“Living Next to Living History”:

When Official History Meets Vernacular Commemoration in Louisbourg, Nova Scotia

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ABSTRACT

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Emily MacLeod

Louisbourg, Nova Scotia is a town imbued with a spirit of the past. It was only a mere decade after Louisbourg's final siege in 1758 that inhabitants had begun to resettle on the fortification's ruins. Louisbourg was one of the first historic sites to be considered for designation under the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (1919), which resulted in two waves of expropriations, one in 1928 and another in 1962. Due to the initial removal of twelve families in the 20s and fifty-two properties from the extensive 1962 expropriation, there remained a silence in Louisbourg's official narrative. This thesis examines the importance of both official and vernacular knowledge in (re)creating the Louisbourg narrative – how both sides engage with history and how this contributes to an attachment to place. The decision to create personal archives, genealogies, and festivals suggests that Louisbourg residents are coming to terms with the implications of living near living-history. Ultimately, however, the park exists in the town Louisbourg, but it is not of Louisbourg. The fluidity of history is severed by this disconnect. In order for these two solitudes to mediate the distance between professional and amateur historians, both sides must come together to weave their individual threads into the larger fabric that is Louisbourg's evolving historical narrative.

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Nan, Papa, Judy, Sandy, Carmie, Carl, Cyril, Joan, Anne, and all of my cousins– thank you all for your patience and understanding as I waded through this stuff. You made it all worthwhile.

"I will stay with you if you'll stay with me, said the fiddler to the drum, and we'll keep good time on a journey through the past."

- Neil Young, "Journey Through the Past"

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the loving memory of my mother, Margaret “Margie” MacLeod. Unseen, unheard, but always near.

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Introduction

On July 26, 1758, the second British siege of the immense French fortress at Louisbourg on Isle Royale (now Cape Breton, Nova Scotia) concluded with the surrender of the garrison. Louisbourg was no longer the sentry of the St. Lawrence and the safeguard of French interests in the New World. With the Fall of Quebec at the Plains of Abraham the following year, the imperial struggle for North America was over. Louisbourg's fortifications were soon dismantled and the fortress left in ruins.[1] A small settler community, Old Town, emerged out of the rubble; while the ruins themselves became a site of pilgrimage during the nineteenth century. Visitors' memoirs speak of ruins, impoverished inhabitants, and melancholic desolation.[2] Old Town was the foundation from which the new Louisbourg developed. Described as "merchants, former soldiers, and fishermen," these early inhabitants populated the areas around Louisbourg and its harbour.[3] In the 1920s, there were 12 families living on the ruins of the original Fortress.

The Old Town families lived in relative peace until the late 1920s when the site of the original Fortress was acquired by the Canadian government. The intent was to preserve and commemorate the area's historical significance between 1713 and 1768 in recognition of the French and British battle for colonial supremacy. In order to preserve

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[1] A.J.B. Johnston, "Preserving History: The Commemoration of 18th Century Louisbourg, 1895-1940," in Krause, Eric, Carol Corbin, and William O'Shea., ed., Aspects of Louisbourg: essays on the history of an eighteenth-century French community in North America (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1995), 254-255.
[2] Wayne Foster, Post-Occupational History of the Old French Town of Louisbourg 1760-1930 (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, Fortress of Louisbourg, 1965), 63 and 91, and John G. Bourinot as quoted in Johnston, 254-255.
[3] Elaine Sawlor, Beyond the Fog: Louisbourg after the final siege, 1758-1968 (Sydney: 2008), 12.

the unexcavated resources, officials required that the site's current residents move off the ruins through the process of expropriation. There were two Louisbourg expropriations, those carried out between 1928 and 1929 which focused on the properties that were established in the "Old Fortress Town," and the more extensive expropriations of the 1960s.[4]

The Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC), founded in 1919, immediately turned its attention to the site of Louisbourg's eighteenth-century fortress. After an inquiry by the board into the in-situ resources, it was deemed necessary to provide a caretaker for the remaining ruins. The board, in conjunction with Dr. J.C. Webster and former Louisbourg Mayor Mr. J. Plimsoll Edwards, suggested that "all of the land of the Old Town, including the lighthouse and batteries, be purchased, and an on-site and permanent caretaker should be hired."[5] By 1924, the Department of the Interior's Parks Branch received title to the Kennelly lands, acreage owned by one of the first families to settle on the ruins in the post-occupation period. By 1928, the federal government had acquired most of the land that contained the ruins at a cost of $20,000.[6] By this point the only buildings still standing were the homes of James Kennedy and Lawrence Price.[7] The second expropriation in the 1960s was "more far-reaching and extended beyond Louisbourg to include Deep Cove, Kennington Cove, West Louisbourg

[4] Ibid., 12.
[5] "The McLennans of Petersfield, Cape Breton, www.cbrl.ca," http://www.cbrl.ca/mclennans/louisbourg.html. (accessed June 2, 2012).
[6] Sawlor, 13.
[7] Ibid., 13.

and parts of land in Havenside and Big Lorraine."[8] Soon after the houses were moved and land razed, Parks Canada began work to reconstruct what would later become the "crown jewel of Canada's National Parks."[9]

Map 1: "A plan of the city and fortifications of Louisbourg from the 1758 siege; from a survey made by Richard Gridley, Lieutenant Colonel of the Train of Artillery.

[8] For the purpose of this thesis, I will be including Louisbourg's surrounding areas, some of which had been expropriated during the second wave. These smaller locations have been historically connected to Louisbourg.

[9] The Fortress of Louisbourg has commonly been referred to as the "crown jewel of Canada's National Parks," however its origins are unclear. It continues to be quoted in tourism literature and news articles.

This thesis builds on the work of local historian Elaine Sawlor's genealogical study in Beyond the Fog: Louisbourg after the Final Siege 1758-1968. The extensive expropriations of the 1960s created tension between the park and the local residents. Sawlor argued that local history in Louisbourg, grounds attachment to "place" in the aftermath of physical displacement. My own research considers these genealogical studies insofar as I suggest that memory and recollection have become the vehicles through which residents and Parks Canada staff mediate and negotiate the legacy of mistrust that had developed due to the Fortress' reconstruction. Vernacular and everyday commemoration became the medium to collaboration and negotiation can occur between the "two solitudes"— the town and the living-history museum.[10] In 2010, as my research broadened to include not only the stories of the expropriations, but also the memory of the reconstruction, I realized that the balance of power between the town and the site was askew. Since the 1960s, there was little or no consultation with townspeople regarding the interpretation and exhibit design at Louisbourg. Even with improvements in Parks Canada's "visitor experience" programmes as recently as June 2010, the local community factored little in interpretive decisions. What resulted from this process was a very selective image of the town's history. What had been sacrificed in doing so was one of the only tangible connections for residents to Louisbourg's contemporary past. Louisbourg was no longer just a fishing village on the coast of Cape Breton, but had been rebranded as host to the largest reconstructed eighteenth-century French fortified town in North America.

[10] Throughout this thesis I refer to the term "vernacular commemoration." These projects refer to a type of everyday commemoration done by local groups, often developing alongside "official" events, celebrations, and projects at the Fortress of Louisbourg.

I have also been influenced by the works of Louisbourg's social historians. Former Louisbourg employee A.J.B. Johnston brought Louisbourg's history to a wider audience with his research on daily life, religion, and order in French colonial Louisbourg. Most recently, Johnston's Endgame 1758 provided one of the first detailed accounts of Louisbourg's second siege.[11] Historian Christopher Moore's book, Louisbourg Portraits, unites popular history and social history in a way that continues to draw attention to the story of Louisbourg's people.[12] Moreover, he argues a need to acknowledge that Louisbourg's eighteenth-century inhabitants experienced life in ways which appear to differ greatly from our contemporary perspectives, but have personal resonance for some. Moore's study of the fisherman, Charles Renault, through letters between himself and his wife highlighted the social, cultural, and economic, importance of the cod fishery to Louisbourg's citizens. Stories such as these are evocative of contemporary life along Canada's coastlines, reminding us of the thread which unites the past and present.

Since 2005, Parks Canada public historians Ken Donovan and Anne Marie Lane Jonah have made important contributions to our understanding of slavery, women, and Acadian culture in eighteenth-century Louisbourg. Donovan asserts that slavery was very much a part of Louisbourg's history and suggests that there was no singular slave experience. Both Donovan and Jonah's social history of these understudied individuals illustrate a paradigmatic shift towards subaltern studies at Louisbourg. These social

[11] Works by A.J.B. Johnston include Life and Religion at Louisbourg, 1713-1758; Louisbourg, An 18th-Century Town; Control & Order: The Evolution of French Colonial Louisbourg, 1713-1758, and most recently Endgame 1758: The Promise the Glory and the Despair of Louisbourg's Last Decade.

[12] Christopher Moore, Louisbourg Portraits: Five Dramatic, True Tales of People Who Lived in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 2000).

histories were the inspiration for my own study where I explore the contemporary history of Louisbourg after it had been erased from its landscape. Donovan and Jonah argue that these stories are important as they illustrate congruencies within Louisbourg's social, economic, and political spheres. For example, Jonah's work on women, families, and Acadian culture brought to light new information on the Acadians of Île-Royale prior to 1755 which suggested important connections between Louisbourg's Acadians and those on British soil. My study builds on this as I explore the memory of the expropriations through the town's current residents and park employees while examining Louisbourg's contemporary social history.

The Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site forms part of the national system of historic sites across the country. Each site and monument within Parks Canada represents an important part of Canada's history to its visitors.[13] At the Fortress of Louisbourg, visitors are introduced to a landscape illustrating the history of its military, commercial, fishing, and settlement activity between 1713 and 1768.[14] One of its most notable features is its interpretation of the summer months of 1744 through the use of costumed interpreters and period buildings. Yet no stories are told about the reconstruction from the years following the site's dismantling of 1768. Historian Susan Ashley writes that:

> In order for all citizens to fully belong to a nation or a community, they must have membership in that society's institutions, systems and social relations on both the formal and everyday levels. Heritage sites are public institutions of formal

[13] Parks Canada Agency, Fortress of Louisbourg 2010 Draft Management Plan (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, 2010), vii.
[14] Ibid.

> cultural presentation and informal social encounters where society demonstrates community membership.[15]

These performances of cultural identity occur in what Ashley describes as the "public sphere, a space which is meant to encourage discussion at a grassroots levels and invoke reaction to what is being performed in that space." But when governmental agencies universalize conceptions of community, they ignore the "complexity, inequality, uncertainty and change"[16] inherent in a cultural identity. Barbara Lang Rottenberg writes that "the objective of inclusiveness remains an important goal, from a societal and institutional perspective."[17] Yet these oversimplified definitions of nation and community promote passive interpretations of our past. They do not provoke visitors to think critically about the challenges in the history-making process. Definitions such as these disguise inconsistencies and fill that absence with politically-correct analyses. Historic sites must promote self-reflexivity among visitors and cultural producers by incorporating multiple narratives into their interpretation. Only then would the site be able to embody the multi-layered history that is representative of Louisbourg's past.

Sociologist Carol Corbin argues that Louisbourg's two solitudes, its town and its park, have become divided, geographically and otherwise, due to the influence of a centralized power. I borrow from Corbin's work here on the symbolism of separation in Louisbourg as I examine the influence of geographic space and historical place in the

[15] Susan Ashley, "The Changing Face of Heritage at Canada's National Heritage Sites," International Journal of Heritage Studies 13, no. 6 (2007): 479.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Barbara Lang Rottenberg, "Museums, Information and the Public Sphere," Museum International 54, no. 4 (3, 2003): 25.

development of the "legacy of mistrust" that exists there.[18] The history of displacement in Louisbourg, beginning with the final exodus of the French in 1758 and continuing with its waves of expropriations in the 1920s and 1960s, (and finally in its 1992 amalgamation), has become the conduit of identity creation among residents. I suggest that residents have taken to vernacular celebration and commemoration in order to reaffirm and (re)insert themselves into Louisbourg's narrative, centuries after the town's first displacement. Geographer Doreen Massey indicates that, "geographic fragmentation and the spatial disruption of time has given rise to defensive and reactionary responses – certain forms of nationalism, sentimentalized recovering of sanitized "heritages," and outright antagonism to newcomers and "outsiders".[19] I suggest, however, that community projects developed not only as a result of physical displacement, but also because the Fortress has imbued the town with a sense of historicity as residents have lived and worked near living-history.

In order to understand Louisbourg's place within regional and national narratives, we must explore the relationships between historic sites and cultural tourism as development strategies. My thesis explores how the Fortress of Louisbourg has constructed a specific imagescape which underlines its eighteenth-century history while ignoring additional layers of history that have contemporary resonance. This reconstruction suggests a hierarchy where the regional narrative of a working-class town and fishing village has become eclipsed by the Fortress' national narrative. Erna MacLeod expands on these points in her thesis which examines the influence of tourism

[18] Carol Corbin, "Symbols of Separation: The Town of Louisbourg and the Fortress of Louisbourg," Environments 24, no. 2 1, (1996): 15-27.
[19] Doreen Massey, Space, Place, and Gender (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994).

and nostalgia on national policies regarding historic sites and monuments. MacLeod argues that the site's adherence to eighteenth century authenticity is based on "twentieth-century perspectives."[20] Unfortunately, this approach ignores historical diversity and silences alternative interpretations of Louisbourg's past which retain insider-outsider animosity between Parks Canada and the surrounding community. Decisions relating to its 1960s reconstruction are indicative of the mentality promoted by the progressive politics that supported tourism-as-development initiatives.[21] As a result, the historic site embodies the federal government's desire to create unity, inclusion and cohesion in this symbol of Canada's nationhood.

Historian Ian McKay has written on the impact of tourism on Nova Scotia, notably on the unofficial designation of Nova Scotia as "the province of history." He comments that the commodification of Nova Scotian culture has meant that only marketable aspects of the region's culture are being produced, ignoring others which appear less iconographic.[22] After the demise of the coal and steel industries, tourism became the region's saving grace. After all, it was the labour of unemployed miners that had made the reconstruction possible. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, the Canadian federal government expanded historic parks in the hopes of countering "alienation caused by social changes such as urbanization and de-industrialization while fostering feelings of

[20] Erna MacLeod, "Negotiating Nationhood: History, Cultural Identity, and Representation at Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site," PhD Dissertation (University of Massachusetts at Amherst, 2002), 133.
[21] Progressive politics are politics which promote societal reform through welfare programmes.
[22] For examples of this, see Ian McKay, The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

unity and nationalism."[23] However, a mutual understanding of official and vernacular knowledge in this process is key to repairing the legacy of mistrust. Such sentiments were pronounced as aid flowed in from the federal level, once again leaving Cape Breton's destiny in the hands of outsiders. It is at this intersection of insider-outsider relationships that vernacular history meets official history, lending itself to an alternative interpretation of Louisbourg's narrative.

McKay points out that there are two major problems with representing Nova Scotia as antimodern, unchanging, and predominantly rural. It prevents people from engaging critically with "alternative outcomes, or about patterns of power and privilege in society, or about themselves as agents and victims of history." Moreover, it creates a commodity out of living people, their customs, and their beliefs.[24] The authenticity we see at the historic site is selective in that it does not reflect all of Louisbourg's history, but rather the bits that can be readily consumed. The makers of the historic site had also been influenced by the antimodernist notions present in the works of folklorist Helen Creighton. Her studies commodified and essentialized the reality of the working-class culture in rural Nova Scotia.[25] The iconic images we see presented at Louisbourg similarly oversimplify the lived experience. They do not ask tourists to think critically about their place within the history-making process, but rather support (and often encourage) passive interactions with staff, exhibits, and events. As a result, an entire section of Louisbourg's contemporary history has been erased from its landscape with no reference to the land expropriations in the museum's interpretation.

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[23] MacLeod, 43.
[24] McKay, Quest of the Folk, 30, 40-1.
[25] Ibid.

Pierre Nora writes that often the realms of memory and history find themselves at odds. History, he writes, is "perpetually suspicious of memory, and its true mission is to suppress and destroy it."[26] It is a "push and pull" between memory and history that creates specific lieux de mémoire and it is here that we negotiate and renegotiate our past. The push and pull refers to the desire to remember, an actual choice we ourselves make so as to give life to history. Forgetting and remembering these sites gives us the literal and figurative space to see the past as it was so we can reconstruct it today. Indeed, As Nora suggests, these are the "moments of history, torn away from the movement of history, then returned; no longer quite life, not yet death, like shells on the shore when the sea of living memory has receded."[27] The chapters that follow build on this concept of memory meeting history as we shift our attention to the wider local context. Here memory becomes the medium in which a society remembers its past when faced with overwhelming change.[28] How did the establishment of Louisbourg as a national historic site impact local residents? How has the Fortress changed regional interest in local heritage and culture? How can Parks Canada and residents work together to use local knowledge in future park developments?

My thesis uses ethnography in order to understand how the influence of living next to living-history manifests itself in the lasting memories of Louisbourg's reconstruction by residents and Parks Canada staff, past and present. These reflections are important because collective memories and remembrances become the foundations upon which cultural negotiation can occur. Without access to these "contact zones" between

[26] Pierre Nora, "Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire," Representations 26, Special Issue: Memory and Counter-Memory (Spring, 1989): 11.
[27] Ibid., 12.
[28] Ibid.

individuals and organizations, a dynamic approach to cultural production is ignored for overly generalized characteristics.[29] When such diversity is absent, what results as sociologist James Overton explains is an imagined landscape that has become distanced from its own contemporary reality.[30] Louisbourg's contemporary reality is that of a former fishing town facing an uncertain future where its essential industry, tourism, struggles with a depressed global economy.

In The Lowell Experiment, urban historian Cathy Stanton examines the paradoxical role played by cultural producers at the Lowell National Historical Park where management are both interpreters and contributors to the "culture-led redevelopment" movement.[31] I argue that a similar process has been occurring in Louisbourg with its residents through community involvement in commemoration. Official recognition and incorporation of these interests into Parks Canada's management plan is essential in mediating the historic division between the organization and the town. As Overton explains, "attitudes are not static and it is often only in the process of conflict and struggle to change objective conditions that people become aware of their interests, formulate new opinions and become aware of the concrete possibilities for change."[32]

In order to understand the dynamics of this relationship, I conducted a total of twenty oral history interviews. Eight interviewees were with past and present residents of

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[29] Mary Louise Pratt defines the "contact zone" as "the space of colonial encounters, the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict." For more information, see Mary Louise Pratt, Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation (London: Routledge, 1992), 6.
[30] James Overton, Making a World of Difference: Essays on Tourism, Culture and Development in Newfoundland (St. John's: ISER, 1996), 183.
[31] Cathy Stanton, The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Post-Industrial City (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).
[32] Overton, 187.

Louisbourg. Five others were employees with Parks Canada but lived outside of the town, six were employees who currently or at another time lived in the town (and one individual who had previously been employed in the area's heritage sector outside of Louisbourg). Provincial newspapers such as the Chronicle Herald and the Cape Breton Post reported on Louisbourg's reconstruction, the town expropriations, and recent articles on events held on the site. This offered insight into media representations of the site. I reviewed textual documents from Library and Archives Canada, the Archives and Research Library at the New Brunswick Museum and the archives at the Fortress of Louisbourg for sources on regional park developments. For local records regarding the town of Louisbourg and various organizations within the town of Louisbourg that relate to local heritage, I consulted the Louisbourg Public Library. Committee minutes and letters to head office in Ottawa regarding the 1960s expropriations were of some use in understanding local attitudes. For recent reflections of the site by tourists, I have consulted with the Fortress of Louisbourg's National Historic Site Visitor Information Program (VIP) survey as well as annual progress reports and past tourist statistics.[33]

None of the following interviews were conducted with expropriated individuals. However, for first-hand narratives of the expropriations, I have relied on Sawlor's work as it recounts life in Louisbourg's Old Town through interviews Sawlor conducted over the years with past residents. Sawlor's genealogical study gives detailed descriptions of Old Town properties and the background information on Old Town's original families. In instances where I interviewed Parks Canada staff, tension arose due to my status as a

[33] As my study explores the dynamics between the town and park employees, therefore visitor impressions of the site are secondary. In the future, an in depth study of visitor impressions of the site

researcher. Some employees who had agreed to interviews wished to remain anonymous or did not elaborate beyond official mandates regarding the expropriations. However, other employees were candid about their perspective on the expropriations and about current relationships with the town.

