – have highlighted this site either for its importance as the site of the first stock exchange established in this country, or by any commemorative indicators remembering those who died during the bombing. While it has not been removed from the physical landscape, it is not given prominence in the memorial landscape that is highlighted by the musealisation of this area, erasing both the influence of the English merchants in the building of this city’s importance in Canadian history, and the attack by some of its citizens against their fellows for the purpose of creating division among them.

⁷⁵ Lacoursière & Philpot, 171.

⁷⁶ “Front de libération du Québec”. *The Canadian Encyclopedia*,
<<http://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com/articles/front-de-liberation-du-quebec>>

While the building of the national identity of the Francophone population in Quebec is as legitimate as any other, the lack of emphasis on other group's accomplishments falls into the reimagining of the past upon which to build the Québécois national narrative. For those of us who are members of the other groups who contributed to the development and growth of this city, the signification of these sites and their relevant points of history become ambiguous to our own sense of group and personal identity. Our families' traces have been erased or ignored, as the context of this presentation of history is far from being complete.

This wall acts as *parergon*, the extraneous detail in this area of purported patrimonial importance in the history of the city, the province and the nation. It draws attention to the ambiguousness of the sites and artefacts conserved and displayed in this quarter with regard to those non-French descendants whose ancestors also played major roles in this history. The narrative presented is incomplete, and what is included holds little or no grounding of identity and patrimony for those who are other than French Canadian. In the context of their personal and group experiences and identities, the signification of these sites and artefacts is different than it is for the Francophone population for whom it is intended as foundational to their national identity.

Yet even within the Francophone community there are two differing factions, and both are able to make use of these same foundations to create for each group their own narrative. They support the legitimacy of their beliefs in the importance of the French as builders of the nation of Canada and were the first to call themselves *Canadiens*, or as proof that they should be a separate, sovereign nation. This too demonstrates a certain ambiguity even to those for whom these traces have been preserved.

Conclusion

In the investigation of this wall, I have been piecing together the puzzle of the history of its various stages, and also what this wall tells me, both as an academic, and as a fifth- generation Montrealer. To start the process, the wall itself suggested to me the use of Peirce's indexical and iconic signs from his version of semiotics. This aided not only in understanding the various stages of its evolution in the strata of its construction, but also led to the intrigue of the traces from the past, in the hint of the romance of ruins, and the imagining of a past that may be true, but is more likely to be fabricated in some way.

Semiotics also highlighted the need to pay attention to context. This aspect is crucial to not only the presentation of an historical site and the designation of patrimonial significance seen in musealisation of the city and as highlighted by Nora's *lieux de memoire*, but also in the practice of building an official narrative revealed as an imagined past, a dangerous practice revealed by Huyssen. Boyer and Gordon both discuss the links between adapting or constructing the built environment, identity and the perception of power.

Using the wall as *parergon*, it became the drape covering the delicate parts of the nude, which did not hide them, but instead drew attention to them. The wall highlighted the passage of time, the evolution of the site. The history of the site highlighted the variety of occupants, though while not listed within this document showed not only a variety of occupations and usages, but also showed more than Francophone names. It also revealed the difference between what is celebrated as being of patrimonial importance and the basis for the official narrative of the city's history, and what is ignored, or eliminated.

The remnants still remaining of the no longer extant buildings brought to mind the idea and the impression of ruins. This romantic and historically recorded fascination reflects my own interests, and is revealed in the act of imagination. While seemingly harmless, and even potentially uplifting, when the imaginary is used as the basis for a national narrative, the choice of what events in history are preserved and glorified (or vilified as need be), as compared to what is minimised, left out, or forgotten can have profound effects on the resulting identities of the various groups within the population. The way this quarter is presented is done in such a manner as to erase where possible or reduce where necessary the impact, and even the presence of non-Francophone builders of this metropolis. The image has been polished to avoid the recollection of events that would put the French descendants in a bad light, hence the clean version of history as described in the publication *Old Montreal*, as mentioned earlier, and in the choice of which buildings, monuments, etc. are maintained, not only in this area, but all around the city. Dorchester Boulevard (named for the Baron Dorchester, the former British governor of Quebec) was renamed boulevard, Rene Lévesque (for the former separatist Premier of the province) for its complete length, with the exception of the portion within the boundaries of Westmount.

What it amounts to is a properly sanitized legacy for Francophone Québécois, where those of either a federalist or separatist persuasion can find a basis for their group and personal identities. The framing of *Old Montreal* is ambiguous with regard to anything beyond this position. For non-Francophones, and specifically Anglophones like myself, this zone designated as patrimonial and of importance to the history of this city retains little or none of the significance that it once may have held for my ancestors.

As I went through the process of researching, and especially writing this thesis, I realized just how personal this subject is to me. My initial reaction to the wall was one of curiosity as to its history and archaeological implications. In re-examining the arguments I realized that I also felt a personal connection with what I have discussed here, and that connection is my position as a native Montrealer whose family history goes back five generations. Since their arrival in the 1800's, my ancestors have played their part in the history of Montreal and as participants in building the social fabric of this city. As health professionals, business people, members of sports teams and through other community related activities they participated actively. My great-great-grandfather was a building contractor who in family lore is said to have built a number of projects in the Westmount area, including at least one house on Landsdowne Avenue, and a building with a storefront on Greene Avenue between de Maisonneuve Boulevard and Sherbrooke Street West. In other words, my family has been involved in the life of this city and its surroundings since they arrived, and while that was not at the beginning of the European occupation of this area, it has been for a significant period of time and in a significant way. However they, and I, were and are Anglophones, and while my family has never been very poor, we have never been among the wealthy ones whose names still grace major establishments such as Molson and McCord.

What I had originally set out to do was to expose the difference between the presented version of history as it appears in the quarter and the more “authentic”, as if this wall is more representative of the actual past in this area. It was this contrast between the polished “exhibits” of such buildings as Montreal City Hall, and Notre-Dame Cathedral, and this non-commemorated wall that crystallised my own experiences of the

contrast between the overt presence of French remains and the absence of others. The photographer William Notman (1826-1891) created a highly successful business, just one of many started by Anglophone immigrants that formed the basis of the future metropolis of Montreal that flourished in this older quarter. While my own ancestors tended to be located and involved in Westmount or north of Sherbrooke St., this does not mean that Anglophones did not influence the evolution of what is now Old Montreal, which had been the heart of its commercial district.

Even so, I have long felt we were the target of the same resentment and hatred as those who were the victims of the FLQ, just with much less physical violence. Even though there is no real visible difference, the division felt by visible minorities is something many Anglophones in Quebec feel, even those like myself who are fluently bilingual. The erasure of the influence of non-French citizens in the official history of Old Montreal perpetuates this division, and gives me the strange sensation of being both a local and a stranger. I have lived all my life in Montreal, and have strong family connections here, and yet I do not feel I belong. While this is something I have sensed for much of my life, it was not until the process of revising this thesis that I realized that it was due to more than any language barrier. It is more complicated. Some of this feeling can be explained naturally by the differences between the social cultures of the various groups, but some also comes from what has been constructed and presented as historical fact.

While the ambiguity of the message directed toward the Francophone population allows for both the separatist and federalist groups to find a basis for their various beliefs, all the while keeping the less pleasant aspects of the history hidden, it gives an entirely

different message to people like myself. This message is sufficiently exclusionary as to make a local Anglophone feel like an outsider.

I do not want this assessment to be taken as an angry response to this situation. If there is any negative emotion on my part, it is sadness. However, in many ways this has been a very positive experience. It has been constructive as a process of research, as well as of personal discovery, and is perhaps just as revealing of the potential for personal connections between an academic and her subject matter as it is of the topic that was proposed as the focus of this thesis.

Figures:

Figure 1: Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.

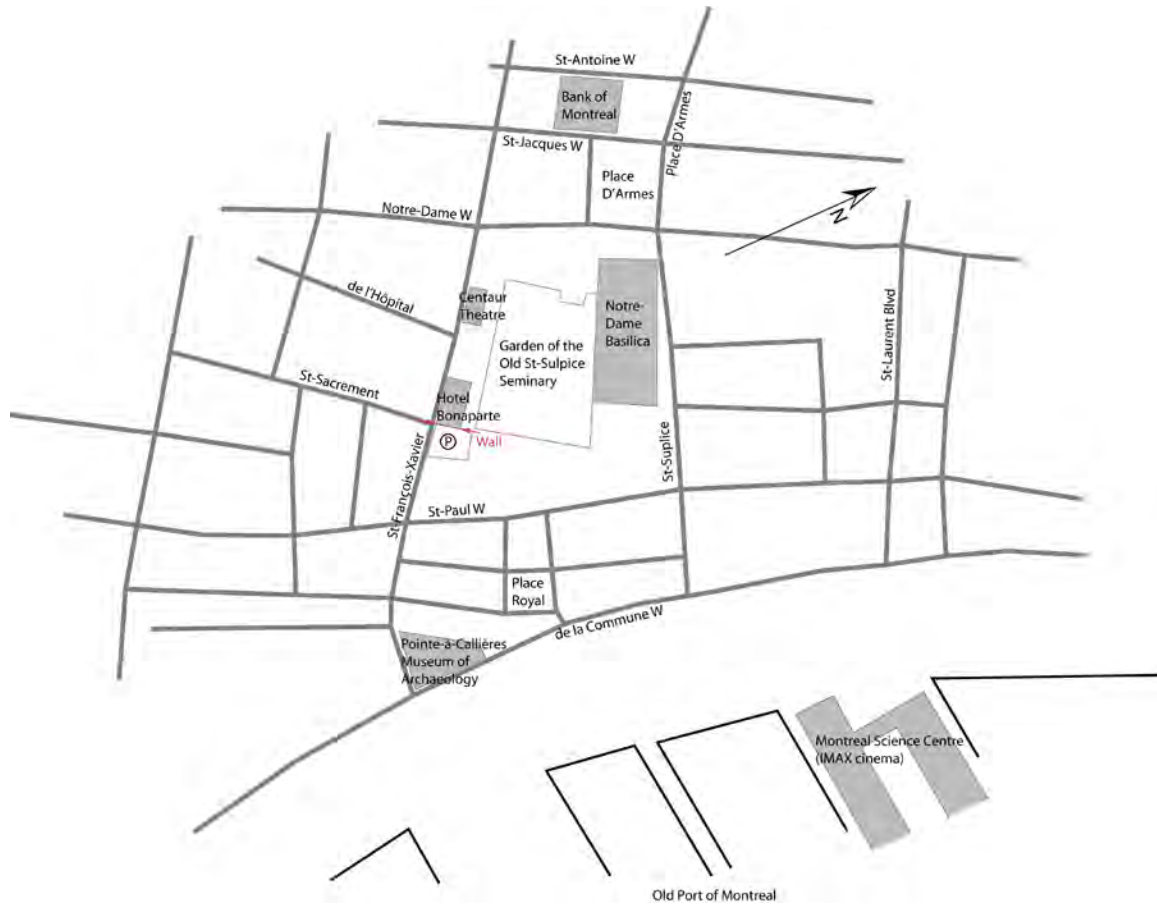


Figure 2: Map of area of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2012, Personal drawing.

