

PERCY NOBBS AND THE MEMORIAL GARDEN AT GRAND PRÉ

WAYDE BROWN, MRAIC, is Assistant Professor in the College of Environment and Design, University of Georgia, and the former Manager of Heritage Property Programmes, Province of Nova Scotia. A Ph.D. candidate at the Welsh School of Architecture, Cardiff, Wayde is especially interested in the role of 'historic reconstructions' in twentieth-century conservation, the primary focus of his current research.

> WAYDE BROWN

"Where is the thatch-roofed village, the home of Acadian farmers, – men whose lives glided on like rivers that water the woodlands ... Naught but tradition remains of the beautiful village of Grand-Pré."¹

During the past century, the site of Grand Pré's eighteenth-century church and graveyard has transformed from bucolic meadow to national historic park, and pending nomination for world heritage site (fig. 1).² This process has resulted in a complex cultural landscape, well illustrating the twentieth-century notion of heritage as something distinct from history, and uniquely modern.³ The management challenge is equally complex, with wide-ranging types of physical resources, incorporating a range of values, and with different meanings to different groups. A key element – perhaps the most complex – is the formal landscape design, created by architect Percy Erskine Nobbs in 1919. The following paper examines this design, as an element contributing to an important cultural landscape, as a unique project within Nobbs' body of work, and as a management challenge for the current stewards of Grand Pré National Historic Site.

SITE

In 1915, a visitor to the meadow at Grand Pré noted that, "in the field we can trace the site of the chapel where fathers and sons were imprisoned, and the foundation of the priest's house the graveyard is marked by a single stone cross erected in late years ..."⁴ The chapel referred to was the Church of Saint-Charles-des-Mines, one of several sites in Acadia where adult



FIG 1. GRAND PRÉ NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE OF CANADA | WAYDE BROWN, 2006

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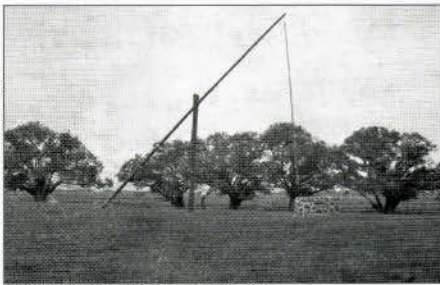


FIG. 2. 'FRENCH WELL' AND WILLOWS



FIG. 3. HERBIN'S CROSS | WAYDE BROWN, 2003



STATUE D'EVANGELINE A GRAND PRÉ
par le sculpteur acadien Henri Hébert.

C-006416

FIG. 4. HEBERT'S STATUE OF EVANGELINE

males were gathered in 1755 to hear the Order of Deportation read, thus commencing '*le grand dérangement*'.⁵ While most physical evidence of the Acadian occupation was systematically destroyed by the British, and the land subsequently redistributed to settlers recruited from other colonies, in the ruinous foundation walls and remnant French plantings remained a tangible if uncelebrated link to this earlier community.

Pierre Nora describes *lieux de mémoire* as, "vestiges, the ultimate embodiments of a commemorative consciousness that survives in a history which, having renounced memory, cries out for it."⁶ Ironically, the emergence of Grand Pré as an Acadian *lieu de mémoire* was due in great measure to American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's 1847 work *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadia*. In this poem Longfellow presents a fictionalized account of the Acadian diaspora, situating the deportation in the village of Grand-Pré, albeit a setting described with artistic license. Grand Pré subsequently became a geographic focus for the growing sense of Acadian nationalism which emerged during the late-nineteenth century, just as Longfellow's heroine – Evangeline – became a symbol of the 'exile from the Garden of Eden'.⁷ In 1895, the Acadian press called for the erection of a monument at Grand Pré, "*a la mémoire des Acadiens de 1755*."⁸ Indeed, images of the Grand Pré site appear as early as 1897 in travel literature produced by the Dominion Atlantic Railway.⁹ In 1907, the site was purchased by John Frederic Herbin, a local businessman of Acadian descent, and the process of re-creating Grand Pré began.

The property acquired by Herbin presented various evidence of early eighteenth-century occupation, including foundation walls and plantings – specifically willows purported to date from

the Acadian period – and a 'French well' discovered and 'excavated' by local youth in 1880.¹⁰ Along the southern boundary of the property ran a rail line owned by the Dominion Atlantic Railway, from 1912 operated as a subsidiary of the Canadian Pacific Railway. As early as 1895 the link between railway and commemoration was evident; in that year an American journalist visited the site noting especially the recently discovered 'French well' (fig. 2), and advising readers, "there it stands on the edge of the beautiful Grand Pré meadows, in ugly relief against the Ancient willows of Acadian days – red pump not even subdued by time."¹¹ Herbin, however, had a larger vision for the site; he suggested: "Grand Pré is home of Longfellow's *Evangeline* and a stone memorial there would be fitting to perpetuate the name of the poet ... The row of willows ... set out along side the church road must in time fall into decay. The depression in the earth which was once a cellar must be filled up. The well may cease to exist. The site of the Acadian church is less discernable every year. Not a trace remains of the cemetery ... Imperishable marble should now mark the place ... A fund is now being raised for the purpose of making of this ground an Acadian and Longfellow Memorial Park."¹² During Herbin's tenure, little of this vision was realized, though in 1909 he erected a stone cross on the assumed site of the Acadian cemetery (fig. 3).¹³ When the land was sold to the Dominion Atlantic Railway in 1917, this cross and the French well were the only intentional memorials on the site – a condition soon to change.