Since 2012, the town of Louisbourg is one of eight municipal units within the amalgamated (1995) Cape Breton Regional Municipality.[34] For residents of Louisbourg, amalgamation meant the loss of their police force and town hall, the latter being one of the few places where "Louisbourgers" could voice local concerns. Beginning with the displacement of its original French inhabitants from the eighteenth-century, through the series of expropriations in the 1920s and 1960s, and finally the town's dissolution in 1995, Louisbourg has repeatedly redefined itself. These periods of redefinition have culminated in a multi-layered, historical consciousness within the community.

It is from these layers of history that a new Louisbourg narrative emerges. The first chapter of my thesis, entitled "The Louisbourg Expropriations: (Re)discovering Old Town," examines the establishment of Louisbourg as a national historic site and the resulting removal of residents in 1928 and 1962. Chapter two, entitled "Expropriations to Excavations: Memory and Post-reconstruction Louisbourg," looks at the social, cultural and economic divides between parks staff and local residents after 1960. Oral sources reveal attitudes on both sides and some of the local flashpoints. The third and final chapter, "As the Dust Settles: Vernacular celebrations of Louisbourg's history," shifts our attention away from Parks Canada and towards the town itself. A variety of grassroots

[34] The amalgamation brought together Sydney, Dominion, Glace Bay, North Sydney, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, and the Municipality of the County of Cape Breton.

heritage and history initiatives have cropped up in Louisbourg that have nothing (yet everything) to do with official Parks Canada interpretation. The decision to commemorate the contemporary, working-class history of Louisbourg by its residents illustrates a growing concern that these stories are at risk of disappearing. For Fortress administration, the site is seen as a formal institution, a space to educate visitors on eighteenth century history. For residents, however, the Fortress occupies a space within the community, but it is not of the community.

My research uncovers a link between vernacular history and official commemoration that I believe can open a space for dialogue where both Louisbourg's national and regional narratives are given merit. My relationship with Louisbourg is not unlike that between residents of the town and the fortress, which is to say one where I/we are outsiders. My research began as a journey to understand this divide, but in doing so I discovered that it was a divide which I myself had actively participated in. However, by grounding Louisbourg in the local and acknowledging that insider-outsider tension is the crux of the divide, the true Louisbourg narrative may be written. Currently, the Museum of Human Rights in Winnipeg has witnessed an exodus of employees.[35] Twenty permanent employees have left, while fourteen other positions ended. One of the reasons for their departure was a concern that an emphasis on positive stories would lead to a whitewashing of Canada's history. Historians are right to be weary of telling only the positive stories. However, the emphasis to focus on positive stories suggests that there are underlying negatives. In a way, the departure of these workers is reminiscent of my Old

[35] "Human rights museum staff leave amid interference allegations," http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/story/2012/11/30/mb-human-rights-museum-staff-quit-winnipeg.html (accessed 29 January, 2012).

Town residents. The experiences of those who left and were displaced, contest the larger story.

Chapter 1: The Louisbourg Expropriations: (Re)discovering Old Town

Old Louisbourg is a beautiful place, but it won't be so after the expropriation […] Why should we have to vacate to provide tourist accommodation […] Even if we were able to

build a better constructed house, it would not be "home"--- where we were born and where our children were born and educated.
- Louisbourg Resident, 1963 [36]

The modern town of Louisbourg and the site of the original fortification share more than a name and history. Both past and present Louisbourg have benefitted from access to the harbour and its use in the fishing industries. For many people outside Cape Breton Island, the name Louisbourg evokes images of the colonial era long past. They know about its history as an eighteenth-century community, one which lived within the walls of a massive French fort between the years of 1713 and 1758. Some will know about its strategically-located, ice-free harbour, an attribute that had made it one of France's most important ports and trading centres.[37] During the eighteenth-century, the harbour was the third busiest seaport on the continent which allowed it great trade opportunities with the French West Indies and the eastern coast of the United States. Its proximity to some of the ocean's richest fishing grounds meant that during its lifetime, the Fortress and its environs were highly coveted prizes by both the French and English navies.[38]

Others will know that since the 1960s, one quarter of the original fortifications have been reconstructed into a living-history museum which now operates as a national historic site by Parks Canada. What many do not know is that until the 1990s, Louisbourg was also an important fishing village. Even fewer will know that the town witnessed two

[36] "Minister's meeting with Old Louisbourg Home-Owners Association held in Project Administration Building," August 17, 1963. RG 84, A-2-a vol. 1095, FL02, pt. 6, Library and Archives Canada.
[37] Krause, Corbin, and O'Shea, iii.
[38] A. J. B. Johnston, Control and order in French colonial Louisbourg, 1713-1758 (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2001).

massive land expropriations between the 1920s and 1960s to make way for the reconstruction of the new historic site. The site's history did not end after the second occupation in 1758. The period directly following the second siege saw significant activity on the ruins of the original fortifications. There were at least 33 English families in Louisbourg in 1772 and the population, which would have included household servants, amounted to 133.[39] The population on the ruins steadily declined in the latter part of the eighteenth-century and the 1811 census report indicated that 83 inhabitants were listed as living in Louisbourg.[40] By the early 1900s, there were even fewer people living in what was then called Old Town, but it was home to several French, English, and Irish inhabitants.. By the 1920s, there were 12 families living on the ruins, some of whom had fishing enterprises and pasture land for livestock. Writing on Louisbourg's post-occupational history, Wayne Foster describes the small community:

> Men such as the Kennedy's, Kehoe's, Cryer's and Slatteries received licences of occupation for large portions of the Old Town; as a result, the Old Town fell into the hands of five or six families. The fishing industry might have developed had lots issued by licence been smaller - allowing for a larger fishing establishment. The recommendations favouring these smaller lots were not, however, carried out, and Louisbourg (Old Town) continued as a site of a few thriftless and struggling fishing folk, who supplemented their fishing incomes through raising a few sheep, cattle and swine, and the sale of the bricks and relics they unearthed from the rubble of the Fortress.[41]

A hearty lot indeed, this settler community was one of many that dotted Nova Scotia's coastline at the turn of the century.

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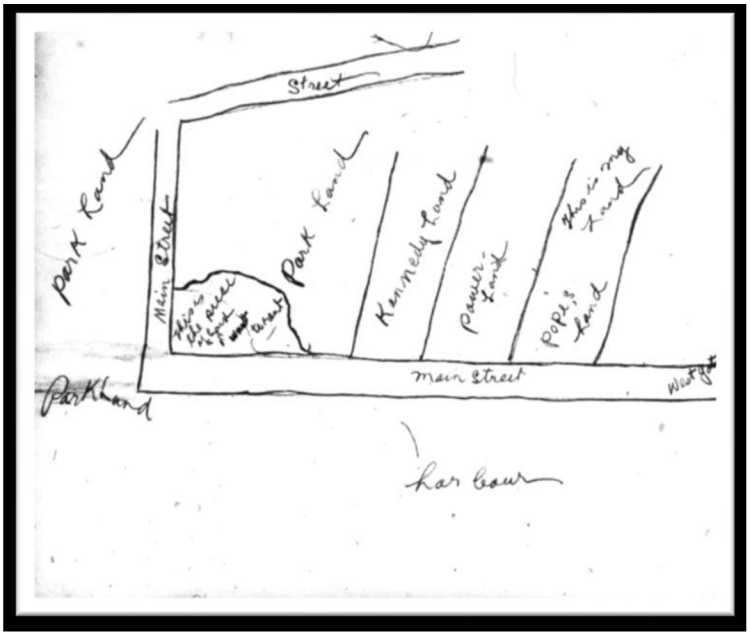
[39] Fishing families throughout Atlantic Canada "relied on 'occupational pluralism' as part of their seasonal round." See Foster, Post-Occupational History and Ommer, "Rosie's Cove: Settlement Morphology, History, Economy, and Culture in a Newfoundland Outport."
[40] Ibid, Foster.
[41] Ibid.

Originally, the site contained a total of 251 acres with 71 acres leased to the Department of National Parks for use in future development of the site.[42] The 71 acres included the old ruins which had been left on their original foundations as well as the old properties of the first expropriates. Originally, tenancy had been granted to some individuals who were still living on the ruins at the time of the government's acquisition. However, strict guidelines were put into place in the maintenance regarding the land in use. For example, Pearce Pope was given a temporary permit to fence and occupy a portion of the site for one dollar providing the following conditions were met: "that the permit shall be effective from the first day of April 1925 until the following March; that the use of the land shall at all times be subject to the approval of the Commissioner of Dominion Parks and that the public be granted access thereto; that the land shall at all times be maintained to the satisfaction of said Commissioner; that the Minister may, upon failure of the permittee to comply with the terms and conditions herein, upon one month's notice in writing, cancel this permit and all rights and privileges under such permit shall thereupon be null and void. Upon such cancellation the permittee shall have no claims for damages; that the permit shall be renewable from year to year at the discretion of the Minister."[43]

[42] "Louisbourg deeds," October 31, 1925, RG 84, A-2-a vol. 1095, FL02, pt. 6, Library and Archives Canada.
[43] "Permit for Pearce Pope," August 1, 1925, RG 84 A-2-a, vol 1095, Library and Archives Canada.



Map 2: Pearse Pope property, RG 84 A-2-a, vol. 1095, file FL02, pt. 6.

In 1928, the residents began removing parts of their originally properties over to what was known as West Louisbourg, the land located along the shoreline across from the original town site.[44] Between 1928 and 1929, some residents continued to use the space for established fishing properties and pasture land. The government's decision to move residents off the ruins was done so as to protect and stabilize what remained of the original fortifications. A caretaker, Mr. Lawrence Price, had been appointed to guard the ruins while preventing tourists from digging up the remaining in-situ artifacts. By 1929 most of the land had been acquired by the government "and the only buildings still standing were the homes of James Kennedy and Lawrence Price."[45] Some accommodations were made for individuals who wished to reuse materials from their old

[44] See Map 3 for map of expropriated properties in West Louisbourg (Old Town). Source: Sawlor, Beyond the Fog.
[45] Sawlor, 12.

homes in the construction or moving of other buildings, but pressure had been put on residents to move as quickly as possible.

Property owner Pearse Power had written to Dominion Parks Branch Commissioner, J.B. Harkin, and asked for an extension on the removal of his buildings from the government land. Harkin replied explaining that certain accommodations had already been made (namely for Power's acquisition of materials for future use) and indicated that "it is necessary to make the best arrangements possible […] and if an extension of time were granted in [this] case, the Department would necessarily have to treat each person alike which would mean a big delay in getting the property cleared […] therefore if [he] desires to salvage the material from [his] buildings, make a special effort to see that this work is completed within the time set."[46] Pope's property was eventually moved in sections, leaving only the foundation, which sat in the terreplein of the original Dauphin demibastion. Materials were "hauled by horse and wagon and reconstructed in West Louisbourg by carpenters Thomas Buckley and Hugh Kennedy."[47] The situation was largely the same for these original Old Towners. All opted to salvage what they could before the houses, outbuildings, and the like were destroyed by federal government appointed workers.

Writing on the American occupation of Stephenville, Newfoundland during World War II, Steven High explains that government involvement in relocation projects

[46] "Letter to Pearse Power from J. Harkin," September 24, 1928 RG 84, A-2-a vol 1096 FL02, pt. 8, Library and Archives Canada.
[47] Sawlor, 27.

such as these often occurs without public consultation.[48] The desire for quick relocation was meant to curb confusion, but often resulted in anxiety among locals, who were excluded from decision making. Cultural misunderstandings between institutions and local communities, High writes, often resulted in additional rifts. For instance, there were ongoing discussions between property owners and government officials regarding the value of land.

In the first series of expropriations the government distinguished between five categories of transactions: Seven individuals sold their properties at the prices suggested by officials. Two people were discussing property values, but expected to settle for the prices offered. Eleven properties with owners away from Louisbourg at the time required a solicitor to communicate to owners the value and quality of the land (described as "small parcels, being for the most part unimproved properties" and thus of nominal value). There were four properties where owners would not accept the values which included two being described as "improved properties" and others as "very low in value." One property owned by Lawrence Price, an elderly man and site caretaker, was valued at $2,400.00. Price agreed to sell his land as long as he would be able to occupy the premises for the "rest of his life."[49] But for the most part, individuals were expected to remove buildings from the properties and salvage what they needed.

In two instances, the government wanted to retain one building for use as the first museum and another for the residence of the caretaker, but it was largely the land that

[48] Steven High, Base Colonies in the Western Hemisphere, 1940-1967 (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 143.
[49] "Description of properties for expropriation, 1927." RG 84, A-s-a, 1096, FL02, pt. 8, Library and Archives Canada.

interested them. Sometimes in situations where families had fishing enterprises, additional money was included in the evaluation for compensation. The property of Captain James Pope was given an additional allowance of $123.32 as he used his home both as an office and for distribution of fish.[50] Other inhabitants were given a small stipend for moving, but largely value was determined by the size and potential use of the properties in question. It was the promise of a new tourism industry that helped subdue some concerns as the excitement for Louisbourg's very own living-history museum grew.

Accepting that the move was for their benefit and would help to revive the economy, residents watched their homes be torn down, burnt, and removed from the site. By 1929, the community "in the ruins" had moved across the harbour to West Louisbourg. It was here, in the "new" Old Town, where they would live in relative peace until the second, more extensive expropriations of the 1960s. The second expropriation "extended beyond Louisbourg to include Deep Cove, Kennington Cove, West Louisbourg and parts of land in Havenside and Big Lorraine."[51] The Park felt it necessary to provide a buffer zone around the Fortress to create the illusion of an isolated eighteenth-century landscape.

John Urry comments that the desire to create an aura of authenticity is reflective of a postmodern attitude, which turns a landscape into a themed spectacle in order to visually appeal to visitors. In order to appeal to the "tourist gaze," landscapes and cityscapes were required to highlight the quaint aspects of their past while ignoring the gritty industrial present. Ian McKay explains that the organization of what has become

[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., 14.

known as the "tourist gaze" has allowed the state to market and make available "ethnic imagery".[52] What results is a greater "sensitivity to visual elements [of those landscapes] than what would normally be found in everyday life."[53] Alan Gordon points out that heritage productions and reconstructions have a way of compressing the past into a single "before," a moment in time that appears static. The complexity of the past is reduced to a compilation of significant memories displayed in a "compressed, undifferentiated time."[54] What results is a picture of a place in time, one that might not reflect reality, but nonetheless it is this sort of interpretation which the public readily consumes.

The process of branding Nova Scotia's culture heritage goes back to 1930s mass tourism. The marketing campaign, mounted by Nova Scotia's then premiere Angus L. MacDonald, worked towards using the province's natural and cultural heritage to attract visitors from around the globe. Ian McKay points out that cultural producers and state tourism managers believed that the key to economic revitalization was in highlighting the region's timeless beauty alongside the simplicity of its country folk.[55] Moreover, as James Overton writes, where park developments such as those occurring in Louisbourg were concerned, economic transformation had to occur on two levels: one through the (re)definition of land, sea, and resource use, and secondly through efforts to stimulate the

[52] McKay, The Quest of the Folk, 34.
[53] John Urry, The Tourist Gaze: Leisure and Travel in Contemporary Societies (London: Sage Publications, 1990), 4.
[54] Alan Gordon, "Heritage and Authenticity: The Case of Ontario's Sainte-Marie-among-the-Hurons," The Canadian Historical Review 85, no. 3 (9, 2004): 528-529.
[55] For further examples, see Ian McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954", Acadiensis 21, 2 (Spring 1992) and The Quest of the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994).

economy while fostering a climate for tourism.[56] In the case of Louisbourg, this meant the creation of a landscape which spoke to its colonial past rather than its post-industrial present. In order to create this selective landscape, the government called for the expropriation of twenty-two square miles of private property, including the entire ocean front coastline surrounding the harbour."[57] This resulted in a loss of access to the ocean, which once provided a subsistence living for locals, and the land which had been the ancestral home for the remaining Louisbourg families.

Unsurprisingly, the news of the expropriation was met with mixed feelings. Some were happy and optimistic as they saw this as a step towards a better economic situation for the town, but still mourned the loss of the community. Writing on the legacy of dam-building in British Columbia from the 1960s to the 1980s, Tina Loo and Meg Stanley suggest that "[this] ambivalence captures the self-consciousness and reflexivity that defines the modern condition; to be modern is to be an agent of change and celebrate it, even as we mourn what is lost in the process."[58] The loss of the community was painful for residents, but they were hopeful that these sacrifices would pay off for generations to come.

Old Town resident Harold Wilson benefitted directly from the new park developments. In 1961, Harold gained employment in administration with Parks Canada that lasted twenty-three years. Harold and his wife Jessie moved out of their home during the second wave of expropriations, but both were said to have "taken comfort that their

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[56] Overton, 183.
[57] Parks Canada Agency, National Historic Sites Policy Department of Canadian Heritage, 1972 (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, 1972), 11.
[58] Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, "An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia Rivers," Canadian Historical Review 92, 3 (2011): 425.

original home remained standing and in use as living quarters for park employees."[59] The house was eventually torn down and burned, however it remained in use throughout the 1960s. The exact date of its dismantling is unknown. Others were indifferent, worried, and sad. Lauchie and Angus MacIsaac, brothers born and raised in Kennington Cove, grew up in a Gaelic-speaking family. Both found the move difficult as they had to move to the English-speaking Louisbourg and worried about adapting to a new life where Gaelic speakers were scarce.[60] Others, however, felt completely helpless as the provincial expropriation act left little room for negotiation between property owners and the province.

The provincial act stated that, "The Minister may, for and in the name of Her Majesty, purchase or acquire, without the consent of the owner thereof, enter upon, take, and expropriate, any land which he may deem necessary for any purpose relative to the use, construction, maintenance or repair of public work or for obtaining better access thereto."[61] This included expropriation for the development of industry, better housing, and the protection of crown lands.[62] The act, which had been posted and circulated through the local newspaper at the time, the Sydney Post Record, indicated that resistance and opposition to government acquisition of lands would be met with police intervention:

> If any resistance or opposition is made by any person to the Minister, or to any person acting for him, the judge may […] issue his warrant to the sheriff of the county or district, directing him to put down such resistance, and to put the Minister in possession thereof […][63]

[59] Sawlor, 175.
[60] Sawlor, 211.
[61] Nova Scotia Expropriation Act, 1967 revised, chapter 96, section 3.
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid, 10.

