Journal of Historical Geography, **24**, 4 (1998) 431–458
Article No. hg980090

Constructing landscapes of power: the George Etienne Cartier monument, Montreal

Brian S. Osborne

The central premise of this article is that the erection of official monuments, the choreography of ceremonies centred on them and the orchestration of public participation around them have been devices by which particular histories and geographies become encoded into landscapes of power and resistance. These ideas are explored through an examination of the monument erected in Montreal in 1919 to honour Sir George Etienne Cartier, a prominent French–Canadian participant in the building of a Confederation of Canada. Particular attention is directed to understanding how a permanent monument complex becomes a dynamic site of meaning in the context of changing concepts of empire, nation and civil society.

Introduction: setting the scene

If you take any one of several side streets off upper St Urbain in Montreal, you leave Francophone and Allophone Montreal and enter English Montreal. Along the way, you encounter the eastern slopes of Mount Royal. Officially referred to as Mount Royal Park (Le Parc Mont-Royal), it has long served as both a public meeting place and social divide.[1] The eastern limits of the open space came to be known to English-speaking Montrealers as Fletcher's Field and throughout the late nineteenth century it was the site of various military parades and royal commemorations. In 1910, however, the organizers of the Montreal Eucharistic Congress requested that the park be renamed in honour of Jeanne Mance, founder of Montreal's first hospital, the Hotel Dieu. While not designated officially as such, by the 1940s, it was noted that "le nom de Jeanne Mance s'emploie communément" by the local residents. As part of the May 1942 Tercentenary Celebrations of the founding of Montreal, a solemn high mass was celebrated on the contested site and *La Presse* and *Le Devoir* urged the cultural appropriation of what was becoming a symbolically loaded piece of real estate: "Montréal ne saurait trop honorer la mémoire de Jeanne Mance et le voisinage de l'Hôtel-Dieu, qui perpétue l'oeuvre et le souvenir de l'héroine, est un motif supplémentaire de donner officiellement son nom à ce beau parc".[2] In subsequent years, the open spaces on Mount Royal hosted others who came there to express their ideological concerns or cultural loyalties in the theatrics of public expressions of identity and protest.

For eight decades, a statue has gazed down over this drama of an evolving public domain. It is part of a monument complex consisting of three mnemonic elements: a column and statue erected in 1919 in honour of a co-founder of Canadian confederation,

0305–7488/98/040431 + 28 $30.00/0

George Etienne Cartier;[3] a bronze plaque mounted on a granite boulder to commemorate the Silver Jubilee of George V in 1935; and a matching boulder and plaque to commemorate the Coronation of George VI in 1937. In many ways, the life history of the George Etienne Cartier site parallels the social history of the Fletcher Field-Jeanne Mance Park, Montreal, and the nation. Indeed, the survival of this monument complex into the 1990s allows insights into several processes: the role of memorialization as an attempted agency of legitimization of authority and social cohesion; the shift from a static monumental landscape-element to the official choreography of public pageants, commemorations, and ceremonials; and the degree of public participation in, or contestation of, the appropriation of public space. These processes are particularly pertinent for an understanding of the dynamic concepts of empire, nation, and state as they have evolved from pre-First World War Canada through to the present tensions between notions of ethnic-, civic-, and post-nationalism.[4]

Remembering, materializing and performing power

Recent global developments argue for a better understanding of the emotive, psychological and non-rational underpinnings of national identity. National-states have long made use of many devices and agencies to create an emotional bonding with particular histories and geographies. These have become transmuted into an "awareness of belonging"[5] and, in some cases, the politics of fantasy.[6] The imaginative use of symbols and myths have become the stuff of history, tradition, and heritage. It is in this context that the concepts of social memory, monuments, commemorations, and performances become significant: that is, the marking of time, the figuring of the landscape, and the ritualization of remembering.

Establishing memories

Social memory underpins the cohesion and identity of groups.[7] For Patrick Hutton:

> [c]ollective memory is an elaborate network of social mores, values, and ideals that marks out the dimensions of our imaginations according to the attitudes of the social groups to which we relate. It is through the interconnections among these shared images that the social frameworks (*cadres sociaux*) of our collective memory are formed, and it is within such settings that individual memories must be sustained if they are to survive.[8]

In the production of these collective memories, national history is rendered as a mythic narrative acted out on, bounded by, and bonded with, particular places. But rather than the past being "preserved" as some objective record, it is always being "reconstructed" in the context of the present, and never disassociated from considerations of power.[9] Indeed, John Gillis has proposed that national identity depends on a "sense of sameness over time and space" which is sustained by systems of remembering and forgetting that are socially constructed.[10] He goes further and argues that national-states have developed a "bureaucracy of memory" that orchestrates the dominance of "elite memory" over "popular memory".[11] John Bodnar has made the same distinction, referring to "public memory" that emerges from the intersection between "official" and "vernacular" cultures. The "dogmatic formalism" of official memory is advanced by elites who are commited to social unity, the continuity of particular institutions, and cultivation of loyalty to them; vernacular memory, on the other hand, represents an array of specialized

interests that are diverse and changing and which threaten the attempted universality of the official expression of identity and memory.[12]

The point is that national-states function in material and psychic terrains that have been nurtured to reinforce their identification with specific social contexts through symbolically charged time and space. The abstraction of time becomes punctuated by symbolic dates; the abstraction of space is focused on specific sites associated with particular events.[13] For Pierre Nora, these time and space specific locations are "lieux de mémoire" which conflate site, memory, and history.[14] For Maurice Halbwachs, these sites and dates constitute highlighted "landmarks" of remembered geography and history consisting of an array of "particular figures, dates, and periods of time that acquire an extraordinary salience".[15] Thus, *lieux de mémoire* and landmarks punctuate time and focus space.

It follows from this that history, memory, and identity are not derived from some set of primordial sources. Rather, they are social constructs that are constantly being reworked and which need to be decoded to discover the underlying structures and processes.

Materializing history

Landscape is the dominant depositary of symbolic space and time: "the most generally accessible and widely shared *aide-memoire* of a culture's knowledge and understanding of its past and future".[16] But several recent writers have moved away from interpreting landscape as an externalized product of human activity, or a passive receptacle of signifiers. For W. J. T. Mitchell, landscape's role in systems of power is not as "an object to be seen or a text to be read, but as a process by which social and objective identities are formed".[17] As Barbara Bender puts it: "[t]he landscape is never inert, people engage with it, re-work it, appropriate and contest it. It is part of the way in which identities are created and disputed, whether as individual, group, or nation-state".[18] The same point is made by Simon Schama in considering the power of landscape myths and memories in shaping institutions: "National identity, to take just the most obvious example, would lose much of its ferocious enchantment without the mystique of a particular landscape tradition: its topography mapped, elaborated, and enriched as homeland."[19] In particular, the material rendering of social memory in a mythologized landscape transforms landscape from an external phenomenon to be engaged visually, to a psychic terrain of internalized symbolic meaning: homeland; motherland; land of our fathers

> place and its landscape become part of one's identity and one's memory. Its features are often used as mnemonic devices ... For all of us the landscape is replete, with markers of the past—graves and cemeteries, monuments, archaeological sites, place names, religions and holy centers—that help us to remember and give meaning to our lives.[20]

As such, landscapes are often called upon to serve as emotional prompts for action in the present. The interpretation of their form and symbolism helps us understand their role in "cultural practice"[21] through what Maurice Halbwachs has called the "semiotics of space".[22]

And this is where monuments come in. Whereas many national landscapes often exist in generalized visual condensations, monuments focus attention on specific places and events.[23] From its classical origins, through the French Revolution, and into the age of the nation-state, monumental public statuary in the western world has constituted

what Eric Hobsbawm has called an "open-air museum of national history as see through great men".[24] For M. Christine Boyer, public spaces and public monuments of the nineteenth-century city constituted a memory system "transcribed in stone":

> Historical monuments and civic spaces as didactic artifacts were treated with curatorial reverence. They were visualized best if seen as isolated ornaments; jewels of the city to be placed in scenographic arangements and iconographically composed to civilize and elevate the aesthetic tastes and morals of an aspiring urban elite. This was an architecture of ceremonial power whose monuments spoke of exemplary deeds, national unity, and industrial glory.[25]

'Statuemania', the rage for commemorative statues, intensified during the nineteenth century, and peaked in the 1870–1914 period.[26] The motivation for this boom and subsequent decline in memorialization raises intriguing questions regarding memory, heritage, and identity. Perhaps the nineteenth-century predilection for memorialized history was an expression of a growing loss of identity in a rapidly changing world, and reflected an anxiety about unregulated remembering. Monuments anchored 'collective remembering' in material sites. They provide a rallying point for a shared common memory and identity. They were the material signifiers of ideas that were intended to be immortalized.[27]

According to Vito Acconci, however, time is 'fast' and space is 'slow'; memorials attempt to freeze ideas in space and time.[28] Thus, the materials for monuments—bronze, iron, marble, granite—were chosen to withstand ravages of time. Ironically, however, they thus guarantee that the forms become archaic, strange, and irrelevant. Monuments often remain as enigmatic elements in the landscape. They are frozen in space, while time and its essential corpus of contextual meaning slips away:

> For in its linear progression, time drags old meaning into new contexts, estranging a monument's memory from both past and present, holding past truths up to ridicule in present monuments. Time mocks the rigidity of monuments, the presumptuous claim that in its materiality, a monument can be regarded as eternally true.[29]

Monumental public statuary attempted to render a public landscape in which the dominant ideology of the state could be institutionalized and immortalized. In practice, however, most of this ideological bric-à-brac punctuated public space with question marks rather than exclamation marks; they came to be statements of forgetting rather than prompts for remembering.