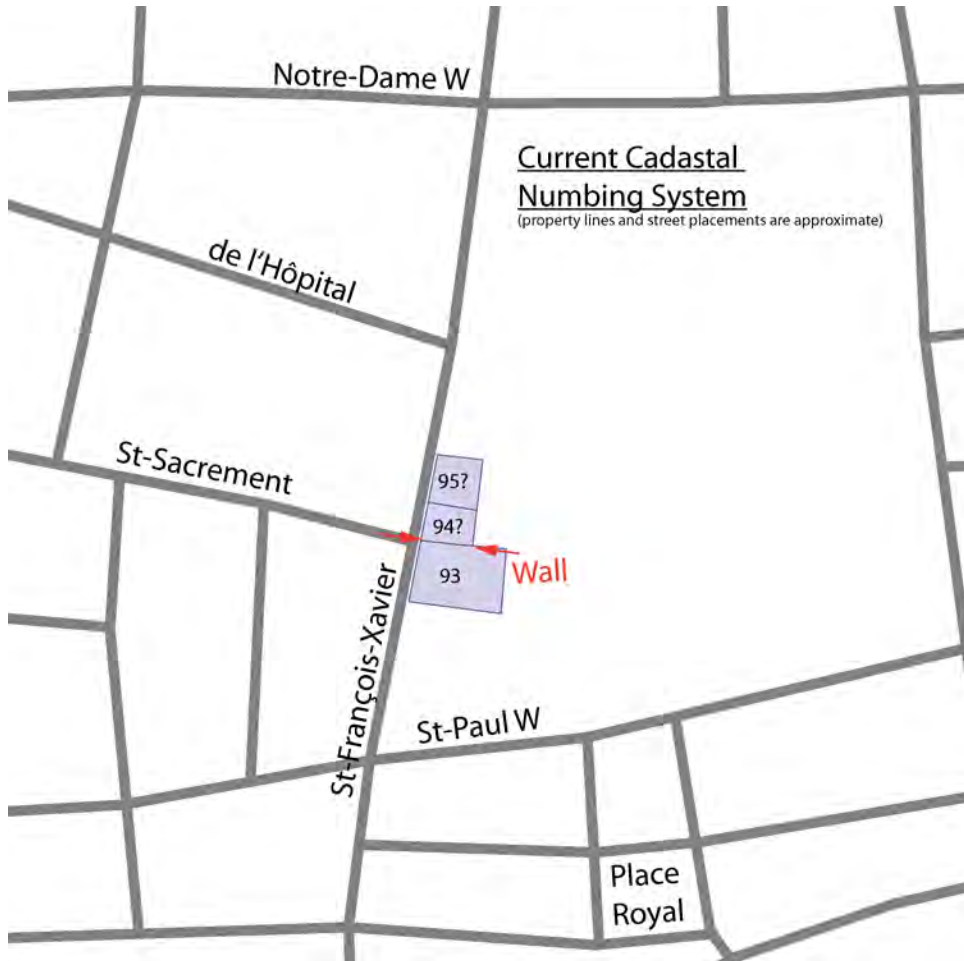


Figure 3: Approximate Current Cadastral Lots. 2012, Personal drawing.



Figure 4: Detail of wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.



Figure 5: Detail of wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.



Figure 6: *First house with shoulder*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.



Figure 7: *Second house*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.

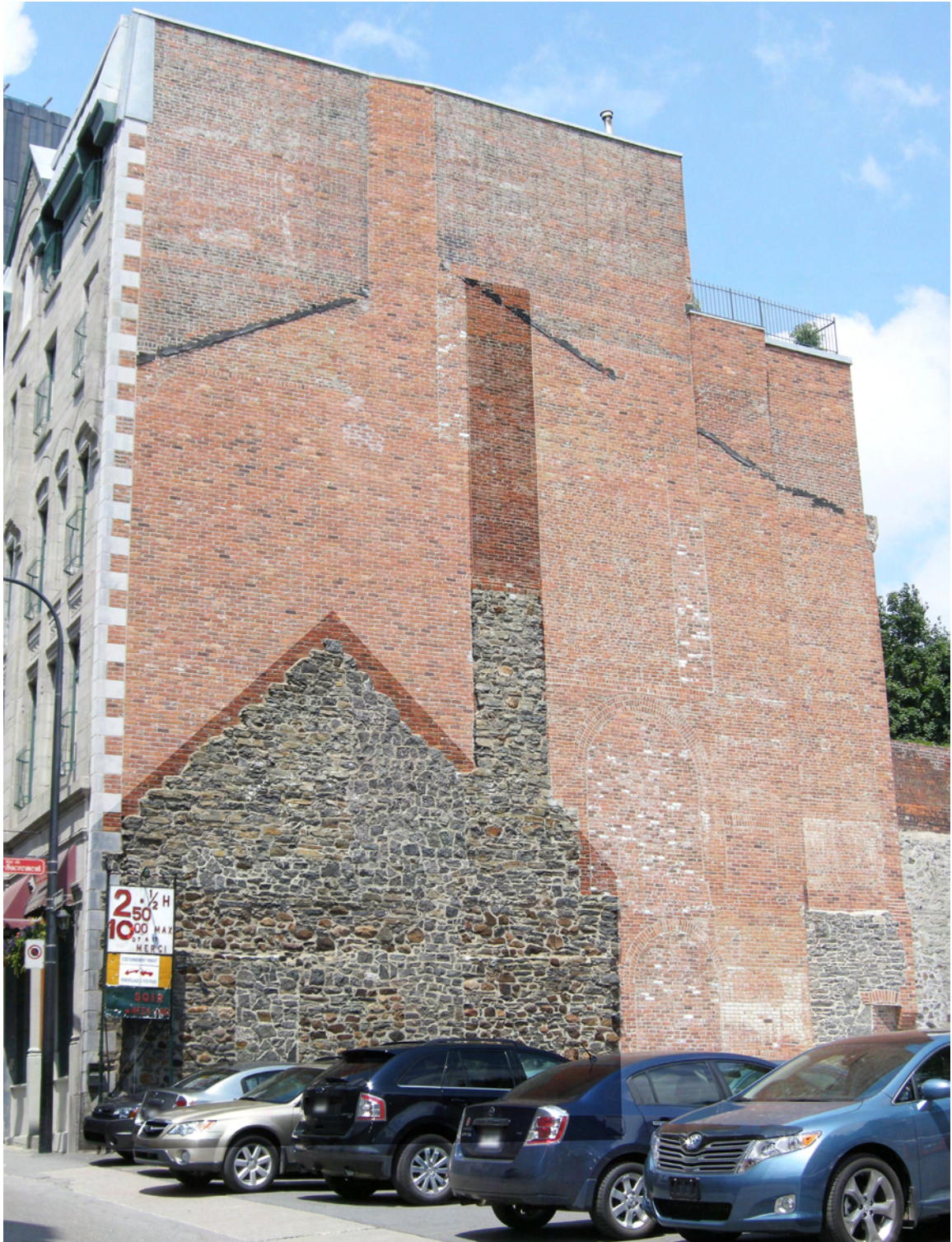


Figure 8: *Possible third stage*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.