The Louisbourg expropriations occurred a decade before the violent protests against park expropriations at Kouchibouguac National Park in New Brunswick. Historian Ronald Rudin explains that in the instance of the Kougibouguac expropriations, local committees surfaced to address the concerns of the residents. One in particular was headed by a local man and activist, Jackie Vautour, who became the leader and public face of the area's expropriated community.[64]

There was no local character like Jackie Vautour for Louisbourg and the struggle remained very much an internal one. With no violent outcry against a public injustice, animosity continued to fester in the minds of the townspeople. One newspaper reported that:

> As they [the families] had learned that the province had expropriated their properties, some met the news with mixed reactions. Some were angry. Others were almost pleased. All were worried. Fred Cunnington was shocked by the report. "I don't like it," he said. "It's the worst thing that has ever happened here. They should have spent the money over there at the fort and left us alone. There was no need to take up the land for miles around […] I am out of work and I tried twice to get a job over there. They told me it was only for coal miners."[65]

When the residents had been expropriated three decades earlier, individuals had expressed concern over property evaluations. By the 1960s residents were more aware of the importance their property held for the government, but their main concern was simply to salvage their original homesteads. Manson believed that "the acquisition of the land was vital to the whole Louisbourg development […] and it is unfortunate that some

[64] Ronald Rudin, "Kouchibouguac: Representations of a Park in Acadian Popular Culture." In A Century of Parks Canada, 1911-2011. Canadian History and Environment Series (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2011), 213.
[65] "Louisbourg Expropriation Angers Few, Pleases Some," Chronicle Herald, December 5, 1962.

sacrifices must be made for the common good."[66] Compensation for the expropriated lands was determined through a process of negotiation between the provincial government and the owner of the land: "either party may give notice in writing to the other that he requires the amount of such compensation to be determined by arbitration under the provisions of the Act."[67] Following the federal expropriation act, however, the Nova Scotia act stated that compensation for properties was to be based on its market value alone.[68] Market value is defined as "the amount that would have been paid for the interest if, at the time of its taking, it had been sold in the open market by a willing seller to a willing buyer."[69] The problem with this, as home owners had pointed out, was that market value did not provide for resettlement or replacement.

Old town resident Joe Kennedy believed that it was an error on the part of the government for not being clear on what expropriation would mean for the town: "I don't think the government has been too considerate in this regard. They should have told us what to expect and hear from us what we hoped for. We just don't know what market value means as far as rebuilding is concerned."[70] Despite efforts by the Louisbourg Home Owner's Association to request federal aid funding for resettlement, both provincial and federal governments stood firm on compensation at market value. Commenting on the situation in Louisbourg, Nova Scotia Premier Robert Stanfield explained, "The government has been reluctant to take over the homes of the people in [the] community. We are only doing so because it is considered essential to the satisfactory restoration of

[66] Ibid.
[67] Nova Scotia Expropriation Act, revised 1967, s.16.
[68] Expropriation Act, 1952, R.S.C. 1952, s.106.
[69] Ibid., s. 27(2).
[70] "Home owners protest property takeovers," Chronicle Herald, December 10, 1963.

Old Louisbourg."[71] Whereas the initial developments of National Parks throughout Canada tended to focus on preserving natural landscapes, in Louisbourg (and Atlantic Canadian parks more generally) the emphasis was on creating resorts and destinations for mass tourism.

Alan MacEachern explains, a national park was meant to preserve and protect Canada's natural landscapes.[72] The Cape Breton Highlands National Park and the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site grew out of the need for a replacement industry after the slowdown in coal and steel production. Cape Breton Island had been privy to a great industrial boom throughout the late 1800s and into the mid-1900s. Within the industrial area of Cape Breton, by 1911 there was a population of a little over 57,000. The island's industrial hub, Sydney, had the "largest and most valuable coalfields in Eastern Canada."[73] Along with coal, Cape Breton was also producing iron and steel, an industry which put the island on the map throughout the First World War. At the peak of their operations, both coal and steel industries employed more than 12,000 and 7,500 people, respectively.[74]

By the 1960s, the subsidization of both industries by the government and the inability to compete with other world markets meant that the island's industrial grandeur was on its way out. The reconstruction began in 1961 as the federal government's answer

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[71] "Fortress home owners won't get extra cash," Chronicle Herald, February 4, 1964.

[72] Alan MacEachern, Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935-1970 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 6.
[73] David Frank, "The Cape Breton Coal Industry and the Rise and Fall of the British Empire Steel Corporation," Acadiensis 7, no. 1 (1977): 6.
[74] Paul Patterson and Susan Biagi, The Loom of Change: Weaving a New Economy on Cape Breton (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 2003), 17.

to industrial decline. Town councils were meeting all across the island to discuss their future, realizing that they were facing a bleak economic outlook. Louisbourg mayor Guy Hiltz felt optimistic about Louisbourg's reconstruction project.[75] Hiltz explained that "[Louisbourg] has very little unemployment, there has been a good deal of work on development of Fortress Louisbourg, our pulp shipments are providing employment, and we have only one person, a widow, receiving welfare from the town."[76] Ironically, in the initial stages, the reconstruction project required some local businesses to cease profiting from the tourist trade. Concerns over fringe development and unsolicited selling of souvenirs provoked the government to regulate small business ventures near the historic site.[77] It was thought that fringe development reflected negatively on the tourist site and was considered an eye sore to visitors in the area. Interestingly, locals too were worried about the kinds of businesses that the park might attract to the area.

Due to the building of the new road to Sydney, Louisbourg residents wondered if the buffer zone (of 900 feet in width) between the road and the town boundary might become cluttered with hotdog stands and the like. A series of negotiations between the town and the municipality led to a halt on development in this particular zone.[78] As officials tried to sell the site to locals, it became evident that economic growth would happen only on government terms. While emphasising the potential of the town's new tourism industry, officials were worried about what residents would do if a green light was given to local entrepreneurs. They silenced early queries regarding the construction

[75] "Louisbourg Faces Big Boom, says mayor," Chronicle Herald, March 8, 1963, page 13.
[76] Ibid.
[77] For more information on fringe development, see Chapter 2.
[78] "Hot Dog Stands Not Wanted in Park District" Cape Breton Post, February 11, 1963.

of hotels, restaurants, and garages and suggested that future tourist numbers would influence the type and quantity of those ventures.[79]

In order to prepare for the town's renaissance as a tourist hot spot, Louisbourg being the "gateway to the fortress" would need to undergo a process of beautification. However, the cry for beautification came not from the town on the eve of the reconstruction, but rather the Park Superintendent who was overseeing the reconstruction. John Lunn was appointed to that post in 1963. He had previously been employed as a curator with the Royal Ontario Museum and had worked with the National Film Board as writer-director. Lunn's position allowed him the privilege of overseeing the reconstruction project while participating in the site's very first attempts at interpretation. Lunn believed that the town of Louisbourg was capable of stimulating enough tourist dollars to surpass the income generated in Baddeck, a favourite tourist destination for affluent Americans. In order to do this, he believed that beautification was required so as to make a seamless connection between the town and site. He believed that Louisbourg's present scenery, though rustic, would not have enough tourist appeal. The views of the ocean were obscured by the saltbox houses whose proximity to the water was practical for the fishery. There was no main thoroughfare that could take tourists along the scenic coastline. The town itself offered little to tourists as there were few hotels and restaurants that would appeal to the well-off tourists which frequented other areas of the island.[80]

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[79] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Restoration of the Fortress of Louisbourg – Report by Mr. Berry, Consulting Architect," Fortress of Louisbourg Archives, 5.

[80] "Louisbourg Needs Face-Lifting," Cape Breton Post, November 15, 1963, page 4.

James Scott writes that, "the idea that one of the central purposes of the state was the improvement of all the members of society-their health, skills and education, longevity, productivity, morals, and family life-was quite novel [during the nineteenth-century]. A state that improved its population's skills, vigor, civic morals, and work habits would increase its tax base […] the welfare of the population came increasingly to be seen, not merely as a means to national strength, but as an end in itself."[81] What federal agents had hoped to create in the town of Louisbourg was a welfare utopia; however intervention by federal workers was not simply a self-less act. The state understood that in creating an aesthetically-pleasing landscape in Louisbourg, revenue from townspeople and tourists would also increase. When the government had acquired the local garbage dump during the second wave of expropriations, they had inherited a literal and figurative mess.

Given the rapidity of the expropriation, residents continued to access the dumping grounds. This soon became an issue for government officials in the area as it was located near ("a few hundred yards") from the staff housing development. Complaints from workers arose regarding the unsanitary conditions in the area claiming that "odours are obnoxious and the health of the people, particularly the children, will be jeopardized by [the] unsanitary garbage disposal system. And it is an unsightly scene which has a demoralizing effect on those residing within the area."[82]

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[81] James Scott, Sensing like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 91.
[82] "Letter to J.M. Coleman, Director of National Parks Branch: Town of Louisbourg Garbage Disposal from A.D. Perry," October, 1963, RB 320, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

Officials felt it was in their best interest to relocate the dump to an area which would benefit the residents of the housing development while addressing the unsightly views which greeted visitors on their way to or from Louisbourg or Sydney. The decision to move the dump involved little local input and was based on suggestions made by the staff with the restoration project. It would no longer be an open dump site as the Parks Branch prohibited open dump areas as locations for garbage disposal. Due to the inconvenience of moving the dump site, the government agreed to help relocate the site at little or no cost to the town. In a speech given at the Louisbourg branch of the Royal Canadian Legion, Lunn explains that:

> The time has passed for dwelling on whatever inconveniences or hardships have been involved in the expanded historic park development" and that "a citizen's committee devoted to [beautification] would help transform a community which in itself has never outwardly suggested any link with the Fortress from which its name sprang. [In order to do this] a transformation in community thinking is absolutely essential.[83]

The movement of the dump away from the new housing development is significant as it had previously been a non-issue for local residents. It was not until the influx of new workers that the dump became a problem. The location of the site was ideal for residents as it was on the outskirts of the town. When Parks employees began to relocate to areas around Old Town, the proximity to the dump became an irritation. Moreover, the attitude of officials towards the removal of the site espoused negative sentiments in what they believed was questionable hygiene and cleanliness of the town.

There was also some debate between residents and officials over the state of the houses being subject to expropriation. Louisbourg residents were worried over whether or not adequate compensation would be given to them on the basis of their properties. Some

[83] "Louisbourg Needs Face-Lifting".

owners of the modest dwellings in Louisbourg, described as "shack" type residences, would not receive enough compensation to rebuild elsewhere. Commenting on the village Iroquois that had been displaced for the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, Joy Parr explains that anxieties over rebuilding were common under these circumstances. In Iroquois, residents were concerned that compensation from housing expropriations would not be adequate enough to rebuild in the newer, "model" communities proposed by the hydro company.[84] How could the wages of non-union textile workers support mortgages on new, modern homes? Louisbourg residents shared similar sentiments.

In responding to vocal local criticism, Project Manager Perry suggested the development of a housing area to which these types of homes could be moved. If that was not possible, he suggested that the Federal government participate with the Municipal and Provincial governments to re-develop the areas in question. These were areas of Louisbourg where small, "shack"-type buildings were placed on irregular, under-sized lots found along narrow lanes within the town. These subsidized areas, he believed, would cater to the low-income families that were being expropriated. In the end, however, Perry felt that were he to allow it, further developments such as these would not reflect the economically healthy, well-planned community he envisaged and, as such, cast a negative light on both town and park.

These developments related more specifically to the tourist trade and included improvements to hotels and stores, the provision of modern highways and parking facilities, the construction of marinas for pleasure boats, and more generally an improvement of the appearance of all parts of the town. The town council and provincial

[84] Joy Parr, Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953-2003 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 94.

government believed that the increased employment that would be generated from these developments would stimulate growth in the residential and commercial areas as well as the municipal services of the town.[85] These decisions reflect what historian Tina Loo describes as the "progressive politics" which characterized the late 1950s and early 1960s.[86] Preparing the area for an optimum visitor experience meant removing the unsightly bits that would reflect negatively on both the town and the historic site. These decisions were often made through negotiation between the provincial and federal governments without public consultation and done so as to make better the present living conditions in the area. Additionally, it made the town more aesthetically pleasing as federal workers saw a new tourism potential in the province. Local knowledge and concern was taken into consideration only after decisions made at the federal level supported what they felt needed to be done.

Loo explains that this mentality was how the liberal, welfare state reacted to places deemed economically underdeveloped. Louisbourg was a "welfare problem" that needed to be remedied. The problem with this method, as Loo explains, is that:

> Liberalism meets these challenges by drawing a distinction between public needs that the state has a responsibility to meet (for things like food, shelter, education, health care, and employment), and private needs that it does not and, liberals say, it should not meet because those needs are so varied, so individual, and so elusive.[87]

In order to pull residents out of substandard living conditions and revive the economy, the state exposed limitations. For instance, though Lunn spoke about the importance of "community thinking" it is this very concept which was absent in these early decisions.

[85] "Letter to Mayor George Lewis from Project Engineer Smith," March 10, 1964, RG 84 A-2-a vol 1100, FL02, pt. 24, Library and Archives Canada.
[86] Tina Loo, "Africville and the Dynamics of State Power in Postwar Canada," Acadiensis 39, 2 (6, 2010): 23-24.
[87] Ibid., 45.

At the beginning of 1960, this problem became even more apparent as the expropriations grew in scale. The federal government called for the removal of the run down clapboard homes which cluttered the shoreline, the few remaining vestiges of the town's working-class past. The landscape was meant to evoke the romantic allure surrounding an authentic eighteenth-century fortified town, not a twentieth-century rural fishing community. Therefore, the emphasis is on recreating a landscape built through imagination and feeling rather than one which reflected the nature of the modern town.[88] Moreover, as Carol Corbin writes, the Fortress' role is to act as a "space-binding agent of Ottawa."

The buildings and cultural representations being interpreted at Louisbourg "displayed the strength and stability of the real fortress in Ottawa." The massive works done on site, subsidized in entirety by the federal government, represented the ultimate nation-building project. Under the watchful eyes of the federal government, the site demands of its visitors, employees, and townspeople to recognize that the power that once was France, is now Canada."[89] In 1969, with the official opening of the King's Bastion barracks, the Fortress successfully connected the Atlantic coast of Canada to a centralized power in the interior. Bureaucrats had taken advantage of what was seen as an isolated fishing community in a province known for labour unrest, and it built the largest project of its kind in North America.[90]

The decisions made by the federal government in regard to the reconstruction and expropriations were done under the assumption that it was for the benefit of the

[88] High, 45.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Corbin, "Symbols of Separation," 20.

community. What officials did not compensate for was the loss of community through this process. Parr explains that in cases of displacement such as these, it is the loss of one's home, the destruction of that sense of belonging that endures in people's memories.[91] Adding to this, James Scott explains, "contemporary development schemes […] require the creation of state spaces where the government can reconfigure the society and economy of those who are to be "developed." The transformation of peripheral nonstate spaces into state spaces by the modern, developmentalist nation-state is ubiquitous and, for the inhabitants of such spaces, frequently traumatic."[92] The second, more extensive wave of expropriations included not only residential properties (of which there were "forty-five with dwellings and outbuilding ranging from over 100 years to "under construction") but also one school, a church, two cemeteries, and nine lots of land which were vacant and in varying stages of cultivation."[93] Reverend Terrance Power, the priest who oversaw the Stella Maris parish, expressed concern over the welfare of his church and parishioners. The land was deemed of importance for the reconstruction as it was located near the site of the Fortress' original Grand Battery. Without consultation with Power, the lands of the cemetery, church and rectory were being expropriated.

[91] Parr, 100.
[92] Scott, Seeing Like a State, 187.
[93] "Preliminary Report on Estimated Costs on Land Acquisition by F.G. Williams, June 26, 1962," RG 84 A-2-a vol 1100, FL02, pt. 24, Library and Archives Canada.

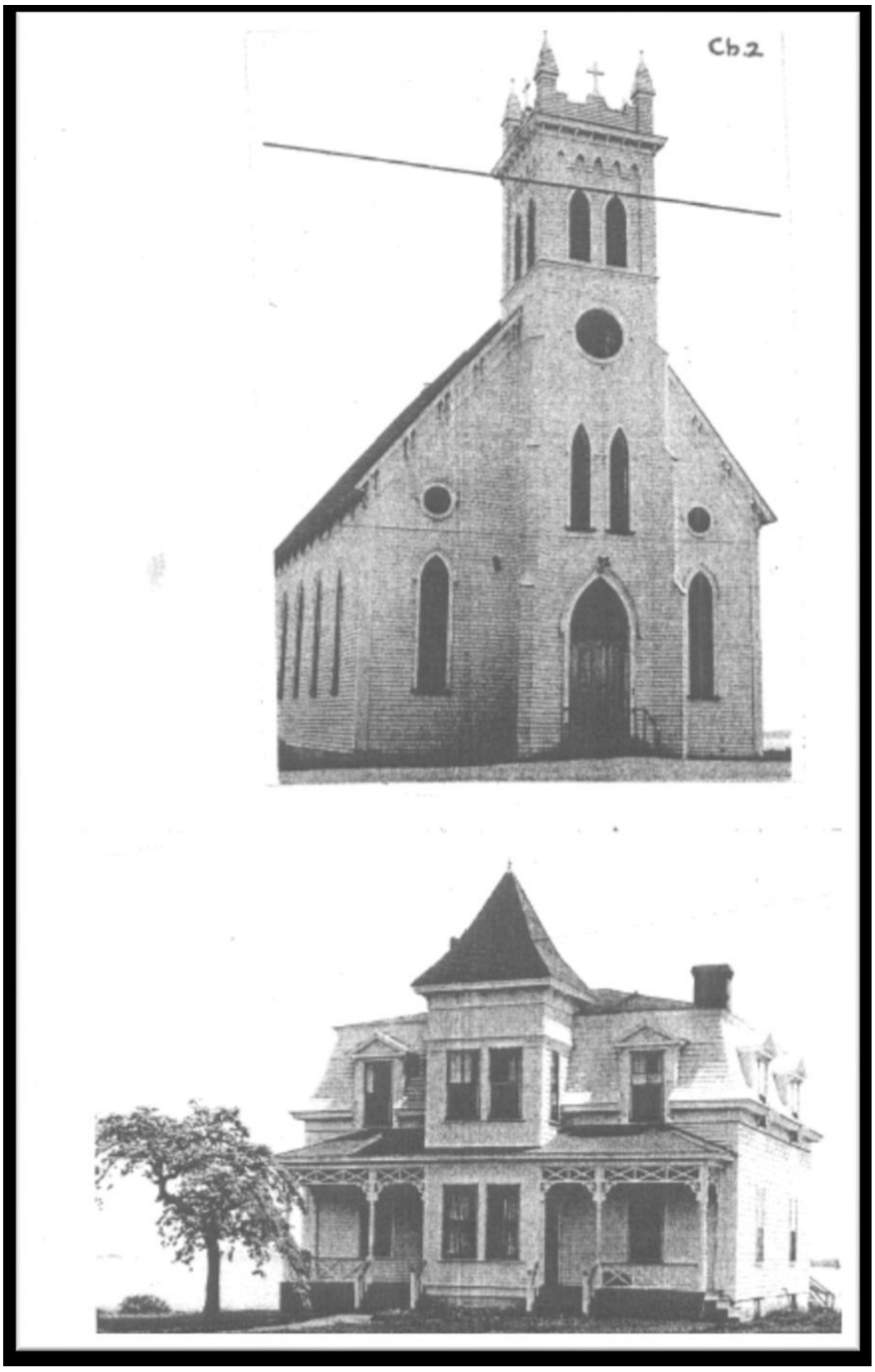

Figure 1: Manse and Stella Maris Church, RB 22 23, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

The location of the original Stella Maris parish had particular significance to its parishioners as the church had been a marker of place in Old Town since 1890. Stories

passed down from family member to family member spoke of the inherent spirituality of its location. One story in particular said that the decision to build the church in Old Town was a result of "a boat carrying lumber to the older St. Richard's parish breaking loose from its mooring and running ashore in that very spot. This was interpreted as a sign that a new building should be built there."[94] Other stories spoke about the dedication of townspeople; the church had been "completely boarded in over one day when 100 men came out to work on it."[95] In actuality, the location for the new church had been chosen because of its centrality to the developing settlement on the north east of Louisbourg's harbour. Nevertheless, the land which had been bought in 1889 for a fee of $200.00 soon became the original location of Stella Maris. Named after the Blessed Virgin, Star of the Sea, Stella Maris' 133 foot spire helped lead the sailors home at the end of the day, a welcoming sight on the horizon.[96]

Power felt that the move from the parish grounds to a smaller area within the town would prohibit further expansion of the church and disrupt the landscape with the removal of its iconic marker. The original land grant had a frontage of over 400 feet along the main highway which extended for 370 feet to the shore of Louisbourg harbour. Another tract of land owned by the church, located on the opposite side of the main highway, had a frontage of 480 feet, and was also lost in the expropriation. The government agreed to return a portion of the land back to the church given the requests of Reverend Power; however its size had decreased significantly.