Performing ideology

By 1914, monumental public statuary—other than the ubiquitous war memorials—was well into decline and near extinction as a medium of institutionalized social memory.[30] As Eric Hobsbawm recently stated: "bronze and marble went distinctly out of fashion. The elaborate visual language of symbolism and allegory became as incomprehensible in the twentieth century as the classical myths now were for most people".[31] Henceforth, monumental statuary was favoured only by dictatorships that manipulated pomp, gigantism, and poor taste into symbolic statements of "the face of power".[32]

Increasingly, other devices were turned to for the cultivation and representation of shared identity. Monumental sculpture had relied upon solitary, or small group interactions between the object and the individual. Where its location is appropriate, however, a monument may become the focal point of ceremonial, thus transforming Henri Lefebvre's passive 'representational space' into dynamic sites of ideology.[33] Here,

the public may experience mythic history through orchestrated commemorations and controlled spectacle. Through these "contrived structures of time and space", social memory focuses on particular events and places.[34] Ideally, the involvement of large numbers of people in ritualized performances of remembering at these places reinforced societies' bonding with them, what they represented, and with each other.[35]

With the democratizing of political power, publicly performed ritual and ceremony became essential elements of the political process. Existing or newly planned space containers became the sites for public ceremonies, public entertainment, and public participation in choreographed performances:

> What power required was performance art in the enclosed spaces, elaborate ceremonies (the British became particularly adept at inventing royal rituals of this kind from the late nineteenth century onwards); and, in the open spaces, processions or mass choreography. The leaders' theatre of power combined military and civilian components and preferred open spaces.[36]

The transition from public sculpture-as-viewed object to public-as-sculpted masses required nation-wide participation in the theatrics of ideology in appropriate spaces: thousands performed as on-site actors; more thousands served as on-site spectators; and millions more were incorporated as distanced participant voyeurs as listeners and viewers through national and international radio and film.[37]

In this way, totalitarian states applied a whole panoply of devices such as marches, pageants, mass meetings, party rallies to cultivate a new 'mass aesthetic'. Albert Speer's colossal architectural extravaganzas were but stage settings for Hitler's theatrics of power expressed through what Taylor has called "human architecture".[38] Michael North quotes Siegfried Giedion who in 1944 called for "collective emotional events, where the people play as important a role as the spectacle itself, and where a unity of the architectural background, the people and the symbols conveyed by the spectacle will arise".[39] A decade earlier, and lasting 50 years longer, the Soviets employed similar strategies, while Mussolini, Franco, and Salazar also exercised their demagoguery through architecture and spectacle.

In all cases, they were careful to co-opt existing social memories and traditional commemorations. The Nazis incorporated well-established concepts of *volk-gemeinschaft* into Wagnerian-like stagings of music, scenery and action that touched a national nerve.[40] In 1918, Lenin's 'Plan for Monumental Propaganda' involved committees of artists in designing decorations for holidays, parades, and participatory theatrical presentations.[41] The political pageantry of the evolving Stalinist state appropriated such traditional cultural practices as Tsarist court-celebrations of national events, and Russian Orthodox religious celebrations involving processions of the cross and icons (*krestnye khody*). Certainly, Mussolini's adoption of the theme of *romanita*—Fascist Italy being the heir to Ancient Rome—furthered his cultivation of the myth of El Duce.[42]

In this way, new state agenda were grafted onto these commemorative events. The Red Square extravaganzas shifted away from quasi-religious rituals of spontaneous public participation in 'mass catharsis' to the promotion of the economic and industrial restructuring associated with the New Economic Program and displays of military might.[43] In Nazi Germany, themes of *volkish* culture and national history became secondary to those advocating military might and national destiny. And in all cases, the celebration of the state became appropriated by the cult of the leader. In this way, public participation became passive as these events were transformed into paramilitary

spectacles in which viewers and participants were reduced to "little more than cogs in the collective machine of the state".[44]

It should be noted, however, that non-totalitarian societies exhibited a growing predilection for spectacle and mass events. M. Christine Boyer relies on the interpretations of Siegfried Kracauer in her analysis of the significance of these 'ephemeral' social phenomena:

> Mass audiences were thrilled by replications of themselves in decorative patterns: whether in the geometric precision of dancers in revue, gymnasts in formation, or crowds on parade. Perhaps these collective and routinized forms, what Kracauer called "mass ornaments", were but a parody of the linear assembly line and the efficiency of Taylorized body movements, their alienating forms transcended through a pleasurable mirroring of their figural patterns. But ornamental patterns, he insisted, only observable from a distant or aerial view, effaced the presence of the individual in the organized fabrication of the mass.[45]

As with flags, anthems, national eidolons, monuments, and architecture, ritualized and repetitive mass performance was co-opted to cultivate the national imagination through

> mysterious excitements of the spectacle, the pure visual enjoyment that rose up from illuminated shows and fireworks and turned the darkness of the city streets into marvels of light. Ephemeral shows, these punctuating celebrations of sovereign and national power, were public events intended to dazzle the crowd with the greatness of empire and the glory of the nation.[46]

Taken together, therefore, monuments, commemorations and public participation in them, comprise "the *practice* of representation that enacts and gives social substance to the discourse of collective memory".[47] They serve "to anchor collective remembering . . . in highly condensed, fixed, and tangible sites".[48] The orchestration of the festivities and celebrations in landscapes of power has often been a conscious exercise to cultivate political consensus and suppress dissent or difference. Indeed, they have often been located in times and places where dominant ideologies are being contested.

Building Canada: historic sites and sights

Official monuments, the orchestration of ceremonies centred on them, and the public participation in them, transform particular places into ideologically charged sites. Certainly, Canadian monuments and commemorations have been intimately tied to nationalism—both in its provincial and Dominion variants.[49]

Throughout the nineteenth century, monuments in British North America generally commemorated the sacrifices of imperial military heroes—Wolfe, Montcalm, Nelson, and Brock—or else defensive victories against an expansionist United States.[50] By the early twentieth century, however, a more populist and nativist focus attended the construction of military markers as well as a growing number of monuments dedicated to political leaders and more prosaic figures.

Further, Canadians started thinking in commemorative terms and initiated a growing number of pageants, festivals, and parades. This was probably influenced by developments elsewhere. In Britain, the late Victorian–Edwardian era was marked by a succession of ceremonials associated with jubilees, state funerals, and coronations, as well as a series of festivals and pageants associated with the new century.[51] Canada's imperial connections ensured both its participation and imitation of these popular spectacles. Closer to home, in the United States, parades of Civil War veterans, as well as commemorations marking the several anniversaries of the founding of the United

States and the discovery of North America were enthusiastically received.[52] Canadians soon followed suit with their own 'Decoration Day' and 'Monument Day' to honour the veterans who had served in the Riel Rebellion, resistance to the Fenian Raids, and the Boer War.[53] Other commemorations such as 'Pioneer Days' and the centennial of the arrival of the United Empire Loyalists in 1783 were more influenced by the growing cult of romantic retrospection and folkloric anti-modernism.[54] The Dominion government and élite agencies also embarked on their own view of the past. Continuing its focus on Canada's military past as defender of Empire, the Dominion government established the National Battlefields Commission in 1908, and in 1919 the Historic Sites and Monuments Board came into being. In the first 30 years of the latter's existence it erected some 300 plaques, with a heavy centrist emphasis upon military history, exploration, and the politics of Dominion expansionism.[55]

In Quebec, the 1880–1930 period constituted a new era in the cultivation of the *patrimoine*—the collective cultural heritage—and a new era of monumental hagiography initiated what Wilbur Zelinsky has called a "rear-window nationalism" with its array of 'eidolons'.[56] Missionaries and martyrs such as Jeanne Mance, Kateri Tekakwitha, Brebeuf and Lalement, as well as explorers and military heroes such as Cartier, Champlain, Dollard, Maisonneuve, La Salle, Frontenac, and Montcalm were all rendered in idealized, devotional imagery and contributed to the construction of the French Canadian collective memory.[57] This active propagation of "le culte des héros laïques et religieux du passé national" by the erection of hundreds of monuments throughout the towns and villages of Quebec made a major contribution to the development of "le panthéon visuel de nos gloires nationales ... l'évolution de la mentalité québécoise".[58]

These were accompanied by a cluster of late ninetenth-century historical commemorations of noteworthy events, the most evocative being the tercentenary of the founding of the city of Quebec by Samuel Champlain in 1608.[59] Initially planned as a local francophone event celebrating French-Canadian origins, the concept was seized upon by the then Governor General, Earl Grey, as an opportunity to celebrate the glory of the British Empire, and Quebec's position in it. Unbelievably, the Dominion government proposed that the celebrations be deferred from 1908 to 1909 so that they could be combined with the fêting of the 150th anniversary of Wolfe's victory over Montcalm on the Plains of Abraham! At best, this may be seen as a naive initiative that demonstrated how insensitive Dominion bureaucrats were to the French-Canadian collective memory of the conquest. More probably, it was diagnostic of a long-standing Anglo-Canadian paternalism that viewed the Peace of Paris (1763) and the Quebec Act (1774) as the devices by which French-Canadians were liberated from 'papism' and the 'autocracy' of the *ancien régime*. At worst, it was a calculated slur on a landmark date in Québécois national identity. Whatever the reason, it is not surprising that the Quebec government declined the invitation, although the eventual festivities of 1908 did render a somewhat paradoxical fusion of sectional and centrist metanarratives.[60]

For Henri Bourassa, the Quebec intellectual, politician and national activist, the implications were clear:

> There is no doubt in my mind that [Grey] made up his mind from the first to transform the celebration of the birth of Quebec and French Canada into a great momento of the Conquest and thereby show his friends—coimperialists of London—how the French Canadians had grown in the new Imperialist faith.[61]

Later assessments of the events have endorsed Bourassa's analysis, arguing that the imperial gaze from the battlements and promenades of Quebec City was a myopic one:

> Looking . . . at French-Canadian habitant society, at the historical romance, they found a comforting truth beneath the surface turmoil. French Canada . . . was a timeless society and, most important, provided a timeless lesson regarding the superiority of British civilzation and the indomitable nature of the British Empire. Contemporary events were helpless against such basic facts and certainties and, on occasion, even events could be reconstructed to conform to British presumptions.[62]

It was in this climate of politically charged commemoration that the idea of a memorial to the centenary of the birth of Sir George Etienne Cartier (1814–1873) was launched in 1911.