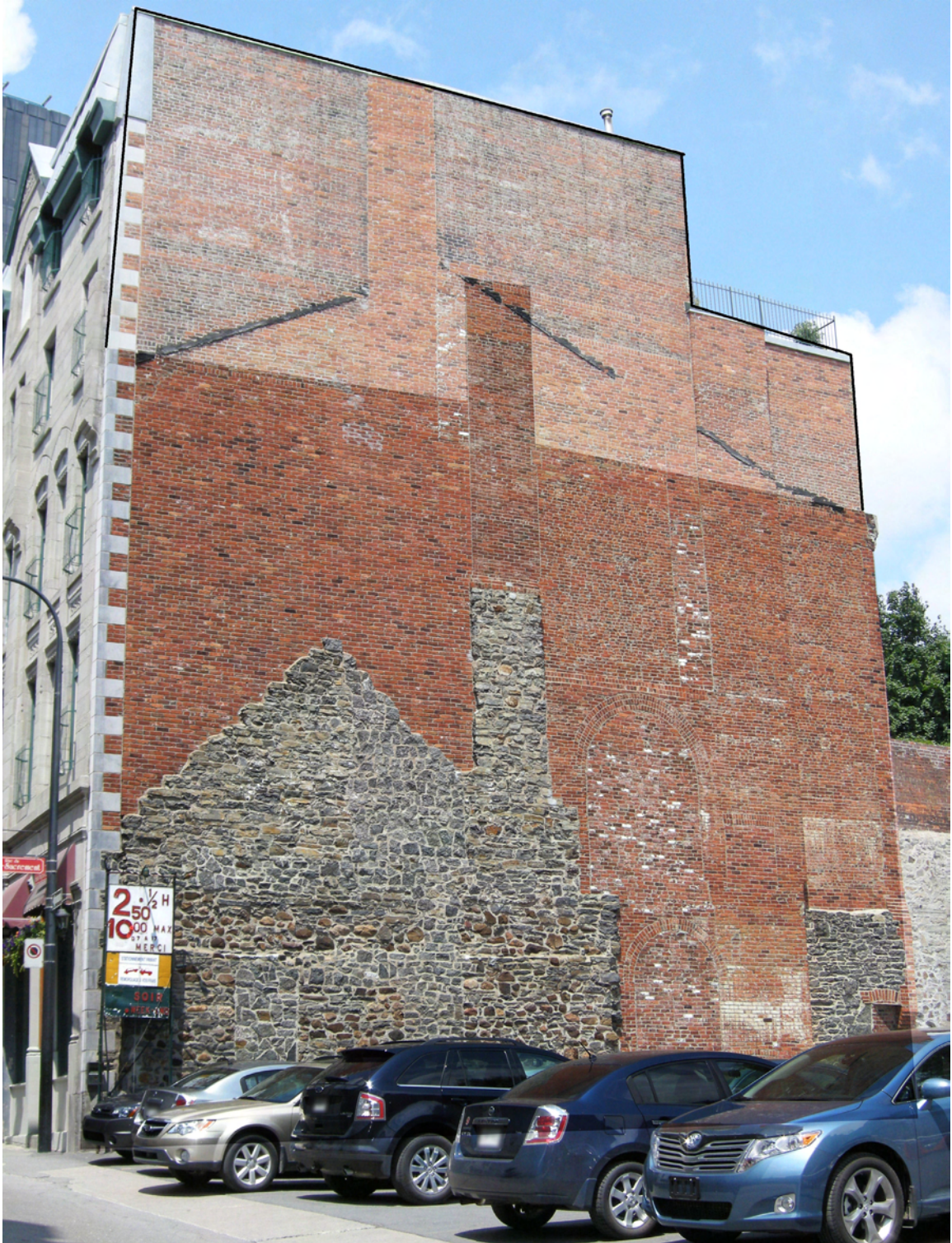


Figure 9: *Other possible third stage*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.



Figure 10: Detail of chimney definition on wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.

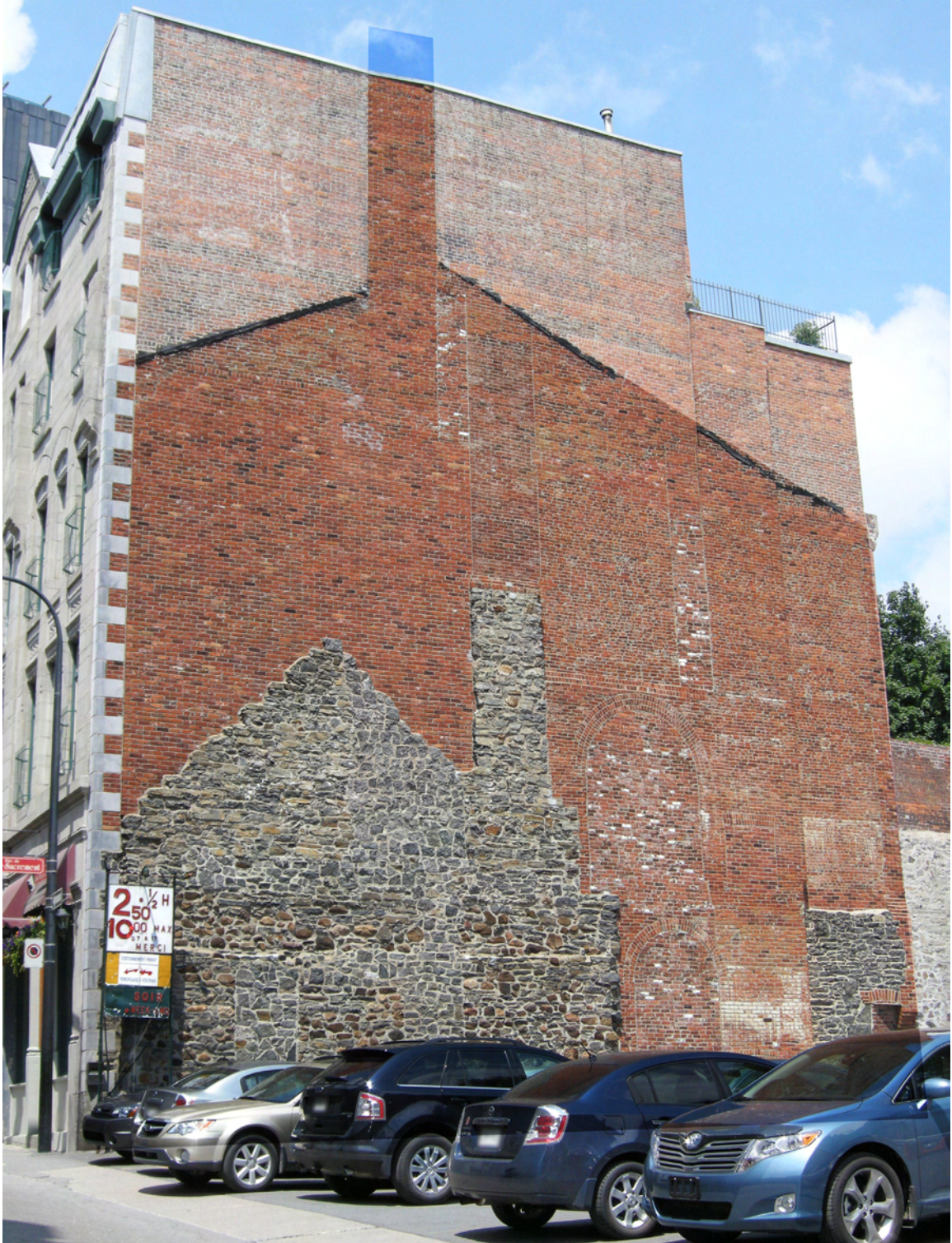


Figure 11: *Final stage*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.

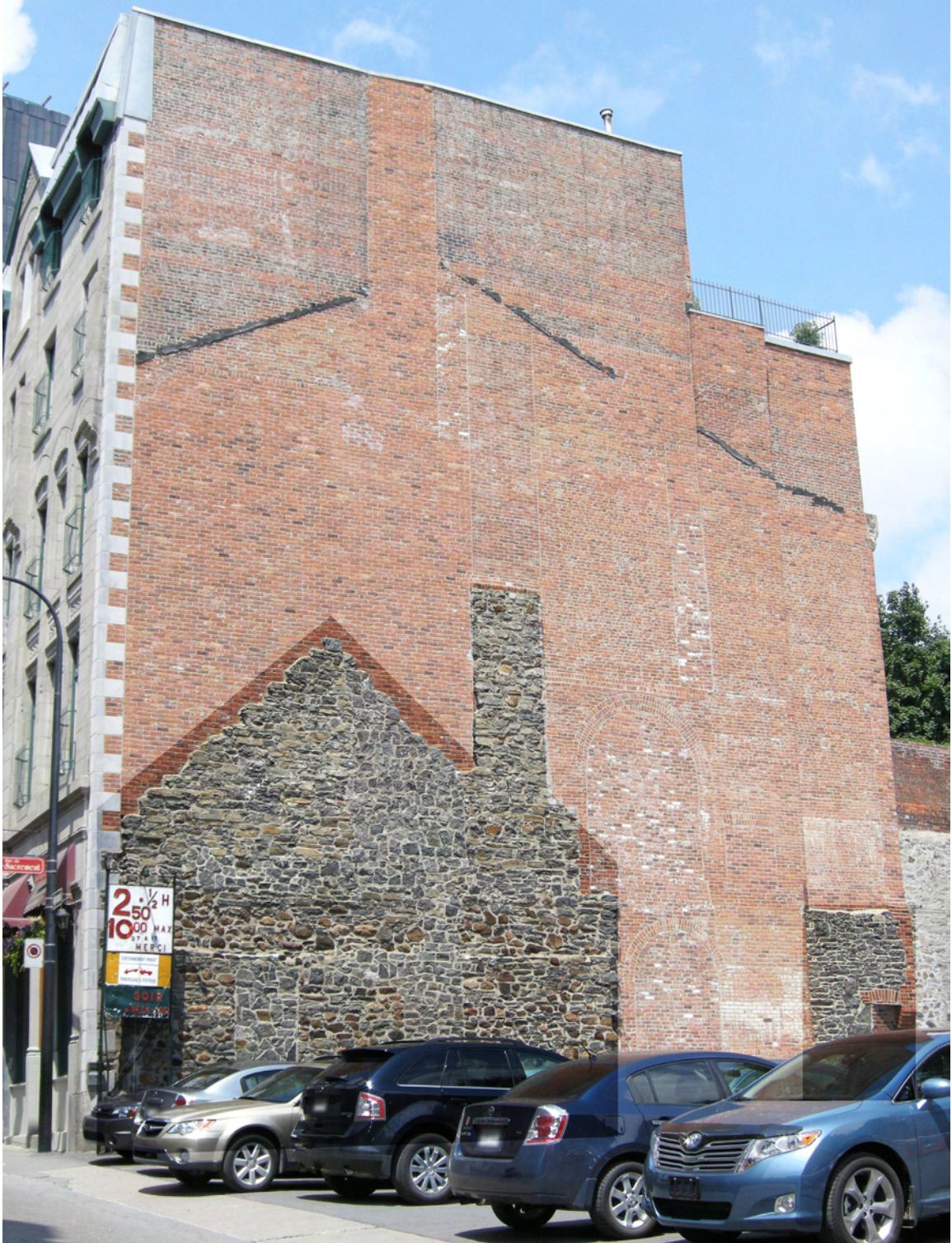


Figure 12: *Stone area to rear, same approximate age as second stage of stone house; all on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.*



Figure 13: *Arched openings and possible second floor*; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.



