

# Chapter 3



*Puis levant la tête et le poing au ciel, la  
vieille Arcadie, paradis perdu surgi de ses  
cendres, hucha aux générations à venir :  
Vous y reviendrez en pèlerinage pour y  
fleurir les tombes de vos aïeux.*

Antonine Maillet, Acadian Author, Prix Goncourt 1979

## 3.0 Justification for Inscription

### 3.a. Criteria under which inscription is proposed

The Landscape of Grand Pré is an outstanding example and enduring model of the human capacity to overcome extraordinary natural challenges and cultural ordeals.

Canada wishes the Landscape of Grand Pré to be considered a cultural landscape.

**Criterion (v):** “an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement which is representative of a human interaction with the environment.”

Grand Pré is a vibrant agricultural landscape, carved out of its harsh coastal environment three centuries ago by Acadian settlers. Working collectively, they applied an ingenious system of dyking and drainage to hold back the highest tides in the world, created extraordinarily fertile farmland, and began a tradition of collective management. This land reclamation system and this management tradition continue to ensure the livelihood of the local community today. The Landscape of Grand Pré is an outstanding example of a thriving farming community that interacts with its environment by using a successful land reclamation system and management tradition that predate the introduction of engineered drainage systems.

#### *An extremely challenging coastal environment*

Grand Pré lies on the shores of the Bay of Fundy, on the northeastern coast of North America. The dykes that protect Grand Pré’s landscape are assailed by tides that have an average range of 11.61 metres. Twice a day, 100 billion tonnes of sea water flow in and out of the bay, more than the combined flow of all the world’s rivers. This churning volume of sea water presented a major challenge to the Acadians,

the area’s first European settlers and first dyke builders. Yet they saw beyond the challenge to the major agricultural opportunity this environment presented. If they could exclude the sea and allow rain and snow to wash the salt from the soil, they could claim the highly fertile tidal marshes for agriculture. This work began in the 1680s, with a series of dyke-building projects that went on for over 70 years. Today, the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits the work of the Acadians and their successors, the New England Planters: more than 1300 hectares of tidal marsh transformed into fertile farmland in one of the most challenging coastal environments in the world.

#### *An ingenious dyking and drainage system*

The dyking and drainage technology applied at the Landscape of Grand Pré is ingenious in its simplicity and its use of natural forces. The *aboiteau*, a sluice with a valve, is its key component. The design and installation of *aboiteaux* is determined by the drainage pattern formed by creeks, which operate in response to the natural force of the incoming and receding tides. In effect, farmers who build and maintain the dykeland use gravity and hydrographical patterns to drain it. Indigenous grasses of the salt marsh, *Spartina patens* and *Juncus gerardii*, have always been used in creating and maintaining the dykes because of their natural resilience and resistance to the eroding forces of the formidable tides. Both the adaptation to the area’s geomorphology and the use of natural building materials for the dykes are evidence of the enduring use of an approach that successfully drained large areas of salt marsh for centuries in North America and in Europe before the introduction of pumps and designed drainage channels. The design and principles of building dykes and *aboiteaux* at Grand Pré have not changed since they were first created in the 17th century.

Grand Pré showcases the most intact example in the world of this traditional vernacular technology as part of an agricultural system.

*A successful agricultural settlement*

Grand Pré was the largest and most prosperous of all Acadian-settled regions. Within decades of the Acadians' arrival, it became one of the most productive agricultural settlements in colonial North America. Its productivity resulted from the natural fertility of the land and the system of collective management that the Acadians put in place when they created the land. The land has remained highly productive over the centuries and is still dedicated exclusively to agricultural use.

This spirit of collective management is maintained through the Grand Pré Marsh Body, the oldest known and most active marsh body in North America. This exceptional example of a community-based approach to managing the farmland and the dykes is a form of land management now rare in North America and Europe. The natural conditions, the collective effort, and the technology used in the Landscape of Grand Pré provided the ingredients for a successful agricultural settlement, one that continues to ensure the livelihood of the local community.

**Criterion (vi): “a property that is tangibly associated with beliefs of outstanding universal significance.”**

Owing to the imposing presence of the dykelands, the Memorial Church and other memorials, and its enduring use by the Acadian people, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadians, an evocative example of a homeland symbolically and peacefully reclaimed by a diaspora that has triumphed over hardships. The legacy of the Acadian people overcoming the tragedy of a forced removal, the *Grand Dérangement*, their renaissance, and the ongoing efforts of reconciliation are embodied in the Landscape of Grand Pré. Here, Acadians share their common heritage, reaffirm their identity, and continue to build their sense of community in a spirit of peaceful reconciliation with history. The Landscape of Grand Pré provides a poignant and powerful living example of the universal

human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation.

*A landscape transformed into a lieu de mémoire*

Grand Pré is the most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadians, associated with the forced removal of that people from its homeland and with the subsequent survival of its diaspora. Over a period of seven years beginning in 1755, British authorities deported more than three-quarters of the approximately 14 000 Acadian men, women and children living in what are now the easternmost provinces of Canada. Some of those who survived the Deportation resettled in Nova Scotia after 1764, while most settled in what is now Québec, Louisiana, France or French territories such as Saint-Pierre et Miquelon, Santo Domingo (present-day Haiti), and Guyana. Today, most of these places are home to thriving Acadian or Cajun communities. They share a common sense of history, values, and traditions that is embodied in the Landscape of Grand Pré.

Once strictly an agricultural landscape, Grand Pré has been progressively transformed since the mid-19th century. The transformation began with the 1847 publication of American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's internationally renowned poem *Evangeline, A Tale of Acadie*, which brought an awareness of the Deportation and of Grand Pré to the world stage. The memorials found at Grand Pré commemorate the forced removal of the Acadians and celebrate their survival. Memorials such as the Deportation Cross are reproduced in Europe and elsewhere in North America where the Acadians landed during their *Odyssey*. The memorials' association with the dykeland as an agricultural landscape completes the sense of place as the homeland. Today, Acadians come to Grand Pré to understand their ancestors' legacy as expressed by the dykelands, the archaeological remains, and the memorials erected by their predecessors. The landscape and the memorials are powerful, tangible symbols of the impact of the *Grand Dérangement* on the Acadians, their attachment to their ancestral lands, their cultural survival, their collective memory, their identity, and their aspirations. Through that discovery and through the use of that landscape for key formative cultural events,

Grand Pré is a place that allows Acadians to reaffirm their identity and to continue building their community on these foundations. Visitors to Grand Pré share this experience and can find inspiration in this place of contemplation that illustrates the universal human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to make peace with the past.

*A symbolically and peacefully reclaimed landscape*

Grand Pré is a landscape that has been symbolically and peacefully reclaimed through the actions of Acadians and non-Acadians over more than a century. By raising public awareness, acquiring land, and erecting memorials, they have created a landscape that has united Acadians around the world. They did it without either resorting to conflict or disrupting the ongoing agricultural community, in a landscape that was primarily lived in by those who succeeded the Acadians after the Deportation. Grand Pré continues to be a place that is inclusive and open to the world, touching Acadians and non-Acadians alike. It is an exceptional landscape of reconciliation and peaceful sharing of the land.

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### 3.b. Proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value

#### Brief Synthesis

The Landscape of Grand Pré is a dynamic agricultural landscape claimed from the sea. It is also a powerful symbolic landscape for the Acadians.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is the most intact agricultural polder in the world that uses an ingenious vernacular system for transforming salt marsh into fertile agricultural farmland. This system of earthen dykes, ditches, *aboiteaux*, and community-based management was first implemented at Grand Pré in the late 17th century by French (Acadian) settlers. The location they chose was subject to the most extreme tides in the world, which presented great challenges but also great opportunities in the extraordinary fertility of the land

they transformed. Today, the agricultural landscape is still protected and drained by the same system, still exhibits distinctive field patterns, and is still managed through the same community approach, a testimony to the original Acadian settlers, the New England Planters who succeeded them, and the farmers who work the land today.

Symbolically, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the single most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadian people, one of the first people of European descent to call North America their homeland. The Landscape of Grand Pré is directly associated with the emergence of their new identity in this new land, but also with their tragic forced removal from it, their subsequent migration, and their renaissance. Today, this *lieu de mémoire* embodies the cultural consciousness of a widely scattered people. It is a landscape that has been peacefully and symbolically reclaimed by the Acadians, and it is their emotional and spiritual centre. It illustrates the importance of the connection between people and places in defining collective identity.

**Criterion (v):** Grand Pré is a vibrant agricultural landscape, carved out of its harsh coastal environment three centuries ago by Acadian settlers. Working collectively, they applied an ingenious system of dyking and drainage to hold back the highest tides in the world, created extraordinarily fertile farmland, and began a tradition of collective management. This land reclamation system and this management tradition continue to ensure the livelihood of the local community today. The Landscape of Grand Pré is an outstanding example of a thriving farming community that interacts with its environment by using a successful land reclamation system and management tradition that predate the introduction of engineered drainage systems.

**Criterion (vi):** Owing to the imposing presence of the dykelands, the Memorial Church and other memorials, and its enduring use by the Acadian people, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadians, an evocative example of a homeland symbolically and peacefully reclaimed by a diaspora that has triumphed over hardships. The legacy of the Acadian people overcoming the tragedy of a forced removal, the *Grand Dérangement*, their renaissance, and the ongoing efforts of reconciliation are embodied in the Landscape of Grand Pré. Here, Acadians share their common

heritage, reaffirm their identity, and continue to build their sense of community in a spirit of peaceful reconciliation with history. The Landscape of Grand Pré provides a poignant and powerful living example of the universal human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation.

### Integrity and Authenticity

The nominated property has integrity because its clearly defined boundaries encompass all the elements relevant both to the agricultural landscape, created from the transformation of salt marsh into farmland over several centuries, and to the symbolically reclaimed landscape. These elements include earthen dykes, ditches, *aboiteaux*, and field patterns, as well as the memorials, archaeological evidence of the village, and commemorations related to the forced removal and subsequent renaissance of the Acadians. The nominated property comprehensively represents the past and present agricultural settlements as defined by dykeland farmland, upland farmland, and the heart of the community. It includes the dykeland managed collectively by the Grand Pré Marsh Body and the entire area of symbolic importance to the Acadians. The integrity is enhanced by the farmland included in the buffer zone. The nominated property's attributes are in good condition. Policies and mechanisms are in place to reduce or eliminate pressures on the agricultural use and the archaeological sites.