Constructing identity: the Cartier monument, 1910–1997

Between 1880 and 1996, the models of Canadian nationalism changed significantly. Some of the salient dimensions of this trajectory may be noted in the actions and reactions to events at the George Etienne Cartier monument. Four main periods may be posited: the original monument as conceived in 1910–1914 was intended to commemorate a particular idea of a bi-national Canada linked closely to Empire; this idea dominated the unveiling in 1919, but took place in the cultural aftermath of the Great War; the commemorations of 1935, 1937, and 1953 gradually shifted attention away from the Canadian context to a celebration of monarchy; and since that date to the immediate present, the Cartier complex has come to be a site of contestation of memories of the past, issues of the present, and constructions of the future.

1910–1914: an imagined space

In 1911, a committee of "patriotic Canadians" was formed, chaired by E. W. Villeneuve, "Ancien Commissaire de la Ville de Montréal", to commemorate Cartier's life and works.[63] On 23 March 1912, the *Montreal Standard* threw its weight behind the plan:

> Great public servants, who in their day and generations have well and faithfully served their country, erect their own monuments—"more lasting than brass", as the poet of old truly said. The acts of these men are their monuments—the achievements of their own time, and the benefits that have flowed from them for succeeding generations. Such monuments as these Sir George Etienne Cartier erected to himself, and they are recognized today by all who impartially study the history of Canada of the past 60 years.[64]

The *London Times* was also unstinting in its praise of Cartier, noting that he had been "an ardent loyalist and devoted his political career, which extended from 1844 to 1872, to the development and consolidation of his native country". This assessment glossed over Cartier's participation in the Papineau rebellion of 1837, noting that he had "repented of this youthful aberration".[65]

Certainly, Cartier's accomplishments would appear to merit these accolades: his efforts to reconcile French-Canadians to Confederation, and his defence of Quebec culture; his co-premiership with Sir John A. Macdonald in the Union parliament of 1857–1862; his promotion of the Grand Trunk, Intercolonial, and Canadian Pacific railways; his role in the negotiations with the Hudson's Bay Company in connection with its cession of lands in Canada's west; the creation of the new provinces of Manitoba and British Columbia; and he was Canada's first Minister of Militia and Defence. On top of this, he fitted another long-standing patriotic mould: he had once expressed the opinion that, "It is necessary to be anti-Yankee . . . we can and will build up a northern

power".[66] From a centrist Dominion perspective, therefore, in these several ways, Cartier had participated in the major metanarratives of Canadian history: the putative melding of the founding "races"; territorial expansion; the epic of the railways; national defence; confederation; and a healthy modicum of anti-Americanism. For the *London Times*, Cartier was a French Canadian who managed to combine loyalty to Empire, nation, and race:

> It was on the occasion of the departure of the last British regiment from Canada in 1871 that he bade farewell to the troops in the following words ... "You are leaving our shores, but you are not taking with you the British flag. We shall not forget that it is our duty to defend against all attacks this flag under which we dwell so happily and contentedly." Thus, the whole British empire will in spirit be gathered together to do honour to the memory of the man who, albeit not of British blood and race, was one of the first to comprehend the majesty and dignity of the Empire.[67]

For French Canadians too, especially those with strong establishment connections, Cartier represented the advancement of their fortunes and interests in the new nation established by Confederation. This was the central message presented in the tribute penned by Montreal's *La Presse*:

> Il ne faut pas oublier que Cartier fut l'un des nôtres. L'idée dominante de sa carrière à été de nous garantir les mêmes droits et les mêmes privilèges qu'aux Anglo-Canadiens, afin de mettre les deux races sur un pied d'égalité ... Comment aurait-on traité la province de Québec dans la constitution fédérale si ce patriote éclairé n'eut été là pour faire respecter notre langue, nos traditions et nos coutumes?[68]

Even the staunchly nationalist *Le Devoir*[69] had reported favourably on the proposed National Monument, although one correspondent, Georges Pelletier, took the opportunity to castigate contemporary French–Canadian politicians who "n'aient pas suivi son exemple":

> Car on n'a pas vu Cartier, se lever de son fauteuil, en plein Chambre, pour dire que ses frères des autres provinces n'avaient nul droit à l'usage de leur langue devant les tribunaux et dans les législatures; on ne l'a pas entendu, non plus, pérorer avec emphase, lancer le cri de race, et se faire, de ses frères par le sang et par la langue, un escabeau où grimper vers des honneurs gagnés à force de lâchetés et de "couardise".[70]

But there was another perspective.[71] Some French–Canadians did not share Cartier's vision of the future of Quebec in Confederation, seeing only an assimilationist agenda that ultimately threatened their cultural survival. For these, Cartier's political career had been one of a gradual shift from French–Canadian *patriote* to spokesperson for Dominion and Empire. Indeed, much was made of the fact that he had been born Georges-Étienne Cartier, but died Sir George Etienne Cartier!

Clearly, there were different perceptions of Cartier's patriotism: for Anglo-Celtic Canadians, 'patriot' referred to his allegiance to Britain and Empire—even though he was a Canadian "not of the British blood and race"; for some French–Canadians, the term *patriote* referred to Cartier's loyalty to the traditions and heritage of Quebec; for other French–Canadians, he was "un traître de la race".[72] Nevertheless, here was a national eidolon that could be constructed to suit Canada's ideological needs in the twentieth century: a figure who triangulated the values of a loyal French–Canada, an expansionist Canada and an ever-present Empire. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Dominion government willingly donated $20 000 to the $100 000 memorial fund,

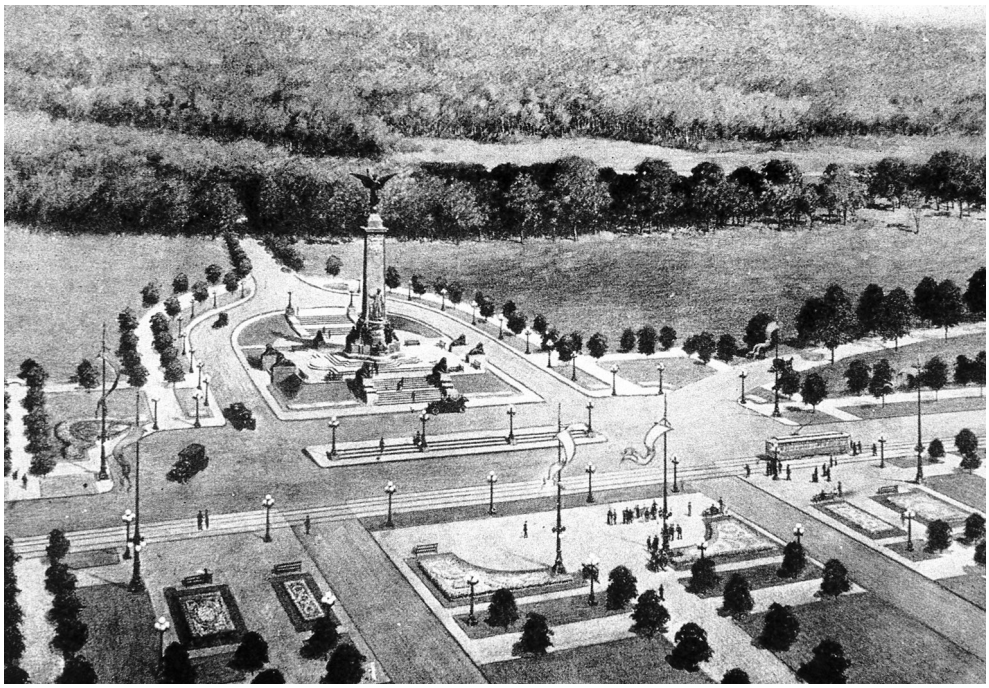

Figure 1. A planned site of remembering: the George Etienne Cartier monument complex in Fletcher's Field–Jeanne Mance Park, 1910.

provincial governments followed suit, and leading establishment figures and members of the general public contributed to the national subscription list (Figure 1).[73]

Given Cartier's dual identity, the siting of the proposed monument was crucial. In 1910, Montreal was Canada's dominant metropolis and Fletcher's Field-Jeanne Mance park, on the eastern slopes of Mount Royal, was close to the divide between the English and French speaking populations. Considerable preparatory work included new terraces, roads, re-paving part of Park Avenue, and the preparation of 'a refuge' in the middle of the road opposite the monument.[74] Designed by a Canadian sculptor, G.-W. Hill, the iconography of the proposed monument was a blatant exercise in mythologizing Cartier's heroic role in the national metanarrative, at the same time as it refers to a putative melding of founding nations and imperial connections.