Figure 14: *Stoves on two levels and chimney that serves them; Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. 2010, Personal photograph.*

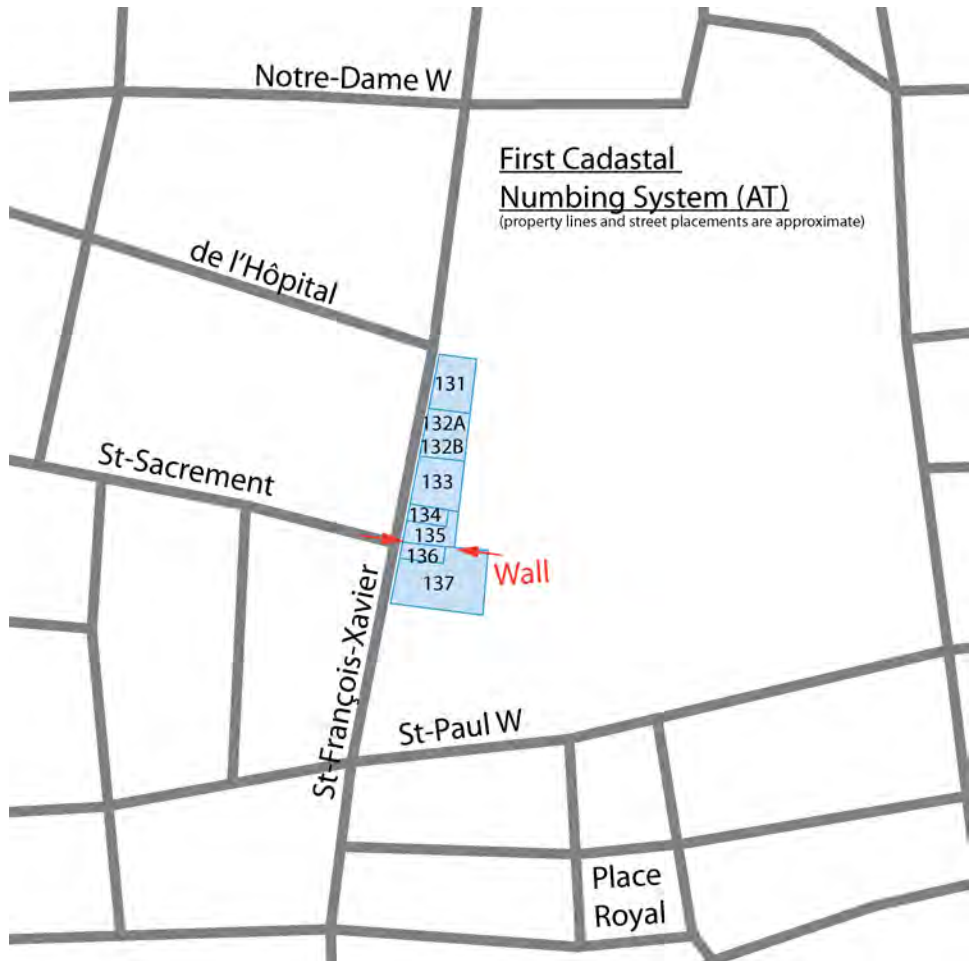


Figure 15: Approximate First Cadastral Lots. 2012, Personal drawing.

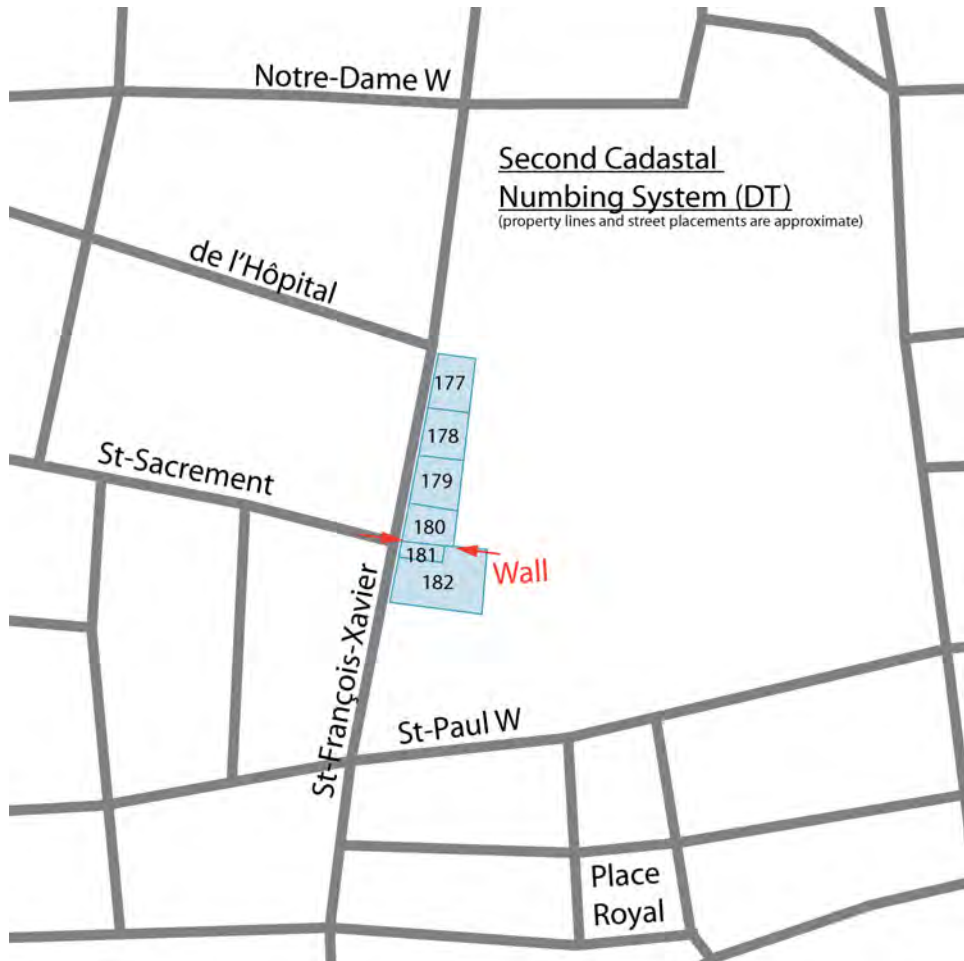


Figure 16: Approximate Second Cadastral Lots. 2012, Personal drawing.



Figure 17: *Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, volume I, page 7. 1909.* Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, G/1144/M65G475/C3/v. 1/1909 CAR (<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0000135825>)

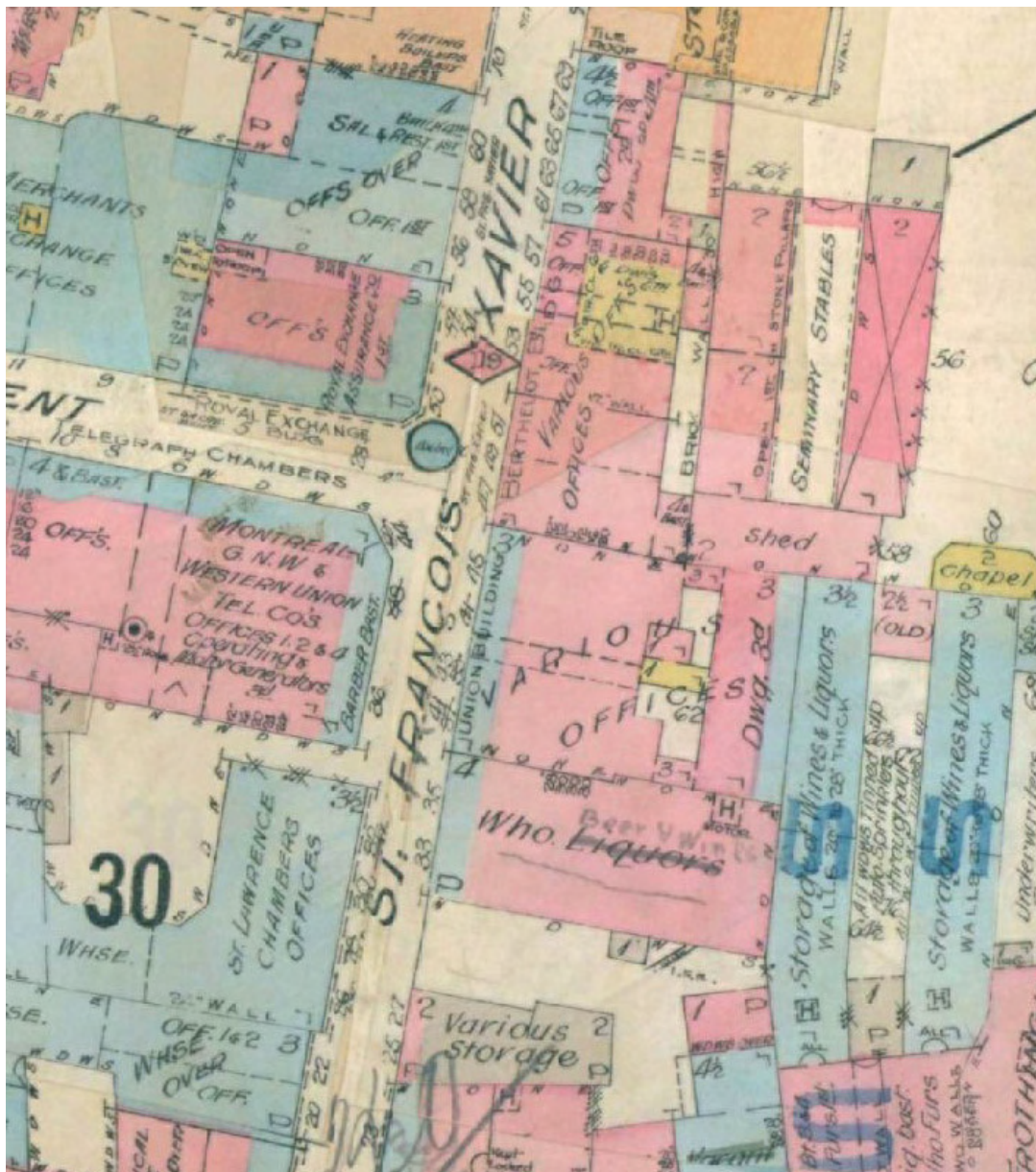


Figure 18: Detail of *Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada*, volume I, page 7. 1909.

Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, G/1144/M65G475/C3/v. 1/1909 CAR (<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0000135825>)



Figure 19: Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, volume I, page 7. 1940. Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives, (<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003216542>)



Figure 20: Detail of *Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada*, volume I, page 7. 1940.

Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives,
<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003216542>)



Figure 21: *Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, volume I, page 7, 1950.*
 Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives,
<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003699649>



Figure 22: Detail of *Insurance plan of city of Montreal, Quebec, Canada, volume I, page 7, 1950.*

Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives,
(<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003699649>)



Figure 23: *Plans d'utilisation du sol de la ville de Montréal à l'échelle 1:600, page (section) 53-69. 1930-57 (1946 noted on bottom right corner in pencil).*

Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives,
<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003612099>)



Figure 24: Detail of *Plans d'utilisation du sol de la ville de Montréal à l'échelle 1:600*, page (section) 53-69. 1930-57 (1946 noted on bottom right corner in pencil).

Ville de Montréal. Gestion des documents et archives,
(<http://services.banq.qc.ca/sdx/cep/document.xsp?id=0003612099>)



Figure 25: Wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. c 1985, Unknown photographer.



Figure 26: Detail (additional thickness) of wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. c 1985, Unknown photographer.



Figure 27: Detail (earlier repairs) of wall on south face of 439-47 St-François-Xavier St., Old Montreal. c 1985, Unknown photographer.

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Appendix 1:

Chain of Ownership

By lot, in chronological order from 2011 to 1649 (incomplete)

East side of St-François-Xavier—North side of wall

| | | |
|-------------------------|--------------|----------------------------|
| Cadastral # | Date | Method of Acquisition |
| Street Address | Borough/Ward | Method of Disposition |
| Purchaser | | |
| Dimensions of Lot | | Dimensions of Structure(s) |
| Details of Structure(s) | | |
| Notes | | |
| Source | | |

Note 1:

| | | |
|--|--------------|--|
| 1180935 (110371) | 1986-Current | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie | |
| 150206 CANADA INC. (aka: Auberge Bonaparte) | | |
| (Front) 26.85m X (Depth) 14.10m | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905, 1997(1998-1999); primary material: stone (Montreal greystone); type of roof: flat | | |
| Non-residential, hotel [Building name: Immeuble Joseph-Amable-Berthelot] | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1980-1986 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie | |
| 114400 Canada Ltée. | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1957-c1980 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie | |
| La Fédération des Oeuvres de Charité Canadiennes Françaises Inc. | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1949-c1957 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie | |
| Denaby Realities Ltd. | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1927-c1949 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie | |
| Berthelot, Marie Julie (widow of Joseph Ovide Turgeon, beneficiary of Georges Berthelot) & Berthelot, Rosalie (spouse of Leon Bourgois) | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1907-c1927 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie (St-George) | |
| Berthelot, Marie Julie (widow of Joseph Ovide Turgeon, beneficiary of Georges Berthelot) & Berthelot, Rosalie & Bourgois, Leon & Casgrain, Pierre | | |
| Built: 1886; 5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |

Note 2:

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1902-c1907 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie (St-George) | |
| Berthelot, Marie Julie (widow of Joseph Ovide Turgeon, beneficiary of Georges Berthelot) | | |
| Built: 1886; 3-5 storey; visible construction: 1886, 1905 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |

Note 3:

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| 110371 (94 & 95) | c1885-c1902 | |
| 439 to 447 | Ville-Marie (St-George) | |
| Berthelot, Joseph A. (Honorable) | | |
| Built: 1886; 3 storey; visible construction: 1886 | | |
| 1) Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier 2) www.vieux.montreal.qc.ca/inventaire/fiches/fiche_bat.php?sec=n&num=33 | | |

—

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| 178 (AT: 132) | 1803/10/10–1805/01/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Normandeau, Joseph | | |
| 1820 ft ² (French) | | House: 797 ft ² ; [Remise]: 32 ft ² |
| House: wood; [Remise]: wood | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 178 (AT: 132) | 1803/10/10–1805/01/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Normandeau, Joseph | | |
| 1820 ft ² (French) | | House: 797 ft ² ; [Remise]: 32 ft ² |
| House: wood; [Remise]: wood | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

A)

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------|-------|
| 178&179 (AT: 132) | 1723/05/28–1726/04/30 | [s/m] |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Saint-Ours Deschaillons, Jean de | | |
| 2552 ft ² (French) | House: 463 ft ² | |
| House: wood, 1 storey, plank roof | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

B)

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 178&179 (AT: 132) | 1698/01/14–1704/12/13 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Lamoureux de Saint-Germain, Pierre | | |
| 2606.7 ft ² (French) | House: 669 ft ² ; {Dépendance}: 100 ft ² | |
| House: wood, 2 storey, plank roof, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31; {Dépendance}: wood, 1 storey, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

C)

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 178&179 (AT: 132) | 1695/03/15–1698/01/13 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Lamoureux de Saint-Germain, Pierre | | |
| 2063 ft ² (French) | House: 669 ft ² ; {Dépendance}: 100 ft ² | |
| House: wood, 2 storey, plank roof, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31; {Dépendance}: wood, 1 storey, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

D)

| | | |
|---|--|------------|
| 178&179 (AT: 132) | 1690/08/01–1695/03/14 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Lamoureux de Saint-Germain, Pierre | | |
| 1364.1 ft ² (French) | House: 669 ft ² ; {Dépendance}: 100 ft ² | |
| House: wood, 2 storey, plank roof, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31; {Dépendance}: wood, 1 storey, constructed between 1690/11/15 to 1692/11/15, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------|------------|
| 178 (AT: 132) | c1690/02/16– c1690/07/31 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Lamoureux de Saint-Germain, Pierre | | |
| 1101.9 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures during this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 178 (AT: 132) | c1689/05/24– c1690/20/15 | |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Adhémar de Saint-Martin, Antoine | | |
| 1101.9 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures during this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 177 & 178 (AT: 131 & 132) | c1689/03/30– c1689/05/23 | |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Antoine Adhémar de Saint-Martin | | |
| 1321.6 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures during this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

E)

| | | |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| 177 & 178 & 179 (AT: 131 & 132) | c1689/09/20– c1689/03/29 | |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Antoine Adhémar de Saint-Martin | | |
| 1583.1ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures during this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

F)

| | | |
|---|---|------------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & many others | 1678/02/20–1700/05/19 | Trade |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Paris dit Sulpiciens | | |
| | House: 397 ft ² ; 21 other structures that are unlikely to be on the relevant lots | |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21; details of 21 other structures that are unlikely to be on the relevant lots | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

G)

| | | |
|--|---|----------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & many others | 1677/11/25–1678/02/19 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Trade |
| Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Paris dit Sulpiciens | | |
| | House: 397 ft ² ; details of 6 other structures that are unlikely to be on the relevant lots | |
| House: 397 ft ² , 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21; details of 6 other structures that are unlikely to be on the relevant lots | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

H)

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & 3 others | 1665/01/16–1677/11/24 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Desroches I, Jean | | |
| | House: 397 ft ² | |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21 | | |
| Note: the above structure could have existed on any of the lots in question | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

I)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|-------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 3 others | 1664/12/02–1665/01/16 | Share |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Desroches I, Jean | | |
| No structures during this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

J)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & 9 others | 1657/10/25–1664/12/02 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Gadois, Françoise | | |
| | | House: 397 ft ² |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21 | | |
| Note: the above structure could have existed on any of the lots in question | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

K)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & 9 others | 1649/11/12–1657/10/24 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Share |
| Godé I, Nicolas (beneficiaries 1) | | |
| | | House: 397 ft ² |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21 | | |
| Note: the above structure could have existed on any of the lots in question | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

L)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 177 & 178 & 179 & 180 & 181 & 182 & 9 others | 1649/11/12–1657/10/24 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| Godé I, Nicolas | | |
| | | House: 397 ft ² |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21 | | |
| Note: the above structure could have existed on any of the lots in question | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

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| | | |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| 179 (AT: 132B-133) | 1798/10/01–1805/01/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Tableau II, Jean-Baptiste | | |
| 2078 ft ² (French) | | House: 967 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 24 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 122 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 270 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 stories; [Dépendance]: wood; [Dépendance]: wood; [Dépendance]: stone | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 179 (AT: 132B, 133) | 1763/09/10–1792/12/12 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| Dennies, Thomas | | |
| 2078 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See A)

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------------|
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1713/02/26–1726/08/30 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Otheys, Christine | | |
| 1346 ft ² (French) | | [Masure]: 614 ft ² |
| [Masure]: stone | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1703/01/24–1704/12/31 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Gateau II, Jean (beneficiaries 1) | | |
| 728.9 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1698/01/14–1704/12/31 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Gateau, Jeanne | | |
| 728.9 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1698/01/14–1703/01/23 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| Gateau II, Jean | | |
| 728.9 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See B) & C) & D)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1693/05/27–1704/12/31 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Coppequesne, Marie-Charlotte de | | |
| 661.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 494 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 stories, roof: [planche & bardeau], constructed 1691/08/06, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|---|
| 179 (AT: 133) | c1690/07/23– c1693/05/26 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| Bro. Jacques | | |
| 661.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 399 ft ² ; House: 494 ft ² |
| House: wood, constructed between 1688/06/16 to 1689/03/10, demolished 1691/07/25; House: 2 stories, roof: [planche & bardeau], constructed 1691/08/06, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|--------------|
| 179 (AT: 132) | c1690/04/18– c1690/07/31 | Cancellation |
| | Centre Ward | Unknown |
| Pothier, Claude | | |
| 262.8 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 179 (AT: 133) | c1690/04/18– c1690/07/22 | Cancellation |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Mars, Jean | | |
| 661.1 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 399 ft ² | | |
| House: wood, constructed between 1688/06/16 to 1689/03/10, demolished 1691/07/25 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 179 (AT: 132-133) | 1689/03/30– c1690/04/17 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Cancellation |
| Pothier, Claude | | |
| 924.4 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 399 ft ² | | |
| House: wood, constructed between 1688/06/16 to 1689/03/10, demolished 1691/07/25 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1689/03/24–1689/03/29 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Pothier, Claude | | |
| 661.1 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 399 ft ² | | |
| House: wood, constructed between 1688/06/16 to 1689/03/10, demolished 1691/07/25 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 179 (AT: 133) | 1688/06/16–1689/03/23 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Mars, Jean | | |
| 661.1 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 399 ft ² | | |
| House: wood, constructed between 1688/06/16 to 1689/03/10, demolished 1691/07/25 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See E) & F) & G) & H) & I) & J) & K) & L)