The nominated property has authenticity because the archaeological and historical evidence confirms the locations of the original Acadian and Planter settlements, the enduring agricultural use, and the location of the memorials. That evidence also confirms that the dykelands are maintained in the 21st century using the same principles and techniques originally implemented by the Acadians in the 17th century and that they have been managed collectively for over 300 years. The Acadians' continuing use of Grand Pré for individual and collective events attests to the profound value of this landscape to their community.

### Protection and Management Requirements

The legal protection of the nominated property is enforced provincially on lands under provincial jurisdiction by the Nova Scotia *Agricultural Marshland Conservation Act* (Appendix 3F) and the Nova Scotia *Special Places Protection Act* (Appendix 3K), and federally on lands administered by the Parks Canada Agency under the *Parks Canada Agency Act* (Appendix 3D), and the *Canada National Parks Act* (Appendix 3A). The protective measures are appropriate to safeguard the dykeland, its agricultural use, and the archaeological sites from undue development and environmental pressures. A buffer zone around the nominated property, encompassing both land and water, was defined through community engagement leading to the adoption of the *Grand Pré and Area Community Plan* (Appendix 2J) to ensure that zoning remains compatible with the aims of protecting the nominated property. All of these mechanisms are sufficient to control development, ensure agricultural land capacity, and monitor the effects of coastal erosion that could otherwise threaten the value of the nominated property.

The overall management system for the nominated property is exemplary. It involves community management through the Grand Pré Marsh Body, municipal zoning, and federal and provincial government legislation for protection of the site. *The Management Plan for the Landscape of Grand Pré* (Appendix 2A) is a strong framework document that ensures the coordination of multiple jurisdictions and stakeholders inside the boundary of the nominated property and its buffer zone. Parks Canada, as a federal government agency, is responsible for managing Grand-Pré National Historic Site of Canada and Horton Landing. The Province of Nova Scotia, mainly through its departments of Agriculture and of Tourism, Culture and Heritage, is responsible for protecting the dykelands and archaeological sites not located on federal lands. Finally, the Municipality of the County of Kings is responsible for implementing the *Grand Pré and Area Community Plan* (Appendix 2J) and the zoning regulations contained in it. The Management Plan depends on the Community Plan, the *Grand-Pré National Historic Site of Canada Management Plan* (Appendix 2I), provincial departmental policies, and the Grand Pré Marsh Body for

its effective implementation. The management system is coordinated by the Grand Pré World Heritage Site Stewardship Board and involves the local community, the Acadian community, and government administrative bodies in its decision-making process. Local residents are proud and effective stewards of the land.

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### 3.c. Comparative analysis

The Landscape of Grand Pré is a dynamic agricultural landscape claimed from the sea. It is also a powerful symbolic landscape for the Acadians.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is presented as the most intact agricultural polder in the world that uses an ingenious vernacular system for transforming salt marsh into fertile agricultural farmland. This system of earthen dykes, ditches, *aboiteaux*, and community-based management was first implemented at Grand Pré in the late 17th century by French (Acadian) settlers. The location they chose was subject to the most extreme tides in the world, which presented great challenges but also great opportunities in the extraordinary fertility of the land they transformed. Today, the agricultural landscape is still protected and drained by the same system, still exhibits distinctive field patterns, and is still managed through the same community approach, a testimony to the original Acadian settlers, the New England Planters who succeeded them, and the farmers who work the land today.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is the single most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadian people, one of the first people of European descent to call North America their homeland. It is therefore also presented as a symbolically reclaimed homeland. The Landscape of Grand Pré is directly associated with the emergence of the Acadians' new identity in this new land, but also with their tragic forced removal from it, their subsequent migration, and their renaissance. Today, this *lieu de mémoire* embodies the cultural consciousness of a widely scattered people. It is a landscape that has been peacefully and symbolically reclaimed by the Acadians, and it is their emotional and spiritual centre. Grand Pré is a symbol of collective achievement and pride that continues to shape their identity.

In light of this dual value, the Landscape of Grand Pré is compared to agricultural landscapes that are polders as well as to sites that serve as a *lieu de mémoire* for a particular community, reinforcing its shared identity. Although these values are connected at Grand Pré, for the purpose of providing a reasonable comparative framework both aspects will be compared individually to other sites. The analysis will first compare Grand Pré as an agricultural landscape, then as a *lieu de mémoire* and symbolically reclaimed landscape.

#### 3.c.i. Establishing a list of comparable sites for Grand Pré as an agricultural landscape

The Landscape of Grand Pré applies a dyking and drainage system to transform intertidal lands into farmland, a type of landscape known locally as dykeland, but more commonly elsewhere as a polder.

Polders are typically defined as “a level area which was originally subject to a high water level, either permanently or seasonally and due to either groundwater or surface water. It becomes a polder when it is separated from the surrounding hydrological regime so that its water level can be controlled independently of surrounding regimes” (Segere, in ‘Polders of the World’, p. 15). They can be created in essentially three different types of environment:

- *Land reclaimed from the sea or any other body of water.* The Netherlands represents one of the best and most well-known examples of this type, where low-lying lands were claimed from the sea by means of complex drainage systems. Initially these systems involved sluices that drained the fresh water out of the area while keeping out the sea water. In the late Middle Ages, pump systems were added, which provided opportunities to extend the claimed land. These pumps were once activated by windmills that were and continue to be a distinctive feature of the Dutch landscape. The pumps are now predominantly operated electrically. While the need for land in part resulted from population and settlement expansions, the use of land for agriculture was also important.
- *Protected flood plains.* These were some of the first types of polders. They were recorded in Ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley and China, where annual floods were harnessed to irrigate

the crops along rivers. The alluvial deposits nourished the soil to allow agriculture, and water was managed to ensure consistent and sufficient irrigation of the crops. In Europe, flood plains were also extensively used for agriculture, in such places as the Pô Delta in Italy (first dyked by the Romans), Switzerland, and the Loire Valley in France.

- *Protected and drained marshes.* Over the centuries, fresh or brackish water marshes have been drained for public health reasons, for agriculture, or for peat extraction. The dyking of intertidal marshes was seen as an opportunity to access extremely fertile land, with early examples in Europe dating back to Roman times. Many areas around the world offer the right environmental conditions to create these marshes and have been dyked for agricultural purposes. In Europe, the marshes in the Netherlands were among the first to be dyked for land expansion. The northern coasts of Denmark and Germany have also seen these marshes dyked and drained for agricultural purposes at various times in history.

This analysis recognizes that transformation of land that is partly or wholly humid, i.e. wetlands, for agriculture occurred in many places in the world and in different environments. In Africa, Ancient Egyptians learned to master agricultural techniques in the face of the annual flooding of the Nile and adapted to the conditions of the soil along rivers by building canals and walls. In Western Africa, some societies apply a centuries-old ingenious technology, using hollowed palm tree trunks to drain rice fields in intertidal areas and in wetlands along rivers. Examples include areas along the Gambia River in the Republic of the Gambia, along the Casamance River in Senegal, and in estuaries and islands off the coast of Guinea-Bissau.

In pre-Columbian America, a number of societies had developed technologies to adapt to water environments. The Aztecs had experience building complex irrigation systems in valleys to allow for irrigation farming. While their canal technology is best illustrated by their main settlement at Tenochtitlan, built entirely on raised islets on Lake Texcoco, it also served an important function in expanding the

productivity of farmland in valleys. In general, though, the Aztecs developed their technology to adapt to a lake or riverside environment. The Incas developed the *camellones*, a technology that consisted of raised land surrounded by channels along the banks of Lake Titicaca to protect crops from flooding and to regulate water. In these cases, the technique involved dykes or dams, and channels.

In Asia, irrigation farming and wet-field farming has long been used by societies in mainland China, the Mekong Delta, the Korean Peninsula, and Japan. Although creating rice paddy fields is the typical use of water-management works for agriculture in Asia, there are numerous examples of major engineering works, such as the one at Dujiangyan in Sichuan province in China that aimed to manage the excess water during major floods and redirect it to improve field irrigation and crop production.

In Europe, land transformation from wetlands has occurred for millennia. Areas that were once bogs, marshes, and other forms of wetlands were transformed as early as the 7th century BCE in Friesland in northern Europe. Through the centuries, Europe saw the emergence of dyked wetlands in western France, Flanders, northern Germany, Italy, and England. The Middle Ages was a defining period in land transformation in Western Europe. The population increased dramatically, forests and marshes were cleared to create farmland, the seigniorial system (“seigneurial” in 17th century New France) was implemented, and significant strides were made in agricultural technology. All these factors contributed to an expansion of transformed wetlands for agriculture and the emergence of societies associated with that settlement pattern. This was followed by over a century of wars and plagues, and large tracts of the transformed lands were abandoned. The 16th century heralded a movement to reclaim these lands and develop advanced technologies to do so.

Today, land reclamation remains a significant approach to creating land for agriculture and settlement throughout the world.

This analysis focuses on comparing Grand Pré to other agricultural landscapes that were created from land reclamation of marshes in intertidal areas. The natural conditions of the intertidal

environment represent both the challenge of the twice-daily force exerted by the tides on the polder's walls and the opportunity of the typically rich nutrient content of the wetlands' soil. Intertidal land reclamation is different from land reclamation projects along rivers or in river deltas, where the potentially destructive force of the tides is largely absent. The Landscape of Grand Pré does not compare to ancient land-reclamation projects typically found along the rivers and in the deltas of Africa and Southeast Asia.

In addition, the comparative context for Grand Pré focuses on protected and drained marshes in Europe because of their cultural connections. Europe is also the only region of the world, other than colonial North America, where land transformation from intertidal lands occurred extensively before the 19th century.