The dominant element is the bronze winged figure, Renown, that stands some 20 metres atop the column of grey Quebec granite. She is bestowing a laurel wreath upon the head of Cartier below. His statue is accompanied by a scroll with the inscription: *Avant tout soyons Canadiens*; a coat of arms bearing his motto, *Franc et sans dol*; and Montreal's coat of arms. The provinces are represented by nine female figures standing around the base of the monument. The four in front represent the founding provinces of 1867 and are linked by a bronze ribbon bearing the inscription *O Canada, mon pays, mes amours*, the refrain sung by Cartier at the first celebration of Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day (1834), and again when he accompanied King Edward VII, then Prince of Wales, on his journey up the St Lawrence in 1860. The five provincial figures at the rear of the monument represent the five provinces which joined the Confederation after 1867 and are bound together by a bronze ribbon bearing the inscription *The defence of the flag is one of the bases of Confederation*. Above these figures, at the same height as Cartier, a soldier symbolizes Cartier's role in establishing the militia. On both sides of

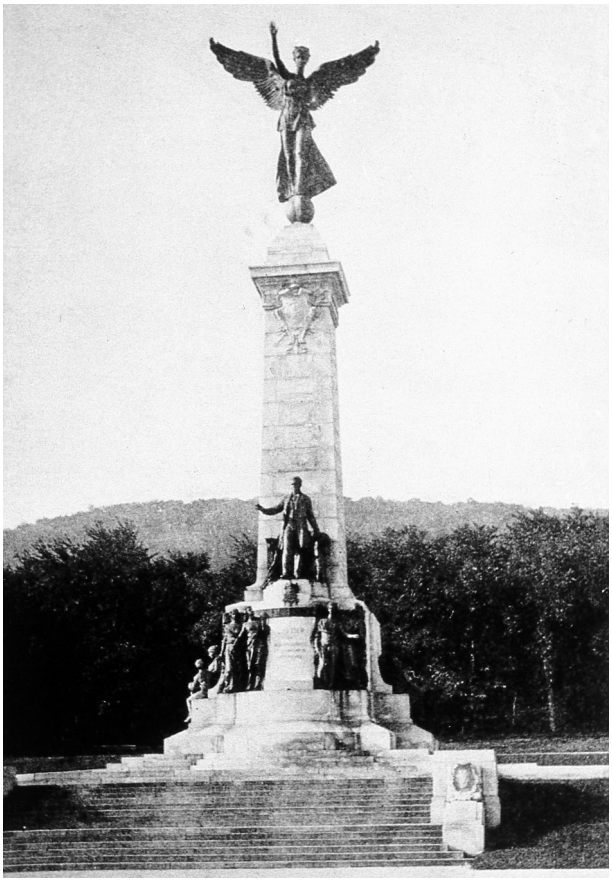

Figure 2. The iconography of nation-building: Renown, Cartier and the provincial maidens.

the monument, between the two groups of provincial figures, are statues representing Education and Legislation. Four pairs of lions guard the approaches up the steps and terraces of gardens that serve to complement the memorial complex. Here, formally presented in granite and bronze, was a centrist view of Canada's national chronicle as it emerged from the nineteenth century (Figure 2).

On 2 September 1913, the foundation stone was laid, the intention being to complete the project in time for the centenary of Cartier's birth on 6 September 1914. However, 1914 was an infelicitous year to be initiating a backward-looking project of nativist celebration. Early in the fall of 1914, the public was advised that the Cartier commemoration project was being held in abeyance "since war and funds incidental to its progress are occupying the public mind".[75] New priorities diverted the Cartier Memorial Committee: "[i]t has been decided . . . in view of the patriotic nature of the movement, to hold a flag day in the near future, when commemorative badges will be sold to citizens, emblematic of the Anglo-French entente, and this will probably conclude the activities until the outlook becomes more peaceful".

6 September 1919: a dedicated space

Canada's role in the Great War not only interrupted the completion of the Cartier monument, but it was also to change Canada's view of itself and its relationship with

the old concept of Empire. Indeed, somewhat appropriately, the Cartier statuary itself became associated with the war. The bronze figures had been constructed in Belgium as "casting had never been done in Canada" and because "in Europe they are artists and work faithfully".[76] These somewhat less-than-patriotic motives resulted in the project being caught up in the maelstrom of World War I. A newspaper article entitled "Bronze Figures on Cartier Monument Escaped the Huns" detailed the drama: the winged figure of Renown was rescued from the docks of Antwerp by a Canadian Pacific Railway boat; the remaining statues were hidden by the Belgian foundry workers in the face of German threats of retaliation.[77] Like Canada, the monument had been blooded in the Great War and thus became involved in a formative national experience. Certainly, the nature of the eventual postwar rites of commemoration associated with the unveiling of the Cartier monument took on a new dimension.

On 2 September 1919, four days before the official unveiling of this monument, the site was visited by the Prince of Wales, the future Edward VIII. He strolled around the monument while the band of the Grenadier Guards played 'God Bless the Prince of Wales' followed by the 'Cartier Centenary March' which had been composed specially for the occasion.[78] The Prince's brief visit was symbolic of his short reign: he was there for only five minutes and commented "C'est très joli, c'est splendide"! Neverthless, his foray into Quebec was counted a success, *Le Devoir* reporting that his visit had been "une tournée vraiment triomphale" and commenting favourably on the the fact that the Prince had requested that "toute la conversation se fit en français" (Figure 3).[79]

The main ceremony was on 6 September. The day was declared 'Cartier Flag Day' and small flags bearing his picture were sold throughout Montreal.[80] The principal event in the ceremony was the unveiling of the monument with appropriate pomp.[81] At the base of the statue stood Hortense Cartier, an honorary ceremonial guest as Cartier's only living descendant. Other honoured guests included the Governor General, the Premier of Quebec, the Minister of Justice representing the Prime Minister, the consuls of the United States, Belgium, France and Italy (Canada's wartime allies), representatives of other provinces, the presidents of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk railways, the archbishops of Montreal and Quebec, and M. Villeneuve. The day was not conducive to an open-air ceremony, but as one reporter noted "as Cartier by his action in bringing about Confederation cleared away the clouds of mistrust, so the unveiling of his statue cleared away the rain clouds that had threatened to mar the ceremony".[82] Even the weather could be relied upon to support the cause of national unity!

After taking the royal salute, the Governor General read a message from the King to the "thousands" gathered around the monument. At 3·15 pm, a flurry of trumpets and a roll of drums marked the electronic presence of His Majesty in the ceremony, conquering both time and space "through the wonders of modern electricity". The *Montreal Star* captured the moment:

> As 3·15 passed there was almost breathless suspense, and all eyes were turned upwards to the flag. . . . 31 seconds later the electrical circuit from Balmoral Castle to the submarine cable, and from there to the apparatus erected beside the monument had been completed, and the Union Jack came down with a run, to be greeted with rounds of cheers and the crash of the first of the 19-gun salute. The band played . . .[83]

The guests then adjourned to the Grenadier Guards' armoury where they were subjected to three hours of messages from the provinces and the governments of Newfoundland, Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa. King George V also sent a cable, which was responded to by the Governor General, assuring His Majesty of Canada's "devotion

Figure 3. A Royal presence: the visit by the Prince of Wales, 2 September 1919.

and loyalty".[84] The King received a bust of Cartier in silver though the other honorary guests had to make do with busts and medals in bronze (Figure 4).

While the official ceremony was a celebration of Cartier's "dualisme patriotique", his Janus-like image served to emphasize differences rather than commonalities. For advocates of Dominion such as one Thomas Chapais, Cartier's life-work endorsed Canada's northern destiny and "l'établissement du régime fédéral":

> Deux idées maitresses ont alors inspiré son action, et coordonné ses efforts. D'une part, sauvegarder tout ce que les Canadiens-français tiennent pour intangible et sacré, leur foi, leur langue, leurs institutions nationales. Et, d'autre part, contribuer puissamment à l'édification d'un Canada agrandi, d'un Etat aux proportions plus vastes, aux horizons plus larges, capable, par le groupement des énergies dispersées, d'aspirer à un plus prospère et plus glorieux avenir.[85]

The federalist view was that such developments ensured the survival of Catholicism, language and autonomy for Quebec while at the same time allowing French Canadians to join with "autres provinces et à nos concitoyens de toute origine" in a future that promised "un magnifique accroissement de progrès économique et social". For the readers of the *Le Devoir*, however, "l'oeuvre de Cartier" offered two principal lessons: "le devoir d'aimer son pays plus que tout autre" and "l'attachement à la terre, la

Figure 4. A Royal immanence: waiting for the electronic presence of George V.

nécessité pour les Canadiens français de se 'cramponner' au sol de la patrie". The didactic message was clear: "Voilà les formules qui expriment certaines des plus hautes, des plus nobles idées de Cartier; voilà les mots d'ordre qu'il faut que ces fêtes et son image de bronze jettent à la foule d'aujourd'hui. Ils sont plus actuels, plus nécessaires que jamais."[86]

Not surprisingly, therefore, on the evening of the unveiling, there was another festival that commemorated the other side of Cartier's dualism. Montrealers gathered in Parc de Jeanne Mance to watch 'Glorious Canada', an historical pageant dramatizing the nation's history. Which nation was being rendered becomes quite clear: Jacques Cartier planted the cross of faith; Champlain battled with the Indians; Fathers Brebeuf and Lalement were martyred; and Dollard and Montcalm died heroically.[87] Whether this was intended as a counter-ceremony or as a complementary event to the unveiling is unclear but it certainly expressed a more native-grown and Quebec-focused view of national identity and history.

The unveiling of Cartier's monument combined all the dimensions of the creation of a social memory: the production of a magnificent memorial in stone and bronze to serve as a material prompt to a 'Great Man' and an idea of the state; a ceremony in which the representatives of Empire, the nation-state, and the elite of the society were present; thousands of performers and spectators participated in the event; and unrecorded thousands of others read about it, protested by staying away, or else were

disinterested in it. The symbolism was clear: the drama, romance, and emotion of several dimensions of patriotism; the wonders of modern technology; and the immanence of Empire, state, and authority. The iconography and rhetoric of a complex national identity were certainly monumentalized, but the weight of Anglo-Canadian connection was bearing down on the initial concept.