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[94] William and Helen O'Shea, Stella Maris Roman Catholic Church, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Louisbourg: Louisbourg Heritage Society, 1995), 9.
[95] Ibid.
[96] "Louisbourg Harbour, Surveyed by Commander G.E. Richards, 1896, published at the Admiralty, 24th July, 1897," Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

The new land grant included an approximate frontage of 215 feet along the main highway which would extend to the shoreline. On the opposite side of the highway, a lot of 200 feet by 200 feet was returned. Power believed that a loss that substantial meant that there was less land for the cemetery, which would soon be a pressing problem given the aging population of Louisbourg. The relocation would also rule out the possibility of a school, convent, and recreational facility the parish was hoping to erect.[97] The church played a central role in the establishment and maintenance of a sense of community in Old Town. In particular, the Roman Catholic Church had a long history in the area dating back to the earliest French inhabitants who were practitioners of the religion. In Louisbourg the centrality of the church and its grounds within the community provides, as John Walsh and Steven High write, "a wide range of spatial markers and symbols that reflect some embeddedness in larger historical systems of power."[98] Formal institutions such as the church act as a space in, and through which, residents can engage the larger community. Upon these spaces residents brought to bear their own experiences, in the process developing a specific sense of community. The disruptions of these institutions resulted in a reshaping and reformulation of how the community viewed itself. Power hoped to negotiate with officials regarding the readjusted land grants as he felt that because "the parish property [was] required for the park, that [they] would have enough land to provide for the future needs of the parish."[99]

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[97] "Letter to Mr. Manson from Father Terrance Power," November 21, 1961, RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1099, FL08, pt. 23, Library and Archives Canada.
[98] John C. Walsh and Steven High, "Rethinking the Concept of Community," Social History/Histoire Sociale 32, no. 64 (1999): 267.
[99] "Letter to Mr. Manson from Father Terrance Power," November 21, 1961, RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1099, FL08, pt. 23, Library and Archives Canada.

This mentality of contributing to the communal good of the town was influenced in part by government officials who spoke out about the benefits of the expropriation. Walter Dinsdale, Minister of Northern Affairs and National Resources, supported the decision to expropriate Louisbourg properties. In a luncheon held by the Parks Branch and open to residents of the community, Dinsdale supported the decisions of the government to expropriate as he explained that it would help move along the project more quickly. He stated that it was "the necessity for many people to make sacrifices in order to get the Louisbourg project fully accomplished."[100] Others stressed the importance of tourism for the area and added that because Louisbourg was located in such proximity to the historic site, the town would naturally benefit from visitors. This would become apparent when the "Old Louisbourg Town area becomes improved and developed as a great park land entrance in an effort to hold tourists in the area longer."[101] The acquisition of these lots in the second expropriations was deemed vital as it was moving the town towards progress and modernity, a necessary evil for a region suffering in the wake of industrial collapse.

It was not that residents disagreed with the prospect of living near the new Fortress, but rather that due to hastened research and planning on the part of Parks officials in its initial stages, the project did not take into account the other in-situ resources located around the site. It was not until almost three decades later that the lands surrounding the original town were considered necessary of protection. Government

[100] "Regarding Stella Maris Parish," RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1099, FL08, pt. 23, Library and Archives Canada.
[101] Minutes from Minister's Meeting with Old Louisbourg Home Owners Association Held in Project Administration Building, August 17, 1963, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

representatives pointed out that without the land grants in Old Town, the Grand Battery would be disconnected from the rest of the project. Additionally, they highlighted that without a direct route to the Fortress, one which would pass through the expropriated lands, the town of Louisbourg would lose important tourist traffic.[102] By stressing the potential of the site's positive impact on the town, officials hoped to win over residents.

Historian Ronald Rudin points out that forced displacement of communities occurred in numerous locations across Canada in the post-war period. In these cases, officials stressed that removal was necessary for "progress" and would benefit the "common good."[103] In Nova Scotia, residents from Africville were removed from their homes and required to move to other areas of Halifax because their living conditions were considered unacceptable; during the 1950s, residents in Ontario were removed from their homes so as to help in the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway, and in the late 1960s some New Brunswick residents were expropriated from lands which were needed to create the Kouchibouguac National Park.[104] Residents of Louisbourg believed that the work being done was contributing to something that would be felt on a national scale, something that would connect them to the rest of Canada and the world.

Park officials promoted the ideology that the Louisbourg restoration was not necessarily a way to "reproduce the "natural grandeur" of the original buildings and fortifications, but rather to provide for future generations a reminder of the birth of

[102] Ibid.
[103] Rudin, 208.
[104] Ibid.

Canada."[105] For the most part, residents supported the decision to commemorate the site's eighteenth-century history and were proud to be living near a site of national importance. However, questions remained to be answered as to what kind of impact the site would have on the town and what role residents would take on beyond the initial reconstruction. There was a black veil over the entire project that separated residents from their own history. Louisbourg's history was deemed so important that it would draw in visitors from around the world, yet the very people who expected to benefit from the site were left in the dark.

The relationship between a community and its national park is complex. More often than not this relationship, which should be of primary importance to both sides, has been pushed aside by park official and representatives of the federal government. Writing about this relationship, Frits Pannekoek explains that in order to understand its dynamics, more communication is necessary:

> Canada's heritage is contested among classes, ethnic groups, and the politicians who represent them, but it is contested equally vigorously within the civil service among planners, historians, curators, and interpreters. No matter how sophisticated the historical context, in the end it is the relationships between the site historian, the interpreters, the planners, and the community that mean the most. No one has yet attempted to unravel how these relationships ultimately affect public history. Too often it is assumed that an inscription on a plaque or a preservation solution can be analyzed without understanding the complexities of an ever-changing public service.[106]

Historically, the development of the Fortress of Louisbourg has been one-sided, with little contribution by, or consultation of, the townspeople. As a result, there has been a

[105] Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, "Restoration of the Fortress of Louisbourg – Report by Mr. Berry, Consulting Architect," Fortress of Louisbourg Archives, 3.
[106] Frits Pannekoek, "Canada's Historic Sites: Reflections on a Quarter Century, 1980–2005," The Public Historian 31, no. 1 (Winter, 2009): 88.

divide between the town and the site, both physically and symbolically. There are few physical markers left to remind present and future generations of the Old Town settlement. How has this period been remembered by locals and civil servants who have heard the stories passed down from co-workers and family members? What has been done to address the expropriations by Louisbourg residents and government officials? How did the expropriations change Louisbourg, and what has that meant for the generations who came after?

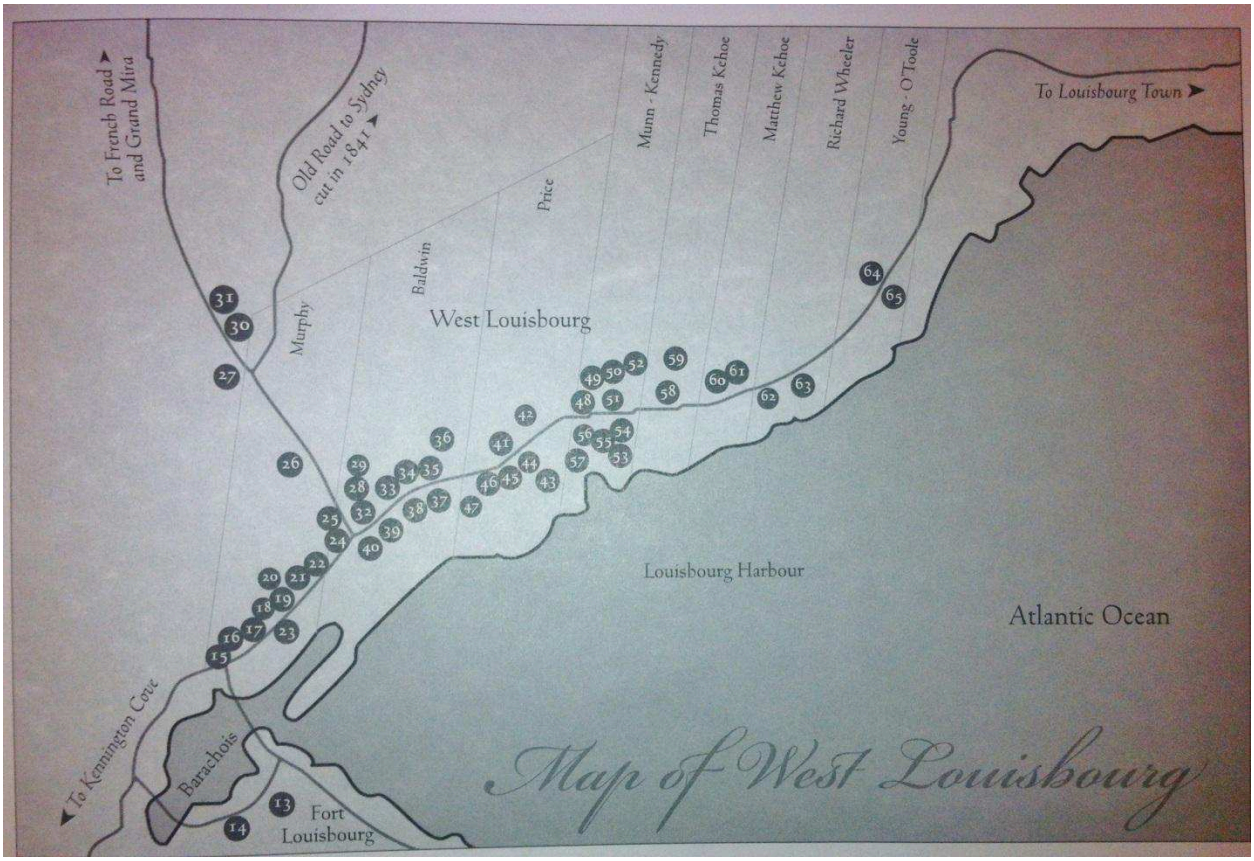
Chapter 2: Expropriations to Excavations: Memory and Post-reconstruction Louisbourg

"My husband's family property was in Old Town, across from where the compound is today. *They weren't living there at the time of the expropriation, but I have heard people say that… that they wish they had never had to go. No, it would not happen today."*

- Mary Price, 2011 [107]

The memories of the expropriations live on in Louisbourg even though many of the residents who were involved have since passed away. The younger generations grew up listening to older relatives talk about the development of the Fortress and the changes within Louisbourg over the course of the site's reconstruction. The interviews examined the following two chapters were conducted over the summer of 2011. In my interviews, I asked questions that related to the expropriation. In particular, I was interested in what kind of legacy remained. Moreover, I was interested in how staff and residents commemorated and remembered local history beyond that of the Fortress. There is a mix of interviews with Parks Canada staff, both past and present, as well as residents of Louisbourg and its surrounding communities. I felt it important to include perspectives from the "two solitudes" as they are so intimately connected yet still remain far apart. Chapters II and III suggest the need for a space of dialogue and exchange between vernacular and official bodies. Building bridges here will guide the way towards a healthy, reflexive interpretation of Louisbourg's history.

[107] Price, interview.



Map 3: Map of expropriated properties in West Louisbourg (Old Town). Properties are denoted in the numbered circles. Source: Sawlor, Beyond the Fog.

Lloydette MacDonald, a former resident and current town businesswoman believes that what had happened because of the new developments at the Fortress created bad blood between residents and Parks Canada. Referring to a legacy of mistrust, Lloydette explains that:

> [T]here honestly has been a separation with what is in our backyard. I think it's because there has been a lot of hard feelings which go back to the 20s with the first expropriations. In the 1920s, the time of the first expropriation, I guess it wasn't too bad. They moved into West Louisbourg, but in the 1960s when they saw all these tourists coming to the site to see the ruins, and they employ the miners to work on the project, they basically knocked on people's doors and there was no consultation, no meetings. And it caused a rift. And I don't think it was in

> the federal government's mandate to work with others. They had the power and the money to do whatever they wanted to do.[108]

Other decisions relating to tourism development declared that because Louisbourg was considered the "gateway to the Fortress," the remainder of the town would be required to undergo a process of beautification. In order to do this, he believed that a beautification was required so as to make a seamless connection between the town and site, which he felt "would ultimately be something that would appeal to locals and visitors alike."

Removing the residents from the area made the landscape more aesthetically pleasing, an idyllic setting that would prepare the visitor for the sensory experience, meaning the sights, smells, and sounds of eighteenth-century life, that await them at the Fortress. Similar processes of cultural selection and antimodernism typified twentieth-century Nova Scotia, particularly within the burgeoning tourism industry. Directing attention towards the "tourist gaze" had roots in the influx of tourists interested in Nova Scotia that arose during the mid-nineteenth century after the publication of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's epic poem Evangeline. After its publication, tourists from the United States began visiting Nova Scotia to experience the sweeping, pastoral landscapes and scenery first hand. Having never visited the province before, Longfellow's poem borrowed heavily from European accounts of folk life, predominantly examples from Swedish and German sources.[109] Thus, the landscapes of Longfellow's Acadia illustrated a land which personified European charm rather than one which was unmistakeably Nova Scotian. Tourism campaigns took to recreating the imagined Acadia which attracted American tourists by the car load. In making the pilgrimage to Evangeline's home,

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[108] Lloydette MacDonald, interview by Emily MacLeod, June 15, 2011. Sydney, Nova Scotia.
[109] Ibid., 228-229.

tourists bought into the overly sentimental, flowery prose and imagery which characterized much of these earlier tourism ventures.[110]

Throughout the 1950s and 60s, Louisbourg underwent a similar process of cultural selectivity as the Parks Canada project expanded. In the attempts of Parks staff to create a seamless transition from town to site, the town was overlooked as a unique destination outside of the Fortress. The ultimate goal was for visitors to pass through the town and head straight to the site proper. In order to do this, officials called for the closure of the Louisbourg-Gabarus connector, an unpaved, dirt road which connected the two communities. The connector allowed residents from both communities to by-pass the longer route around the town which required them to unnecessarily backtrack using other roads. The connector route which ran along the Kennington Cove Road was less than 30 kilometers long, but after the closure of this route, residents had to take the longer 60 kilometre route. This caused significant problems for families located in Louisbourg and Gabarus. In an interview with Chris Bellemore, a current employee in administration at the Fortress, describes what had happened when the road was closed down:

> There were a lot of different things that came out of [doing this project]. Like some of the issues, one being the Fleur de Lys trail—the closure of it. There's some history with that. It was closed and I was just reading some letters on it recently from people in the early 70s who were asking it to be opened. You even hear people talk about it today. It's the trail near Kennington Cove—it used to go right to Gabarus. It's a link from Louisbourg to Gabarus. It existed prior to the expropriations in the 60s. It was closed off for cultural resource issues […] there were issues with that because there were families in Louisbourg and families in Gabarus who now have to deal with that barrier there.[111]

[110] MacKay, The Quest of the Folk.
[111] Chris Bellemore, interview by Emily MacLeod, June 2, 2011. Sydney, Nova Scotia.

During and after the closure of the Louisbourg-Gabarus connector, residents of both towns were hopeful that Parks Canada would deliver on its repeated promises to reopen the road. However, to this day locals have to use to use the Sydney-Louisbourg highway in and out of town. [112] Lloydette MacDonald recalls:

> They've been saying they were going to reopen it ever since they closed it, I think. It was just something that was done on the fly […] I sat down and went through letters from people and just cried. The superintendent at the time, John Lunn, would say "Oh yeah, it's just temporary" but in letters to his superiors he will say that it will never be opened again.[113]

Theories regarding the decision to close the road continue to circulate. Chris Bellemore explains the government's disregard of local concerns as follows:

> I wanted to look into this, so I went back and looked at some of the older letters from the 70s. Lunn was responding saying we have no intentions to open that road and his reasoning behind it was that he didn't like the experience from a visitor perspective of that route. He wanted people to experience the fortress from a distance, coming from this way. And from that [other] way, you don't really have a sense of what you're doing or seeing.[114]

The closed roadway remains a problem for residents of Louisbourg and its surrounding areas, particularly those who own local businesses (as it disconnects them from being part of a main thoroughfare). One local businessman, Allister MacDonald, feels that were they to reopen the connector, visitors would feel more inclined to stay in the town.[115] Instead, many opt to visit the Fortress and return to Sydney for the evening. He feels that many tourists do not like retracing their steps and the Sydney-Louisbourg highway is

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[112] The Sydney-Louisbourg highway remains the only road to and from Louisbourg. The decision to emphasize this route figures heavily into local folklore. Entrepreneurs in the area share a belief that the road was meant to funnel tourist traffic into Sydney, the nearest city and the final destination of many visiting tourists.
[113] Lloydette MacDonald, interview.
[114] Bellemore, interview.
[115] Allister MacDonald, interview by Emily MacLeod, June 14, 2011. Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.

long so the option to travel through to Gabarus would appeal to many. More importantly, visitors would spend money in the town and thus have a direct impact on the local economy.

Despite Lunn's efforts to redesign the landscape surrounding the Fortress so as to enhance its appeal to visitors, the tourism industry showed significant decline throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Visitation numbers to the Fortress had dropped which began to negatively affect local businesses. Residents began to question the economic benefits of their backyard historic site. The Fortress had been losing visitors at a fairly steady rate since the 1980s which once again drew the attention of federal bureaucrats. They argued that the problem with the Fortress was a lack of promotion. The federal Tourism Minister at the time, Tom McMillan, stated that "the Fortress is not operating at full capacity, largely due to the publicity problem. [And] part of Louisbourg's problem is that it's just not well enough known."[116] In March of 1986, Mayor Harvey Lewis believed that Louisbourg's fishing industry, because of its location near the Grand Banks, would keep locals in the area. Including independent fishing people, the town offered more than 600 jobs in the fishery sector while the Fortress employed far fewer throughout the summer.[117] However, the impending fishery crisis led to a substantial drop in population between 1986 and 1991. In 1986 there were a total of 1355 people in Louisbourg and the 2011 census indicates that 1023 remain. In 1991, the unemployment rate had reached almost 22 percent and the average household income in Louisbourg around $35,000. The fate of the town was questioned only a few years after the Fortress had officially opened its doors to the public.

[116] "Louisbourg Losing Battle for Tourists," Chronicle Herald, August 8, 1984.
[117] "Louisbourg Doing Just Fine," Cape Breton Post, March 31, 1986.