Soon after purchase, the Dominion Atlantic Railway offered to transfer to the Acadian community a small part of the property – the supposed site of the chapel – for the erection of a memorial structure; and in fact this had been a clause required by Herbin.¹⁴ The idea

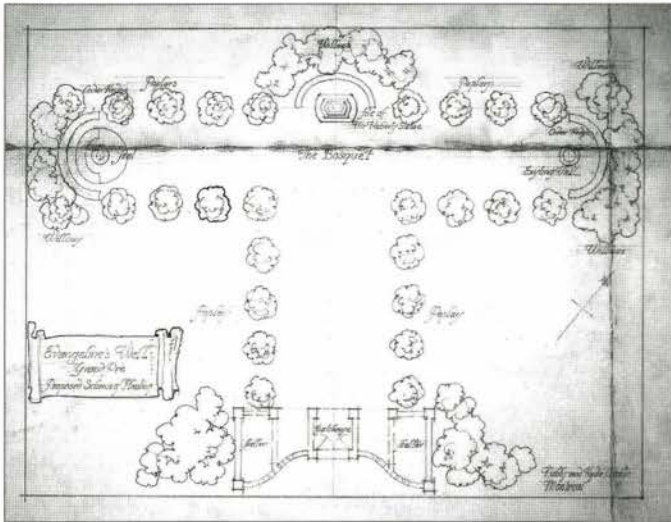


FIG. 5. PROPOSED PLANTING SCHEME

received generally positive response from the Acadian community, and an even wider appeal was made for support. The Montréal newspaper *Le Droit* called on readers to help, “*perpétuer le souvenir ‘du grand dérangement’*.”¹⁵ The land was eventually transferred in 1919, and the cornerstone of the memorial church laid in 1922. Parallel to this process, the Dominion Atlantic Railway proceeded with a separate development plan for the remainder of the site, guided more obviously by its business interests in travel and tourism. A bronze statue of Evangeline was commissioned from noted Canadian sculptor Henri Hébert, and unveiled in 1920 by Lady Burnham, though without Acadian participation (fig. 4). Less celebrated but perhaps more significant for the site’s evolution to national historic site was a second commission, given to Montreal architect Percy Erskine Nobbs, to design a setting for Hébert’s statue, and to generally address the landscape design of the site.

DESIGN

Percy Erskine Nobbs was a major figure in Canadian architecture during the first half of the twentieth century. Born in

Scotland, Nobbs graduated from the University of Edinburgh and then apprenticed with Robert Lorimer, a noted architect associated with the Arts and Crafts Movement. In 1903 he arrived in Montreal to head McGill University’s Department of Architecture.¹⁶ Nobbs taught at McGill until 1940, while also maintaining an active architecture practice, from 1910 in partnership with George Taylor Hyde. Three years before retiring Nobbs authored a book entitled *Design: a Treatise on the Discovery of Form*, in which he suggests that the contemporary student, “has access to too much appertaining to the architecture that has been and too little that deals with the architecture that might be,” an observation that may obliquely reveal Nobbs’ own approach to architectural design.¹⁷ His architectural legacy in Canada, concentrated in Montreal but extending from at least Nova Scotia to Alberta, includes residential, institutional, and religious projects. Beyond teaching and architectural design, Nobbs also maintained a professional interest in planning, an interest well illustrated by a project Nobbs commenced in 1912 – a master plan for the University of Alberta campus.¹⁸ In 1928, Nobbs was elected president of the Town Planning

Institute of Canada, and included a chapter on town planning in his 1937 book.

Nobbs’ studied works do not suggest, however, a significant interest in landscape architecture, albeit a professional discipline emerging only during the period of his own career. He did design a few domestic gardens in the early 1920s, in Westmount and Trois-Rivières, and also designed several war memorials following World War One.¹⁹ These latter projects – for example, a 1921 war memorial in Trois-Rivières and a 1922 naval memorial in Halifax – focus on the memorial objects and their placement, but with little modification of the larger site. The University of Alberta master plan, and campus plans suggested for the McGill University campus, do incorporate formal landscape designs, though as elements within a larger ensemble.²⁰ Both these projects illustrate a formalism, with strongly expressed axes as the principal ordering device, building entrances or other architectural elements as foci, and a hierarchy of open spaces clearly defined through tightly placed plantings and building facades. These designs suggest the Beaux-Arts as opposed to the increasingly popular, Olmsted-inspired approach



FIG. 6. SKETCH OF EVANGELINE STATUE

to landscape design, an approach more sympathetic to the Arts and Crafts related vocabulary of Nobbs' architectural work. Thus, in the context of Nobbs' recorded *oeuvre*, this commission to design a memorial park at Grand Pré represents a unique work, as a designed – and built – memorial landscape, and as a design incorporating both formal and informal vocabulary.