Note 4:

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------|
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1773/05/01–1805/01/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Delisle, Jean | | |
| 1747 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 1191 ft ² , stone; [Dépendance]: 108 ft ² , wood; [Dépendance]: 64 ft ² , wood | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

Note 5:

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|---|
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1763/01/27–1773/04/30 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Labit dit Crespin, François | | |
| 1215 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1762/10/15–1765/06/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Delisle, Jean | | |
| 531 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1697/08/06–1704/12/31 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Bigot dit Lagiroflée, Jacques | | |
| 1215 ft ² (French) | | House: 883 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, plank roof | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1697/08/06–1704/12/31 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Truillier dit Lacombe I, Jean | | |
| 1221.8 ft ² (French) | | House: 534 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 521 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, [badeau] roof, constructed between 1697/03/17 to 1697/07/01, still in existence 1704/12/31; [Dépendance]: stone, 1 storey, [badeau] roof, constructed 1697/07/01, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1696/05/02–1697/08/05 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Truillier dit Lacombe I, Jean | | |
| 878.8 ft ² (French) | | House: 534 ft ² ; Caban: 216 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 521 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, [badeau] roof, constructed between 1697/03/17 to 1697/07/01, still in existence 1704/12/31; Caban: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1697/03/16; [Dépendance]: stone, 1 storey, [badeau] roof, constructed 1697/07/01, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1696/02/14–1696/05/02 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Truillier dit Lacombe I, Jean | | |
| 487.2 ft ² (French) | | Caban: 216 ft ² |
| Caban: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1697/03/16 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1695/02/11–1696/02/13 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Renaud, Jean | | |
| 487.2 ft ² (French) | | Caban: 216 ft ² |
| Caban: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1697/03/16 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1698/09/27– c1704/12/31 | Share |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Audouin dit Laverdure, François | | |
| 588.6 ft ² (French) | | House: 270 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, [bandeau] roof, constructed 1694/06/03, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1695/04/30–1698/09/26 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Share |
| Audouin dit Laverdure, François | | |
| 588.6 ft ² (French) | | House: 270 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, [bandeau] roof, constructed 1694/06/03, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 134) | 1694/03/10–1695/04/29 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Audouin dit Laverdure, François | | |
| 331.3 ft ² (French) | | House: 270 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, [bandeau] roof, constructed 1694/06/03, demolished 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 180 (AT: 135) | 1687/11/22–1695/02/10 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Lebourhis dit LeBreton, Jean | | |
| 487.2 ft ² (French) | | Caban: 216 ft ² |
| Caban: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1697/03/16 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See F) & G) & H) & I) & J) & K) & L)

East side of St-François-Xavier—South side of wall

Note 6:

| | | |
|--|---------------|--|
| 1181028 (110372) | c1970-Current | |
| 431 to 35 | Ville-Marie | |
| Lagacé, Jean louis | | |
| (Front) 19.58m (Area) 517.2m ² | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| Ville de Montréal – Répertoire informatisé des rues et emplacements—compte foncier | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1951-c1970 | |
| 431 to 35 | Ville-Marie | |
| Mathieu, Achille | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1940-c1950 | |
| 431 to 35 | Ville-Marie | |
| Drummond, Guy Melfort | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |

| | | |
|--|-------------------------|--|
| 110372 (93) | c1933-c1939 | |
| 431 to 35 | Ville-Marie | |
| Parker, Grace Julia, widow of Sir George Alexander Drummond | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1913-c1933 | |
| 431 to 35 | Ville-Marie (St-George) | |
| Ross, John Kenneth Levinson | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1907-c1913 | |
| 431 to 35 | Centre Ward | |
| Robinson, James | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1893-c1907 | |
| 431 to 35 | Centre Ward | |
| Drummond, George A. & Taylor Brothers (Mary Redpath, widow of Thomas M. Taylor & estate of James Taylor) | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |
| 110372 (93) | c1885-c1893 | |
| 431 to 35 | Centre Ward | |
| Drummond, George A. & Taylor Brothers: Thomas M. Taylor & James H. Taylor | | |
| Archives de Montréal – Valuation Roll of Immovable Properties | | |

Note 7:

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|------------|
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1748/09/29–1770/06/25 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| You dit Rochefort, Etienne | | |
| 541 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

Note 8:

| | | |
|---|-----------------------|----------|
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1717/08/30–1725/01/24 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Amiot, Jean Baptiste | | |
| 541 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: wood, 1 storey | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1695/11/25–1704/12/31 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Robitaille, Philippe | | |
| 541.4 ft ² (French) | | |
| House: 341 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 295 ft ² | | |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1691/07/08, still in existence 1704/12/31; [Dépendance]: constructed 1704/01/01, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--|----------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1695/06/26–1695/11/24 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Maublant dit Saint-Amand, Jean-Baptiste | | |
| 541.4 ft ² (French) | | House: 341 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1691/07/08, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1691/07/08– c1695/06/25 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Maublant dit Saint-Amand, Jean-Baptiste | | |
| 300 ft ² (French) | | House: 341 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1691/07/08, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1690/05/20–1691/07/07 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Maublant dit Saint-Amand, Jean-Baptiste | | |
| 300 ft ² (French) | | [Dépendance]: 289 ft ² |
| [Dépendance]: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1691/07/07 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 (AT: 136) | 1690/05/20–1691/07/07 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Chancerel dit Saint-Malo, Étienne | | |
| 300 ft ² (French) | | [Dépendance]: 289 ft ² |
| [Dépendance]: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1687/12/23, demolished 1691/07/07 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See F) & G)

| | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
| 181 & many others | 1662/02/06–1667/03/30 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Moyen, Élisabeth | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 & many others | 1662/02/06–1667/03/30 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Closse, Jeanne-Cécile | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See H)

M)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 181 & 182 (AT: 136 & 137) | 1664/12/02–1665/01/15 | Share |
| | Centre Ward | Other |
| Godé I, Nicolas (beneficiaries 1) | | |
| | | House: 397 ft ² |
| House: 2 stories, construction between 1648/01/04 to 1651/09/23, demolished 1678/06/21 | | |
| Note: the above structure could have existed on any of the lots in question | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See J)

N)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------------|------------|
| 181 & 182 & many others | c1655/08/20– c1655/11/21 | |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Closse, Raphaël-Lambert | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 181 & many others | c1651/09/18– c1655/08/19 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Closse, Raphaël-Lambert | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See K) & L)

Note 9:

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|--|
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1789/10/13–1805/01/02 | Sale |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Henry, Alexander | | |
| 4446 ft ² (French) | | House: 1158 ft ² ; Stable: 153 ft ² ; [Voûte]: 773 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 143 ft ² |
| House: stone; Stable: wood; [Voûte]: stone; [Dépendance]: stone | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

Note 10:

| | | |
|---|-----------------------|--|
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1762/08/09–1772/03/29 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Hubert dit Lacroix, Marie- Angélique | | |
| 4446 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1711/05/30–1751/01/28 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Prudhomme, Jeanne | | |
| 4446 ft ² (French) | | House: 1020 ft ² |
| House: stone, 1 storey | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1697/11/11–1704/12/31 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Thaumur de LaSource, Louis-Dominique | | |
| 4289.8 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 149 ft ² ; House: 273 ft ² ; [Dépendance]: 77 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31; [Dépendance]: constructed 1704/01/01, still in existence 1704/12/31; House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1702/04/17, still in existence 1704/12/31; [Dépendance]: constructed 1704/01/01, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1697/09/25– c1697/11/10 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Roinay, Jeanne | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1697/11/10, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1703/02/25–1704/12/31 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Billeron dit Lafatigue, Pierre (beneficiaries 1) | | |
| 1045.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1689/06/11, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1703/02/25–1704/12/31 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Billeron dit Lafatigue, Pierre | | |
| 1045.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1689/06/11, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | c1697/11/11– 1703/02/24 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Succession |
| Billeron dit Lafatigue, Pierre | | |
| 1045.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1689/06/11, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1697/09/25– c1697/11/10 | Succession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Biaillon, Étienne (beneficiaries 1) | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1697/11/10, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | c1691/10/16– 1697/09/24 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Biaillon, Étienne | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 2 storey, constructed 1697/11/10, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1697/05/17– c1697/11/10 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Thaumur de LaSource, Louis-Dominique | | |
| 4381.4 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1697/05/13–1697/05/16 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Thaumur de LaSource, Louis-Dominique | | |
| 2948.1 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1695/01/27–1697/05/12 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Thaumur de LaSource, Louis-Dominique | | |
| 1569.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1693/10/01–1695/01/26 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Paris dit Sulpiciens | | |
| 995.4 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1690/05/14–1693/09/30 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Perrault dit Villedaigre, Joseph | | |
| 995.4 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31; House: 273 ft ² , wood, 1 storey, constructed between 1690/05/14 to 1691/05/02, demolition between 1692/03/30 to 1693/08/28 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1691/05/21–1691/10/15 | Exchange |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Arnaud, Bertrand | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1689/06/11, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1689/04/13–1691/05/20 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Exchange |
| Mousseau, Louise de | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | House: 547 ft ² |
| House: wood, 1 storey, constructed 1689/06/11, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | 1688/05/24–1689/04/12 | Concession |
| | Centre Ward | Exchange |
| Lachevêque dit Beaupré, Jean | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

| | | |
|---|-----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1687/06/21–1690/05/13 | Purchase |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Perrault dit Villedaigre, Joseph | | |
| 709.6 ft ² (French) | | House: 503 ft ² |
| House: stone, 2 storey, constructed between 1685/11/14 to 1687/06/21, still in existence 1704/12/31 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | c1686/11/30– 1688/05/23 | Cancellation |
| | Centre Ward | Concession |
| Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice de Paris dit Sulpiciens | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 (AT: 138) | c1686/05/12– c1686/11/29 | |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Jousset dit Laloire, Mathurin | | |
| 653.5 ft ² (French) | | |
| No structures at this time | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See F) & G)

| | | |
|--|-----------------------|----------------------------|
| 182 (AT: 137) | 1672/05/08–1678/02/19 | |
| | Centre Ward | |
| Godé II, Nicolas | | |
| 1733.2 ft ² (French) | | House: 398 ft ² |
| House: constructed between 1664/12/02 to 1678/02/20, demolished 1678/12/20 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |
| 182 & 183 & 5 others | 1664/12/02–1672/05/08 | Share |
| | Centre Ward | Sale |
| Godé II, Nicolas | | |
| | | House: 398 ft ² |
| House: constructed between 1664/12/02 to 1678/02/20, demolished 1678/12/20 | | |
| www.remparts.info/adhemar_php/ | | |

See H) & M) & J) & N) & K) & L)

Appendix 2:

On Authenticity

The trace seems to lead directly to the ideas of authenticity and truth, with trace evidence used as proof in legal cases, and other types of trace, such as autographs, as marks of the authenticity of connection to the signatory. Huyssen introduces the idea of authenticity in conjunction with ruins as a pivotal construct of modernity, and he relates it to the eighteenth-century concerns with, “alienation, inauthenticity, and reproducibility during the course of modernization”⁷⁷. These could be even more relevant today.