This was certainly not what Parks staff or residents had been expecting when they had embarked on the intensive reconstruction. In the attempt to make a more direct route to Louisbourg the construction of the main thoroughfare to Sydney had been supported by the Park and then Mayor Lewis became part of the regional development plan. The Labour Minister at the time, Allan MacEachen, felt that in order for the Fortress reconstruction to blossom as a tourist destination, a modern highway was required to replace the older, unpaved road leading to and from the town. The new highway would promote increased tourist traffic as it would link the Trans-Canada to Louisbourg and offer an alternative route focused on the region's oceanside scenery. Additionally, the new road would open up smaller scenic centres along the island's eastern shore which had been previously known only to locals. In a letter dated March 30, 1964, project engineer T. R. Smith highlighted the importance of a renewed Louisbourg landscape:

> The preparation of a plan to guide all future development is of vital importance not only to Louisbourg, but also to the adjacent National Park […] While the town was originally primarily a port community, serving the region's mines and industries and fishing fleet, its future existence will to an increasing extent become related to the use and operation of the park […] Automobile traffic [from tourists] will demand the construction of modern highways, streets, and parking facilities […] The interests of these tourists and permanent residents alike will require the general improvement of the appearance of all parts of the town.[118]

For residents, these improvements meant a change how individuals interacted with the landscape and each other. Commenting on Canada's conservation policies, Tina Loo explains that efforts to preserve and highlight our country's natural landscapes require us to view these spaces as "an other." What results is a relationship between us and our surrounding environment that prevents a connection with the natural world. Moreover,

[118] "Letter to Mayor Lewis, March 30, 1964: RE: Louisbourg Development District Plan," RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1100, FL02, pt. 24, Library and Archives Canada.

Loo adds that the systematic and scientific approach to conservation policies throughout the early to mid-twentieth century resulted in a "marginalization of local customary uses [of local wildlife]" that reflected a movements towards the colonization of Canada's rural areas.[119]

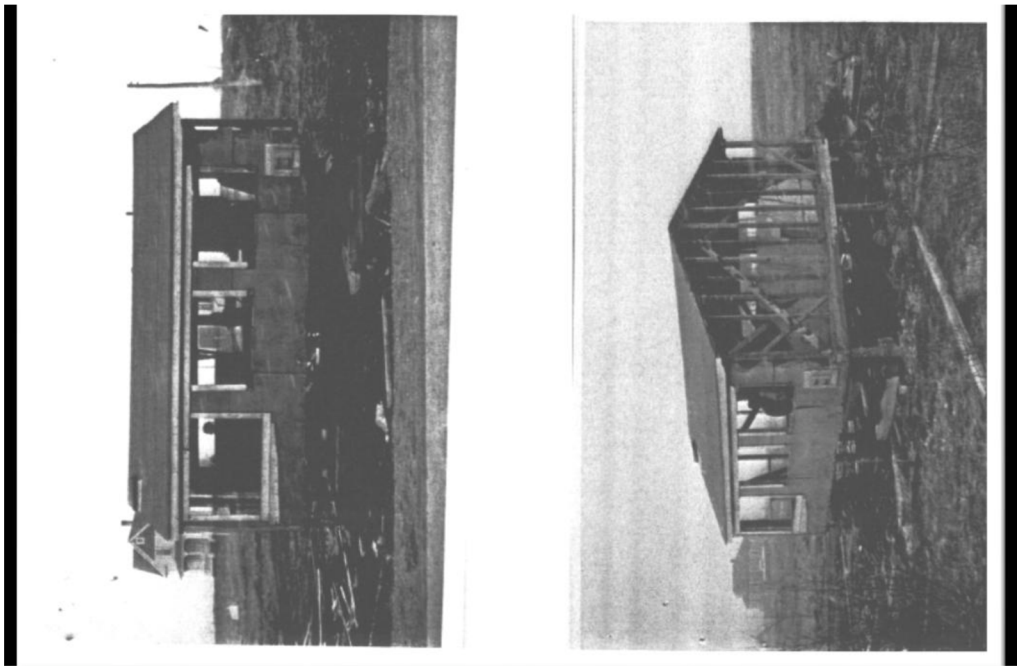

Figure 2: Refreshment stand, April 26, 1962, RB 101 18, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

Certain actions taken by Parks officials in regulating how Louisbourg residents interacted with the park space are reflective of this colonial relationship. Suggestions for new zoning laws and building requirements were made by the Acting Project Manager at the time, A.D. Perry, out of fear that residents were taking advantage of their proximity to the tourist site. In a letter to the Director of the National Parks Branch, Perry writes that the acquisition of land through expropriation needed to be swift as residents had begun what he described as "fringe development":

[119] Loo, States of Nature, 5-6.

> […] As a bad example of fringe development within "Old Town" Louisburg [sic], an area which we believe is essential for economic development of the Fortress of Louisbourg Restoration Program, I have attached several photographs of a new "refreshment stand" being constructed […] I understand it was originally a hen house and no doubt is typical of the type of canteen, etc., which will develop as a result of the Restoration Program unless concrete action on zoning and acquisition of existing property is carried out as originally planned by our Department.[120]

The fear that residents would ruin the carefully constructed landscape was apparent. This carried over into the creation of the new Louisbourg bypass road.

This road was meant to accommodate the heavy trucks which were hauling gravel, stone and other materials to the restoration sites. The road was built north of the town, so as to prevent the breakup of the main street by vehicles working on the reconstruction. The bypass required "two and two and one-half miles of construction which would be strong enough to permit year-round travel [and] located such that it would give plenty of room for the town to expand northwards and still leave a buffer zone between the parkway and the town."[121] By 1965, the project had amassed a research team including historians and archaeologists, all of whom were "Come From Aways"(CFAs)[122] and a significant number coming from overseas. For the residents in and near Louisbourg, the presence of these outsiders foreshadowed the changes in their

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[120]"Letter to The Director - Provincial Transfer of Land to Federal Government - Fortress of Louisbourg Restoration Program," April 26, 1962, RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1099, FL02, pt. 22, Library and Archives Canada.

[121] "Remarks by Hon. E.A. Manson, Minister of Trade and Industry, to the Louisbourg Restoration Committee, 4-5," RG 84, A-2-a, vol 503, FL0 30, pt. 2, Library and Archives Canada.

[122] The term "Come From Away" is actually a Newfoundlandism. The term has since been adopted by some Cape Bretoners to indicate whether someone is from the area or has "come from away" (usually referring to any location on the "mainland"—a term originally used to define any location other than Newfoundland but has since been used by many Cape Bretoners and other Nova Scotians to describe any location that isn't on Nova Scotia). Since conducting my research, I have been introduced to the term CBBC, Cape Bretoner by Choice, which has begun to replace the CFA title.

town which were already on the horizon. Mary Price remembers seeing the CFAs for the first time:

> There was a divide there, I suppose. I didn't notice it as much as others because I lived in Little Lorraine. I always thought it was a great thing for the town, and I still do. But there was distance there. And I think it was because of the top people that came in that were from away. You know, the so-called "Come From Aways" and they would have been the educated ones, the knowledgeable ones on how to put that together. And I think that there was some resentment, you know, resentment in a way that they had the authority.[123]

The symbolic division became even more real as the new Parks staff began to erect their own "village" within the limits of the town. The term Snob Hill had been adopted by locals as the area formally known as Knob Hill became populated by new employees to the park:

> Some of the people had almost a little village of their own. The newcomers that came… and I would think it was made from government money. And I can understand that, though. They had built homes for those people up in an area that was segregated from the main people in town. So, that caused a bit of a divide. [The housing development] was called Snob Hill.[124]

Iris Stevens, a guide who has worked at the fortress since 1977 and was a resident of Louisbourg, recalls the excitement and wonder of seeing these newcomers descend upon the town of Louisbourg:

> The federal government decided that they would reconstruct one fifth of Louisbourg. This was to make work for the unemployed coal miners when the coal mines closed. And this was a time when Canada had few historians, and fewer archaeologists. We had to bring people in from all over the world. Of course our little town didn't have housing for all these people, so the federal government had to build housing […] They put it up on top of the hill. Overlooking our town, quite like a pedestal. It soon became known as Snob Hill. Little did I think that our family would all be working at the Fortress of Louisbourg![125]

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[123] Price, interview.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "Hundred Times Thank You!" http://www.pc.gc.ca/eng/progs/celebrations/remercie-thanks.aspx. (accessed 10 September, 2012).

The development grew out of the need for housing of employees from out of town. Subsequent discussions between Parks officials regarding the style and landscape of the proposed housing development speaks of the tension which was already present prior to its construction. There was a general consensus among the project directors and engineers that the development should be similar in style to the houses and landscape characteristic of the area. Park officials felt this would prevent further alienation of workers from the townspeople, an issue which had been exacerbated by the expropriations. In a letter to G. L. Scott, Chief Engineer of the Engineering Services Division in Ottawa, Director of the Fortress of Louisbourg Restoration Section, J. R. B. Coleman, explains that "landscape standards" in effect for the Branch and Department of departmental housing areas were considered too extravagant for the region:

> [T]he stone walls, paved areas, children's playground and a lot of planting looks like pretty "heady" stuff for a "depressed" area. I agree that we need landscaping, but I do think it should be simple and without any frills […] This is really "gilding the lily." If we attempted to implement this proposal we would end up with the best headache this Branch ever had. Under no circumstances should we make this the model housing area of the Maritimes. A simple, neat development with grass and a few trees is all we should have.[126]

In part, this attitude reflects the influence of rural colonization as well as the desire to sustain the region's antimodernist image. Moreover, this assumes that Louisbourg itself is not capable of transcending the image of what officials have here described as "depressed."

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[126]"Letter to G.L. Scott from J.R.B. Coleman: Landscape Development Plan for Departmental Housing Area, Fortress of Louisbourg Restoration Section, 1," RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1107, FL0 28-1, Library and Archives Canada.

The antimodernist image went hand in hand with the politics of innocence that Alan Gordon explains proliferated throughout 1950s in Nova Scotia.[127] Antimodernism reflected the twentieth-century desire to return to what was believed to be an authentic, simple, and primitive way of life-- a reaction to increased and rapid industrialization.[128] The notion of innocence grew out of the larger trend towards tartanism. The Gaelic language had unofficially become the vernacular of Nova Scotia despite its decline in use during the nineteenth century. It was the decline and impending loss of "the Gaelic" that ushered in a revival of all things Scottish throughout the early to mid-1900s. Tourism marketing focused on the simple, innocent image of the hearty Highlander while museums catered to visitors interested in learning more about Scottish heritage.[129] These places, as Gordon writes, "exploit an image of antimodernism and innocence, an imaginary simple life, to expand the thoroughly modern tourist industry in the province."[130] The relationship between antimodernism and economic development was ambivalent at best. It was through these imagined connections to the past and its antiquities that promoters of this antimodernist image, in theory, encouraged further industrial progress.

There has been a concerted effort on the part of Parks Canada to reach out to the Louisbourg community that had previously been excluded from site planning. In particular, since 2010 Parks Canada has begun to recognize the rift which developed

[127] Gordon, 115-116.
[128] T.J. Jackson Lears, No Place of Grace: Antimodernism and the Transformation of American Culture, 1880-1920 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1981).
[129] For example, the Lone Shieling replica in Cape Breton Highlands National Park and the Highland Museum in Iona.
[130] Gordon, 117.

because of the series of expropriations. A current employee at the Fortress (who wishes to remain nameless but we will call him Doug), suggested in our conversation that:

> Our goal is to be more open and more proactive in engaging with the community. You know, the Fortress of Louisbourg as it exists today was based on expropriating the people that lived there. That occurred twice in the 20s and 60s, so you start off by moving people that had lived there for generations […] we're trying to welcome people back through the use of the Expropriates Pass.[131]

Anyone who has been expropriated from the original site as well as the surrounding areas, including Old Town, will get a free pass to come and go to the site without paying for regular admissions fees. This pass is offered not only to the original expropriates, many of whom are elderly or have already passed away, but also to their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. The pass is meant as a symbolic acknowledgement of losses incurred by the expropriates. For them, Louisbourg is a site not of national heritage, but poignant personal memoirs, as author Elaine Sawlor learned while researching her book, Beyond the Fog: Louisbourg After the Final Siege 1758-1968:

> I've heard that a lot of the old people who had been expropriated from Louisbourg would go back, you know, to the site. And a lot of times they would go in the evening, and you still see people who like to walk along the road to Louisbourg. But some of those older people would just go and walk up there, sit down, visit the graveyard, and remember what it was like. But you know, that's just how it is. People are connected to their homeland.[132]

For visitors to Louisbourg, sites of memory from the former community of Old Town might be completely overlooked. Former residents are drawn to walking along the coastline and roadway which leads up the causeway—the physical divider which

[131] Anonymous: "Doug," interview by Emily MacLeod, June 2, 2011. Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.
[132] Sawlor, interview.

separates the entrance to the Fortress. Along the roadway are subtle markers of the community that once existed there. Most of the foundations from Old Town have since been removed or are covered by grass, but two notable features remain—the Stella Maris and St. Richard's cemeteries.

Located within the current boundaries of the national historic site, the cemeteries are the most visible remaining physical markers of Old Town. Martha Norkunas explains that places such as cemeteries are important not only for what they tell us about the past, but also as places of memory.[133] The Stella Maris and St. Richard's cemeteries are the burial grounds for the Old Town residents who had passed away before the second round of expropriations in the 1960s. Thus, the family names on grave markers reflect those who currently live in Louisbourg as well as those who populated the original Old Town properties. When the Stella Maris church and glebe house were removed during the 1960s expropriations, it was decided that the graveyard would remain untouched. To the families of the dead, this space is also the final resting place for the community that they knew only through recollections and memories. In essence, as Norkunas explains, the cemetery creates "a place where the community can grieve collectively, legitimating individual, family, and community sorrow."[134] As the only remaining physical marker on the landscape of a once vibrant community, these familiar symbols promote remembrance. And for a community that has suffered such a significant loss, this space invites both residents and visitors to reshape and reclaim the land in their own minds. Both cemeteries have remained untouched by further site development, a silent tribute to the community's past.

[133] Norkunas, 112-113.
[134] Ibid., 130.

In a meeting of the Louisbourg Restoration Committee on December 3, 1962, the course of development for the Louisbourg project was introduced to the public by the project's administrators. The purpose of the meeting was to "set forth to the local people (and the people of Canada) the present plans for the development of Louisbourg and to gain local acceptance for them."[135] Despite its pretense as being a local employer for out of work residents, by the late 1960s it was becoming clear that project costs had increased significantly. This meant that in 1962, the 160-180 men initially employed to work on the project, only 86 were able to retain employment on a year-round basis. The project committee indicated that the Louisbourg project would require additional funds to reach completion, but instead of funneling the money into the pool of resident employees, most funds would go towards research:

> Mr. Lunn argued that [the project] could not be completed in less than five years, because research was the pacing factor. The project director added that with more money for archaeologists, historians, and lab staff, research could be stepped up and Mr. Lunn agreed that accelerated research would allow construction to be speeded up as well.[136]

The Senior Assistant Deputy Minister, J.A. MacDonald supported the push for more research, but added that he "wished to see a long-term program minimizing the value of the Louisbourg Project as a local labour employer and shifting the emphasis to its tourist value."[137] Therefore, community input and investment were not necessarily central to the reconstruction project. Local amenities were considered substandard for housing and feeding visiting delegates and summer students. In a letter to the Deputy Minister dated

[135] "Meeting of Louisbourg Restoration Committee, Louisbourg," December 3, 1962, RG 84, A-2-a, vol 1107, FL028-2-3, Library and Archives Canada.
[136] Ibid., 13.
[137] Ibid.

April 5, 1965, the project director indicated that there was concern over the availability and quality of local services:

> […] It appears that under present conditions it is impractical, if not impossible, to make arrangements to have this service provided locally. There is no accommodation in the town and we know that there is not likely to be any in the near future. The restaurant facilities also leave much to be desired. Of the three local restaurants, the Project Manager has ruled out two.[138]

Unlike what was occurring in provincial parks in Newfoundland throughout the late 60s and early 70s, little to no government funding was being directed towards local tourism facilities outside of the park boundaries. They believed that the grand reconstruction alone would attract enough revenue to the town. James Overton explains that as part of regional development in Newfoundland, federal funding backed several camping parks and beaches which were meant to attract visitors as well as provide economic opportunities to locals.[139] The initial economic benefits proved favourable.[140] Unfortunately, Louisbourg did not benefit from state aid in regards to tourist accommodation or recreation space at this point. Additionally, there were significant issues resulting from government purchase protocol and local businesses.

Lewis and Company Limited was one of the central businesses in Louisbourg and received several government contracts throughout the period of reconstruction. Harvey, a

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[138] "RE: Louisbourg" RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 1108, FL055, pt. 4, Library and Archives Canada.
[139] Overton, 210-211.
[140] Unfortunately, by the early 1980s it became evident that these developments caused overcrowding and overuse of the public spaces. Additionally, prices increased to the point where residents who were using the space could no longer afford regular access. As a result, use of park sites in Newfoundland has decreased and state-backing has declined in favour of money from private enterprises which has proven less successful. As it stands, there exists no easy answer to remedying the state of provincial parks in Newfoundland.

former Lewis and Company proprietor and descendant of the family, recalls the business the project brought to the store:

> Stone masonry was not a big thing in Canada. They were fortunate enough to find a man down in Newfoundland that had worked on the finishing of St. John's basilica there. When they here in Louisbourg heard of him, they wanted him too. So, he moved him and his family up here. And he was having trouble finding the kind of tools he needed for cutting stone. He mentioned that to my uncle Bill […] and he bought the tools in England for the project and brought them in by gross. You know, we were really pleased to get the business.[141]

However, the majority of the products and services required for the reconstruction came from outside of the town, often from businesses in Sydney or North Sydney. Requisition protocol prevented Louisbourg businesses, Lewis and Company included, from being the soul beneficiaries of government contracts. Contracts were awarded based on who offered the lowest bids and very often Louisbourg businesses charged higher prices than those located in the larger, industrial centres. In a letter from the Regional Director, B.M. Strong to the Assistant Director, J. Nicol expressed concern over the purchasing contracts of the Louisbourg restoration:

> The contracts issued to Thompson and Sutherland, and J.W. Stephens Ltd. [both Sydney businesses] cover a similar range of commodities to those on the tender from Lewis and Co. If possible, purchases should be made through these firms at a discount of 25%. I realize Lewis and Co. are located within a short distance of the Park headquarters, but I do not think this is a significant justification for paying a higher price for them […][142]

The majority of funds allocated for material such as hardware, plumbing and electrical supplies, and machinery repair went elsewhere, while Louisbourg businesses were used in emergency situations only. Moreover, much of the materials required for material

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[141] Harvey and Pat Lewis, interview by Emily MacLeod, July 2, 2011. Louisbourg, Nova Scotia.

[142] Contract Agreement, Louisbourg Restoration Program, G2-G6, RG 84, A-2-a, vol. 1108, FLO55, pt. 4, Library and Archives Canada.

object reconstruction were simply not available in the surrounding area. Purchasing contracts indicate that beyond basic building materials, antiques and reproductions which were considered essential to the buildings on site were to be acquired elsewhere, usually from places outside of Canada. For example, even small items such as eighteenth-century lanterns, bottles, and copper cooking moulds were requisitioned at costs between 95 and 300 dollars.[143] Lewis recalls when the reconstruction began local infrastructure benefitted even less from the area's "new residents":

> There was no construction of houses within the town boundaries. When they brought in the trailers for the people to live in, they put them beyond the town of Louisbourg boundaries. So, there was no taxation coming down to Louisbourg. Eventually they built houses for them, I think it was 10 houses. And of course that increased the tax base for the town and that helped there. And again, you had people who knew that they were here semi-permanently, making their life in Louisbourg and taking more interest in it.[144]

In the hunt for "authenticity," funds were being allocated more generally. Labour, however, is bought as cheaply as possible, with little consideration given to an obligation to give back to the community of Louisbourg.