6 May 1935, 12 May 1937, 2 June 1953: an appropriated space

Over the next three decades, the symbolic landscape at the base of Mount Royal was to host several festivities, but three in particular were to dominate the historical theatrics of commemoration and public performance.[88] The first was the 25th anniversary of the reign of the "most popular" George V on 6 May 1935; the second were festivities surrounding the Coronation of George VI on 12 May 1937; and the third was Montreal's celebration of the Coronation of Elizabeth II on 2 June 1953.

Each of these occasions featured the addition of new elements to the monumental site at Fletcher's Field-Jeanne Mance Park. The George V Silver Jubilee was commemorated by a bilingual bronze plaque set in a granite boulder, to the west of the Cartier monument. The symbolism was almost brutal in its simplicity. Three sets of soil were buried beneath the boulder: soil from the battlefield at Hastings where Normandy's William the Conqueror defeated England's Harold in 1066; soil from the birthplace of General Wolfe who defeated the French at the Plains of Abraham; and soil from the birthplace of General Montcalm who died on the Plains of Abraham.[89] The text on the plaque made another association: the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of the Coronation of George V was being held "Ici quatre siècles après la découverte de Montréal par Jacques Cartier".

Two years later, a monument memorializing the Coronation of George VI was also erected there. While it matched the monument commemorating George V's Silver Jubilee in style, there were no attempts to cultivate the idea of the unity of the founding nations. The symbolism focused entirely on royalty and the Canadian–British connection. A foundation was laid consisting of three stones taken from the birth places of the King, the Queen, and the heir apparent, Princess Elizabeth. A large granite boulder was positioned above it, and a bronze plaque commemorated an event of some considerable constitutional import for Canada:

> In this place
> THE CITIZENS OF MONTREAL
> fortified their allegiance to
> HIS MAJESTY GEORGE VI
> the first sovereign in whose accession and coronation
> in accordance with the Statute of Westminster
> THE PEOPLE OF CANADA
> took part[90]

By the time of the Coronation of Elizabeth II in 1953, monuments were apparently out of fashion. At least the event was not memorialized in granite or bronze; the planting of commemorative trees had come into favour, the favoured species, of course being oaks and maples.

On each of these festive occasions, the focus was not Montreal, Quebec, or even Canada but London. Indeed, the shift was accompanied by the appropriate symbolic gestures: in 1935 and 1937, for example, the new monuments were draped with the Union Flag, while Cartier's role was to look down over the appropriated space while

propping up portraits of George V and George VI! And the ceremonies and festivities become somewhat repetitive, albeit escalations, of previous extravaganzas. Certainly, the Silver Jubilee of 1935 was reminiscent of the 1919 proceedings:

> Over the heads of more than 80 000 people gathered on Fletcher's Field yesterday morning, the National Anthem, led by the massed bands of the garrison, rose to mingle with the blue smoke from the saluting battery of the Montreal Regiment, Canadian Artillery, as the Royal Salute of 21 guns thundered out, to echo from the slopes of Mount Royal, over Canada's metropolis to the shining waters of the St. Lawrence, while colors and flags dipped in salute to mark the anniversary of the accession to the throne of His Majesty King George V . . . The Cartier monument, centre of the activities during the morning, with its painted portrait of the King, and its brilliant drapery, was flooded with searchlights last night, and stood out brilliantly against the sombre background of the mountain. The cross blazed white from the summit of Mount Royal. All else was black.[91]

Similarly, those of 1937 combined the ritualized royal ceremonials with the public attractions of an impressive 'son et lumière':

> A hundred thousand Montreal citizens massed last night on Fletcher's Field were treated to a spectacular fireworks display which climaxed a day of general rejoicing . . . As the roving searchlight rays from the new Canadian destroyer H.M.C.S. St. Laurent in the harbor sought out Jeanne Mance Park, 21 rocket bombs were touched off at 10-second intervals in royal salute, to be followed by one of the finest pyrotechnic shows ever displayed in Montreal.[92]

The Coronation of Elizabeth II continued the pattern in what was called "North America's largest single contribution to Coronation Day celebrations" and the "largest ever held in Montreal": loudspeakers broadcast the Queen's address; airplanes flew overhead; artillery fired salutes; soldiers, police, and youth organizations assembled at the park; a three-mile long parade of sixteen bands and 8000 marchers proceeded from Fletcher's Field, along a route lined with people standing 15 rows deep in places.[93]

Apart from the glorification of monarchy and empire, another theme was that of social progress, the 1935 celebration directing particular attention to the "Miracles Wrought in the Name of Science":

> The Victorian era was regarded as a period of scientific advance little short of miraculous, but even it cannot compare with the strides made during the reign of King George V. He, like Queen Victoria, has given his name to an age, and the term Neo-Georgian will go down to history as epitomizing progress in art, science and literature.[94]

The point was drummed home with an eclectic list of 'neo-Georgian' achievements: aviation; caterpillar traction; wireless telegraphy; telephones; typewriters; the motor car; and modern roads. The King's first use of radio broadcasts in 1924 was singled out:

> His Christmas messages have become an institution of the British fireside, of the South African stoep, of the Indian wigwam. His Jubilee broadcast is an historic event. Queen Victoria celebrated her Jubilee by tapping a Morse key; King George is able to speak to the crowds who rejoice with him, whether at home or separated by thousands of miles of oceans.[95]

It was appropriate, therefore, that just as the 1919 unveiling of the monument had integrated the electrical telegraph into the proceedings, so the entire 1935 celebration was broadcast by the newest icon of progress, the radio. Similarly, the culmination of

the 1937 festivities was the radio broadcast of the coronation ceremony in Westminster Abbey by three large CBC loudspeakers mounted on a 35-feet high tower—in French as well as English. The *Gazette* reported that "the greatest thrill of all was the voice of the Sovereign taking the oath ... [and] in the afternoon the Empire paid homage to King George and Queen Elizabeth by a radio broadcast which linked all the Dominions and many of the colonies with London".[96]

Although orchestrated, these events appear to have touched a popular nerve if assessed in terms of public participation. The 1935 Silver Jubilee attracted over 80 000 Montrealers, and was listened to by many thousands more. The Montreal Tramways company installed extra trams to accommodate the expected throng and assigned 113 cars to move 13 000 schoolchildren to and from Fletcher's Field where they were allocated a special compound to the left of the monument. The Canadian Pacific Railway offered reduced rates between all stations from 3 to 7 May to allow people an opportunity "to visit relations and friends and to enjoy a trip associated with this great event in the history of the Empire and the life of the Sovereign".[97] The government minted 14 000 silver dollars commemorating the Silver Jubilee.[98] Medals were presented to "lowly servants of the public, including mail carriers and lighthouse tenders" as well as "high members" such as former lieutenant-governors, the judiciary, clergy, military officers, and physicians.[99] Corporations flooded the market with Jubilee playing cards, ties, marmalade, emblems, and calendars and took out patriotic advertisements in which their logos were blended with the iconography of loyalty. The numbers increased to 100 000 for the 1937 Coronation, while that of Elizabeth II in 1953 was reported to have attracted 750 000 people along the route of the parade. But even these numbers prompt the question: what about the rest of Montreal? Away from the state-organized celebration of monarchy, empire and the British connection, how did the rest of the city react? Was there a vernacular challenge to the official metanarrative being acted out in these commemorations?

Anglophones were not the only community involved in the 1935 Silver Jubilee. Newspapers reported Greek, Jewish, Italian and Syrian celebrations throughout Montreal, one article commenting: "That part of Montreal which springs from Italy rendered solemn homage unto Caesar yesterday, and Caesar was His Majesty, George V ... representatives of the Sons of Italy, of the Fascist organization, of the war veterans, of every Italian society in the city, attended".[100] Even the inmates of Montreal's prisons were not excluded, it being reported that "God Save the King [was] sung lustily in the Montreal Jail today by men who were there because they had in one way or another broken the laws of his Majesty".[101] And Canada's Native peoples were there, albeit in stereotypical form. In 1935, 'Red Indian Motor Oils' sent its greetings and pledged its allegiance to George V, the 'Great White Father'. Two years later, a newspaper reported that the "Iroquois Dedicate a Totem Pole To Newly-Crowned White Father". The language was loaded with the prevailing attitudes to these 'other' Canadians: "the thundering Lachine rapids", "youthful braves and buck-skin clad girls", a "white-haired old woman", a "grass-thatched shelter", "warwhooping dance", and the "home-grown white tobacco from which they all blew smoke of peace to the four corners of the earth".[102] Through this portrayal, the Native population was given its own stylized place in the institutionalized performance. As befitted their role in the Canadian and Quebec historical chronicle, they were at once "les sauvages" of history who were now loyal to the "Great White Father" and also an exotic element of the national backdrop to the proceedings (Figure 5).

French–Canadians again exhibited mixed reactions to the 1935 and 1937 celebrations of loyalty, royalty and empire. *La Presse* sponsored the fireworks display for the 1935

Figure 5. Focusing loyalties: hail the King!

Jubilee and the Alfred Duranleau, Minister of Marine, claimed to voice the sentiments of his French–Canadian compatriots who had "joined hands with their new English associates to build up the first great Dominion".[103] Not everyone shared Duranleau's views and reports appeared in newspapers of Union Flags hung upside down either by mistake or perhaps in protest.