Authenticity is a very problematic concept. Its application in the practices of restoration and conservation will be examined shortly. It has become an obsession in today’s world. Instinctively it is easy to believe that there is always an authentic state for any particular site, but a problem emerges from the necessity to assign a particular time period to that authenticity. Any location where there has been human occupancy for a significant length of time will have any number of states that are each as authentic as the next. Take for example a site where there has been continuous use for centuries, but was later abandoned. If, later, a decision were made to restore the buildings from the materials found on site, a stage of development of that site would have to be chosen from the centuries of its use. Whether from the beginning, sometime in the middle, or in the last days of its use, any choice could be seen as the authentic state, dependent on the decisions made about what should be highlighted. If the earliest days of settlement were chosen, any construction or adaptations that had been made by the occupants in the centuries that followed would have to be destroyed. If, instead, the last days of settlement

⁷⁷ Huyssen, “Nostalgia for Ruins”, 9.

were chosen, the resulting work on these later evolutionary stages would not be authentic to the period of the original settlement.

One might think that time, and the passage thereof, creates this problematic state, of whether or not some thing, or some site, is authentic, but the idea of authenticity is troublesome at its core. When the attribution of the title of “authentic” is dependent on the quantity of a particular characteristic, there comes a point where the lack of clarity of the line dividing the authentic from the inauthentic renders this division no longer distinguishable, and it becomes simply a matter of degree. Since the so-called value of an object or a site is often hung on the hook of authenticity, when this hook becomes more of a slippery slope, one has difficulty justifying its use as the basis for assigning value.

Part of the problem is determining what makes something authentic. In this case, the wall, as it is today, has been renovated at some time within the last thirty years. Some remnants were removed and not restored, while some stones, bricks and cement were replaced with new material. To what degree can something be authentic? Is it a measure of actual value or simply marketing? These questions should be posed when considering governmental policies, and their implications with regard to heritage, patrimony, and ultimately tourism.

With regard to this particular site, there does not seem to be any claim of authenticity, and logically it cannot be true to any period but the present. At any time when it was the division between two buildings, most of the wall would not have been uncovered, or at least not been visible as a whole. Until the Union building had been torn down, this wall had never stood alone and had always been hidden from view. So this visible state is not authentic, except to the period after the Union building was

demolished. In addition, it is only authentic to its current period, because as discussed earlier, prior to the restoration, some of the details currently visible were still covered.

From a Semiotic point of view, authenticity is paradoxical in that for an object or an experience to be perceived as authentic it must be expressly designated as such. This would be the result of a constructed context requiring interpretation. In effect the subject of authenticity would become a sign, a representation or stand-in for the original, and therefore could not by definition be authentic.⁷⁸ In a touristic setting, the task then becomes, as John Frow writes, “to construct [the object of tourism] as a plausible simulation of itself.”⁷⁹ He writes, “[F]or the tourist gaze, things are read as signs of themselves. A place, a gesture, a use of language are understood not as given bits of the real but as suffused with ideality, giving on to the type of the beautiful, the extraordinary, or the culturally authentic.”⁸⁰

⁷⁸ John Frow, “Tourism and the Semiotics of Nostalgia”, 130.

⁷⁹ Ibid, 131.

⁸⁰ Ibid, 125.

Appendix 3:

On Conservation and Restoration

According to Chris Miele, professionals in the field of architectural conservation tend to be insular, and rather fanatical in their beliefs on the subject, thereby reducing their effectiveness as historians.⁸¹ According to Miele's review of *A History of Architectural Conservation*, the book by Jukka Jokilehto was well received within the community, and apparently by sheer physical weight, imposes authoritative weight on the subject of conservation. In contrast he finds that, "Again and again the narrative returns to one theme: the modern conservation movement is an aspect of evolving human consciousness, and in particular that form of consciousness that is normally linked to the Romantic sensibility."⁸² It fits very well with the romantic idea of the ruin.

While another work by Jokilehto, which will be addressed shortly, did not seem to be quite so skewed, others certainly are, not questioning how or why or if conservation is required. In his review of *Conservation Training: Needs and Ethics*, by Anu Ahoniemi, David G. Woodcock looks to a future where conservation is no longer questioned. He writes, "It is refreshing to be reminded of the need to talk conservation outside the field if attitudes are to be changed at the heart of the decision-making process and simultaneously to raise new generations for whom the concept of conservation will simply be a fact of life."⁸³ The loss of critical decision making with the assumption that conservation should be applied everywhere at all times is troubling.

Questions about whether or not to restore items from the past, from artefacts to art to architecture, are not recent. William Morris (1834-96), theorist and co-founder of the

⁸¹ Chris Miele, [Untitled], 512.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ David G. Woodcock, [Untitled], 63.

Arts & Crafts movement, and a contemporary of his, John Ruskin, were strong proponents of the avoidance of restoration due to the resulting alteration or destruction of the original⁸⁴, and of the opinion that original works could not be repeated, as any copies would be fake.”⁸⁵ It is this question of authenticity that is the central theme of Jokilehto’s “Authenticity in Restoration Principles and Practices”. In it, he often refers to the Venice Charter of 1964, which he quotes at the beginning of his article, “the intention in conserving and restoring monuments is to safeguard them no less as works of art than as historical evidence.”⁸⁶ He goes on to interpret this statement with, “In other words, the intention should be to preserve the authentic material evidence of historic objects and works of art.”⁸⁷ The problem remains of how best to do that, especially in a non-museum setting where the atmospheric conditions and lighting are not controlled, and in fact may be detrimental to the survival of the objects in question. Pollution and sunlight are obvious examples of such problems, and it leads to the question of how best to address these conditions *in situ*. In fact some propose not to address the problem at all. The “Elgin Marbles”, more correctly called the “Parthenon Marbles”, are now housed at the British Museum, while others from the same sources have been more recently invested with new surroundings, at the new Acropolis Museum, within sight of their original placement.

There are several philosophies about how to restore or conserve, such as the choice to make new repairs clearly evident, while others suggest that these should blend in and be indistinguishable, so that the original appears, as it would have upon its

⁸⁴ Peter Cannon-Brookes, [Untitled], 103-4.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 105.

⁸⁶ Venice Charter (1964) as quoted in Jokilehto, “Authenticity in Restoration Principles and Practice”, 5.

⁸⁷ Jokilehto, 5.

completion. The presentation of the remaining marbles of the frieze in the Parthenon Gallery at the Acropolis Museum are displayed on the parameter of a rectangle of the same dimensions as the ancient structure. They are presented in their original positions relative to each other, with the missing carvings that are currently housed in other museums are represented by castings.⁸⁸ These castings have not been made to resemble marble, so they are easily distinguishable from the actual remaining pieces. Decisions must also be made about whether or not to preserve the patina of age.

The opinion of some are guarded as to how and when restoration or conservation should be used. These people appear not to be conservators and restorers. In this, the question of authenticity is always of critical importance. The English philosopher John Ruskin states, “[t]he genuine voice of the past is exactly what must be safeguarded by preservation/conservation.”⁸⁹ However, the Parthenon Marbles are once again an excellent example of the problems surrounding this belief. Many visitors to either the Acropolis or the British Museum would be surprised to learn that when originally installed on the Parthenon, the sculpted marbles would have been painted with brilliant colours, as was the tradition in antiquity.⁹⁰ At that time, they would not have appeared as these austere examples of superbly carved forms as they do today. So would the public accept them in their “authentic” state of repair? Whether on display in London or Athens, neither current placement is authentic to their intended use, and yet both sites are well populated with tourists.

In Huyssen’s opinion,

⁸⁸ “The Parthenon Gallery”.

⁸⁹ John Ruskin, as quoted in Cannon-Brookes, 105.

⁹⁰ Cannon-Brookes, 104-5.

The age of the “authentic ruin,” at any rate, is over; its genealogy can be written, but it cannot be resurrected. The present is an age of preservation, restoration, and authentic remakes, all of which cancel out the idea of the authentic ruin that has itself become historical.⁹¹

In this, his summary of the issues surrounding the question of authenticity, it appears that he has decided that authenticity in the architectural ruin is dead. This would seem to imply that there was a time when authenticity existed.

This debate is far from being clear-cut whether to conserve, or restore, and if so, to what extent. As with the example about the restoration of a site of long occupancy, it comes down to making a choice about how much should be done, as it appears there is no right or wrong answer. It is simply that a decision must be made based on the general philosophy of the community, and the resources available, which could be historical, social, financial, or something else. What is certain is that there will always be some who does not agree.

⁹¹ Huyssen, “Nostalgia for Ruins”, 20.

Appendix 4:***A Wall and the Imaginary — Release from the Boundaries of the Concrete***

[As presented at Situate Yourself – AHGSA Conference; Concordia University, Montreal (March 16, 2012)]

My presentation today is based on the research I have been conducting for the past couple of years, but has been in my mind for at least twice as long. In fact, it is a subject that has fascinated me for much longer.