Anthropologist Adrian Ivakhiv points to several questions which we are left to consider as the island's communities continue to face change in a rapidly technological world: How does the influence of outsider groups affect local networks as they position themselves within the larger global networks (of culture, politics, economics)? What does this potential for insider-outsider tensions mean with regards to agency and the balance of power within local constituents?[145] Indeed, these questions indicate that by necessity, the characterization of a place is never finite. Identities grow with communities and are

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[143] Ibid.
[144] Lewis, interview.
[145] Adrian Ivakhiv, "Colouring Cape Breton "Celtic": Topographies of Culture and Identity in Cape Breton Island," Ethnologies 27, no. 2 (2005): 129.

influenced by global networks and cultural changes. How has the Fortress developed this consciousness of identity, history, and culture? How have current residents in Louisbourg dealt with the rift between their past and present? And what does that mean for their future?

Chapter 3: As the Dust Settles: Vernacular celebrations of Louisbourg's history

Within the past two decades, Parks Canada has been working towards a greater level of community participation in the nation's historic sites and national parks. For example, the expropriation exhibit in Forillon National Park included a great deal of public participation. Entitled *Gaspesians from Land's End*, the exhibit featured artifacts and interviews from former residents who shared stories about life before the national park and the expropriations in 1970. Lionel Bernier, a lawyer and son of a Forillon expropriate, did not feel Parks Canada's Expropriate's Pass adequately reconciled issues

of the past. Instead, he suggested that, "those removed from Kouchibouguac were allowed to share in this act of reconciliation, but not out of any particular recognition of their losses. Instead it was meant to avoid the impression that the federal government was 'accordant la faveur à Forillon, et au Québec'."[146] It was, however, a step in the right direction.

Across the country, parks services began to open up in the 1970s, allowing for greater accessibility and public involvement in operations and services. For example, the latest draft of the Fortress of Louisbourg's Management Plan highlights the importance of public involvement which includes not only local residents, but also Aboriginal communities, stakeholders, and other partners. The Parks Canada mandate consists of three elements which have become the backbone to present and future management planning: "protecting heritage resources, facilitating opportunities for visitor experience, and fostering public appreciation and understanding about Canada's heritage."[147] Together these initiatives have begun reshaping alternative planning and interpretive policies through a more inclusive and open dialogue between vernacular and official bodies.

In the absence of an outlet for alternative histories featuring the town and its surrounding communities, local residents have taken to commemorating Louisbourg's heritage through grass-roots initiatives that developed alongside the official, institutional history at the Fortress. These projects, ranging from regional festivals, published

[146] Ronald Rudin, "The First French-Canadian National Parks: Kouchibouguac and Forillon in History and Memory," Journal of the Canadian Historical Association / Revue de la Société historique du Canada 22, no. 1 (2011): 192.
[147] Parks Canada Agency, Fortress of Louisbourg 2010 Draft Management Plan (Louisbourg: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, Parks Canada, 2010), 9.

genealogies, the creation of a heritage society and a personal archive sprang from the initiative of past and present residents of Louisbourg. These local commemorative projects illustrate the importance of memory in (re)constructing the Louisbourg narrative through the gaze of its residents. These are their stories.

For Mary Price, a resident of Louisbourg's neighbouring community of Little Lorraine, an answer to the population slump was the creation of a "come home" festival in 2011 that would attract past and present residents of the area. Over the years, like other small communities throughout Cape Breton, Little Lorraine had lost many of its younger residents due to a lack of employment opportunities. In an effort to draw back locals to the small community, Mary and her niece began "Come Home to Little Lorn," a summertime get-together celebrating the spirit and history of Little Lorraine:

> When my niece Lori came home from the States, we sat down at her kitchen table and shared a bottle of wine. And the Little Lorraine reunion came out of that bottle of wine! People had talked about it a lot, many times, but you had to do something to get it going. So the next day we got the committee together. So, we called people and within the week we had had our first committee meeting.[148]

The reunion consisted of various events such as a parade of sail, seafood dinners, musical acts, kayak tours, and an unveiling of the commemorative sign which officially renamed the town's throughway to "Rufus Perry Way" after a Little Lorrainer who had been killed in World War II.[149] "Come Home to Little Lorn" follows the tradition of a larger local, summertime festival entitled Louisbourg Crabfest, an annual event which draws attention to Louisbourg's connection to the sea through a weekend of seafood suppers and live music. George H. Lewis writes that festivals such of these are:

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[148] Price, interview.
[149] Come Home to Little Lorn. Little Lorraine: Come Home to Little Lorn Committee, 2010. Pamphlet.

> Spawned by the desire of communities to put themselves on the map, creat[e] positive images and symbols for themselves (which in turn, generates spirit as well as attracting tourists and business interests); and by the need […] to belong, to participate in community, to feel a part of social groups (even if these are contrived and last only for a day or two).[150]

Crabfest offers the opportunity for Louisbourg expatriates to return for a weekend in the summer time for a chance to interact again with friends and family, many of whom have since left the town to live and work elsewhere.

Crabfest, and other regional food festivals such as the Cabot Trail's Lobsterpalooza, has become a tourist draw for the area, especially for those tourists who have visited the Fortress throughout the weekend of the event.[151] John Urry comments that these food festivals offer an opportunity for tourists to engage with other senses in their tourist experiences. Generally the visual, or gaze, is emphasized, but festivals such as these incorporate varied sensescapes, such as soundscapes (usually through live, local music), smellscapes, tastescapes, and geographies of touch.[152] Festivals like Crabfest also act as a contact zone where Louisbourg residents, tourists, and Parks employees can come together on equal grounds. Moreover, as Victor Turner explains, "[festivals] have very frequently a satirical, lampooning, comedic quality. Furthermore, they tend to stress the basic equality of all even if this involves a status reversal and the setting up of hierarchies of roles, occupied by those who are normally underlings, which caricature the

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[150] George H. Lewis, "Celebrating Asparagus: Community and the Rationally Constructed Food Festival," Journal of American Culture 20, no. 4 (Winter, 1997): 76.
[151] There has also been an increased effort to draw visitors to the Fortress through Louisbourg's eighteenth-century culinary history. Wine tastings and parings and hands-on cooking workshops with period food have become popular visitor experience activities at the Fortress under the guidance of historian Anne Marie Lane Jonah and Collections Manager Heidi Moses.
[152] Urry, 146.

normative indicative hierarchy's power, wealth, and authority."[153] The divisions between the groups are less evident. This reflects what Turner describes as communitas, "the mutual confrontation of human beings stripped of status role characteristics—people, "just as they are," getting through to each other."[154] In the contact zone, everyone becomes equal and all take part in contributing to the festivities.

Participants can buy handmade t-shirts with the Crabfest logo, others opt to make their own for the special event. Some play off the theme of Louisbourg's costumed interpreters by putting together make-shift costumes of old chemises, store-bought tricorns, and vintage wool skirts. In this space, normal rules are relaxed or altered leading to a suspension of reality for a specific time. Former Louisbourg resident and Park employee, Daniel Pitcher, says that the Crabfest weekend occurs during a time when people who work with Parks Canada need a break from the summer season at the Fortress.[155] During the weekend of Crabfest, workers who might not normally stay in the town will camp out in the local RV park/campground or stay with friends. More importantly, it allows people to reconnect with friends and family who have left Louisbourg for various reasons, predominately economic:

> A lot of local people from all over Cape Breton [go there]. But it has turned into a sort of homecoming weekend for Louisbourg and area people. A lot of people have left the area for economic reasons and they come home for this weekend. I think it remains popular because of that homecoming feel. And I think it is good for moral to have it at this time in the season. People act the same, but it's more relaxed. People drink and have a good time, we all get along.[156]

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[153] Victor Turner, "Frame, Flow and Reflection: Ritual and Drama as Public Liminality," Japanese Journal of Religious Studies 6, no. 4 (12, 1979): 470.
[154] Ibid., 471.
[155] Daniel Pitcher, Email interview by Emily MacLeod, June 20, 2012.
[156] Ibid.

Eileen Burke, an employee with the Park and a resident of Louisbourg explains that locals look forward to the event throughout the year, not just in the weeks before it occurs. Additionally, she feels that Crabfest contributes a lot to the local economy as something separate from the Fortress itself. After the collapse of the cod fishery, a staple industry for local Louisbourg residents, Crabfest was used to introduce and celebrate a new economic venture for the town:

> Crab fishing was a new venture and having a festival like this one provided the local fishermen the opportunity to promote their product. It gave the Fire Department a fundraiser and brought people to town to benefit the merchants […] And it has become almost like a "Come Home" weekend. People plan their vacations around Crabfest and it is almost impossible to get accommodations in town that weekend.[157]

John Walsh writes about the "coming home" phenomenon in the Ottawa Valley during a period of exodus in the late nineteenth century. An attraction to the frontier-settler lifestyle eventually drew out the white migrants who had originally settled in the valley. By the late 1870s, the population had shown a severe decline and as early as 1905 there were efforts to draw back the family members and friends that had previously left the region. They were, essentially, invited to "come home" and relive the familiar, but also to see "the new traces of what the town had become since their departure."[158]

The return of former residents to their town reconciles their leaving as they become "mnemonic devices who would offer representations of the local past while also spurring the memory of others."[159] Walsh adds that when former residents reinsert themselves into the town again by way of these festivals, residents reconcile their relocation and perform a public acknowledgement of their leaving. Once again they

[157] Eileen Burke, Email interview by Emily MacLeod, June 22, 2012.
[158] Walsh and Opp, 26.
[159] Ibid., 32.

become part of the town, at least for a moment in time. The return of former residents to the town re-establishes a sense of place, something that had been disrupted for decades in Louisbourg[160]. As Walsh suggests, the visitors help to recover a lost history and in doing so make a "public memory that meets the needs of the present."[161] For Louisbourg, this meant reaffirming their place and purpose within Louisbourg as residents, both present and past.

The festivals and reunions in Louisbourg act as a rallying point for present and past residents of Louisbourg. The Louisbourger identity is constructed through festivals and events such as these. It is here that residents are able to negotiate their relationship with each other, the town, and its historic site. Rick McCready, former resident of Louisbourg and current employee with the Cape Breton Regional Municipality, recalls the festival and the 1995 celebrations which followed two years afterwards:

> Yeah, I went to Crabfest. Crabfest started in '93, and I find sometimes people in Louisbourg say it started in '95, the year of the big 1995 celebrations in town, but actually the boardwalk was started before then, and the playhouse, and Crabfest. All of them started before that and were more community-driven things that started two or three years before 1995. But none of them really had anything to do with the 1995 celebrations. They were there when 1995 took place and they were still relatively new, so you see them get put together a lot. [162]

When asked about the origins of Crabfest, my interview partner Daniel indicated that he believed the first festival coincided with the 1995 celebrations and the military encampment which took place at the Fortress:

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[160] Attachment to place is an important part of identity construction for many Cape Bretoners. For additional reading see McKay, "Tartanism Triumphant: The Construction of Scottishness in Nova Scotia, 1933-1954," Acadiensis 21, 2 (Spring 1992): 5-47; MacKinnon and Davey, "Nicknaming Patterns and Traditions among Cape Breton Coal Miners," Acadiensis, 30, No. 2 (Spring 2001), pp. 71-83, and Feintuch's In the Blood: Cape Breton Conversations on Culture (Logan: Utah State University Press, 2010).
[161] Walsh and Opp, 49.
[162] Rick McCready, interview by Emily MacLeod, June 21, 2011. Sydney, Nova Scotia.

> I don't really remember why Crabfest started, but if memory serves me correctly the first Crabfest was in the summer of 1995. There was a lot of money floating around the area due to the 1995 Encampment at Louisbourg, so I would assume some connection between the two events.[163]

In The Death of Luigi Trastulli and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History, Alessandro Portelli explains that these moments where memory and history appear to be in conflict are indicative of underlying "interests, dreams, and desires of the storytellers themselves."[164] When 21 year old Luigi Trastulli died during a clash between the Italian police forces as a result of a rally against Italian involvement in NATO, the subsequent memories of the event by witnesses and residents of Umbria had a lasting effect on the town's identity and culture.[165] The links between Crabfest and the 1995 celebrations by residents is an example of why events are mis-remembered. Portelli points out that oral sources are unique for various reasons, but perhaps most importantly they tell us "not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, and what they believed they were doing and what they now think they did."[166] Memory is not a dead, static event but rather it is always in constant creation. Instances where memories deviate from fact suggest that the teller is making sense of the past in their own way, putting things into their own perspective. Doing so gives form to past events within the context of their lives.[167]

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[163] Pitcher, interview.
[164] Alessandro Portelli, The Death of Luigi Trastulli, and Other Stories: Form and Meaning in Oral History (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1991), 2.
[165] Ibid.
[166] Portelli, 50.
[167] Portelli, 52. For other works relating to the construction of place, meaning, and memory see Portelli, "What Makes Oral History Different," In The Oral History Reader, edited by Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 32-42. 2nd ed (London: Routledge, 2006); Norkunas, Monuments and Memory: History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2002), and Cathy Stanton, The Lowell Experiment: Public History in a Post-industrial City (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2006).

The connections made by my interview partners between the inaugural Crabfest and the 1995 celebrations speak to an internalized desire for reciprocity between town and site. The implication that one of the most lucrative tourism years in Louisbourg's history stemmed from community and Fortress cooperation suggests that more often than not people believe this to be true. Moreover, by connecting these two events to the spirit of volunteerism and community participation from within the town, Louisbourgers take credit for bolstering the tourism industry. The 1995 celebrations, which residents and Fortress employees continue to speak about as the largest contributor to the best tourist season in most recent years, were driven by the locals within the community.

1995 marked numerous anniversaries for Louisbourg: the 275th anniversary of the founding of the Fortress; the 250th anniversary of its first siege, and the 100th anniversary of the Sydney to Louisbourg railway. The goal of the 1995 celebrations was "to attract significantly more tourists, optimize their length of stay, and maximize economic impact in the area."[168] Though the Fortress had been regarded as a world class historic site by Parks Canada, the town was still only attracting a modest number of tourists. Opportunities for spending on accommodation, food, and crafts/gifts were considered to be inadequate. There were complaints among residents that the biggest problem stemmed from the inability to provide tourists with enough to do to so as to encourage more overnight stays in town. Rick explains that the 1995 celebrations did a great deal for the town thanks to federal money:

> There was quite a bit of federal money made available for it. The local MP, Dave Dingwall and Harvey Lewis, a former mayor of the town, had a big idea to have a

[168] Tourism Industry Association of Nova Scotia, A Strategic Analysis of the Nova Scotia Festivals and Events Industry, http://novascotia.com/partners/tians_fe_report.pdf Accessed July 10, 2011.

> celebration in Louisbourg to celebrate the events. They got money for things like the reconstruction of the main street, and for some of the events and marketing, money they would never have gotten normally. The support of Dave Dingwall, a federal cabinet minister, was critical.[169]

The 1995 celebrations allowed locals to contribute to a festival that was not just about the Fortress. Instead this was a celebration that highlighted the town as an own entity in its own right alongside the site:

> The biggest event was an encampment at the Fortress. It was a 4 day event and they had tall ships come in [to the harbour]. Some of the famous ones were here. The Bluenose, The Bounty, The Rose. It was heavily subsidized by the money from the government. There were other events throughout the summer. A Scottish weekend, and Irish weekend, I think. There was an Ashley MacIssac concert in the fish plant parking lot. There were so many people coming and there were clear skies all 4 days. Even though the Encampment got a lot of publicity, it was the tall ships that drew in more people.[170]

In 1995, over 90,000 visitors to Louisbourg spent a total of "$17.9 million on their provincial trip, which included "in part, or wholly, the visit to Louisbourg". A final report on the revenue extracted from the festival indicated that "$4.7 million was attributable to the spending of Fortress visitors, of which 50% ($2.3 million) can be linked directly to the Grand Encampment/Tall Ship events." There was a total investment of $9.3 million into the 1995 celebrations which would take an estimated four years of visitation similar to the 90,000 of 1995 to pay back on the investment. The study concluded that Louisbourg "can attract large numbers of visitors albeit with high Cape Breton representation". However, the money available for the 1995 celebrations was not renewable for the following years. This has meant that as visitor numbers have declined for the Fortress, and so, too, has visitation to the town itself.

[169] McCready interview.
[170] Ibid.

The one-time festival is often looked back on fondly by Parks staff and residents alike. As the festival was not reoccurring, 1995 is remembered as a golden year for both the town and the Fortress, lending itself to nostalgia for "the good days of 1995."[171] The initiative behind the community-driven 1995 celebrations offered an alternative to the quotidian activities at the Fortress. They reflected more diverse interests (as seen through the Scottish and Irish celebrations and fiddle concert) while still celebrating the identity of Louisbourg. Furthermore, the events allowed some locals to partake in the manufacturing and commodification of Louisbourg's heritage outside of the Fortress' shops and restaurants.

The sense of pride in Louisbourg's past was evident as I learned of the preservation work being done as part of former Mayor Harvey Lewis' retirement. Over the past fifty years, Harvey has amassed a personal archive of readings, newspaper clippings, and personal remembrances relating to the town of Louisbourg. Harvey became interested in collecting this information because he believed that:

> [I]t was interesting at the time, but there had been no interest in "passing it on." I built a storage library in my basement for 30 family photo albums, 70 scrapbooks of my own interest and later of community interests.[172]

Catherine Hobbs writes that personal fonds "contain traces of the individual character of the record's creator." Moreover, these fonds are a source of commentary on the personal life and relationships of its collector(s) and it is here where personality and the stuff of life comes together in a documentary form.[173] Along with his daughters, Pat and Margo,

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[171] Ibid.
[172] Lewis, interview.
[173] Catherine Hobbs, "The Character of Personal Archives: Reflections on the Value of Records of Individuals." Archivaria 54 (2001): 126-135.

Harvey has been working on digitizing the family photos. Speaking on behalf of her father, Pat explains what they view as the goal of the project:

> My older sister is digitizing the photos and we are trying to get Harvey to give us the details of them. The family has an idea for preservation but we know it needs government and community support […] We could set up a community archives where people can donate their collections and get a tax receipt, or hire someone on a part time basis to digitize, and collect the stories before they are lost. It could be open to the public for research/ interest and perhaps develop into a local museum of the "new" town of Louisbourg, an additional attraction for the tourists coming to see the 'old" Louisbourg. This could be in addition to something like a writing program for the seniors to collect stories and perhaps publish them in a collection of local interest.[174]

The archive became not only an organizational tool to store and retrieve the information the Lewis family has collected over the years, but it also reflects, as Kaye, Vertesi, Avery, et. all, explain, an important set of values inherent in the "personal archive." These values include building a legacy, sharing information, preserving important objects, and constructing identity.[175] Harvey's own interest in the town's history developed because of his family connections to the area. The Lewis archive consists of:

> Family snapshots, printed local history regarding the Fortress, postcards and written stories of early town activities […] newspaper clippings of any mention of the town in the local papers. And a collection of many books that were written about either the Fortress or the local community.[176]

When asked about articles from the archive he has felt a particular connection to, Harvey suggested that all were important for various reasons. It was not so much the contents of his archive that was of significance to him, but rather the act of collection the history on behalf of the town. Over the course of its creation, the archive has become a compendium of Louisbourg-related information with the potential to interest other community

[174] Lewis, interview.
[175] Joseph 'Jofish' Kaye et al., "To Have and to Hold: Exploring the Personal Archive" in CHI 2006 Conference Proceedings (Montreal: ACM, 2006), 2.
[176] Lewis, interview.

members. Interestingly, the majority of the information found within Harvey's archive does not relate specifically to the Fortress. Where it does, it generally focuses on the history of the Fortress in relation to the town: i.e. the site's modern connection to Louisbourg as a reconstruction and living-history museum. Harvey's archive becomes a "counter-memory" to official state narratives; the town, not the Fortress, is the lens through which the past is viewed.