Finally, the approach to land reclamation at Grand Pré, with its system of *aboiteaux*, earthen dykes, cooperative management, and adaptation to land forms, is a simple, effective, and ingenious system that predates the use of pumps and other engineering feats and has withstood the test of time.

#### *Exceptional coastal conditions*

Among the locations in the world with the highest tides, as compiled by the United States National Oceanographic and Atmospheric Agency (NOAA), the locations in the Minas Basin, part of the Bay of Fundy, top the list (see Figure 3-1). Grand Pré is less than two kilometres from Horton Bluff, Avon River, Minas Basin, in Nova Scotia. Locations in the broader Bay of Fundy area account for 13 of the 50 highest tide locations.

Other high tide locations include Ungava Bay (Québec, Canada), Cook Inlet (Alaska, United States), Koksoak River entrance (Greenland, Denmark), Cape Astronomicheski (Kamchatka, Russian Federation), locations along the Magellan Strait (Chile and Argentina), Bristol

Channel (United Kingdom), the Island of Jersey (United Kingdom), and locations along the English Channel and the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel (France).

Of the 50 highest tide locations, 37 are located in areas that can support agriculture. Of these, intertidal polders have been created in the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel, Bristol Channel, and Jersey.

#### *Reclaiming land in Western Europe*

Land transformation in intertidal environments similar to Grand Pré's occurred notably in Britain, France, the Netherlands, and Germany for centuries prior to the settlement of Grand Pré. The Middle Ages witnessed intensive dyking activity as land-hungry religious and political authorities ordered or commissioned the building of dykes for agricultural purposes. Many of these lands were abandoned during the wars and plagues that affected Europe in the late Middle Ages.

Activities resumed in the 16th century, when people actively began to reclaim the abandoned lands. These projects were led by authorities advised by engineers, in effect shifting such projects from the traditional vernacular approach for draining lands to new engineered methods, leaving a very different imprint on the landscape. The coasts of western France (Saintonge, Poitou, Brittany, Normandy, Pas de Calais), Belgium, the Netherlands, Germany (the Wadden Sea), and the United Kingdom (primarily along the south and east coasts) were all transformed to create new agricultural land. These places still exhibit evidence of the different periods of reclamation. Today, in particular since the middle of the 20th century, the lands that had been reclaimed for agricultural use now have a mixed use and increasingly host permanent infrastructure. Also, where groups of landowners had historically fulfilled the primary stewardship role in managing those lands, government bodies have now taken over to ensure the management of the polders.

#### *List of comparables*

Only two sites already inscribed on the World Heritage List can be compared to The Landscape of Grand Pré, based on the Western European land-reclamation tradition that predates the introduction of pumps:

1. Beemster Polder (Netherlands)
2. Schokland and Surroundings (Netherlands)

In order to expand the comparison to sites not inscribed on the World Heritage List, the following sites are deemed comparable because of their location in extreme intertidal environments, their cultural affiliation with the Western European tradition of dyking, and their comparable agricultural systems:

3. Tantramar Marsh, Bay of Fundy (Canada)
4. Marais de Dol – Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel (France)
5. The Gwent Levels, in the Bristol Channel/Mouth of the Severn (United Kingdom)

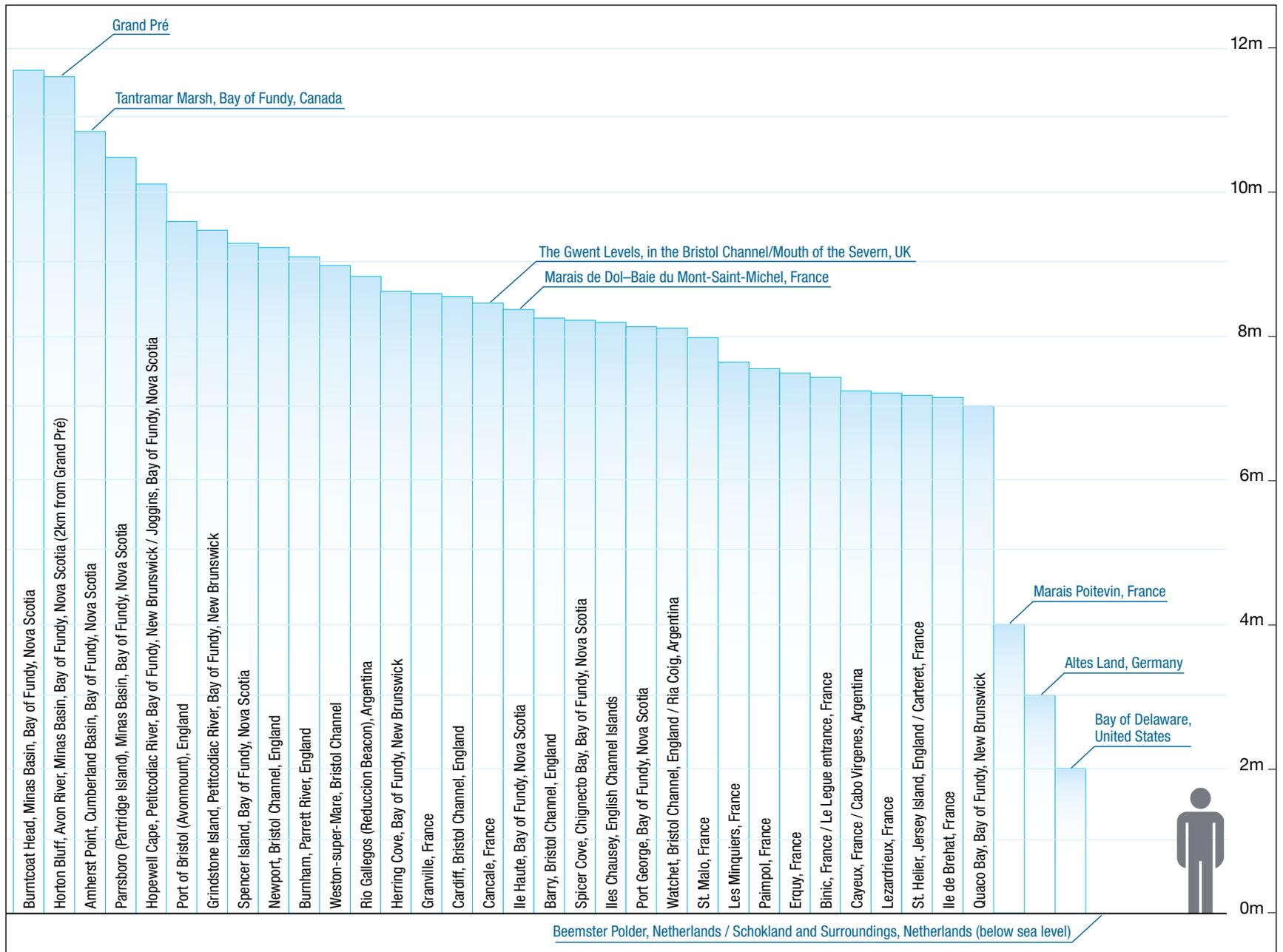
Finally, some sites are not in intertidal environments as extreme as at Grand Pré, but they exhibit elements of the Western European dyking tradition before the use of pumps and date to the same period. These include:

6. Dutch and English dykes in the Bay of Delaware (United States)
7. Marais Poitevin (France)
8. Altes Land (Germany)

Figure 3–1 shows these sites in comparison with a list of the highest tides in places of the world capable of supporting agriculture.

The size of the European polders chosen for comparison is, in general, significantly larger than the one at Grand Pré. But keeping in mind that neither the Acadians nor the New England Planters could engage in large-scale reclamation projects because of the labour involved and the nature of North American politics at the time, this analysis does not consider size as a factor for comparison. Instead, the focus is on the quality of the attributes that define these types of polders.

The two World Heritage Sites will be discussed first, followed by sites 3 to 8, organized regionally with North America first and then Europe.



3-1 High Tide Comparison Chart: this graph shows the mean tidal ranges, in metres, for those locations capable of supporting agriculture among the top 50 highest tides in the world, compiled by the United States NOAA, and the mean tidal ranges for the sites included in the comparative analysis.

### 3.c.ii. Criteria for comparison for the agricultural landscape

As the Landscape of Grand Pré is being proposed as a polder landscape (known locally as dykeland) that reflects an agricultural settlement, the analysis will be based on criteria that allow for a comparison with similar landscapes. These criteria will particularly focus on comparing the coastal conditions, the polder system, the agricultural settlement, and the system of management.

The analysis is based on the World Heritage Committee having already recognized the outstanding universal value of sites associated with agriculture, particularly in Europe. Although the criteria applied here pertain to the different components of the agricultural system, the integrity and authenticity of the system as a whole will be the object of the comparison. In addition, the criteria allow for a comparison with similar environments, since the system at Grand Pré is an adaptation to specific and exceptional environmental conditions.

The following criteria will be used for comparing Grand Pré as an agricultural landscape to other agricultural landscapes:

1. *Environment*: this agricultural landscape is in part created from the interaction with a coastal environment and the forces of the tides. The comparison with other intertidal environments and the importance of the tides in contributing to the soil's natural fertility are relevant.
2. *Polder system*: polders (or reclaimed lands) have existed for millennia and have been created from different technologies to dyke and drain desirable wetlands. These include ditches, channels, sluices, pumps, and dykes constructed from earth, vegetation, or stone.
3. *Land tenure and management*: land tenure and management approaches influence the use of an agricultural landscape and the success of an agricultural settlement. Categories of land tenure include individual ownership, communal ownership, and rental. Land-management categories include individual owner, community, and institutional.

4. *Dykeland use*: the Landscape of Grand Pré is primarily agricultural. The use of the dykeland and its importance for agriculture are relevant in the comparison. Uses may include crop growing, pasturing, infrastructure, and a mix of uses.

5. *Settlement pattern*: the relationship between the work space and the living area influences the physical shape of a settlement. The shape can indicate an adaptation to environmental conditions, a concern for efficiency, and the value attributed to certain types of lands. In the case of polders created for agriculture, the spatial organization of the settlement between dykeland and living areas, as well as the organization of the living areas themselves, is relevant in a comparison.