Drawings for the Grand Pré project are dated from March 1919 through May 1920, though several sketches are undated. Many drawings are initialed 'PEN' and others have notes signed by Nobbs, providing instruction to draftsmen, suggesting Nobbs' personal engagement with this project.²¹ Of the few drawings which refer to site in the title block, one undated drawing refers to 'Longfellow Memorial Park'; several others, from both 1919 and 1920, reference 'Evangeline Park', which seems the prevalent project name. The first sketch proposal is focused on creation of a setting for Herbert's statue, and makes no reference to the larger site (figs. 5, 6). Prominent in this concept is an architectural feature - a gatehouse anchoring a primary axis leading to 'Mr. Herbert's statue'. A secondary axis crosses the first, connecting the 'existing well' and a newly introduced seating area. Poplars, willows and a cedar hedge define these elements, which the drawing collectively labels a 'bosquet'. A refined version of this proposal, dated March 3, 1919, situates the design in relation to existing roads, and includes both of the pre-existing memorial elements, the well and Herbin's stone cross (fig. 7). The relatively elaborate gate structure is retained, together with the poplar avenue leading from it to the Evangeline statue. The secondary axis now connects the 'existing stone cross' to 'Evangeline's well', and beyond the well a proposed church has been added. While this latter drawing is further developed and more directly references the site,

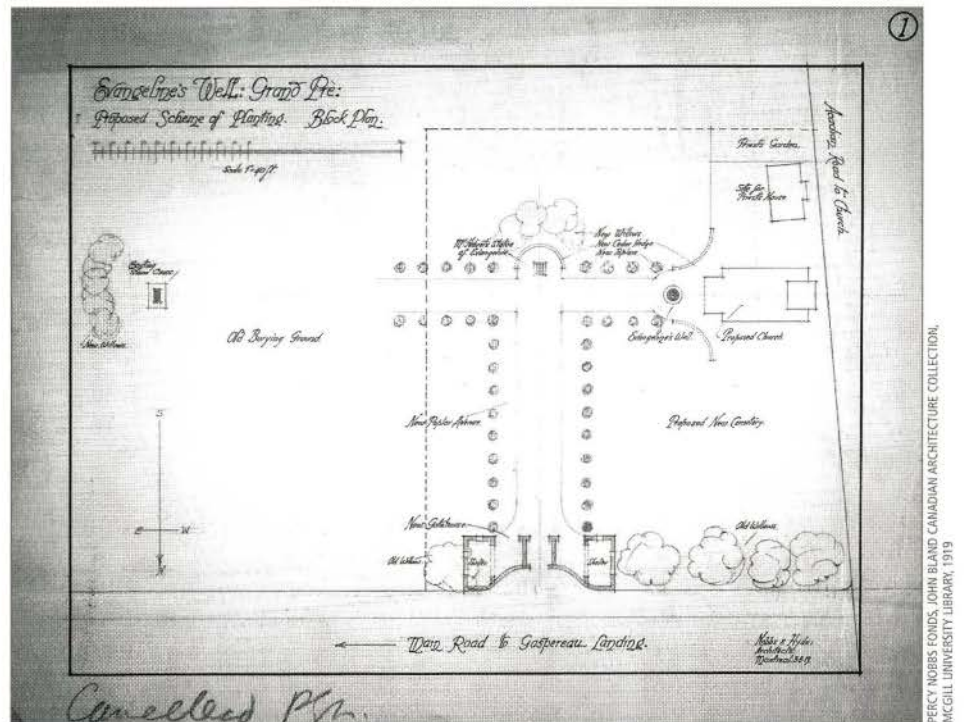


FIG. 7. PROPOSED PLANTING SCHEME

the author seems not to understand the relationship between the existing site elements, with the direction arrow apparently ninety degrees off. Curiously, the design does not reference the Dominion Atlantic Railway line forming the property's southern boundary, nor the adjacent station.