For as long as I can remember I have been arrested by the sight of walls with the remnants of older structures embedded in them. Living in Montreal, there are a plethora of examples, and when I first discovered this one, I was at an artist conference at the Centaur theatre, which resides in the old stock exchange building just up the street from the wall. I discovered it (and I say this as if I was the first person to reach the south pole, or land on the moon) I discovered it on my way back from lunch, and obsessed about it all afternoon. Sitting in such a creative environment, I was inspired to write a book, an alternate tour guide to the city, directing people to sites like this one, where I would have laid out the history of who had lived or worked there, what the buildings had been like...

I came out of the theatre that evening, and thought, what a huge amount of work. I didn't know when I'd have the time to do everything that would be required for the project. So the idea was pushed to the back of my mind, resurfacing occasionally when I spotted another wall, and I would mentally compare it to "my" wall, assuring myself that mine was far more interesting. But even while the wall was relegated to the recesses of my mind, it still held a power to be recalled in an instant, when the flash of something reminded me of it. In a sense, it has truly fascinated me; it has hypnotised me into consistently returning to its memory.

Ignoring the recurring images of the wall, I put the subject aside for a couple of years, until it came to the thesis seminar for the Master's program. The day we were to discuss how to come up with a topic for our research, I went to see the professor before class, and described my wall to her, wondering if there was any way this obsession of mine could be worked into a Master's thesis. It didn't really seem like architecture, and it certainly isn't art, though there is definitely an aesthetic appeal. She instantly lit up, feeling that she remembered the wall as well, so we did a Google search to see if we could find an image of it, and low and behold, we did. After a bit of discussion, and my attempts to describe why this thing meant so much to me, she asked if she could use it as an example for the session. And so she did.

So, a year and a half later, here we are, my wall and I, in the final stages of thesis editing, and I'm still trying to figure out why it has so bespelled me. I'm not sure it would have held such interest if I hadn't seen it in person. There is something about coming upon a scene such as this one that gives it more impact since it is an immersive experience, and perhaps it might even induce a visceral reaction. This thought led me to Freud's idea of the uncanny, and in rereading his 1919 work on the subject, I initially thought I was on the right track. He opens with, "It is only rarely that a psycho-analyst feels impelled to investigate the subject of aesthetics, even when aesthetics is understood to mean not merely the theory of beauty but the theory of the qualities of feeling."⁹²

But the uncanny is not the right fit. He describes it as having a basis of repressed fear⁹³, and nor is there any question that the wall could be mistaken as being alive⁹⁴.

There is, however, the link with the familiar, the homey, or homely, the *Heimlich*, which

⁹² Sigmund Freud, "The 'Uncanny'" The Standard Edition of the Complete Works of Sigmund Freud, 219.

⁹³ Freud, 241.

⁹⁴ Freud, 233.

he describes as potentially ambivalent to where it can transition to become its opposite, the *Unheimlich*, the uncanny. This idea could be applied in this case, because there is the familiar, in the iconic forms of the houses, arches, peaked roofs and chimneys, but there is also this sense of decay, of ruin, in the remnants of times past.

I wouldn't consider myself a sentimental person; other than remembering the birthdays of my immediate family, and a select few close friends, I don't tend to mark dates, with the exception of submission deadlines of course. I don't have all my baby teeth in a handkerchief. I don't even have family pictures on the walls of my home, and when on holiday my mother has to urge me to get my camera out. But in some ways it's come to the point that I'm acting almost like a proud parent, carrying around photos of my wall in my iPod, and producing it for anyone who expresses the slightest interest. So would you like to see my wall? I can always go back to the other discussion later...

The results of my research into the archival materials related to this site are as follows. In a search of records on the Adhémar website of le Groupe de recherche sur Montréal, funded by the CCA and the Archives national du Québec, I could not find any record of a stone structure on the parking lot side of the wall before 1770. The wall itself is evidence that there was once a house here, and that the oldest portion extended on the visible side because of the shoulder, the ledge that holds up the second floor, visible here. While there aren't any written records that I've found to date it, it has to be the first structure for three reasons. First, it is the lowest feature on the wall. Second, it is made of fieldstone, these rounded, irregular, uncut stones, which would have been gathered, rather than quarried. Third, is the window visible here. If this house had shared a common wall with an older structure, there would be no reason for it.

The next structure seems to be what looks like an extension of the little house, but was more likely built on the other side of the wall. There is evidence that somewhere between 1773 and 1805 a stone building was erected on that lot, and the condition of the chimney is proof. If this addition had been to extend the little house upward, the chimney would show the scar of the flue, as well as marks that the stones had been chiselled flat at the outside of alternating courses. This second house would have required closing off the window.

The last building on the parking lot for which there is evidence is the Union Building. While there isn't any documentation of its façade or floor plan, there are records in the Personal Property and Business Duty tax rolls from 1865, noting a number of businesses at this address. The city insurance plan of 1905 gives us a footprint to work with, along with the building's name, which we can see here. We can see the courtyard in the back with a number of possibly separate structures, and there is a note within the main body of the complex that there was a tunnel, which would have given access to the courtyard from the street.

We can assume that these openings, and this protruding section of the wall indicated that there were two heating stoves, one above the other and sharing a chimney. We can also be fairly confident that this was the level of the second floor, because it lines up with a second shoulder in the front, and passes right under the upper arch, leaving a safe distance from the floor to the upper stove.

What can't be easily understood is the purpose of the arches. At no time have the two sides of this wall been recorded as having the same owner, so there would have been no need to have internal access between the buildings. And as the arches are nearly floor

to ceiling in height it seems unlikely that they are the outlines of former windows. The only plausible explanation with the evidence to date is that these were openings that were in use before the last building was erected in 1886.

This building is the only one still in existence today, and is called the Joseph-Amable-Berthelot building, after the owner who had it built. Designed by architect Victor Roy, it originally stood at 3 storeys high, but was extended to 5 by architect Joseph Ovide Turgeon in 1905. Its original use was to hold a number of offices, and a restaurant.

There are two final stages that lead to what is visible today, the first of which was the demolition of the Union building around 1934-35. The property tax rolls for the lot from 1935 have hand written notes over the typed information, showing that the value given to the structures on the site was crossed out, and the total value of the property was adjusted to match the value of the lot itself. As these documents were compiled yearly, the demolition would have had to take place between the two taxation periods. The demolition would have exposed the wall for the very first time in its existence, but, as you see, it didn't look quite as it does today.

The final stage was that the wall was renovated and repointed. An extra layer of brick was removed from the front, and repairs were made using more consistent materials, such as the stone in this area. It is visibly newer, as it has obviously been carved more than either of the other examples. This work has been done in the past thirty years, and may have coincided with the renovation and conversion of the Berthelot building into a hotel in 1998-99.

Since I have some time left, I'll go back to my earlier exploration. While I didn't explore the uncanny in my thesis, I did look at the topic of ruins. Andreas Hyussen's

work “Nostalgia for Ruins” brought out several interesting points, but at its base there is one underlying theme. He writes, “In the body of the ruin the past is both present in its residues and yet no longer accessible, making the ruin an especially powerful trigger for nostalgia.”⁹⁵ He also proposes the potential of imagining alternate futures, by reimagining the past. Ruins are the key, a concrete base upon which to build this sentimental, mental exercise.

Romanticism highlights the documented fascination with ruins. In its search for the ego and the return to nature, inspiration drawn from the longing for the mediaeval, it was seen as a reawakening of wonder and aspiration. It was also seen as frivolous, irrational and decadent, thereby confirming the Romantic trend to seek an escape from the reality of the day⁹⁶, at times through mysticism, but always through observation and fantasy.⁹⁷ At the height of the “pleasure of ruins” in the eighteenth century was the period when it was fashionable to have ruins constructed in ones own garden. This led to many historic sites being plundered.⁹⁸

During the Romantic period, ruins were seen to allude to the differences between the past and the present, with the tendency to hold the former in greater regard. They would also have been seen as demonstrations of the supremacy of nature over the abilities of mankind.⁹⁹ The reception of ruins was an experience of aesthetic appreciation, as stated by Thomas Cole, the English-born American painter, on the topic of the Coliseum in Rome, “It was stupendous, yet beautiful in its destruction.”¹⁰⁰ In addition, it would

⁹⁵ Andreas Huyssen, “Nostalgia for Ruins”, p7.

⁹⁶ Edwin Berry Burgum, “Romanticism”, 479-80.

⁹⁷ Edwin Berry Burgum, “Romanticism”, 481.

⁹⁸ Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 120.

⁹⁹ Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 121.

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Cole as quoted in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 123.

seem ruins were also for the purpose of contemplation, as Cole continues, the Coliseum provides “a sad, not unpleasant meditation.”¹⁰¹

By the nineteenth century, ruins were taking on the nature of a moralistic example when English writers of the period began “equating the ruins of ancient buildings with the ethical collapse of ancient civilisations.”¹⁰² With the advent of the Industrial Revolution, ruminations on ruins implied a search for the more primitive, simpler times, as a foil for the modern advancements and the rapid, sometimes brutal, change that accompanied them. In all cases, the escape aspect of these inquiries is evident in the choice of subject. Ruins, incomplete and showing the patina of age, proved to be a ready object for the purpose of the psychological escape through meditation and contemplation.

Contemplation and meditation necessarily involve imagination, as the component that permits inspiration. Imagination is a critical aspect of the romantic attraction of ruins, and traces from the past. Since these are not complete, they allow the viewers to build their own possibilities of what the original structures looked like in their own mind. The effects of anticipation heighten the reception of a gift, and may be even more enjoyable than the gift itself, because it involves the imagining of the potential of what it may be without any limitations. The perception of the time ravaged, or the incomplete opens the door for this limitless imagining, giving a more interesting experience than if it had been whole. That which is complete is easy to walk past without a second glance, unless one happens to be actively looking. The absences, voids, remnants are surprising, and are capable of drawing the attention of the passer-by more easily than that which is whole. So while I'm not a sentimentalist, I have a well-developed imagination, and it is perhaps in

¹⁰¹ Thomas Cole as quoted in Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 124.

¹⁰² Andrew Szegedy-Maszak, 121.

this that I uncover the reason for my obsession with this wall, and others like it. It is the potential to imagine the possible forms the demolished buildings took, picturing the lives of the people who lived and worked there long ago, and how they differ, and yet don't, from us today. As they say, "Plus ça change, plus c'est la meme chose."

Oh, by the way, have I shown you my wall?