All three commemorations were staged in an era of intensifying polarization of the two founding cultures and the symbolism of empire, monarchy and militarism must have been as provocative to some as they were comforting to others. But the clear

intent was to renew the enthusiasm of Canadians—or at least of Montrealers—for the British connection. As the rhetoric of the *Montreal Gazette* put it at the time of the George V Jubilee:

> no other nation in all history, and certainly no other nation of today, ever revealed or could reveal in so single a manner a binding force equalling the tremendous strength of the bond by which the Throne of Britain is established in the hearts of British peoples in every continent and under every sun.[104]

Similarly, on the occasion of the Coronation of Elizabeth II, the mayor of Montreal, M. Houde, speaking alternately in French and English to a "vast parade throng", led Montrealers in pledging loyalty to the young Queen with the usual imagery of unity: "The symbol of our common national heritage and our link with our fellow compatriots throughout the Commonwealth is the Crown. ... [it] stands above all factions and special interests, above all schisms and political strife".[105] But there were some discordant voices. While *Le Devoir* took pains to report that there had been opposition to the 1937 festivities in Dublin and Calcutta, it went on to praise the new monarch "avec la même fervèur que ses sujets d'Angleterre".[106] However, Omer Heroux warned the readers of *Le Devoir* that "il est inévitable que le Couronnement soit l'occasion d'un prodigieux effort de propaganda impérialiste".[107] He argued that Canada had sacrificed too many of its sons in imperial wars, that the empire "est dans un plus ou moins long avenir voué à la dissoulution, à la mort," and urged the case of nationalism:

> Le Canada est une réalité géographique qui ne se modifiera point, qui tient de sa situation même certains besoins, certain intérêts. Tachons, fût-ce au ruit de l'apothéose de demain, de ne pas oublier que nous sommes d'abord des Canadiéns et que, entre les intérêts du Canada et ce qu'on appelle les intérêts de l'Empire -mais qui, dans la realité devraient brutalement se nommer plûtot les intérêts de Londres—s'il nous faut un jour choisir, notre simple devoir est d'opter pour le Canada, pour son avenir.[108]

And as for Canada, Heroux posed the question: "sous sa forme politique actuelle, est-il assuré d'un long avenir?" It was a question that "préoccupe [un] nombre de Canadiens français".

Clearly, given the international and domestic tensions of the pre-war and post-war times, these ceremonials were deliberately advanced as diversions from contemporary problems. It was the 1935 Jubilee celebration in England that prompted H. G. Wells in *The World of William Clissold* to comment about "a sort of false England that veils the realities of English life". He talks of the King being at the head of a social system, army, militant tradition:

> They are all bound up together, inseparably. The people cannot comprehend themselves in relation to the world while, at every turn and crisis of the collective life, the national king, the national uniforms, the national flags and bands, thrust blare and bunting across the realities. For millions these shows are naturally accepted as the realities.[109]

To some extent, the Canadian celebrations of royalty and empire were also designed to paper over the cracks in a discordant society. Two of them took place in the middle of the Great Depression, while the last one marked the beginning of post-World War II recovery; in the 1930s, Hitler and Mussolini threatened the future, while 1953 had its own geopolitical tensions; and on all three occasions, Canada was riven by the tensions of absorbing 'continental' immigrants and 'displaced persons' and reconciling English and French Canada.

Figure 6. An appropriated space: a place of protest.

1 July 1997: a contested space

Since 1953, the Cartier memorial complex has not witnessed any massive, choreographed public ceremony. The Centennial celebrations of 1967 centred on the Montreal EXPO pavilions and the Place d'Arts, the new architectural signifiers of municipal pride. Parades and speeches were replaced by popular bands, performers, and dancing.[110] In an age of superdomes for professional sports and concerts, parks and monuments have been displaced as symbolic rallying points.

There has been some organized political action at the site during the years of the 'Quiet Revolution' and the 'Noisy Referendum'.[111] Nevertheless, despite its conciliatory and royalist associations, the Cartier monument has escaped the decapitations and emasculations that have been directed at other unfortunate pieces of statuary.[112] But it did receive some rhetorical assaults. In April 1982, René Lévesque led 20 000 marchers in a protest against the recently-signed Constitutional Agreement forced through parliament by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau. The route was not insignificant. Starting at Park Lafontaine, the protesters crossed the critical divide of St Laurent, and moved up Rachel to Jeanne Mance Park. Since then, little of a political flavour has happened at the site aside from the regular events on Saint-Jean-Baptiste Day, 24 June, when young Montrealers recolonize the space. They drape the monument with the fleur-de-lys, challenge the rhetoric of appeasement and reconciliation, and demonstrate that they 'remember' (Figure 6).[113]

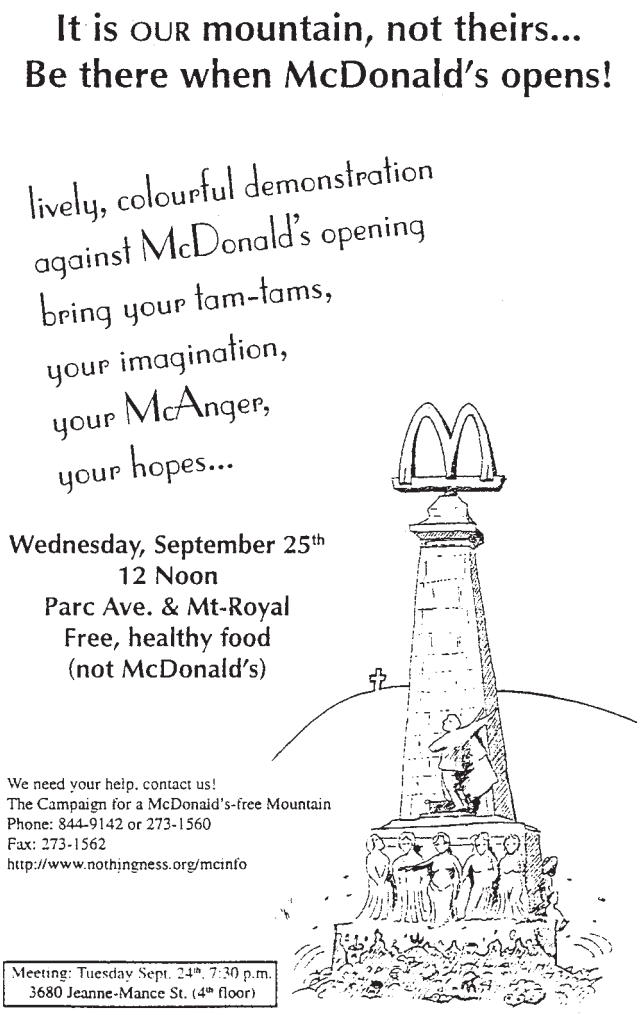

Figure 7. An appropriated symbol: protecting a public space.

The Cartier memorial complex appears to have taken on a new function: as the site of spontaneous, or at least weakly organized, social protest. McGill University is nearby and the monument makes a convenient podium for student protest. In September 1995, for example, some 5000 assembled in Jeanne Mance Park in a "rally against education cuts".[114] A year later, the Cartier monument was again adopted as a rallying point and icon for populist and nativist groups defending the district against the 'Mac-Attack' mounted by the establishment of a McDonald's franchise in the vicinity (Figure 7).

Other uses of the site have taken on the form of customary practice and social event. Each Sunday afternoon in summer, the site is appropriated by the hundreds of 'Tam Tam Jam' aficionados. The Tam Tam Jams are both performances and public assemblies. They fill and take control of the space through their music, their unconventional dress, bodies and actions—and signal their presence with their graffiti. It is at best an irreverent gathering, at worst a social protest. Not surprisingly, the Tam Tam Jam has attracted the ire of municipal officials. The latter's putative concerns are drugs, hygiene, and food inspection. The more probable reason is the loss of control, law and order in a

public space, and also the need to destroy the "spontaneous Woodstock-like happening" by a careful cultivation of moral protest.[115]

All of these contemporary vernacular forces demonstrate how they have their own view of history and geography, leaving behind their own contributions to the symbolic texts in their irreverent graffiti, litter and protest placards. At regular intervals, municipal crews descend on the monument and attempt to erase the social protest and commentary daubed over the Cartier monument. They fail, however, and the spray-can inscriptions form a continuum with those crafted in bronze 80 years ago.

Conclusion: a pigeon's eye view

Fletcher's Field and Jeanne Mance Park have witnessed the accretion of several layers of emotionally-charged commemorations so that the site has become populated by a pantheon of spectre-like heroes: George(s) Etienne Cartier; George V; Jacques Cartier; William the Conqueror; General Montcalm; General Wolfe; George VI; Elizabeth II; Rene Levesque; and the Tam Tam. And the process continues as Renown, Cartier, the militiaman and the provincial maidens gaze down in wonderment at the newcomers. As Maurice Halbwachs has argued, monuments and commemorations cultivate imagined landscapes that overwhelm the terrain of other cultural systems.[116] Time is colonized by fixing significant dates in a commemorative chronology; space is colonized by the erection of commemorative structures on the terrain; power is asserted by the exclusion of, or transformation of, the commemorative practices of others.[117]

Montreal's Cartier monument complex survives, like many others of its time, as an anachronism. It was originally erected in a public place that was appropriated and transformed. That is, Fletcher's Field-cum-Jeanne Mance Park was a publicly recognized meeting place in late nineteenth-century Montreal. It was a place of unregulated social congress, family pleasures, escape and recreation. It lay beyond the contemporary forces of economics, politics, and mass aesthetics.

The erection of the statue and the construction of the formal setting, was an intrusion of a particular set of ideas of class, culture, and nation. It was an appropriation of a public place by an official and élite view of history. And that history changed from a ceremony in which the focus was on the celebration of two founding nations, to one of an Imperial and monarchic linkage. The very music reflected the transition: the strains of Cartier's *O Canada, mon pays, mon amour*, were replaced by *God Save the King*, *Colonel Bogey* and *Land of Hope and Glory*.

In some ways, it may be said that the Cartier monument and the Fletcher's Field-Jeanne Mance site is currently being reclaimed by a new constituency. For the old Anglo-Celtic-Canadian élite, it has lost its relevance. For Quebecers—or more precisely, French–Montrealers—it serves as an occasional and sometimes ironic catalyst of polarized protest. But for an eclectic and kaleidoscopic group made up of allophones, young and the socially disconnected, it is again a ritualized place of performance and social congress. This most recent use of this particular public place may be a reflection of the values of a world of late capitalism and represents a new theatre of public resistance to homogenization and domination.[118] What are now being acted out through new symbolic practices and ritualized activities are the marking of the boundaries of what David Sibley calls the "geographies of inclusion and exclusion".[119] The visual signs are the graffiti and litter, accompanied by a new soundscape of syncopated drumming replacing the old one of fanfares and marches, and a new smellscape of

Figure 8. Old images, new inscriptions.

cooking food and other substances replacing that of the cordite and gunpowder of official salutes and firework displays (Figure 8).