By June 1919, a far more complex design had evolved, represented by a detailed site plan and a bird's eye perspective (figs. 8, 9). This scheme retains as a main ordering device the primary axis, a fifty-foot wide 'Avenue of Poplars' running from the gatehouse, in line with the tower of a relatively developed chapel design; the axis is broken by the two extant site elements, the 'old cemetery cross' and 'Evangeline's well'. Plantings along the axis reinforce a sense of procession, with a 'grove of flowering crab' at the entrance, a short row of new willows leading to the well, and thence a longer allée of poplars. The secondary axis now runs from

the front of the proposed chapel to a minor entrance – signaled by a break in the hedge, stone piers and existing 'very old Willows' – and with a view beyond of the rail line and a meadow. This axis is lined with more of the poplars and broken by Hébert's statue of Evangeline. Perhaps the most significant change in this final scheme is the lessened emphasis on the Evangeline statue, initially Nobbs' primary charge, and the prominence of the chapel, sitting within a formally defined spruce 'precinct'.²² This proposal also introduces two new elements, a 'semi-wild water garden with winding path' running along southern edge of the site, adjacent to the rail line and opposite the Grand Pré railway station, and in the southwest corner of the site, a 'bosage of wild trees for picnic'. These two additions to the design are a significant counterpoint to the formality of the axes and architectural elements, and are more closely allied with the Arts and Crafts spirit of Nobbs' architecture.²³

PERCY NOBBS FONDS, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, 1919

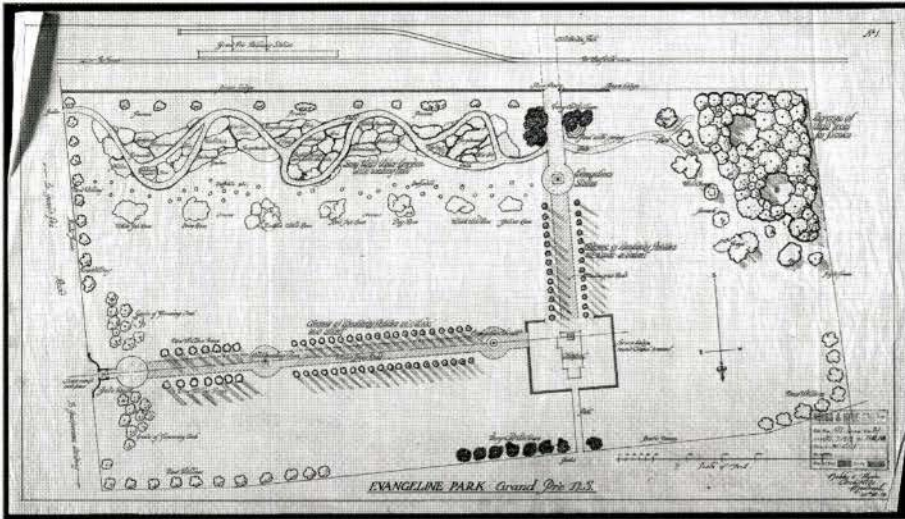


FIG. 8. SITE PLAN

PERCY NOBBS FONDS, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, 1919

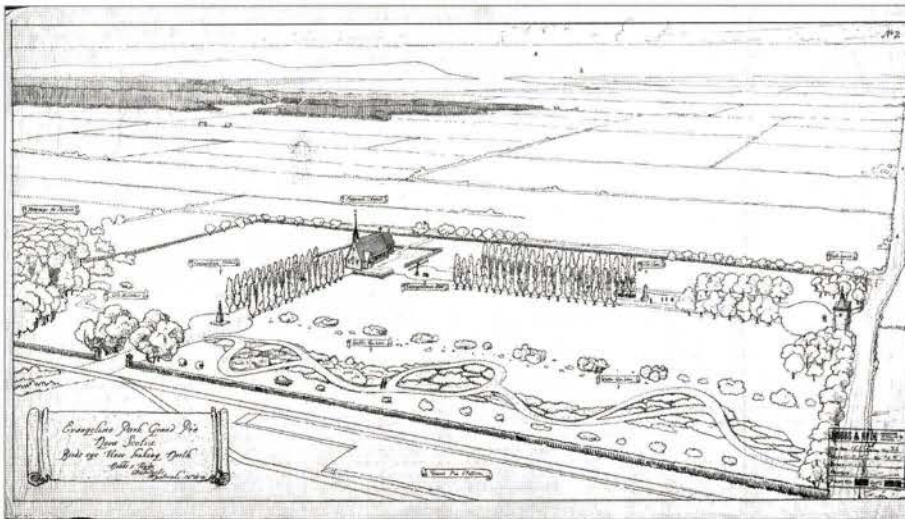


FIG. 9 BIRDS EYE VIEW. SITE PLAN

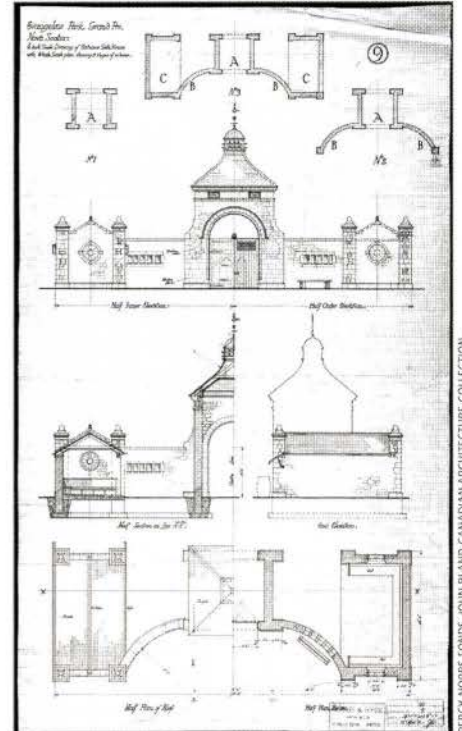


FIG. 10. GATEHOUSE

PERCY NOBBS FONDS, JOHN BLAND CANADIAN ARCHITECTURE COLLECTION, MCGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY, 1919