In the interview session, my relationship with the Fortress came up on several occasions. Despite my interest and questions relating to the town of Louisbourg, the direction of our conversation would drift towards the historic site. It was when Harvey and Pat talked about their own projects that the park became of secondary importance. Historians such as Michel Foucault and Jacques Derrida have pointed out that archives themselves should be seen as assertions of power.[177] In the Lewis case, this is no exception. Their vernacular projects, in particular Harvey's personal memoirs, now in book form, as well as the archive have given validation to the town's history beyond the Fortress. The focal point for the Lewis archive is the Lewis and Company store, formerly owned and operated by his father and uncle.

[177] See Michel Foucault, The Archaeology of Knowledge (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972) and Jacques Derrida, Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

Figure 3: Lewis and Company Limited, RB 22 23, Fortress of Louisbourg Archives.

Throughout the archive, there are documents, ledger books, and photo albums that show and tell the story of the business. Before the Fortress came, Harvey says that the Lewis and Company store was an important part of the Louisbourg community. He says that "people liked to come in and say "Hi" or they would meet there at the store. And we catered to the needs of the fishermen and their wives." As we both looked through the scrapbooks and ledgers together, Harvey pointed to photos and receipts from the store. The connection to a specific place, in this case Louisbourg, is evident on every page. When I had asked him why he wanted to remember these things, he suggested that "it just seemed like it had to be done. We wanted to remember these things. It began as a work of my mother's and we decided to keep it up after she died." Writing about the Sturgeon Falls mill closure, High describes the "mill history binder," a memory book filled with photos and other documents collected by former workers. High comments

that for former workers, the binder had become a surrogate for the actual mill.[178] So long as the binder and its contents continued to memorialize the mill, it continued to be a part of the workers' lives. Similarly, Harvey's own personal memories of the family business, the town, and past and present residents continue to live on through his collection.

In my own ethnographic research, several people had told me I "just had to" talk to the Lewis family. Their relationship to Louisbourg is so well known that some have joked that past residents suggested renaming the town Lewis-bourg.[179] The Lewis and Company store was known by Louisbourg residents as the place to go for fishing supplies and residents knew that if they did not have enough money to pay for an order, the Lewis' would put it on a tab. More often than not the tabs were excused, especially during the "leaner" times when the fishery began to slow down. These are the memories that resonate within the community when asked about the Lewis family. This connection to the physical place that is Louisbourg certainly resonated with me as I looked through the Lewis archive and spoke to residents about the family's legacy in the town. Like the mill history binder, Harvey's archive is always open to donations and it continues to grow. High explains that place is "more than a static category, an empty container where things happen. It must be understood as a social and spatial process, undergoing constant change."[180] The archive and its contents have come to represent one of the few tangible pieces of Louisbourg's history to exist outside of official historical interpretation. It is

[178] Steven High, "Placing the Displaced Worked: Narrating Place in Deindustrializing Sturgeon Falls, Ontario," In Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010), 164.
[179] Sawlor, interview.
[180] High, "Placing the Displaced Worker," 181.

this desire to preserve the town's cultural history that gave rise to other narratives constructed in addition to what was available through the Fortress:

> There was a fisherman who wrote of his life as a fisherman of various species. But this was done only for that family. There was a local professional historian [named Bill O'Shea] who worked at the Fortress, but took an interest in the history of town organizations and wrote several reports on it […] There had been a former citizen who came home to retire, and gathered information until her eyes failed. She worked with Bill and wrote reports on street names as well as other subjects […] And there's now a local diver who wrote books on his treasures.[181]

Harvey's interest in Louisbourg is rooted in his family's long history with the town and his own eighty-eight years living in the area:

> I've been working with Lewis and Company since sometime after the Second World War […] My grandmother started it in 1898, I believe. My grandfather was a sea captain and his father was lost on his vessel. But my grandfather went to a school in Main a Dieu and studied navigation. When he and his girlfriend got married, they had chosen Louisbourg as a place to live because it was an enterprising area. When he had gone back to sea, she started the store in her kitchen where she could sell a few groceries there. He hired someone to take over the sailing of his schooner, and he had bought a store in Louisbourg and it went from there.[182]

The Lewis and Company store had been an important part of the commercial life in Louisbourg. Many of the local fishermen depended upon the store's supplies for outfitting their schooners and the wives enjoyed the American items brought over by William, Harvey's grandfather, through his travels. The Lewis family also had interests in the preservation and commemoration of the historic site. In 1895, when a group of individuals from Boston came with the Society of Colonial Wars to commemorate the deaths of the New Englanders who had died during the first siege at Louisbourg, William

[181] I had also conducted an interview with the local diver, Mr. Alex Storm, who was at one point an employee with the Fortress.
[182] Lewis, interview.

was involved in the local organizing committee. The Lewis name has been fondly remembered as part of these early events.

After Parks Canada had declared the Fortress area a National Historic site (1929), Lewis and Company arranged for a deal to rent a property from John Crier, where they could profit from tourist visits to the site. Located at the entrance to the park gate, Lewis and Company used the area to:

> Set up a stall to sell candy and ice cream to tourists visiting the Fortress [and] later in that same year, a Mr. Dan Power of West Louisbourg [now known as Old Town], built another stall alongside to sell postcards. He operated his business there for one year and then because of his poor health, the Fortress caretaker gave him unofficial permission to set up in the new museum. The Lewis and Company stall was clerked by Miss Lena Baldwin for three years until a fall gale blew the building into the Barrachois, so the venture was terminated. But these were the first two commercial ventures to cater to the tourist trade after the National Park was declared.[183]

When Harvey had took up the role of town mayor, he hoped to see the reconstruction of the Fortress' Royal Battery as a hotel.

[183] Harvey Lewis, Memories of a Business, a Family, and a Community (Sydney: City Printers, 2010), 42.

Figure 4: Model of Royal Battery at the Fortress of Louisbourg, NHS, personal photo, 2010.

He had been in the town throughout the expropriations and believed that it would be only fair to "reconstruct it seeing as how people had been expropriated for it." The Royal Battery was located outside of the original fortification on the area which was later to be called West Louisbourg (or Old Town). The second expropriations began with properties located near the Battery so as to stabilize the ruins and ready the site for reconstruction. However, despite initial interest from Parks Canada, the MP for Cape Breton East-Richmond Dave Dingwall, and Science and Technology Minister John Roberts, the 38-room hotel never came to fruition. This was likely due to the time and money requirements (of about six to seven years and eight million dollars).[184] However, when the town of Louisbourg was experiencing a slump in the shipping and naval refitting

[184] "Louisbourg Mayor Wants Royal Battery Reconstructed And Operated As Hotel," Cape Breton Post, June 7, 1980.

industries, Harvey's father and also former town mayor, George Lewis, helped acquire funding for the construction of both water and sewage systems. As a mayor, he was also quite active in town council meetings, where towns people first began professing displeasure with Parks Canada in hiring students from outside of the town to do summer work at the Fortress.[185]

The term "summer kids" referred to the university aged students who were living in staff housing throughout the summer while they worked at the Fortress. Due to the lack of French speaking students in Louisbourg, the "summer kids" who were fluent in both French and English benefitted from a large portion of these early interpretive jobs. Pat explains that this created an "even greater division" between locals and the "Come From Aways" as the project was meant to make work for locals first. There were more applicants than there were positions and because Parks had stressed the importance of bilingual staff, Anglophone Louisbourgers were left in the dark.[186] She adds that "a lot of the early guide books were in French only. All of the information relating to research had come from France, so very little was available in English."[187] There had been no formal French programs in the Louisbourg schools and Latin had been more popular among residents given the large portion of Catholics in the area. Pat recalls that "there had not been much information relating to the Fortress in the school curriculum" and as far as many of the youth had been concerned it was "just a pile of rocks." When asked if she

[185] Lewis, interview.
[186] Lingering tensions between French and Anglophone Canadians were alive and well in Louisbourg during the late 1960s. Reports allude to a group of French Canadians who had vandalized displays on the reconstructed site. A state of General Wolfe was said to have "lost his nose to a hammer blow," as quoted in Robert Schuyler, "Images of America: The Contribution of Historical Archaeology to National Identity," Southern Lore 42, no. 4 (1976): 27-39.
[187] Lewis, interview.

went on field trips to the site, she said no one had really expressed interest in taking students there because they could go there whenever they wanted. She adds that not much has changed since, as children in schools seem even less interested in the Fortress. Also, in targeting university students with skills in research and languages, an important group of Louisbourg's inhabitants are often overlooked as potential employees: the children of fishermen:

> "Local students really just aren't and weren't interested in it. The few that can get work might not have French language skills, so they become even more apathetic. Some Louisbourg families have been working there all their life, they know they will have jobs there. It doesn't create animosity because there are just a lot of children who have no interest in the place. And anyway, a lot of them come from crab and lobster fishermen. You know, like how they say "my father fished before me, so I can fish, too."

Pat adds that the social divide between CFAs and the local youth has affected the relationship between Louisbourg students and the historic site:

> "It's just not of interest to those students, and I know that students in our local schools don't usually go on field trips there anymore. Locals really have no interest in going there, to the site. I don't know why, maybe it's too expensive. Maybe they feel they've already been there enough. They just don't want to take part in that when they have the free time to do it.""

This speaks to the larger issue of the colonization of rural areas by the federal government. Little interest is generated among Louisbourg's younger generation because well-paying summer jobs go not to local students, but university-educated CFAs. The social divide between professional historians and amateur historians created a hierarchy which put Louisbourg residents, once again, outside the Fortress walls.

In an effort to create an educational space outside of the Fortress which would employ its residents, Carol Corbin, a professor at the University College of Cape Breton, and Harvey Lewis went to work putting together plans for the Louisbourg Marine

Heritage Centre. The Centre would have been located in the rehabilitated Lewis and Company store located on Main Street and be used, in part, to entice tourists to stay in the area. Additionally, the Centre would provide background on the town's history outside of the Fortress and give residents something to do throughout the year while contributing to the creation of jobs in the area.[188] Reflecting the importance of the Lewis and Company ship's store, the renovated Centre would look as it did in the early twentieth century. Not unlike the William Robertson and Son Store located in the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic[189], the Centre would allow visitors to touch, feel, see, and smell what a ship's store had been like in the late nineteenth-early twentieth centuries. Harvey and Corbin proposed that the history of the original store in Louisbourg "reflects the history of the town and the island of Cape Breton— from prosperous sea-faring and shipping beginnings until recent times when the store's customers began to patronize the malls and department stores because the main road to Sydney was improved."[190] However, the plans for the Centre remain unfinished as the group was unable to acquire the funding needed to complete the restoration. A capital cost estimate for the Centre came to a total of $1,490,000 with a yearly operating cost estimate of $98,900. The proposal for Harvey's Centre has since remained in draft form.

After Harvey's Centre proposal failed to come to fruition, another more formal organisation sprang up after a group of locals and employees at the Fortress realized that little was being done to preserve the heritage of the town. Bill O'Shea, Helen O'Shea,

[188] Carol Corbin, Proposal for Louisbourg Marine Heritage Centre (Louisbourg, 1994).
[189] The William Robertson and Son Store is a restored ship chandlery dating back to the early twentieth century which exhibits artifacts relating to maritime navigation and fishing in Nova Scotia.
[190] Corbin, Proposal, 2.

Jean Kyte, and a small committee of concerned locals developed the Louisbourg Heritage Society as an outlet for residents to learn about their own history outside of the national historic site. Local author, Elaine Sawlor remembers how encouraging the group, and Bill O'Shea in particular, have been in developing local history projects:

> He really encouraged me. I met with him a lot and he openly gave me access to all the information within the archives [at the Fortress] that was available. And he was always interested in the information I was finding […] He became very much a part of the community [in Louisbourg] he lived there in the downtown. He was involved in the church, Knights of Columbus, and even did some writing about the town, too. He worked with his wife and Ms. Jean Kyte, you know, they were interested in the local history.[191]

The objective of the society was "to preserve, study, develop, present and interpret the heritage of Louisbourg in particular and Cape Breton Island in general."[192] Furthermore, they had expanded this definition to include more than just history and believed that heritage encompassed things such as "buildings and structures, artifacts, streetscapes, ruins, landscapes, industries, folklore and ways of life of significance in the past, present and future of the island community." The Heritage Society played an active role within the development of the town's sense of community, a place that helped rally the interests of the locals. Ultimately, the goals of the Heritage Society fell short due to lack of funding; however they had shown a desire to carry the community's twentieth-century history beyond the Fortress walls. Furthermore, they understood that a stronger relationship between the town and the Fortress was necessary:

> The Town and the Fortress should regularly interact on a co-operative basis […] There is a need to integrate tourism development more systematically with the Fortress through regular meetings which deal with global approaches to tourism as well as specific concerns. There tend to be meetings when people

[191] Sawlor, interview.
[192] Louisbourg Heritage Society, Draught Submission—*"Heritage Development Possibilities in the Town of Louisbourg and Area,"* (Louisbourg: 1995), 29.

> want to complain, but there are not enough meetings to share ideas about promotion, to join together in activities which will be mutually beneficial, or to cooperate in strategies for future development. [193]

The Society has since disbanded however there remains a legacy among residents to preserve the area's history. In particular, residents look to building bridges between the site and the town while incorporating as many voices as possible.

Pat believes that the community would take a vested interest in their own history if there was an initiative to get it started. The local town newsletter, "The Seagull", has in some ways taken over the publication of heritage-related material which had once been done by the Society. Over the past thirty years, the newsletter has taken many forms from one-sheet handouts advertising local services to printed booklets featuring personal photographs and original poetry. The contribution by the O'Shea family and eminent Parks historian John Johnston was significant as they often included news from the Fortress or reports on issues of local history. Throughout the 1980s and into the late 1990s there was a significant contingent of Parks Canada related information brought to The Seagull by the O'Sheas and Johnston. Often the information related to community connections with the Fortress proper. This even went beyond local (Louisbourg) connections to include areas such as Sydney and Glace Bay. The Seagull had offered one of the few tangible connections between the town and site, which some believed helped to strengthen ties between the two. Pat explains that these instances where people can meet and talk on common ground are important:

> There needs to be a common place where people can meet to talk, look at and research local history. If it was all combined in one building so local artists, crafts people, the history, the artifacts would feed off of each other. A facility like Harvey's old store would be an ideal location because it is central to the Post

[193] Ibid., 12.

> office where town's people go every day […] it's large enough to separate interests, but still be close together. The place should be close to bed and breakfasts or the playhouse and the waterfront. I don't think it should be at the Fortress as their hours are limited and expensive to keep open during the winter and evenings. It would be a new town project and the Fortress staff could provide their expertise, but it would not be as regimented as something in the national park service.[194]

In the absence of centres such as these, "The Seagull" embodied a space for mutual creation in living and presenting Louisbourg's multi-layered history. It was not just the eighteenth-century history that was being celebrated, but also the history of Old Town and the importance of its fishery and related infrastructure, namely the area churches and the S & L Railway which, for over a century, was used to transport coal from the mines in the area to the ports in Sydney and Louisbourg. Coincidentally, another product of the 1995 celebrations in consultation with the Louisbourg Heritage Society and the Sydney and Louisburg Railway Historical Society was Brian Campbell and Park historian John Johnston's book, Tracks Across the Landscape: The S & L Commemorative History. In the book, both authors reflect on the importance of the railway to its users in Sydney, Louisbourg, and areas along the way. The rail service was described as being "casually informal." Where passengers knew they could flag down a ride along the way, often for free passage. In 1963 the railway was discontinued and the tracks were salvaged and sold for scrap value; however the railway and its history remain enshrined in the memories of those who used it.

The commemorative book for the S & L Railway was preceded by a study done to record the history of Louisbourg churches, past and present. In the March, 1988 issue of the Seagull, park historians put out a call for information or research projects done by

[194] Lewis, interview.

residents on the numerous local churches. O'Shea wrote that, "after talking to Dan Joe Thomas the other day, he mentioned that he could remember as a boy skating on a pond where Archie Leahy's Fleur de Lys Motel is and looking across the road to the Baptist Church on the same spot that Gordon Bussey's store is today. WHO KNOWS SOMETHING ABOUT THE LOUISBOURG BAPTIST CHURCH?"[195] It was common for park historians to call upon local knowledge of the area, particularly in reference to the family histories and quotidian activities that were absent from archival records. These reports and research notes were done for the interest of the Seagull readers. They were rarely cited (except in cases where residents supplied information) and written in first person narrative. The call for information on Louisbourg churches led to additional research on other churches in the area.

A limited edition booklet (of which 350 were made) on the Stella Maris Roman Catholic Church, written by Bill and Helen O'Shea through the contributions of the church parishioners, was put out in 1993. After the original Stella Maris parish had been expropriated from its place in Old Town, the "new" Stella Maris parish moved to the town of Louisbourg proper where it remains today. The booklet marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the church that followed the Roman Catholic Church from its roots in eighteenth-century Louisbourg to its present day parish. As a result of Parks Canada's decision to remove the church from the expropriated land, the Old Stella Maris church was torn down on March 20, 1968 and the rubble burned the next day.[196] An informal

[195] Louisbourg Heritage Society, Louisbourg Seagull - March 1988 (Louisbourg, 1988), 14.
[196] William and Helen O'Shea, Stella Maris Roman Catholic Church, Louisbourg, Nova Scotia (Louisbourg: Louisbourg Heritage Society, 1995), 39.

comment by the authors closed the chapter on the church's history before it was moved downtown which read as follows:

> "[P]rior to the demolition of the church a number of items were saved including statues, chimes, the Stations of the Cross, the sanctuary lamp and the bell. Unfortunately the stained glass windows seem to have been destroyed. For many years there was a belief that they were saved. This does not seem to be the case since we have discovered many pieces of coloured and painted glass in the sod on the site of old Stella Maris church."[197]

The importance of the area churches in tying the community together is evident. On the eve of the removal of the Stella Maris Parish from its place in Old Town (West Louisbourg), Father Power struggled with the decision to rename the "new" Stella Maris that would take over. Despite suggestions by clerical officials urging Power to rename the church in honour of Saint Louis, Power felt it important to retain the character of the original church. Power's decision to keep the Stella Maris name suggested sensitivity towards preserving a connection between the old and new churches. Power was no doubt also aware of the potential negative reaction from parishioners towards any name which might reference the area's eighteenth-century history and the reconstruction.[198]

There may have been little reference to the expropriations in the research notes, but they were not ignored entirely. In a November, 1999 issue, Bill O'Shea wrote about the "Happenings in Louisbourg from Novembers Past in the Sydney Record": From November 22, 1908, he writes that "the rate payers of West Louisbourg had completed the building of a new school house, which was described as a fine, substantial building and one which "reflected much credit on the people of the district." This building, he

[197] Ibid.
[198] Ibid.

adds, later became the Fortress Visitor Centre.[199] This was also one of the buildings which had been acquired by Parks Canada during the second series of expropriations in the 1960s. What is interesting is the amount of research done on family histories of Louisbourg residents employed through the park as well as references to the expropriated families and the history of the expropriated church, cemeteries, and school house. For instance, in the June 1992 issue of "The Seagull", the O'Sheas featured a "research note" on the Price family. He begins by explaining that "[a]fter talking with Mary Price a month or so ago, I looked up a bit of information on the Price family."[200] Included in the research note was census information from 1871 as well as information on the location of the original Price homestead which in March of 1795 consisted of "300 acres of land at the Brew House Bridge."[201] The O'Shea's research and that of the Louisbourg Heritage Society became an important part of "The Seagull" newsletter and supplied the community with further insights into local history. Moreover, it made connections between Louisbourg's colonial history and its contemporary residents. In doing so, it took Park historians from "behind the walls" and made research available for residents to talk about, discuss, and debate.