Whatever their original rationale, symbolic spaces are not static but are dynamic sites of meaning and depositories for successive generations' ideological bric-à-brac. As has been demonstrated, while the original object-statue has remained relatively unchanged, the public congregations centred on it have shifted from formally choreographed events to informal gatherings. Its symbolic meaning has always been in a state of flux: a reflection of the society in which it is situated. John Gillis has argued that the uncertainty and unpredictability of the post-national present necessitates the construction of new memories and new identities. The old holidays and monuments have lost much of their power, although they may serve as loci at which contending groups may communicate and negotiate differences.[120] Perhaps the new meanings being endowed on the George Etienne Cartier monument and site support Gillis' thesis that:

> In this era of plural identities, we need civil times and civil spaces more than ever, for these are essential to the democratic processes by which individuals and groups come together to discuss, debate, and negotiate the past and, through this process, define the future.[121]

Department of Geography
Queen's University
Kingston
Ontario
Canada K7L 3N6

Acknowledgements

This paper has benefited from the labour and ideas of Natalie Bernard, Odilia Bonebakker, Geraint Osborne, and Philip Wolfart. The wise counsel of three anonymous referees is also gratefully acknowledged, as is the financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the Advisory Research Committee of Queen's University.

Notes

[1] This is the world which is the setting for Mordecai Richler's acclaimed novels of Montreal life, *The Apprenticeship of Duddy Kravitz* (1959) and *St. Urbain's Horseman* (1971). See also his *The Street* (1969). Mount Royal was acquired by the City of Montreal in 1874. The following discussion is derived from the file "Fletcher's Field-Jeanne Mance Park" in the Park Files, City of Montreal Archives.

[2] *Le Devoir*, 27 May 1942. Two years later, there was a more sordid contestation of this space. Local residents had presented a petition "de faire partager en deux sections le parc Jeanne-Mance, pour accomoder plus façilement les petits Canadiens francais et les enfants juifs qui demeurent dans le quartier". See *La Presse*, 15 March 1944. Rejecting the prospect of a symbolic 'Chinese Wall', City Council advocated that "children of all races should be taught to play with another amicably". See *Montreal Standard*, 18 March 1944.

[3] As ever in conflicts of identity, naming is a contentious issue. Born Georges-Étienne Cartier, his subsequent transmutation into Sir George Etienne Cartier is viewed as being symbolic of his cultural assimilation and political co-option.

[4] This paper is part of a larger project that looks at several other monuments: the Riel monuments in Winnipeg and Regina; the Brock monuments at Niagara; the Irish 'Great Famine' monument in Kingston; and the Mississauga War Memorial at Alnwick, Ontario.

[5] G. Simmel, quoted in B. Werlen, *Society, Action and Space: An Alternative Human Geography* (London 1993) 169.

[6] M. Ignatieff, *Blood and Belonging: Journeys into the New Nationalism* (Toronto 1993).

[7] M. Halbwachs, *La topographie légendaire des évangiles en Terre Sainte* (Paris 1941); *Idem*., *The Collective Memory* (London 1980); *Idem*., *On Collective Memory* (Chicago 1992); P. Connerton, *How Societies Remember* (Cambridge 1989); J. Bodner, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton 1992); J. Fentress and C. Wickham, *Social Memory: New Perspectives on the Past* (Oxford 1992); P. Hutton, *History as an Art of Memory* (Hanover, NH 1993); J. Le Goff, *History and Memory* (New York 1992); J. R. Gillis (Ed.), *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity* (Princeton 1994); V. Schwarcz, *Bridge Across Time: Chinese and Jewish cultural memory* (New Haven 1998); P. Nora, Between memory and history, *Representations*, **26** (1989) 7–25; Idem., *Realms of Memory: The Construction of the French Past. Vol. I: Conflicts and Divisions* (New York 1996); C. Withers, Place, memory, monument: memorializing the past in contemporary Highland Scotland, *Ecumene* **3**, 325–44; J. Mathieu (Ed.), *La mémoire dans la culture* (Québec 1995).

[8] Hutton, *op. cit*. 78.

[9] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 40.

[10] Gillis, *op. cit*. 3.

[11] *Ibid*. 6.

[12] J. Bodner, Public memory in an American city: commemoration in Cleveland, in Gillis, *Commemorations*, 75.

[13] B. S. Osborne, Grounding national mythologies: the case of Canada, in S. Courville and N. Seguin (Eds) *Espace et culture* (Laval, Quebec 1995) 265–74.

[14] Nora, Between memory and history.

[15] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 223–4.

[16] S. Kuchler, Landscape as memory: the mapping of process and its representation in a Melanesian Society, in B. Bender (Ed.), *Landscape, Politics and Perspectives* (Oxford 1993) 85.

[17] W. J. T. Mitchell, *Landscape and Power* (Chicago 1994) 1.

[18] B. Bender, Landscape: meaning and action, in Bender, *Landscape, Politics and Perspectives*, 3.

[19] S. Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York 1995) 15.

[20] R. D. Sack, *Homo Geographicus: a framework for action, awareness and moral concern* (Baltimore 1997) 135.
[21] Mitchell, *op. cit*.
[22] Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, 175.
[23] I have referred to Canadian examples of these elsewhere. See B. S. Osborne, The iconography of nationhood in Canadian art, in D. E. Cosgrove and S. Daniels (Eds), *The Iconography of Landscape* (Cambridge 1988) 162–178; *Idem*., 'The kindling touch of imagination': Charles William Jefferys and Canadian identity, in P. Simpson-Housley and G. Norcliffe (Eds), *A Few Acres of Snow* (Toronto 1992) 28–47; *Idem*., Interpreting a nation's identity: artists as creators of national consciousness, in A. R. H. Baker and G. Biger (Eds), *Ideology and Landscape in Historical Perspective* (Cambridge 1992) 230–54. For other examples, see M. Bunce, *The Countryside Ideal: Anglo-American Images of Landscape* (London 1994); P. Gruffudd, The countryside as educator: schools, rurality and citizenship in inter-war Wales, *Journal of Historical Geography* **22** (1996) 412–23; C. W. J. Withers, How Scotland came to know itself: geography, national identity and the making of a nation, 1680–1790, *Journal of Historical Geography* **21** (1995) 371–97.
[24] E. Hobsbawm, Foreword, in D. Ades, T. Benton, D. Elliot, I. Boyd Whyte, *Art and Power: Europe Under the Dictators 1930–45* (London 1995) 13.
[25] M. Boyer, *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments* (Cambridge, Mass. 1994) 33–4.
[26] E. Hobsbawm, *op. cit*. See also *Idem*., Mass producing traditions: Europe, 1870–1914, in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (Eds), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge 1983) 263–309 and M. North, The public as sculpture: from heavenly city to mass ornament, in W. J. T. Mitchell (Ed.), *Art and the Public Sphere* (Chicago 1990) 9–28.
[27] K. Savage, The politics of memory: black emancipation and the Civil War, in Gillis, *op cit*., 130–1.
[28] V. Acconci, Public space in a private time, in Mitchell, *Art and the Public Sphere*, 168.
[29] J. E. Young, The counter-monument: memory against itself in Germany today, in Mitchell, *Art and the Public Sphere*, 76.
[30] See the growing literature on war memorials and remembrance, including M. Heffernan, For ever England: the Western Front and the politics of remembrance in Britain, *Ecumene* **2** (1995) 293–323; K. S. Inglis, War memorials: ten questions for historians, *Guerres Mondiales* **167** (1992) 5–21; N. Johnson, Cast in stone: monuments, geography, and nationalism, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* **13** (1995) 51–65; C. Moriarty, The absent dead and figurative First World War memorials, *Transactions of the Ancient Monuments Society* **39** (1995) 7–406; A. Prost, Mémoires locales et mémoires nationales: les monuments de 1914–1918 en France, *Guerres Mondiales* **167** (1992) 41–50; Shipley, *To Mark Our Place: A History of Canadian War Memorials* (Toronto 1987); J. M. Mayo, *War Memorials as Political Landscape* (New York 1988); D. J. Sherman, Bodies and names: the emergence of commemoration in interwar France, *American Historical Review* **103** (1998) 443–66; J. F. Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning and the First World War* (Vancouver 1997); J. Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural Experience* (Cambridge 1995); Withers, Place, memory, monument.
[31] Hobsbawm, Forward, 13.
[32] *Ibid*., 12.
[33] H. Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford 1991) 39.39. For a discussion of 'representational space', 'representations of space' and 'spaces for representation', see D. Mitchell, The end of public space? People's park, definitions of the public, and democracy, *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* **85** (1995) 108–33.
[34] Hutton, *op. cit*., 80.
[35] Connerton, *op. cit*.
[36] Hobsbawm, Foreword, 12. This propensity for large-scale 'crowd choreography' in public spaces may be linked to several contemporary developments: labour demonstrations; modern warfare; stage spectacles; cinema epics and dance reviews; marching bands; commercialized sport; and a general shift to visualization in culture in general.
[37] See B. Hinz, *Art in the Third Reich* (New York 1979) and D. Welch, *The Third Reich: Politics and Propaganda* (London 1993). The films of Leni Riefenstahl, especially her Triumph of the Will (1935), underline this point.
[38] R. Taylor, *The Word in Stone: The Role of Architecture in the National Socialist Ideology* (Berkeley 1974).