Though Nobbs did not directly address landscape design in his writings, his consideration of town planning provides an oblique view of his approach, especially his discussion of the axis. "Axiation applied to limited elements of the general plan, as distinct from a symmetrical solution imposed upon the plan as a whole, is always in order when there are dual elements to deal with, or elaborate groupings of related buildings."²⁴ Though written nearly two decades later, this sentiment seems well illustrated by the Grand Pré design, and suggests that in this rare foray into landscape architecture, Nobbs carried his more developed philosophies of architecture and planning. As noted, Nobbs had apprenticed with Scottish architect Sir Robert Lorimer, who was overtly engaged in garden design, occasionally collaborating with Gertrude Jekyll.²⁵ Referencing an 1899 paper given by Lorimer to the Architectural Association, a recent author sums up

Architectural elements contribute significantly to this scheme. The bird's eye perspective, dated June 28, 1919, suggests considerable thought had been given to a proposed chapel. The design illustrated on this drawing incorporates a side porch entrance, a chancel and a spire, with the ecclesiastical east oriented northward. A French vernacular is recalled by the steeply pitched 'bell cast' roof, and a 'ghost sketch' shows the voussoir pattern of a window head. The drawing also indicates a completed design for the 'gate house', also in a vaguely French idiom with a Mansard

roof rising to a central finial detail, and a serpentine wall on either side of the structure emphasizing the entrance. In fact, drawings done two months earlier, in April 1919, provide 'three stages of scheme' for the entrance gatehouse, ranging from a simple entrance structure to the structure with curved walls, to the most elaborate scheme which incorporates side pavilions providing covered seating (fig. 10). These detailed drawings also propose a fish-motif weathervane, and in the frieze of the centre structure, the dates '1618 - 1919'.



FIG. 11. PRINCIPAL AXIS AND GATEHOUSE

his approach to landscape design as, “a search for the contrast of spaces, colours and textures, formal vying with picturesque in a compartmentalized arrangement.”²⁶ This might well be a description of Nobbs’ Grand Pré design, and seems more provocative than much of the published landscape design of the period, for example the highly formal and static winning designs of the American Academy in Rome’s 1922 competition for ‘A Memorial Park’.²⁷ Nobbs’ noted proposal for a McGill University master plan similarly provides a high level of interest and complexity, achieved through ‘a contrast of space’, and may presage the Memorial Garden at Grand Pré.²⁸

Much of Nobbs’ design was in fact built, as evidenced by the illustrations of post-1920 tourist literature presenting Grand Pré, Evangeline and the story of l’Acadie.²⁹ The most important aspect of the Nobbs plan is arguably the ‘axiation’ with primary and secondary axes serving as the chief ordering device for the other assorted elements of the site, and also providing the visitor with an obvious route for exploration and realization of the place. Most of the images included in the early tourist literature present the

view of Evangeline and the church, from the minor southern gate, looking northward along the secondary axis, and demonstrating that these two elements, not surprisingly, were received by the public as the most defining of place. Nonetheless, some evidence suggests that the principal entrance was, as intended by Nobbs, from the main highway through the gatehouse, and onto the design’s primary axis. This approach provided a view of the two older but perhaps less romantic ‘intentional memorials’, the French well and Herbin’s cross. For example, a 1923 visitor to Grand Pré wrote, “Following the winding white road that beckons toward Blomidon to the northward, we see, on our right, a few wooden crosses that mark the burial place of the Englishmen who fell in an almost forgotten massacre ... farther on, at our left, through a new-old Normandy gate we pass, through the park, willow-bordered ...”³⁰ Two decades later, travel literature produced by the Dominion Atlantic Railway advises, “The entrance to Evangeline (or Grand Pré) Memorial Park contains a tea room where the visitor may find refreshment ... nearby stands the Grand Pré Railway Station of the dominion Atlantic railway in log cabin style, in keeping with



FIG. 12. FORMER VISITORS RECEPTION CENTRE | WAYDE BROWN, 2003

its setting.”³¹ A photograph circa 1940 and labeled ‘Grand Pré Park Tea Room and Park Entrance’ clearly references this eastern entrance.³²

The gatehouse was the most important architectural element in Nobbs’ design to be realized, given that another architect ultimately received the memorial church commission. (fig. 6) As noted, the original gatehouse design provided a scheme which could be built at three different levels, ranging from a free standing stone structure, with a vaguely Mansard roof, to a more elaborate design which incorporated wings on either side and pavilions providing covered seating. A 1922 photograph of the Evangeline statue shows, in the background, the main gatehouse structure apparently under construction, with side walls and roof in place (fig. 4). Later photographs show the gatehouse complete, with wings on either side; however, these extensions bear little resemblance to Nobbs’ design, and the entire structure is clearly executed in wood frame construction rather than masonry (fig. 11). The structure was still in place when the federal government acquired the site in 1956, but was subsequently replaced by a new visitor’s reception