These five criteria enable comparison of the Landscape of Grand Pré as an agricultural landscape by focusing on the key elements articulated in the proposed Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, namely on challenging coastal environments (criterion 1), on ingenious dyking and drainage systems (criteria 2, 3, and 4), and on successful agricultural settlements (criteria 4 and 5).

### 3.c.iii. Comparative analysis for the agricultural landscape

Grand Pré is an agricultural landscape resulting from human interaction with the environment. It is a polder that exemplifies an agricultural system imported from Europe and adapted to the unique environmental and social conditions of North America. The productivity of those lands has sustained successful agricultural activities in Grand Pré for centuries. That productivity, coupled with a response to the market value of products, has resulted in an agriculture that is driven by economic forces rather than specialization in key crops.

The two sites on the World Heritage List directly associated with land transformation for agriculture, namely Beemster Polder (Netherlands) and Schokland and Surroundings (Netherlands), focus on the Netherlands' long history of transforming wetlands into farmland.

From 1000 AD to 1300 AD, the majority of fenlands in Holland had been transformed and local water-management organizations created to collectively address operations and maintenance issues. These lands progressively subsided and were lost again, as sea levels rose, during the 1300s. They were reclaimed after 1400 with the help of windmills. Today, a vast majority of these lands are drained with the help of electric pumps. The Dutch experience is representative of the European expansion of agricultural land in the Middle Ages and later, which included wetland reclamation. Beemster represents the period after 1400 when land that had once been transformed but subsided was again reclaimed.

Schokland is different. Like Beemster, it emphasizes reclamation, but it also stresses the disappearance of a society that once lived in a distinct environment, the loss of land, and the fact that agriculture represents a threat to the integrity of the site.

Compared to the polders in the Netherlands that are already inscribed on the World Heritage List, as shown in Table 3-1, the nominated property is distinctive in having been created and maintained exclusively for agricultural purposes in an intertidal zone. In addition, its approaches to wetland transformation and land tenure were adapted from mediaeval Western European approaches, predating those used at the Dutch polders already on the World Heritage List. It stands out in its authenticity and integrity, as it has retained those three characteristics – agricultural use, vernacular approach to dyking, and community-based management – intact since its creation because of the ongoing protection and stewardship of farmers and authorities. While the Dutch polders on the World Heritage List focus on technical accomplishments as well as adaptation to settling wetlands, the Landscape of Grand Pré illustrates an ongoing human interaction with the environment and the settlement pattern that ensues.

	The Landscape of Grand Pré	Beemster Polder	Schokland and Surroundings
Environment	Transformed intertidal salt marsh, highest tides in the world	Reclaimed land, no tidal influence	Reclaimed island – land, no tidal influence
Polder system	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage	Pumps, channels, dykes	Pumps, channels, dykes
Land tenure and management	Individual ownership Community-based management	Individual ownership Government management	Individual ownership Government management
Dykeland use	Agricultural	Mixed – residential and agricultural	Agricultural
Settlement pattern	Dispersed, dykeland as primary work space, upland as living space and complementary work space	Concentrated, flat land, living space and work space combined	Concentrated, flat land, living space on elevation, work space surrounding
Integrity and authenticity	Continuous use of polder system, land tenure, and land management  Dykeland is 100 per cent used for agricultural purposes. Settlement pattern maintained.	OUV related to design of land reclamation and influence on other projects  Continuous use of polder system. Dykeland is mixed use.	OUV related to prehistoric and historic occupation of wetland  Continuous use of the polder. Archaeological elements in good condition. Integrity threatened by agriculture.

Table 3-1 Comparison of Grand Pré with Beemster and Schokland

The Landscape of Grand Pré, in relation to agricultural landscapes and to polders already inscribed on the World Heritage List, is comparable in highlighting the importance of the connection between people and the land. However, it is distinct in that it focuses on the human interaction with the highest tides in the world to transform land into farmland, and it has organized a settlement pattern to take full advantage of the transformed land. In addition, the community of Grand Pré has maintained its agricultural focus.

#### *European polders in North America*

Other similar sites exist in eastern Canada. Close to 17 400 hectares (43 000 acres) of land have been dyked over the years in the Province of Nova Scotia and 14 973 hectares (37 000 acres) in the neighbouring Province of New Brunswick. While most of that land is dyked along the Bay of Fundy, as it is in Grand Pré, much of it is also found along rivers. However, not all of it is still farmed. In Nova Scotia, about 2610 hectares (6450 acres, or 15 per cent) of the total dyked agricultural land is not farmed any more, and the proportion is higher in New Brunswick with 6070 hectares (15 000 acres, or 41 per cent) no longer farmed, according to a study by the Mount Allison Coastal Wetlands Institute and the Mount Allison Rural and Small Town Programme in 2006. The trend in both provinces is a decline in agricultural use and an abandonment of those lands.

The Tantramar Marsh, which straddles the border between New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, stands as the best comparison to Grand Pré. It was first created in the late 1600s at the same time as Grand Pré and continues to be used for agriculture today. Once known as the largest hayfield in the world, the Tantramar Marsh exhibits the remains of this golden age in its barns and other farm-related structures. Over the years, however, many farms were abandoned, and historic structures were lost. The area has also lost integrity through intrusions that have altered the landscape and its use, such as freshwater marsh-regeneration ponds by Ducks Unlimited, a major highway connecting Nova Scotia to New Brunswick, and a radio-transmission site (see Figure 3-2).



3-2 The field patterns of the Tantramar Marsh (New Brunswick, Canada) are eroding as agricultural use is discontinued. The construction of a highway (middle across) and the building of ponds (middle bottom) have impacted the integrity of the dykeland.

At 1323 hectares, Grand Pré stands as the largest polder in eastern Canada in which 100 per cent of the land is actively farmed. In that respect it has the highest level of integrity for a polder created for agriculture. Moreover, it has the largest and most active group of landowners (the Grand Pré Marsh Body) and has been maintained as agricultural dykeland through centuries of local and provincial planning that has in effect ensured its authenticity. Other dykelands have suffered permanent structural intrusions, changes in function, and abandonment. Compared to other polders in eastern Canada, Grand Pré stands as rare intact evidence of the agricultural system that was once prevalent in the region and remains extremely successful in ensuring the livelihood of the local community.

The dyking of land for agriculture by European settlers in the 17th and 18th centuries occurred in other parts of Eastern North America, notably around the Bay of Delaware in the American states

of Delaware and New Jersey. These dykes were built by Dutch, Swedish, Finnish, and English settlers. While these were also important endeavours, and traces still exist in New Castle County (Delaware) and in Salem and Cumberland counties (New Jersey), there are fundamental differences in their creation, use, and current condition.

The network of dykes built in those areas faced environmental challenges that were only partly similar to those encountered by settlers along the Bay of Fundy. The maximum tidal range is only about 2 metres in the Bay of Delaware, compared to 16 metres in the Bay of Fundy. During one particular storm in 1869 that combined strong winds with a perigean spring tide, the tidal range in the Minas Basin (which is part of the Bay of Fundy) was recorded at 21.6 metres (70.87 feet). This difference in tidal range represents a significant challenge in adapting settlement patterns to build polders and maintain agricultural land that can withstand the incredible force of the water flow, conditions of which most European settlers would have known nothing.

The dykes along the Bay of Delaware were primarily used for agricultural land, much as in Grand Pré and elsewhere in *Acadie*. However, in the Bay of Delaware those lands complemented the agricultural output of uplands; in *Acadie* they were the primary agricultural land. Today, the use of the dykelands is still an essential component of the agricultural system in Grand Pré. Until the end of the 19th century, the transformation of wetlands to increase the agricultural potential was common practice among farmers along the Atlantic Coast of the United States, and to a lesser degree along the Gulf of Mexico. Today, the act of reclaiming land for agricultural purposes is almost non-existent.

In addition, the management approach along the Bay of Delaware was different. Soon after the British conquered the Dutch and Swedish colonies, the dyked lands were owned by meadow companies. These companies maintained the dykes cooperatively. The head of a company would hire men to build and maintain dykes, and the companies would work together to maintain a larger dyked area. In contrast, groups of landowners in Nova Scotia formed marsh bodies responsible for maintaining the dykes, drainage, and *aboteaux*. These marsh bodies continue to exist today, as their status is

enshrined in provincial legislation. The meadow companies of the dyked lands in the United States have largely disappeared or changed their mandate over time and lost their agricultural focus.

Finally, as industrialization pressed ahead and agricultural communities dwindled, the Bay of Delaware farms and their dykes were abandoned for the most part around the time of World War II (see Figure 3-3). The US Corps of Engineers progressively took responsibility for maintaining the dykes that are still essential for protecting roads, infrastructure, and key agricultural land. In the 1970s, some American states enacted legislation forbidding the reclamation of new land. In Nova Scotia, legislation emphasizes conservation for agricultural purposes, and landowners still play an active role in maintaining the drainage system of the marsh as a community of landowners.



3-3 Development has completely taken over the Bay of Delaware dykelands outside New Castle (United States). This land was once pasture and hay fields.

In conclusion, as shown in Table 3–2, The Landscape of Grand Pré is the best example compared to other similar landscapes in North America in terms of its exceptional environmental conditions, its maintenance of a community-based approach to management, its authenticity, and its integrity.

	The Landscape of Grand Pré	Tantramar Marsh	Bay of Delaware
Environment	Transformed intertidal salt marsh – highest tides in the world (11.61 metres)	Transformed intertidal salt marsh – highest tides in the world (10.85 metres)	Transformed intertidal salt marsh – tidal influence (2 metres)
Polder system	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage, use of indigenous vegetation and local materials	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage, use of indigenous vegetation and local materials	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage, use of indigenous vegetation and local materials
Land tenure and management	Individual ownership Community-based management	Individual ownership Community-based management	Where existing, individual ownership Company-based management
Dykeland use	Agricultural	Agricultural	Mixed
Settlement pattern	Dispersed, dykeland as primary work space, upland as living space and complementary work space	Dispersed, dykeland as primary work space, upland as living space and complementary work space	Dispersed, dykeland as complementary work space, upland as living space and primary work space
Integrity and authenticity	Continuous use of polder system, land tenure, and land management. Dykeland is 100 per cent used for agricultural purposes. Settlement pattern maintained.	Continuous use, but eroding, of the polder system. Land tenure intact. Land management no longer community-based. Dykelands have significant intrusions that affect the integrity. No longer used exclusively for agriculture.	For the most part abandoned.