In the interview with Mary, we discovered that in my time working there I had met and became acquainted with one of her sons. Lee continues to work on the site as he had been introduced to the Fortress at an early age through Mary's position as an animator:

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[199] Louisbourg Heritage Society, Louisbourg Seagull – November 1999 (Louisbourg, 1999), 17.
[200] Louisbourg Heritage Society, Louisbourg Seagull – June 1992 (Louisbourg, 1992), 16.
[201] Ibid.

> Lee works in the gardens now, he's the gardener. I used to take him to work with me, but he was too young then to work. He would have been a volunteer. He would have been eleven or twelve, my youngest, and then when he was old enough to work for Parks Canada he did. And he made that his life, he's still there. He loves it.[202]

Moreover, outside of Louisbourg's eighteenth-century history, Mary found ways in which the Fortress related to her own past living near the town of Louisbourg:

> I remember the reconstruction. There were people from here [Little Lorraine] who had worked there throughout the reconstruction. William Burke was part of building that chapel, which was there at the time. We were so proud that someone from Little Lorraine had done that. And that was another story that I had told when we talked to tourists about present day. But I also remember as a child, once a year we would go on a field trip there. And there was the museum. In the museum there was a scale model of the town and someone was there with a pointer who would point out all the places—and she was a Louisbourg lady, actually. Her last name was Pope.[203]

Dolores Hayden writes that the politics of place construction are created through these negotiations as they occur over space and time with vernacular interpretations being rooted in place through memory.[204] The place that is the Fortress, however, is not one created by the Louisbourg community. Louisbourg town is a place of sociability, as exemplified by the "coming home" festivals of Crabfest and Come Home to Little Lorne; it is a place of economic exchange networks and local institutions, as illustrated through the Lewis and Company store and heritage centres, and a place of economic opportunity as is the case with the employment opportunities for some families at the fortress and in the fishery. The fortress is in Louisbourg, but it is not a creation of its people.

What occurs in Louisbourg are individual and unique experiences, not the collective memory the fortress hoped to form. Michael G. Kenny points out:

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[202] Price, interview.
[203] Ibid.
[204] Dolores Hayden, The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995).

> All experience is individual [because] collectivities do not have minds or memories, though we often speak as if they did. Yet it is also true that individuals are nothing without the prior existence of the collectivities that sustain them, the cultural traditions and the communicative practices that position the self in relation to the social and natural worlds.[205]

Walsh and Opp use the term "public memory" which they describe something which "consists of memories that are made, experienced, and circulated in public spaces and that which are intended to be communicated and shared."[206] These memories are the kinds which have been cultivated through years of living and working alongside the Fortress. Contributing to the multiple layers of history which surround the historic site, these memories help to fill in the gaps which exist outside of the commemorative era of the eighteenth-century. Moreover, this negotiation process gives agency back to the residents and employees who have historically been excluded from formal development policies.

Among some Parks Canada employees, the Fortress of Louisbourg has been considered a training laboratory for public historians, archaeologists, and conservators who have used its resources to hone their skills.[207] Developments in the fields of public and social history throughout the 1970s have led to concerted efforts to change the direction of research at the Fortress. In his book, Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town, Christopher Moore briefly describes the shift towards understanding the town's social history— a shift which shaped his book and changed the way the public viewed the historic site:

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[205] Michael G. Kenny, "A Place for Memory: The Interface between Individual and Collective History," Comparative Studies in Society and History 41, no. 3 (7, 1999): 421.
[206] Walsh and Opp, 9.
[207] Though I had recently heard this referred to in an interview with Monique Cantin, this comment has come up in several other informal discussions with Louisbourg's other cultural resources staff.

> From the rich sources that survive to record the half-century of this small, lively community on the Atlantic shore of Canada, we can discover how some ordinary people lived and died in eighteenth-century Canada, how they dressed and ate and built their homes, how they earned a living and raised their children, how they fell in love and went to war since history usually denies us the chance to go past kings and heroes to the lives of the ordinary and the undistinguished, those rare occasions when we can make some ordinary people briefly famous are worth seizing.[208]

Public historians were working towards disseminating their research to a wider range of people, namely those outside of the institution. In order to do this successfully, historians such as Michael Frisch suggest that a redistribution of intellectual authority was necessary. In doing this, works became more accessible and provided points for engagement rather than serving only as instruments of power and hierarchy.[209]

Cathy Stanton explains that the theory and practice of public history has been shaped through relationships with state agencies and their policies.[210] Former Fortress employee and historian Terry MacLean believes that it has become part of Parks policy to make sure that there is an understanding for the common histories of the past. It is through these stories visitors are able to develop a personal connection with the site. They are able to view themselves alongside the animators and make comparisons. He writes that, "[f]or more than two decades Louisbourg had developed as a mirror of Canadian heritage, reflecting French, English, native and American traditions. It has also served as a testimony to the growth and maturity of the heritage preservation movement in Canada

[208] Christopher Moore, Louisbourg Portraits: Life in an Eighteenth-Century Garrison Town (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1982), vii-viii.
[209] Michael Frisch, A Shared Authority: Essays on the Craft and Meaning of Oral and Public History (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1990).
[210] Stanton, Lowell Experiment, 13.

and to the vicissitudes of the Cape Breton economy."[211] However, Louisbourg research remained predominately one-sided with historians and curators educating the public who could be found on the periphery of the Fortress. The visitors become part of the site's collective memory, but residents exist independently of them. Overton explains that the answer to these issues does not occur through a "decentralization of political decision-making power." The power to change must come from below because the forces from above have reason to maintain the status quo, thus perpetuating the relationships which support the current reality.[212] The key to changing how the relationship functions begins with provoking residents to question, comprehend, and challenge the existing order. Historically, however, the decisions that matter most to the Louisbourg community were made by federal workers. In order to overcome this power dynamic, Louisbourg residents must acknowledge that the power of "living-history" exists within them and their community, not within the reconstruction.

Writing on Lowell, Massachusetts Stanton explains that when done properly, the relationship between cultural producers and their audience can be beneficial to all. Stanton suggests that there should be a common discursive ground with participants in heritage circles. Studying the subaltern and the silenced is important, but in those studies we as academics or heritage professionals should be aware of our own role in the process. Additionally, Stanton explains that we should be more activist-oriented in our approach to studying heritage. She writes that:

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[211] Terry MacLean, "The Making of Public History: A Comparative Study of Skansen Open Air Museum, Sweden; Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia; and the Fortress of Louisbourg National Historic Site, Nova Scotia," Material History Review 47 (1998): 31.
[212] Overton, 190.

> [If we are able] to enter more directly into the discursive fields we study through participation in conferences and other gatherings of heritage professionals, perhaps we can find ways to go a step farther and locate—or create—settings (for example, conferences or community projects) where we can encounter not only other scholars and professional heritage practitioners but also, crucially, the community activist groups whose voices are so often mediated or not heard at heritage sites. By working to clarify underlying motivations and causes at the sites we study […] we may be able to help reframe conversations among disparate groups and move discussions away from more surface issues.[213]

In Monuments and Memory, History and Representation in Lowell, Massachusetts Martha Norkunas writes that because of the implicit connection between site and the telling of history "is so critical, aspects of the past will often be omitted or added, depending on what sites are available to tell that part of the story."[214] In a sense, these additions and omissions themselves become part of the story.

The "place" becomes instrumental in the creation of memories that reflect upon and speak to the multi-layered past. Worldviews and deeply rooted community and family ties remain despite the displacement of its people and landscape. The connection between Louisbourgers, their town, and the site of the colonial Fortress are still very much alive despite the history of displacement in the area. Norkunas adds that just because a place has become frozen in time, memory and history can never stop changing.[215] In Louisbourg, this is reflected through the vernacular celebrations such as archives, festivals, and heritage groups, but also in the very act of re-telling these stories to those who want to listen. In the town, residents embody Louisbourg's historical narrative as they continue the thread of history that began in the eighteenth-century. When we "articulat[e] our findings about social relationships and characteristics […] in

[213] Cathy Stanton, "Serving Up Culture: Heritage and its Discontents at an Industrial History Site," International Journal of Heritage Studies 11, no. 5 (12, 2005): 415-431.
[214] Norkunas, 179.
[215] Ibid., 180.

arenas populated by our informants themselves, we may be able to hold a mirror up to the heritage field that can help create a community of representation rather than simply a representation of community."[216] Thus, the role of the community in these heritage institutions must be paramount. The balance of power between the local community and the heritage institutions which surround them has historically been skewed. In order to develop a relationship of reciprocity a consistent process of negotiation is necessary. This negotiation cannot be assumed or learned through academic text, but rather we must ask ourselves how residents, resolve the imbalances they perceive.[217]

By forcing ourselves as cultural producers to be more critical of our dialogue, we open the door for an alternative interpretation of Canada's past. One that is not definitive, because as we know the historical narrative is continually evolving, but perhaps more engaging. As Erna MacLeod points out, the real test as to whether a museum can provoke critical thinking comes not only from the cultural producers themselves, but also by those who "read the site as a text and incorporate its messages into the fabric of their lives."[218] The efforts of Louisbourg residents to commemorate and validate the town's history illustrates that there is something to be taken from public input. The social distance between professional historians and "amateur historians" exists because Parks Canada does not acknowledge that they interpret but one part of this historical thread and residents feel forgotten. The Fortress of Louisbourg is defined as an end point of the town's history by federal agents; however the modern town of Louisbourg illustrates that

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[216] Ibid.
[217] Bella Dicks, "Encoding and Decoding the People Circuits of Communication at a Local Heritage Museum," European Journal of Communication 15, no. 1 (3, 2000): 74-75.
[218] MacLeod, 148.

that is not true. Unless the fortress recognizes that it is not a static interpretation of a moment in time, it will never grow beyond that narrative. Unless the community acknowledges the fortress' part in their everyday lives, they remain on the periphery. It is imperative that they weave their individual threads together, uniting into the grand narrative that is the history of Louisbourg.

Conclusion

> *"They may change this area, you see. They've stolen our identity. No matter what the changes be, it's still old Louisbourg town to me. Louisbourg town oh Louisbourg town, I've walked your streets both up and down and when I die please lay me down, lay me* down in Louisbourg town. And across the way for all to see, the Fortress stands majestically. And as I walk the winding streets, familiar faces there I meet. I see no *reason now to roam for now I'm happy here, this is my home."*
>
> -Ernie Lahey, Louisbourg Town.[219]

In his song Louisbourg Town, Ernie Lahey sings of changes in the town, how life is not the way it once was, but that regardless Louisbourg will always be Louisbourg to him. Through personal archives, memoirs, festivals, and committees, local residents have found ways to negotiate a unique identity alongside one that had been imposed onto them. The animosity which had developed between the town and the site is a direct response to this process. While residents create these projects, they continue to exist on the periphery of the park. The juxtaposition of the town next to its colonial fortress suggests that alternative perspectives are in fact necessary as a response to a past lost to time. It is through a weaving of these narratives that mediation can occur. The relationship between them becomes the physical embodiment of our own relationship with the past. As expressed by David Lowenthal, "when we realize that past and present are not exclusive but inseparable realms, we cast off preservation's self-defeating insistence on a fixed and stable past."[220]

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[219] Ernie Lahey, "Louisbourg Town," YouTube - Broadcast Yourself. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nr4ntID2kXY (accessed July 1, 2012).
[220] Lowenthal, 411.

Louisbourg reminds us that history is a living thing, or at least it should be, we reassure ourselves that the nature of "living history" continues to connect people over time and space, long after we have gone. Communities like Louisbourg who have come to depend on economic development from the heritage sector are aware of the importance of preservation. Bringing official history and vernacular commemoration together highlights the importance of viewing history as a fluid process and something that is constantly evolving.

There has been a precedent in grass-roots initiatives at Louisbourg. For example, the early commemorative work of Katherine McLennan grew out of a personal interest in history that she shared with her father. Her father, Senator McLennan, has been honoured by historians such as A.J.B. Johnston as a driving force in early commemorative projects at Louisbourg, but Katherine's work has been largely eclipsed. Working alongside her father, Katherine's early curatorial work (from 1935 to the beginning of the site reconstruction in the 1960s) led to her development of the museum's first accurate model illustrating the original Fortress as well as a fine collection of research reports and material culture pertaining to Louisbourg history.[221] Katherine's dedication to interpreting Louisbourg history was clear as she often worked unsalaried at the site's museum and later donated the entirety her father's Louisbourg archival collection to the historic site. Additionally, her philanthropy and appreciation of local history manifested itself through other volunteer projects associated with the Miner's Museum in Glace Bay

[221] A.J.B. Johnston, "A Vanished Era: The Petersfield Estate of J. S. McLennan, 1900-1942," In Cape Breton at 200: Historical Essays in Honour of the Island's Bicentennial, 1785-1985 (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1985), 85-105.

and St. Patrick's Church Museum in Sydney.[222] Terrance MacLean writes that it was due to McLennan's efforts that the Fortress of Louisbourg was recognized for its educational potential and subsequent success as a national historic site. Her model helped to contextualize the only remnants of the original fortified town which was the coastline, the harbour, and the ruins. These elements together helped to "convey with considerable impact a sense of place and time" and have since remained an integral part of the living history museum.[223] Katherine's model of the town can still be found in the museum at the Fortress of Louisbourg and continues to attract visitor's attention to this day.

[222] C. J. Taylor, Negotiating the Past: The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites (Montreal/Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).
[223] Terry MacLean, Louisbourg Heritage: From Ruins to Reconstruction (Sydney: University College of Cape Breton Press, 1995), 18-19.

Figure 5: Model of Louisbourg by Katherine McLennan, personal photo, 2010

These grand reconstructions, though touted as important educational tools and necessities in the representation and memory of our country's past, have developed into little more than glorified plaques. McKay asserts that "today's most eloquent reconstructions [Louisbourg, for instance] are wordless, conveying their "truth" sensually, and are as easily and swiftly digested as a television commercial. We are tempted to pay them the compliment of cultural innovation, yet they are merely logical

extensions of early commemorative plaques and cairns."[224] Both methodologies enlist the "state and its practices of surveillance; both make tangible through physical objects an anti-modernist ideology of the "Golden Age", through the use of the technologies and means of persuasion appropriate to their time."[225] Moreover, as McKay writes, these kinds of large-scale, "theme-park" museums:

> [N]aturalize a way of doing history for others, within and for the Tourist Gaze, and they are profoundly anti-historical, speaking not about time but about timelessness, about commemorating that which has somehow escaped from time's flow. In this view, the true essence of the past can be grasped and saved by salvaging things, by setting up cairns and plaques, elaborate fortresses and towering tall ships. There they stand as heavy weights against time's flow, to defy with their sheer materiality the tragic transience of all things.[226]

No doubt the Fortress of Louisbourg has been effective at portraying a "moment in time," a place where eighteenth-century life is lived every day, at least throughout the summer. Painstaking research has gone into the material culture of eighteenth-century Louisbourg and several biographies of Louisbourg's notable citizens have been compiled over the years. However, as we now know, there remains a great deal of Louisbourg history that lies buried within its fortified walls.

Louisbourg's working-class history has been absent from official interpretation at its historic site, but is an important part of Louisbourgers' collective identity. The memory of the expropriations through its residents and parks employees, whether it is viewed as positive or negative, indicates a deep sense of connection to a past they fear will soon be forgotten. To an extent, there has been disregard for working-class stories at the Fortress of Louisbourg. This is palpable in the preference towards the celebratory

[224] McKay, "History and the Tourist Gaze," 138.
[225] Ibid.
[226] Ibid.

aspects of colonial Louisbourg's aristocracy. Every summer the historic site hosts fêtes and pageants that highlight the upper class, processions, taking them out of the reconstructed houses and placing them in the public eye. The working class remains in the kitchens, taverns, and fishing huts that bear the wear and tear of daily life in the eighteenth-century. As visually appealing as these pageants may be, we should be aware that they represent but a small portion of Louisbourg's history. It is the birth, death, and rebirth of the historical narrative that makes something living-history. Sharing these individual stories has become the ultimate act of rebellion as they differ from official accounts of Louisbourg's story. As I have suggested in my thesis, by negotiating official and vernacular history, through contesting and contrasting narratives, motion is set to history, opening up the dialogue between past and memory.

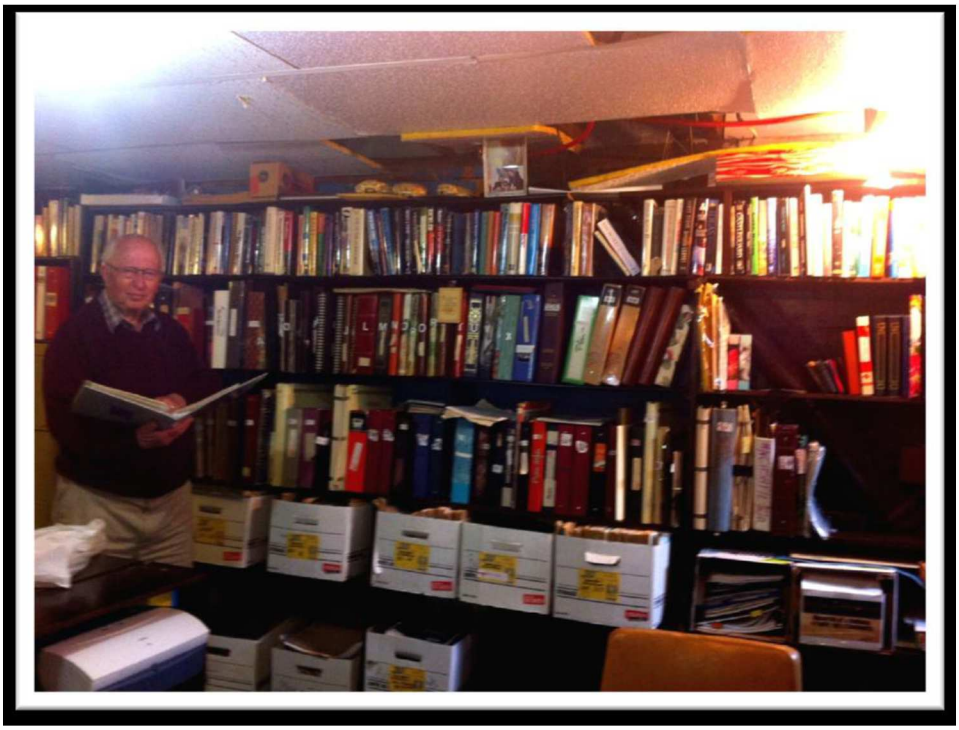

Figure 6: Photo of Harvey Lewis in his archive, personal photo, 2012.

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