FIG. 13. RUSTIC FENCE AND GATEHOUSE



FIG. 14. WATER FEATURE | WAYDE BROWN, 2006

centre erected on the opposite side of the highway (fig. 12). Significantly, the entrance onto the principal axis was maintained, and the roof profile incorporated in this new building seems more inspired by the Nobbs' gatehouse than the rustic idiom common in federal park architecture.³³ A more minor architectural element of Nobbs' design was the border fence which he simply indicates as 'rustic', a criterion met by the wooden fence constructed along the eastern (highway) and northern boundaries (fig. 13).³⁴

The third defining aspect of Nobbs' design was the specific plant detailing, including species selection. The most elaborate natural feature specified was the 'semi-wild water garden', an element built and still extant (fig. 14). Indeed, a mid-century author suggested that, "the ornamental trees and lagoons with their water flowers, so ingeniously arranged by the gardener in charge of the Park (sic), have won for it universal appeal."³⁵ It seems unlikely that the plantings which Nobbs intended to reinforce the axes were planted in their entirety, but certainly hedge plantings were used for this purpose, and a circa 1940 photograph suggests that the 'new willow trees' between the gatehouse and

French well were in fact planted.³⁶ A 1969 site brochure also shows well established trees along the secondary axis, from the church to the Evangeline statue, though these may not have been part of the original Nobbs design.³⁷ Evident in many early images of the park are the 'old French willows' along the northern edge of the site (fig.15), noted in Nobbs' drawings and through their identification and retention, perhaps a type of intentional monument.

EVOLUTION

Enigmatically, change is the most crucial constant within cultural landscapes, and the past eight decades have witnessed a significant evolution in the 'Memorial Park' at Grand Pré, in part through the addition of built elements to the Nobbs design. The most influential addition was the memorial church (fig. 1), an element included in Nobbs' drawings; however, the actual structure was designed by architect R.A. Frechet, an Acadian who had studied architecture at the Ecole des Beaux Arts and McGill University in Montreal, possibly overlapping with Nobbs' early years as director at the latter. Constructed with funds raised pri-

marily within the Acadian community, and with significant labour provided by Acadian men, the stone masonry '*église souvenir*' maintains the French vernacular illustrated by Nobbs, incorporating a high pitched gable roof with bell-cast eaves and a side porch, though placed on the west elevation. In 1955 another built element was introduced to the park site – a bust of poet Longfellow (fig. 16), sited along one edge of the primary axis, and placed by the province on the occasion of the bicentenary of *le grand dérangement*.

Most dramatic, however, were the modifications made at the edge of the park site. The gatehouse was replaced, as noted, by a new visitors reception centre after acquisition of the site by the federal government in 1956, and the establishment of Grand-Pré National Historic Park in 1961 (fig. 12).³⁸ Beyond the reference to Nobbs' gatehouse in the roof profile, the new visitors centre – designed as two symmetrical pavilions between which the visitor preceded – served metaphorically as a 'gatehouse'; and once through the gate, the visitor was presented with the principal axis of Nobbs' plan, albeit after crossing a public highway.



FIG. 15. 'FRENCH WILLOWS' | WAYDE BROWN, 2006



FIG. 16. LONGFELLOW BUST | WAYDE BROWN, 2003



FIG. 17. CURRENT VISITORS RECEPTION CENTRE | WAYDE BROWN, 2006



FIG. 18. RAIL TRACK, SOUTHERN BOUNDARY | WAYDE BROWN, 2006

The current visitor reception centre (fig. 17), the third in the site's history, is situated near the site of the former Grand Pré railway station. Opened in 2003, it introduces a very different site narrative. Leaving the building, the visitor walks through a small wooded area, turns right ninety degrees and is presented with the drama of Nobbs' secondary axis, and the most iconic site elements - Hebert's statue of Evangeline and the memorial church. Before proceeding through this route and entering the park proper, the visitor first crosses the railway track - a symbolic reference to the Dominion Atlantic Railway's role in creating this place (fig. 18). The oldest memorial elements of the site - the cross and the well - now become evident at a much later point in the visitor's experience of site. While deviating from Nobbs' intent, this route nevertheless reflects the experience of many early visitors arriving by train, with the now-gone station originally situated on the site's southern boundary, near the location of this entrance.³⁹

CONSERVATION

"*Lieux de mémoire* are complex things. At once natural and artificial, simple and ambiguous, concrete and abstract... Without intent to remember, *lieux de mémoire* would be *lieux d'histoire*. Yet if history - time and change - did not intervene, we would be dealing not with *lieux de mémoire* but with simple memorials.⁴⁰ This introduction to the study of 'places of memory' suggests the challenge facing the current stewards of Grand Pré National Historic Park: the identification and explanation of a complex structure of cultural values, and the reconciliation of possibly competing conservation and interpretation requirements. At least three broad values, each with differing implications for site elements and conservation, are evident.