[39] North *op. cit*. He makes the point by quoting Goebbel's novel, *Michael* (1929): "The statesman is an artist too. For him, the people is neither more nor less than what stone is for the sculptor."
[40] Hinz, *op cit*.
[41] J. Gambrell, Art and the great utopia, *New York Review of Books*, 22 April 1993, 58.
[42] M. Stone, Staging Fascism: the Exhibition of the Fascist Revolution, *Journal of Contemporary History,* **28** (1993) 217–20.
[43] Gambrell, *op. cit*.; K. Rudnitsky, *Russian and Soviet Theatre 1905–1932* (New York 1988); V. Tolstoy, I. Bibikova, C. Cooke (Eds), *Street Art of the Revolution: Festivals and Celebrations in Russia 1918–33* (London 1990); Ades *et al*., *op. cit*.
[44] Gambrel, *op. cit*., 59. It is interesting that both totalitarianism and industrialism were parodied at the time by Charlie Chaplin in the films *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator* respectively.
[45] Boyer, *op. cit*., 118.
[46] *Ibid*., 319.
[47] D. J. Sherman, Art, commere and the production of memory in France after World War I, in Gillis, *Commemorations*, 186.
[48] Savage, *op. cit*., 130–1.
[49] B. S. Osborne, Figuring space, marking time: contested identities in Canada, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* **2** (1996) 23–40.
[50] Unknown outside of Canada, Major-General Isaac Brock entered national hagiography by allowing himself to be killed fighting an invading American force at the Battle of Queenston in the War of 1812. For almost a century after that date, Brock's dominant position in the national pantheon was uncontested and he was immortalized as the 'saviour of Canada' in bronze, verse, placenames. 13 October also became Brock's Day.
[51] The principal one was the unveiling of the monument to King Alfred in Winchester in 1901 as the central motif in a world-wide celebration of Anglo-Saxon hegemony.
[52] L. Spillman, *Nation and Commemoration: Creating National Identities in the United States and Australia* (Cambridge 1997).
[53] The role of the 'Great War' of 1914–18, and of Vimy Ridge in particular, in the cultivation of Canadian national identity has received much academic and popular attention. The part played by the Riel Rebellion and the Boer War in this 'red-streak' running through Canadian metanarratives of identity also needs to be pursued.
[54] Other initiatives such as the Dominion Archives (1872), the Canadian Club (1893), the Imperial Order of Daughters of Empire (1900) and The Champlain Society (1905) may also be fitted into this frenzy of commemoration and focused remembering. See B. S. Osborne, Figuring space, marking time: contested identities in Canada, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, **2** (1996) 23–40.
[55] *Ibid*.
[56] W. Zelinsky, *From Nation to State: The Shifting Symbolic Foundation of American Nationalism* (Chapel Hill 1988) 20. An 'eidolon' is defined by Zelinsky as an ideal figure, often with mythic properties, who retains "some semblance of human form".
[57] See P.-G. Roy, *Les monuments commemoratifs de la Province de Quebec* (Quebec 1923); R. Fournier, *Lieux et monuments historiques de l'Île de Montréal* (Ottawa 1970).
[58] D. Martin, *Portraits des héros de la Nouvelle-France: images d'un culte historique* (LaSalle, Quebec 1988) xi–xii. The cultivation of the myth of Dollard as the 'saviour of New France' is particularly instructive and is discussed in C. Jaenen, *The French Regime in the Upper Country of Canada during the Seventeenth Century* (Toronto 1996) 128–9.
[59] J. Mathieu, *The Plains of Abraham* (Quebec City 1993). See also R. G. Moyles and D. Owram, *Imperial Dreams: British Views of Canada, 1880–1914* (Toronto 1988) 106–11.
[60] The final result was an extravaganza on the Plains of Abraham. An Englishman, Frank Lascelles, fresh from his success with the organization of Oxford's festivities, was recruited to orchestrate the event. With a $300 000 federal grant to work with, it featured floats, historic pageants, commemorative coins, plaques, and postage stamps, parades, an open-air high mass, 4500 costumed actors, and 15 000 soldiers. For more discussion see Mathieu, *The Plains of Abraham*.
[61] Quoted in Myles and Owram, *op cit*., 112.
[62] *Ibid*., 112–113.
[63] This was the second initiative. At Cartier's death in 1873, steps had been taken to erect a

'National Monument' in his honour in Côtes-des-Neiges Cemetery on Mount Royal. See *Canadian Illustrated News*, 25 August 1877,

[64] *Montreal Standard*, 23 March 1912.
[65] *London Times*, 26 August 1912.
[66] A. Sweeny, *George-Etienne Cartier* (Toronto 1976) 13.
[67] *London Times*, 26 August 1912.
[68] *La Presse*, 13 April 1912.
[69] *Le Devoir* was established in 1910 by Henri Bourassa, an ardent French-Canadial nationalist who was committed to the preservation of French-Canadian culture and identity.
[70] *Le Devoir*, 9 November 1911.
[71] M. Wade, *The French Canadians, 1760–1945* (Toronto 1956); J.-C. Bonenfant, Les Canadiens français et la naissance de la confédération, *Canadian Historical Association Report* (1952); Idem., Les idées politiques de Georges-Étienne-Cartier, in M. Hamelin (Ed.), *Les idées politique des premiers ministres du Canada* (Ottawa 1969); Idem., Sir George-Etienne Cartier, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, **10** (1972) 142–52; D. Monière, *Le développment des idéologies au Québec* (Montreal 1979); C. Dufour, *Le défi québécois: A Canadian Challenge* (Montreal 1989); F. Dumont, *La genèse de la société Québécoise* (Montreal 1995).
[72] For a discussion of attitudes to French–Canadians who were thought to have betrayed their patrimoine, see Esther Delisle's controversial study, *The Traitor and the Jew* (Toronto 1993).
[73] *Montreal Daily Star*, 9 May 1914.
[74] *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1914.
[75] *Montreal Gazette*, 4 September 1914.
[76] *Montreal Star*, 6 September 1919.
[77] *Ibid*.
[78] *Montreal Star*, 3 September 1919.
[79] *Le Devoir*, 2 September 1919.
[80] *Montreal Star*, 6 September 1919.
[81] *Montreal Star*, 7 September 1919.
[82] *Ibid*.
[83] *Ibid*.
[84] M.-J.-L.-K. Laflamme, *Le centenaire Cartier, 1814–1914* (Montreal 1927) 230.
[85] Speech of M. Thomas Chapais, *Le Devoir*, 8 September 1919.
[86] O. Heroux, *Le Devoir*, 6 September 1919.
[87] *Montreal Star*, 7 September 1919.
[88] The association of Fletcher's Field-Jeanne Mance Park with technology continued. On 1 July 1927, 20 000 people assembled there in the company of such worthies as the Prime Minister, William Lyon Mackenzie King, and the famed aviator, Charles Lindbergh, to witness the commencement of Atlantic to Pacific radio broadcasting via Canadian National Railway radio stations (the precursor of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation). For at least one person present—a CKAC radio announcer called Jacques Cartier (!)—this was symbolic of "le véritable sentiment d'unité qui existe dans notre pays actuellement". See *La Presse*, 2 July 1927.
[89] *Montreal Star*, 7 May 1935.
[90] The Statute of Westminster of 11 December 1931 granted Canada and other former colonies full legal freedom, and clarified the powers of Canada's Parliament.
[91] *Montreal Daily Star*, 7 May 1935.
[92] *Montreal Gazette*, 13 May 1937.
[93] *Montreal Gazette*, 3 June 1953.
[94] *Montreal Gazette*, 6 May 1935.
[95] *Ibid*.
[96] *Ibid*. The Canadian contribution included the voices of the Prime Minister Mackenzie-King in London, a Saskatchewan farmer, and a French Canadian school girl.
[97] *Montreal Gazette*, 4 May 1935.
[98] *Montreal Star*, 1 May 1935.
[99] *Montreal Gazette*, 4 May 1935.
[100] *Montreal Gazette*, 6 May 1935.
[101] *Ibid*.
[102] *Montreal Gazette*, 13 May 1937.

[103] *Montreal Gazette*, 7 May 1935.
[104] *Ibid*.
[105] *Montreal Gazette*, 3 June 1953.
[106] *Le Devoir*, 11 May 1937.
[107] *Le Devoir*, 11 May 1937.
[108] *Ibid*.
[109] Quoted in K. Rose, *King George V* (New York 1984) 396.
[110] *Montreal Gazette*, 1–3 July 1967.
[111] November 1961, the base of the monument was attacked by "L'arme secrète des séparatistes" who daubed it with the slogans such as "À bas la Conféderation! Vive le Québec libre!" See *Montreal-Matin*, 14 November 1961.
[112] The several Riel monuments throughout Canada have not escaped this fate and there are signs of growing impatience with other reminders of former power systems. On 3 May 1996, The *London Times* reported that the mayor of Montreal, Pierre Bourque, had proposed that the city move Nelson's Column, erected in 1809, from its present position in Place Jacques Cartier.
[113] Quebec's motto, 'Je me souvients', emphasizes the importance of remembering as part of the strategy of cultural survival.
[114] *Montreal Gazette*, 21 September 1995.
[115] *Montreal Gazette*, 5 August 1993.
[116] Halbwachs, *La topographie legendaire*.
[117] Hutton, *op. cit*., 128.
[118] Mitchell, *Landscapes and Power*. See also S. Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: From Detroit to Disney World* (Berkeley 1991).
[119] D. Sibley, *Geographies of Inclusion and Exclusion* (London 1995).
[120] Gillis, *Commemorations*, 20.
[121] *Ibid*. D. Mitchell also argues that it is "by struggling over and within space that the natures of 'the public' and of democracy are defined". See Mitchell, *The End of Public Space*, 128.