Table 3–2 Comparison of Grand Pré with the Tantramar Marsh and marshes on the Bay of Delaware

### *Polders in Europe*

Important polders still exist in Western Europe that apply a dyking and drainage system using the natural conditions of their particular environment. Over time, these systems have been modified by the gradual introduction of pumps and channels to improve drainage where gravity and other natural forces were no longer sufficient. The polders of the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel (France) and the Bristol Channel (United Kingdom) are notable as polders that apply a similar technology and were built in a comparable environment.

The Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel was inscribed on the World Heritage List in 1979, but the inscription focuses on the Abbey and its setting rather than the polders of the bay. Even so, the Mont-Saint-Michel area is a relevant comparison. It has been polderized for centuries, with an accelerated pace in land transformation that started in the 19th century. Much of the current work dates from that period.

The Marais de Dol, in Brittany, is protected by the Digue de la Duchesse-Anne, the largest dyke in the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel and first built in the 11th and 12th centuries. In the centuries since then, it has been extended and now stretches more than 30 kilometres. Constructed from large cut-granite stones, the dyke protects over 12 000 hectares of land, once salt marsh, from the highest tides in Europe. These tides have a mean range of approximately 8.38 metres. Before the French Revolution, the dyke was maintained by the Parliament of Brittany, which protected land that fell under three seigniorial jurisdictions. Following the Revolution, the government allowed the creation of committees of owners responsible for maintaining the thousands of hectares of agricultural land. In 1799, the *Association syndicale des propriétaires de Dignes et Marais* was created to maintain the dyke and the drainage system. Today, much of the land has retained its agricultural use as pasture for sheep and farmland for crops (see Figure 3-4). Villages such as Saint-Méloir-des-Ondes were first settled in the Middle Ages following land-reclamation projects. Since then, they have been flooded numerous times over the centuries.



3-4 The field patterns of the Marais de Dol (France) have some level of irregularity. Settlements are built on the reclaimed land.

Like the Landscape of Grand Pré, the polders around the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel are landscapes that demonstrate the human interaction with the environment and have maintained their identity as lands transformed from intertidal land.

Yet Grand Pré is different in that its dykes were built using earth, indigenous vegetation, and materials from the surroundings. The challenge of maintaining an earthen wall compared to one made of granite speaks eloquently to the specific environmental adaptation applied in *Acadie*. The simplicity of that approach was more easily reproduced and carried out by communities independently. The current infrastructure at the Marais de Dol includes flood gates, canals, and other mechanical devices introduced in the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition, the settlement pattern in Grand Pré has not been altered; it has maintained the relationship between living space on higher ground and work space on the fertile lowland. Settlements on the Baie du Mont-Saint-Michel had to concentrate and expand on the transformed land itself.

Finally, the community-based management at Grand Pré that continues in the form of the Grand Pré Marsh Body is similar in spirit to the *Association syndicale des propriétaires de Digue et Marais*. Both groups are evidence of an ongoing stewardship and responsibility for the maintenance of vital land by the community. Where the Grand Pré Marsh Body has approximately 30 members who decide collectively on the work to be done and vote on the key decisions affecting life on the marsh, the *Association syndicale des propriétaires de Digue et Marais* includes 8000 members who elect 57 representatives (*députés*), who in turn make decisions affecting the marsh. While there is no clear indication that Mont-Saint-Michel landowners had any type of collective management approach before the Association was set up in 1799, in Grand Pré not only was the Marsh Body established in 1760 without direction or funds from the government, but the historical evidence leads us to believe that a similar mechanism was in place during Acadian times. This would in effect predate the same approach used in France.

The Gwent Levels, in the United Kingdom, comprise the Wentlooge Level and the Caldicot Level in the Bristol Channel on the northern side of the Estuary of the River Severn. They cover some 11 100 hectares of land in an area that experiences some of the highest tides in the world. It is a challenging environment in which to practise agriculture, yet it also presented potential for great productivity. First drained by the Romans, it was flooded and abandoned until people returned to settle there during the Middle Ages. From then on, the Levels expanded in multiple phases, each phase representing a new accomplishment using the more advanced techniques available. The phase that is comparable to Grand Pré is the early mediaeval phase, which exhibits an irregular field pattern similar to that at Grand Pré. Later phases were “planned,” reflecting an organized settlement and field pattern. The mediaeval phase is most apparent in Rummey Marsh (Wentlooge Level), Nash, Goldcliff, Redwick, and Undy marshes (all in the Caldicot Level).

In the early phases, the dykes were built mainly from earth and protected in certain areas with rocks. A series of gouts (tidal doors) at the heads of embanked tidal pills (creeks) evacuated water from the reclaimed land (see Figure 3–5).



3–5 The tidal doors at the Gwent Levels (United Kingdom) allow water to leave the reclaimed land.

The gouts were later moved farther downstream so that the dyke would form a continuous wall. Today, the dykes protecting the Gwent Levels are for the most part the result of work performed between the 1950s and the 1970s. The work involved protecting the front of the dykes with large boulders, topping them with a concrete wave-return wall, and excavating a ditch behind the wall to store excess fresh water. While gouts are still in use in some parts of the Levels, pumps were introduced in the 1990s. Channels of different sizes criss-cross the Levels to allow water to be evacuated and also to be regulated for agricultural use. This is different from the Landscape of Grand Pré, where dykes continue to be built and maintained with soil and vegetation, where the only drainage approach is through the use of gravity and the force of the tides, and where there are no channels, just the natural shape and location of the creeks.

For centuries, the Gwent Levels were managed by the lords and their tenants. In the 13th century, the government began to get involved in their maintenance through the creation of Commissions of Sewers. The presence of such a commission at the Gwent Levels was first mentioned in the 16th century. From the beginning, members of these commissions were local gentlemen appointed for 10 years. They would supervise the condition and work on the marsh and had

the authority to levy taxes, resolve disputes, and impose maintenance work on the dykes and drainage to the local landowners. In the late 19th century, the responsibility for maintenance was removed from the landowners and assigned to the Commission of Sewers. The Commission ceased to exist after the Second World War and was replaced by government agencies. This is different from the Grand Pré management environment. Here, even though the Department of Agriculture is responsible for the dykes, the landowners in effect are the ones maintaining the drainage and roads. Landowners also continue to build private dykes, thus ensuring the maintenance of a local tradition of farming on the dykeland. Moreover, the Commission of Sewers that once existed at Grand Pré was never a committee of individuals appointed by the government. Instead, its members were elected by the landowners, worked with the landowners collectively to assess priorities and carry out work, and had very limited financial support from the government. This was truly a collective approach to managing the dykeland.

Finally, the current condition of the Gwent Levels is precarious. It is severely affected by development and has lost much of its agricultural land and use (see Figure 3-6), unlike Grand Pré's dykeland which continues to be used strictly for agricultural purposes.



3-6 Development has encroached on the agricultural lands of the Gwent Levels (United Kingdom).

Table 3–3, below, compares the Landscape of Grand Pré to the Marais de Dol and the Gwent Levels.

	The Landscape of Grand Pré	Marais de Dol	The Gwent Levels
Environment	Transformed intertidal salt marsh, highest tides in the world	Transformed intertidal salt marsh, extremely high tides	Transformed – reclaimed intertidal salt marsh, extremely high tides
Polder system	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage, use of indigenous vegetation and local materials	Sluice, ditch, dykes, flood gates, natural gravity, granite	Sluices, ditches, dykes, pumps, indigenous vegetation
Land tenure and management	Individual ownership Community-based management	Individual ownership Community-based management – elected representatives on a body	Individual ownership Community-based management – elected representatives on a body
Dykeland use	Agricultural	Agricultural – pasture and agriculture – residential	Agricultural – residential
Settlement pattern	Dispersed, dykeland as primary work space, upland as living space and complementary work space	Concentrated, dykeland as work space and living space	Concentrated, dykeland as work space and living space
Integrity and authenticity	Continuous use of polder system, land tenure, and land management. Dykeland is 100 per cent used for agricultural purposes. Settlement pattern maintained.	Field patterns and function under pressure from urbanization and industrial agriculture.	Multiple phases of reclamation. The irregular landscape pattern corresponding to the earlier periods is one section of the Levels and has adapted over time to new technologies. Overall under pressure from development.

Table 3–3 Comparison of Grand Pré with the Marais de Dol and The Gwent Levels

Other areas of western France that have a tradition of land transformation and reclamation are found where most of the settlers of New France came from, including the Poitou and Saintonge areas. The Marais Poitevin is one of the most impressive land-reclamation works in western France. Divided into a *marais humide* (wet marsh) and a *marais desséché* (dry marsh), it has evolved greatly over close to

a millennium six centuries. The *marais desséché* is the section that is subject to tidal influences.

The Marais Poitevin has not retained much of its settlement pattern and agricultural system from the Middle Ages, when field patterns were irregular and the system relied on limited engineering works such as channels and gates (see Figure 3–7).



3-7 The irregular field patterns and traditional drainage systems of the Marais Poitevin (France) are being eroded and replaced by regularly-shaped, larger fields for intensive agriculture.

Constant development pressures and the accelerated pace of introducing industrial agriculture have significantly altered its settlement pattern and natural ecosystem. The area now exhibits mostly modern transformations that have had an impact on the landscape, including the loss of the natural drainage system, an increase in field sizes, and an altered spatial organization. The Marais Poitevin was once actively managed by groups of landowners, now known as *Syndicats de marais*. However, these groups have been progressively disappearing under the pressures of an aging demographic and the financial responsibilities tied to managing the dykes. As a result, the traditional skills and knowledge of farming dykeland are becoming less common.