Perhaps the most obvious value is geographical; that is, the value of being the 'actual' location of a specific historical event, in this case a site of Acadian occupation and especially a site associated with the Acadian exile. In turn, this value situates Grand Pré within the contemporary discussion of authenticity, a debate with considerable profile within heritage conservation during the past decade, and which essentially is a quest to understand 'authenticity' in relative terms, of fabric and spirit.⁴¹ Authenticity seems the value which encouraged Herbin's purchase of the site, and his subsequent placement of the cross at the assumed location of the Acadian graveyard; certainly it was the value which encouraged early acknowledgement of the 'discovered French well' in the late nineteenth century; and the current archaeological investigation being undertaken at the site is perhaps an extension of this quest, to authenticate - and legitimize - Grand Pré as the actual site of historic events. This value depends on the degree to which site elements can be read as evidence of the eighteenth-century Acadian occupation, with obvious implications for conservation and presentation.

The second broad value of Grand Pré is representation of an Acadian return - both figuratively and literally - from exile, and the re-emergence of a sense of nation. Key to this process has been the creation of 'public memory', which John Bodnar suggests, "... emerges from the intersection of official and vernacular cultural expressions. ... Official culture relies on ... the restatement of reality in ideal rather than complex or ambiguous terms. It presents the past on an abstract basis of timelessness and sacredness. ... Vernacular culture, on the other hand, represents an array of specialized interests that are grounded in parts of the whole. They are diverse and changing, and can

be reformulated from time to time.⁴² The process at Grand Pré has involved not only many entities within the larger Acadian community, but also entities from without, ranging from professional, corporate and political elites in Canada and Nova Scotia to more recent residents of Grand Pré village. Site elements illustrating this complexity are equally diverse, with such obviously intentional elements as the Evangeline statue, the memorial church, and the Longfellow bust each incorporating aspects of different narratives within this larger public memory. Site conservation must recognize the common importance of the total collection of elements, notwithstanding the interpretative programmes in place at any particular time, nor the contradictions and conflict within the narratives that the elements individually represent.

These two major values – authenticity of location and embodiment of public memory – have obscured a third value of the site, its value as an intentionally designed landscape. Indeed, Grand Pré represents a rare example of a landscape designed by Percy Erskine Nobbs, a major figure in the history of Canadian architecture, and in this context the landscape's value extends to a national level, and the realm of design history in Canada. While some aspects of the Nobbs' design have disappeared, notably the gatehouse, and notwithstanding that landscapes continually evolve over time, Grand Pré maintains a strong sense of the designer's intent. Site conservation must at least identify and retain the remaining elements of the Nobbs' design, including maintenance of original plant species, and beyond this possibly reintroduce lost elements. Ultimately, the designed landscape may provide a forum within which competing values may be reconciled, as surely as the designed landscape has served as a stage upon which those values have been

presented. Forty years ago John Berger wrote: "Landscapes can be deceptive. Sometimes a landscape seems to be less a setting for the life of its inhabitants than a curtain behind which their struggles, achievements and accidents take place. For those who, with the inhabitants, are behind the curtains, landmarks are no longer geographic but also biographical and personal."⁴³