Overall, the Marais Poitevin has lost its integrity and its authenticity primarily as a result of intensive agriculture. Grand Pré is exceptional compared to the Marais Poitevin in that it has continuously evolved while maintaining the principles that created the dykeland. Farmers now use modern equipment and technology to carry out their work, but the way they build the dykes, maintain the drainage, and use a community-based approach to management have

remained intact. This in turn has maintained the integrity of the landscape attributes.

Other areas of Europe have maintained an agricultural identity and a strong settlement pattern associated with transformed intertidal lands in the Middle Ages. The Altes Land in Germany, located along the Elbe River close to the North Sea and a few miles from Hamburg, is a particular example. It is the largest orchard in Europe and is typified by a settlement pattern known as *Marschhufendörfer* where farms with intricately decorated houses are located along main roads, with the farmland stretching behind them in long narrow fields delineated by ditches. While this area was transformed during the Middle Ages, it displays a very organized pattern different from the one at Grand Pré and reflects a different social organization (see Figure 3-8).



3-8 Altes Land (Germany) has regular field patterns.

Moreover, it does not face the same tidal range as in Grand Pré, thus removing some of the exceptional environmental challenge that this represents.

Table 3–4, below, outlines the comparison of Grand Pré with the Marais Poitevin and the Altes Land.

	The Landscape of Grand Pré	Marais Poitevin	Altes Land
Environment	Transformed intertidal salt marsh, highest tides in the world	Transformed – reclaimed intertidal salt marsh, high tides	Transformed dykeland, tidal river, tidal influence
Polder system	Sluice, ditch, and dykes – gravity and natural drainage, use of indigenous vegetation and local materials	Channels, sluices, gates, stone, indigenous vegetation	Channels, ditches, and sluices
Land tenure and management	Individual ownership Community-based management	Individual – collective Government	Individual Government
Dykeland use	Agricultural	Mixed – agricultural and residential	Mixed – agricultural and residential
Settlement pattern	Dispersed, dykeland as primary work space, upland as living space and complementary work space	Concentrated, dykeland as work space and living space	Dispersed and linear, dykeland as work space and living space
Integrity and authenticity	Continuous use of polder system, land tenure, and land management. Dykeland is 100 per cent used for agricultural purposes. Settlement pattern maintained.	Continuous use of polder system. Evolving land management to government regulation and management. Encroaching development. Eroding agricultural land base.	Development pressure. Maintenance of settlement pattern and traditional architecture. Eroding agricultural land base.

Table 3–4 Comparison of Grand Pré with the Marais Poitevin and the Altes Land

The Landscape of Grand Pré is distinct from agricultural landscapes that result from intertidal land transformation in Europe because of its adaptation to extraordinary environmental conditions. Despite centuries of political, social, and technological changes, it has maintained the integrity of its dyking and drainage system, its agricultural settlement, and its agricultural use of the lands (see Figures 3–9, 3–10, and 3–11).



3–9 The dykeland at the Landscape of Grand Pré continues to be solely used for agriculture. It also continues to use a simple system of drainage, including the *aboteau* shown here, to drain the dykelands.



3-10 Drainage ditches allow water to drain from the fields and exit the dykelands.



3-11 The Grand Pré community continues to have close ties to the agricultural dykelands.

This is apparent in the tangible evidence and in its community-based management. It has retained its value as significant agricultural land and continues to play a key role in the regional agricultural economy. Finally, it is also distinctive in that it transposed key components of a successful Western European agricultural system to the environmental and political reality of Eastern North America in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Although the Landscape of Grand Pré stands as just one example of the way in which human interactions with the environment shape the identity of societies, it also represents a significant experience in human history that profoundly affected agriculture, the landscape, the economy, and population expansion in Europe and North America for centuries. Dykeland farming is a tradition that has shaped the identity of peoples in Western Europe, particularly following the marsh-transformation projects of the Middle Ages.

The Landscape of Grand Pré stands as an exceptional testament to that dyking tradition as it disappears under pressure from industrial agriculture, urbanization, and changing demographics.

That tradition is inextricably tied to the enduring agricultural use of the area as well as to the distinctive settlement pattern. As such, the Landscape of Grand Pré is an outstanding example of an agricultural system defined by the landscape, its people, and their traditions.

### 3.c.iv. Establishing a list of comparable sites for Grand Pré as a *lieu de mémoire* and a symbolically reclaimed landscape

#### *Landscapes as lieux de mémoire*

The Landscape of Grand Pré is the most important *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadian people. The term *lieu de mémoire* was coined by French historian Pierre Nora in the early 1990s. A *lieu de mémoire* is any material or non-material entity that has acquired a symbolic heritage value. It is those places, objects, people, events and other entities that materialize collective memory, values, and emotions. That materialization is manifest through objectification – such as plaques and historic designations – or through ongoing use and references by the community. Nora stresses that this phenomenon of creating *lieux de mémoire* is the result of modernity, one that emerges sometime in the 19th century.

In this comparative analysis, the emphasis is on places and their uses as *lieux de mémoire*. Places provide the historical evidence of past events to make sense of present situations. They serve as locations to anchor the collective identity, the symbols, and the collective memory of communities. American sociologist Eviatar Zerubavel elaborates on French sociologist Maurice Halbwach’s observations on collective memory and the role of place:

Constancy of place is a formidable basis for establishing a strong sense of sameness. Even as we ourselves undergo dramatic changes both individually and collectively, our physical surroundings usually remain relatively stable. As a result, they constitute a reliable locus of memories and often serve as major foci of personal as well as group nostalgia.

This observation in effect states that a *lieu de mémoire* embodies the universal human aspiration to belong to a community and to connect with one’s homeland.

Landscapes as places can become *lieux de mémoire*. They can be designed intentionally to embody meaning, for example by erecting monuments at a battlefield site. They may also be seen to express meaning implicitly, for example a battlefield that has been left untouched. These places, in the heart and mind of the community member, retain the memory of the particular event, people, or activity that has become essential to the identity of the community as a whole. The spirit and meaning of a place are experienced through the community member’s encounter with the place and through the circumstances of that encounter. This is where one learns about his or her ancestors and about their struggles and achievements. Whether that encounter occurs collectively through events or individually, it is an experience that allows the member of the community to develop an emotional, intellectual, and sensory connection with the past and with the collective identity. Individual members of the community are able to share a collective heritage, discover or reaffirm their belonging to the community, and contribute to its future in those places. This experience reinforces the perception that these landscapes are sacred because they have intrinsic qualities that “speak” to the community. It also suggests that knowledge of the events and their connection to that specific landscape is essential for the community to embrace it as a *lieu de mémoire*. British geographers Ian Robertson and Tim Hall have studied the memorialization of conflict in the Scottish Highlands, defining it as landmark making. They concluded this:

The aim is to transform an otherwise unremarkable landscape into a psychic terrain; symbolic spaces that fix, or attempt to fix, collective remembering and act as prompts for a shared identity.

This observation stresses the point that places as *lieux de mémoire* acquire the “power” to express collective memory and identity by design and through their use by the community. Uses are convincing indications that a place is a *lieu de mémoire*. In Nora’s definition, those

uses can create a *lieu de mémoire* and themselves be a *lieu de mémoire* by their association with cultural traditions, re-enactment of events, or pilgrimages. The argument has already been made that *lieux de mémoire* are places of learning about the past. There are, however, locations with a strong sense of place which, in addition, offer a distinctive opportunity for coming into direct contact with the past and the people that inhabited it. Zerubavel notes on the subject of pilgrimages that,

pilgrimage is specifically designed to bring mnemonic communities in close “contact” with their collective past. This mnemonically evocative aspect of place likewise underscores the role of ruins in solidifying such ties.

He highlights the relationship between the place, the tangible evidence, and the use of the place to explain the phenomenon that makes some places become *lieux de mémoire*.

This relationship is akin to ideas expressed by Romanian philosopher and historian of religion Mircea Eliade on the religious person’s perception of space and time. In his work *The Sacred and the Profane*, Eliade introduces the idea that, for the religious person, the world is organized into sacred spaces and non-sacred spaces. The sacred spaces are links to the gods, which are sometimes symbolically as well as physically represented through an *axis mundi*, a vertical object that connects the world of the gods with that of the humans. Similarly, for communities, there are places that retain a sense of sacredness in that they define their collective identity and are singularly different from the rest of the landscape. They connect members of those communities to their past, their present collective identity, and their future aspirations.

This perception of the spirit and meaning of place by community members, and the knowledge they need to perceive it, confirms the role of those landscapes as *lieux de mémoire* for both individuals and communities. They play their role through the objects they host: the statues, monuments, plaques, landscape designs, and other material expressions of culture. These *lieux de mémoire* also reflect and shape the identity of the community as it continues to use them for its social, cultural, and artistic development. The erection of memorials, the

pilgrimages, the social uses, the related political events and speeches, and the literary appropriations are all cultural manifestations of the role of a place in expressing and forming the community’s identity.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is an intentionally designed *lieu de mémoire*, as exemplified by the commemorative garden at the national historic site. It also has features of an implicit *lieu de mémoire* by virtue of the presence and ongoing use of the adjacent dykelands and of the archaeological heritage. It is a landscape that has retained its role for over a century as a place where Acadians learn about their heritage, reaffirm a sense of belonging to their community, and participate in its continuing evolution. It is the heart of their collective memory, one that continues to reflect the contemporary identity of the Acadians. Sites that compare with Grand Pré are *lieux de mémoire* and show tangible evidence of their community’s use and continuing transformation to reflect the community’s identity.

#### *Landscapes symbolically and peacefully reclaimed*

Australian archaeologist Laurajane Smith points out in her book *Uses of Heritage*:

Heritage is about a sense of *place*. Not simply in constructing a sense of abstract identity, but also in helping us position ourselves as a nation, community or individual and our ‘place’ in our cultural, social and physical world. Heritage, particularly in its material representations, provides not only a physical anchor or geographical sense of belonging, but also allows us to negotiate a sense of social ‘place’ or class/community identity, and a cultural place or sense of belonging.

Smith’s observation highlights the fact that some places provide an anchor in history and space for communities to share their common heritage, express their collective identity, and build a sense of community. These places are in Nora’s sense *lieux de mémoire*, while Smith’s point stresses that their presence connects a people with a place as a means to *exist* culturally, socially, and tangibly. These “anchor sites” create a sense of legitimacy of the community’s values and of its

place in history as much for the community itself as for the rest of the world. The sites in effect illustrate that to maintain that sense of belonging, these communities need to maintain their connection with a place. Smith also observes:

The meanings and memories of past human experiences are thus remembered through contemporary interactions with physical places and landscapes, and through the performances enacted within them – and with each new encounter with place, with each new experience of place, meanings and memories may subtly, or otherwise, be rewritten or remade. These experiences help to bind groups and communities not only through shared memories and identities, but also through shared experiences.

Some landscapes are considered character defining for a community, in that they play a role in building a community's identity and shaping its culture. Smith summarizes from the work of British and Australian archaeologists and cultural geographers that,

landscapes are not only shaped by cultural practices, but are symbolic of cultural and social beliefs, and in turn also shape and structure social encounters and relations.

The characteristics of these landscapes evoke the qualities of the people associated with them. Their features have formed and transformed the identity of the people, inextricably linking them to who they are. This is true for most peoples around the world, and never more evident than with a diaspora's strong desire to maintain a link with its homeland *within* that homeland. For diasporas, these essential landscapes can represent their historical challenges and triumphs. The identification and preservation of these landscapes are tied to the diasporas' struggle to maintain their collective identity and to remember their common heritage.

For a diaspora, breaking that connection creates a void in the sense of belonging and a loss of "place" in the cultural, social, and physical world. Reclaiming that "place" is necessary and a source of collective empowerment.

French historian Jacques Le Goff, in his book on history and memory, noted the same effect and described it in the form of a tension, a struggle for survival, and a source of power:

[...] collective memory is one of the huge forces at play in developed and developing societies, amongst those who wield power and those who are subject to it, all of whom are struggling for power or for life, for survival and for advancement.

Le Goff's observation makes the connection between a *lieu de mémoire*, its function, and the forces at work in creating and maintaining it. It also suggests that, if one considers these forces at work, there are numerous avenues to achieve this sense of survival and advancement. One avenue is for the diasporas to symbolically reclaim these character-defining landscapes. For these diasporas, the challenge of reclaiming the landscapes arises from the presence of another group in the landscape and from the diaspora's physical disconnect from the landscape.

Symbolic reclamation assigns a renewed use to a landscape. The act of symbolically reclaiming a landscape through use is twofold: it is *material* through the physical transformation of the landscape to display symbols of the displaced community, such as the erection of memorials and the acquisition of features considered sacred and culturally significant; and it is *immaterial* through the community's use of the landscape for social and cultural purposes. The use of a reclaimed landscape is tied to the community's desire to preserve and share the tangible elements of its common heritage, express its identity, and find inspiration for the continuing development of its community.

These landscapes exhibit the qualities of the mental image that communities hold about their "place" in the cultural, social, and physical world, as much as about the values they view as character defining. The mental image may be influenced by historical evidence, but because of the nature of *lieux de mémoire*, collective memory and the accepted elements of that memory have a great role in shaping the idea of collective identity. Similarly, for diasporas, a mental image of the homeland may not be accurate from a historical point of view, but it is accurate from the point of view of the collective memory's

definition of that landscape. In any case, the features of that landscape need to reflect these ideas in order to be incorporated as a character-defining *lieu de mémoire*.

Groups that have been forcibly removed are denied a connection to their homeland, to the landscape that defines them. This results in a collective desire to return and, in Le Goff's reasoning, a struggle for survival and advancement. Symbolic reclamation is a healing act, as it represents the symbolic return to the homeland. It is an act that bridges past and present by bringing together, through physical contact, the modern community with the evidence of the past community. That contact allows people to walk in the footsteps of their ancestors, to absorb their surroundings, and to attempt to make sense of their way of thinking. The experience leads to an emotional connection that transcends time and reflects the mental integration of, in the words of Zerubavel, otherwise disconnected historical events into a perceived single historical continuum. This means that emotions connect events separated by gaps in collective memory, a phenomenon that Bulgarian philosopher Tzvetan Todorov, in his essay *The Abuse of Memory*, observed as being the result of trauma or collective amnesia. This process leads to the perception of continuous identities between the ancestors and the modern community member.

Symbolic reclamation can also be an inspiring act, in that it contrasts with reclamation by aggressive means. Symbolically reclaimed landscapes can be particularly powerful examples of peaceful reconciliation, because their reclamation takes place in landscapes whose significance is contested among numerous groups. In effect, an act of symbolic reclamation is the layering of meaning on a landscape that is publicly expressed by a group. By extension, this suggests that other meanings are already present in that landscape. Accordingly, this reclamation can be a source of tension and mistrust. Yet it can also be a source of exchanges, learning, and sharing between the peoples affected. As American historian John R. Gillis pointed out in his book *Commemorations*,

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.

In any case, symbolic reclamation is an act of public appropriation without resorting to conflict and hence provides a platform for reconciliation.

Reconciliation may not always be the original intent of a symbolic reclamation, but it is often an important outcome and opportunity. A community's act of reconciliation with history translates into a successful commemoration of the past, celebration of the present, sharing with others, and outlook on the future. The intent of a diaspora's symbolic reclamation of a landscape, as with any *lieu de mémoire*, centres primarily on the community's own needs to strengthen its identity and to anchor itself in history and place. However, a symbolic reclamation provides an opportunity to explore reconciliation. The erection of memorials marks the land and asserts a claim, but without resorting to aggressive means. For the diaspora, the purpose of the reclamation is to share a common heritage and to express its identity publicly. The reclamation is therefore a public statement of a community's presence in history and place. The community also publicly shares that connection and the significance of the landscape for all to learn, share, and experience. As a result, the community has a sense of having appropriated those *lieux de mémoire*, yet the public awareness helps to bring about an inevitable evolution towards reconciliation.

The Landscape of Grand Pré has been symbolically and peacefully reclaimed. Over time, Acadians have symbolically reclaimed this landscape of their homeland, even though its new inhabitants were descended from those who had taken over the lands left vacant following the Deportation. The reclamation began with a work of fiction that publicly connected an event of deportation with the Acadian people and with the homeland, *Acadie*, they had been forced to leave behind. It followed with physical interventions on the agricultural landscape: the erection of memorials, the building of a church, and the study of archaeological remains. Today, it is a landscape that continues to be used by the Acadian diaspora to share its heritage, maintain its collective identity, and build its future. In addition, this

symbolic reclamation was done gradually and peacefully, without either resorting to conflict or harming the agricultural community and the people who today live in Grand Pré. The Landscape of Grand Pré progressively acquired status as a symbol of identity for the Acadians while at the same time becoming a bridge for reconciliation with history.

For Acadians, Grand Pré is the most powerful landscape that expresses their collective memory and an awareness of group consciousness: it is the heart of *Acadie*. Sites that compare with Grand Pré have those characteristics of having been symbolically reclaimed by a diaspora. The Landscape of Grand Pré bears the qualities of the homeland Acadians knew before 1755, one that was characterized by thousands of hectares of dykeland, green fields, the tides, and villages sitting on the uplands next to the dykeland. Sites that compare with Grand Pré bear the real or perceived qualities of a diaspora's homeland and display evidence of the diaspora's cultural identity. In addition, the Landscape of Grand Pré was reclaimed peacefully without conflict with the new inhabitants. It is a landscape where Acadians learn from the past but also celebrate their achievements, look towards the future and pursue reconciliation with history. Sites that compare with Grand Pré illustrate a successful reclamation through reconciliation.

#### *List of comparable sites*

Many places around the world can be considered *lieux de mémoire* based on their role in expressing and defining the collective memory and identity of peoples. Some of these places are currently inscribed on the World Heritage List, while others are not.

There are numerous sites on the World Heritage List that demonstrate the role of certain exceptional places in defining collective identity. Sites such as Tsodilo (Botswana), Koutammakou, The Land of the Batammariba (Togo), and Matobo Hills (Zimbabwe) provide evidence of the symbolic, religious, and spiritual significance for the traditional communities that continue to use them. They are eloquent testimonies to the association between people and landscape in supporting tradition as well as social and economic activities, and

in shaping collective identity. These are all places of common heritage for the communities that have a strong connection with them, and they speak to the universal value of these connections.

Numerous other sites, also in Africa, on the World Heritage List demonstrate the role of certain exceptional places in defining the collective identity of the African diaspora. These sites are associated with slavery and the slave trade, including James Island and Related Sites (Gambia), the Island of Gorée (Senegal), Aapravasi Ghat (Mauritius), and Le Morne Cultural Landscape (Mauritius). The tangible evidence of these sites bears witness to the beginning and the abolition of slavery, to the plight of the slaves and indentured labourers, and to the acts of resistance by the slaves. Because of that evidence, these sites have become part of the collective memory of the African Diaspora and have relevance for communities beyond the boundaries of their location, and indeed for humanity as a whole.

The concept of a *lieu de mémoire* as a place where a community learns about, experiences, and enriches its collective identity is also evident at other sites on the World Heritage List. These highlight the coming together of a community through memory, ritual, and prayer such as at the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar) or through celebration of identity such as the Red Fort Complex (India), Rila Monastery (Bulgaria), Thingvellir National Park (Iceland), Masada (Israel), and National Historic Park – Citadel, Sans Souci, Ramiers (Haiti). They are evocative of humanity's aspirations for a sense of community and for collective community endeavours. Finally, the World Heritage List includes *lieux de mémoire* that serve as symbols of collective memory and conscience such as the Old Bridge Area of the Old City of Mostar (Bosnia and Herzegovina), Robben Island (South Africa), and Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940–1945) (Poland) where humanity can reflect on its past and its common values.