NOTES

- 1 Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 2000, 'Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie', *Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Poems and Other Writings*, J.D.McClatchey, ed., New York, Library of America, p.57.
- 2 Department of the Environment, Press Release, April 30, 2004, at: www.pc.gc.ca/apps/cp-nr/release_e.asp (accessed March 17, 2007).
- 3 For example, see: Lowenthal, David, 1996, *Possessed By the Past*, Toronto, The Free Press.
- 4 Wood, Ruth Kedzie, 1915, *The Tourist's Maritime Provinces*, New York, Dodd, Mead, p.120.
- 5 The Acadian Deportation is the subject of a considerable body of research and analysis; a recent examination of this event is: Faragher, John Mark, 2005, *A Great and Noble Scheme*, New York, W.W.Norton.
- 6 Nora, Pierre, 1996, *Realms of Memory, Vol.1*, Arthur Goldhammer, trans., New York, Columbia University Press, p.6.
- 7 The societal memory of pre-exile Acadia as a paradise or 'Garden of Eden' has been examined by several authors, for example: Griffiths, Naomi, 1982, 'Longfellow's Evangeline: The Birth and Acceptance of a Legend', *Acadiensis*, Vol. XI, No. 2, pp. 28-41.
- 8 D'Entremont, Henri L., 1895, 'Un Monument à Grand Pré', *Le Moniteur Acadien*, August 2.
- 9 White, Jay, 2003, 'A Vista of Infinite Development: Surveying Nova Scotia's Early Tourism Industry', *Journal of the Royal Nova Scotia Historical Society*, Vol. 6, pp.144-169, fig. 9.
- 10 White, p.159.
- 11 R.H., 1895, 'In the Land of Evangeline', *New York Times*, August 25, p. 23.
- 12 Herbin, John Frederic, 1907, *The History of Grand Pré*, Toronto, W. Briggs, pp.11-12.
- 13 Construction date noted in: LeBlanc, Barbara, 2003, *Postcards From Acadie*, Kentville, NS, Gaspereau Press, p.117.
- 14 Negotiations were carried out with representatives of the Société Mutuelle l'Assomption. See: LeBlanc, p.118.
- 15 Cited in: *Le Moniteur Acadien*, April 26, 1917.
- 16 For a discussion of Nobbs' life and career see: Wagg, Susan, 1982, *Percy Erskine Nobbs*, Kingston-Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- 17 Nobbs, Percy Erskine, 1937, *Design: A Treatise on the Discovery of Form*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, p.10.
- 18 For a discussion of Nobbs' work at this site, see: Bilash, O.S.E. and O.F.G.Sitwell, 1995, 'Words into Buildings: The University of Alberta, 1906-28,' *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, Vol. 20, No.1, pp.5-21.
- 19 The John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill university, includes documentation for domestic gardens for C. R. Whitehead, Trois-Rivières, 1926, and for Dr. W. L. McDougald, Westmount, 1921-23.
- 20 These drawings have been reproduced in Wagg, Figs. 20, 21, 22.
- 21 Nobbs' drawings for the Grand Pré project are located in the John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University (Percy Erskine Nobbs, op. no. 151).
- 22 This design element may be a result of the land transfer agreement, which required a fence erected around the chapel; see: LeBlanc, pp.118-119.
- 23 The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement on Nobbs' work is a major theme discussed by Wagg.
- 24 Nobbs, p. 311.
- 25 For example, see: Savage, Peter, 1980, *Lorimer and the Edinburgh Craft Designers*, Edinburgh, Harris.
- 26 Mays, Deborah, 1990, 'Lorimer in Perspective', *RIBA Journal*, Vol. 97, No. 12, pp. 34-39. The article includes discussion of Earls Hall, a garden restoration project undertaken between 1890-94, which includes pavilions reminiscent of Nobbs' original gatehouse proposal at Grand Pré (p. 34).
- 27 Smith, James K., 1922, 'A Memorial Park – Collaborative Problem of the American Academy in Rome,' *Architectural Record*, Vol. LI, pp. 275-280.

- 28 See Wagg, Fig. 20.
- 29 See White, especially the travel literature of the period cited in endnotes, pp.163-169.
- 30 Shaw, Beatrice M. Hay, 1923, *Nova Scotia for Beauty and Business*, Halifax, Royal Print Ltd., p. 57.
- 31 Dominion Atlantic Railway, *The Land of Evangeline, The Historical Paradise of Canada*, n.d., place of publication not identified; author's collection. Note that photographs and various references indicate a publication date post-1938 and pre-1950.
- 32 Photograph held by Canadian Pacific Archives, No. 6813; copy accessed at: Parks Canada Agency, Halifax office, library, reference 111-01-2-940-0054.
- 33 For a discussion of early rustic architecture in Canada's National Parks, see: Mills, Edward, 1993, 'The Bungalow Trail: Rustic Railway Bungalow Camps in Canada's National Parks,' *Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Bulletin*, Vol. 18, No. 3-4, pp.60-72.
- 34 For a photograph indicating the fence along the northern boundary see: Huntley, Joan, 1947, *Evangeline and the Evangeline Country*, Toronto, Collins, p.35.
- 35 Dominion Atlantic Railway, p.17.
- 36 Photograph held by Canadian Pacific Archives, No. 6820; copy accessed at: Parks Canada Agency, Halifax office, library, reference 111-01-2-940-0058.
- 37 Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, 1969, *Grand Pré National Historic Park*, Ottawa, Queen's Printer, p.1.
- 38 The site was known as a 'National Historic Park' until at least 1969, when it was referred to as such in the noted brochure produced by the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs; currently the site is officially known as Grand-Pré national historic site of Canada.
- 39 Wayne P. Kerr, Manager, Parks Canada and A. J. B. Johnston, Historian, Parks Canada kindly provided background information on the process of locating the current interpretation centre and developing a concept for visitor access to the site; correspondence: Kerr to author, April 4, 2008, and Johnston to author, April 3, 2007.
- 40 Nora, pp.14-15.
- 41 The current interest of the heritage conservation field in the issue of 'authenticity' is demonstrated by the development of documents such as *The Nara Document on Authenticity* (ICOMOS: 1994) and published works such as: Lowenthal, pp.184-192.
- 42 Bodnar, John, 1994, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*, Princeton, NJ, Princeton University Press, pp.13-14.
- 43 Berger, John and Jean Mohr, 1967, *A Fortunate Man*, Harmondsworth, UK, Penguin Books, pp. 13, 15.