If one takes a broader look at sites not inscribed on the World Heritage List, the list of sites that would qualify as *lieux de mémoire*, places where a community shares its heritage and expresses its identity, is extensive.

*Lieux de mémoire* emerge as a human expression of collective identity around the world. Some serve as sites of conscience for humanity

as a whole, emphasizing a particular dark period in our collective history with the intent of never forgetting it, learning from that history, and never repeating it. These include conflict-related memorials such as monuments associated with First World War battlefields and cemeteries, and internment camps in Europe, North America, and Australia associated with both world wars and Nazi concentration camps. These sites provide tangible locations for the populations that were affected, and for humanity as a whole, to connect with those events and reflect on that shared heritage so as to continue to build a better and more peaceful world. Other sites serve as landmarks associated with seminal moments in the advancement of human rights, including civil-rights-movement sites such as the Bethel Baptist and 16th Street Baptist churches in Birmingham (United States).

Finally, there are *lieux de mémoire* that are powerful symbols of pain and that tell the stories of those who were affected by it and triumphed, focusing on the lessons to be learnt from those events. Places such as the District Six Museum (South Africa) that commemorates segregation and the forced removal of tens of thousands of people under the apartheid regime in South Africa, and Villa Grimaldi (Chile) that preserves the memory of the abuse by the military regime in Chile in the 1970s, play a role as part of the process of remembering, learning, and contributing to efforts of reconciliation of people with their past.

All these sites are *lieux de mémoire* where humanity shares its common heritage of painful yet inspiring events. They are also places where a community discovers its own heritage and explores important parts of its collective experience.

These character-defining *lieux de mémoire* reflect and define a community's identity. They are the places around which the community comes together to remember a particularly defining moment in its history. Such places can be linked to events that have affected a community's sense of political and social independence, such as Batoche National Historic Site of Canada (Canada), the place of the military defeat of the Métis people's rebellion in Canada in 1885, or the Brandenburg Gate (Germany) following the German reunification after the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 (reunification was in 1990, but the wall fell in 1989). They can be contested *lieux de mémoire*,

places where more than one community claims a special connection that defines its identity, such as the city walls of Derry/Londonderry (United Kingdom/Northern Ireland), the location of annual parades by Protestant groups and a place of memory associated with the 1960s–1990s “Troubles” by the mainly-Catholic nationalist community. The fact that these landscapes are contested, together with an ongoing or historical struggle for recognition of identity, is essential to how these communities define themselves.

Finally, as discussed previously, a *lieu de mémoire* anchors the community in both a mental and a physical landscape, acting as a place of transition or an *axis mundi* linking different times and experiences in a single location. As a place of transition, it can reflect transformative events for the community, particularly where a community experienced a forcible migration from its homeland. Such places as the Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (United States), the route followed by the Cherokee and other Native American tribes during their forced migration, and Birchtown (Canada), the 18th-century settlement of escaped and freed slaves in Canada, are places that define the identity of those communities. As an *axis mundi*, certain *lieux de mémoire* are landmarks that identify the heart of the community for nations and cultural groups in their homeland and for diasporas, usually indicating the place they left behind. Examples of these include the memorials to the Scottish Highland Clearances in Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea (United Kingdom) and Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux (St. Vincent and the Grenadines) for the Garinagu after their deportation in 1796.

Of all the Acadian sites, Grand Pré emerges as the character-defining *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadian diaspora. Canada has several archaeological sites of abandoned Acadian settlements, particularly in the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, that are significant for the Acadian community. The cemeteries and remains of Acadian houses in places such as the Sainte-Famille cemetery, Pointe-à-Major cemetery, Belleisle, and Beaubassin National Historic Site of Canada (NHSC) (all located in Nova Scotia), and other locations associated with the Deportation, such as Boishébert NHSC (New Brunswick) and Port-La-Joye–Fort Amherst NHSC (Prince Edward Island), are the end point of pilgrimages by members of the

Acadian community from around the world. The desire to connect with the place where their ancestors lived or from where they were deported motivates Acadians to visit those places. Finally, there are places associated with particular accomplishments and community pride such as Monument-Lefebvre NHSC (New Brunswick), the site of the first national convention of Acadians. Similarly, other locations in Europe and North America can claim to be important to the Acadians, in particular the places where Acadians landed after they were deported or settled. All these places contribute to the collective identity and awareness of the Acadian community, but none comes close to playing the role of Grand Pré as the most important *lieu de mémoire*. At Grand Pré, Acadians not only share their common heritage and celebrate their identity, they also continue to build their sense of community. Grand Pré is the centre of their reclaimed homeland, a reality they continue to demonstrate through their ongoing use of the landscape in key formative cultural events, in artistic expressions, and in the use of its symbols throughout the Acadian diaspora.

Irrespective of the reasons behind a community's identification and definition of a *lieu de mémoire*, these places all reflect the universal aspiration of wanting to belong to a community and to connect with one's homeland. They are essential places in forming a collective experience, one that allows the sense of belonging and the sense of a communal future. They emerge as communities need them, becoming the necessary landmark in their landscape to connect them with their past, reaffirm their identity, and build their sense of community.

As described in the sections above, sites that best compare with the Landscape of Grand Pré have the following characteristics:

- they are *lieux de mémoire*;
- they show the tangible evidence of the community's use and continuing transformation to reflect its identity;
- they have been symbolically reclaimed by a diaspora;
- they exhibit the qualities of the diaspora's homeland;
- they display evidence of the diaspora's identity;
- they illustrate a successful reclamation through reconciliation.

Based on these considerations, Grand Pré can best be compared with:

- James Island and Related Sites World Heritage Site (Gambia);
- Island of Gorée World Heritage Site (Senegal);
- Le Morne Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (Mauritius);
- Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site (Mauritius);
- Royal Hill of Ambohimanga World Heritage Site (Madagascar);
- Masada World Heritage Site (Israel);
- Birchtown (Canada);
- Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (United States);
- Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux (St. Vincent and the Grenadines);
- Memorials of the Scottish Highland Clearances in Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea (United Kingdom).

This comparative analysis aims to compare and contrast the nominated property with other similar sites. By doing so, it will demonstrate the great value of Grand Pré and its universal message.

### 3.c.v. Criteria for comparison as a *lieu de mémoire* and as a symbolically reclaimed landscape

The following criteria will be used for comparing the Landscape of Grand Pré, as a *lieu de mémoire* and a symbolically reclaimed landscape, to other similar sites:

1. **Association with a diaspora:** *The Landscape of Grand Pré is associated with the Acadians, a people that falls within the definition of a diaspora. Diasporas are not a recent phenomenon: world history recounts innumerable forced migrations, some resulting from tragedy (such as war or widespread famine), others from hope (such as a search for greater economic opportunities). Throughout their movements, these groups have retained an emotional connection with their homeland, which is perceived not only as what they left behind but as their ultimate point of return.*

British scholar Robin Cohen, a founding figure of contemporary diaspora studies, identifies the following features as common to all diasporas:

- dispersal from an original homeland, often traumatically, to two or more foreign regions;
- alternatively, the expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
- a collective memory and myth about the homeland, including its location, history and achievements;
- an idealization of the putative ancestral home and a collective commitment to its maintenance, restoration, safety and prosperity, even to its creation;
- the development of a return movement that gains collective approbation;
- a strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time and based on a sense of distinctiveness, a common history and the belief in a common fate;
- a troubled relationship with host societies, suggesting a lack of acceptance at the least or the possibility that another calamity might befall the group;
- a sense of empathy and solidarity with co-ethnic members in other countries of settlement;
- the possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in host countries with a tolerance for pluralism. (Adapted from Cohen in Basu 2001:336)

Based on these features of diasporas, this comparative analysis is concerned only with studying the tangible expressions, in their homelands, of the collective memory and group consciousness of diaspora communities. This criterion focuses on the characteristics of a symbolically reclaimed landscape by identifying the historical and social context that led to its symbolic reclamation. The experience of a people becoming a diaspora and the resulting impact on their collective identity is one that transcends time and place. It is an experience that allows one to appreciate the full extent of humanity's aspirations for sharing a common heritage and expressing identity in a spirit of reconciliation with history.

2. **Authenticity of location and setting in relation to the homeland:** *the Landscape of Grand Pré is associated with the homeland of the Acadians and the most important events in their history.* Authenticity in this case applies to both the knowledge of the actual location of the event being memorialized and the sense of place. It relates to the mental image of the homeland as well as to the tangible expression of that image in a specific place. This criterion focuses on the concept of homeland reclamation by stressing the importance of authenticity of the location and setting of the place being reclaimed. It highlights the symbolic reclamation of a homeland and addresses an essential aspect of a *lieu de mémoire*.
3. **Elements of the memorial experience:** *the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits memorials and use that embody its significance as a lieu de mémoire.* Indeed, a *lieu de mémoire* exhibits various elements that express identity and the collective experience and memory of the past. These may include memorials, uses, events, symbols, artistic expressions, and other tangible and intangible expressions of identity. This criterion focuses on articulating the attributes that express the memorial experience and illustrate the efforts to share common heritage, reaffirm collective identity, and continue to build a sense of community.
4. **Role of the site in collective memory:** *the Landscape of Grand Pré is the heart of Acadie, the most important lieu de mémoire for the Acadians.* Communities may have multiple places of memory where they reflect on the lessons of the past and on how they define their present identity. Sites may commemorate events (such as the independence of a nation), celebrate historical outcomes (such as a military victory), or underscore a value (such as peace). Some sites are character defining for the community in that they are central to the community's collective identity. Others are important for commemorating significant events or achievements and are part of a community's memorial landscape but may not hold a central place in the formation of its identity. This criterion focuses on distinguishing sites that define a community's character from those that simply address elements of a community's collective memory, thus stressing

their role in sharing common heritage, reaffirming collective identity, and continuing to build a sense of community.

5. **Sharing of the landscape:** *the Landscape of Grand Pré is shared by many communities.* Different people can assign different meanings and values to landscapes. A single place may be the object of contested or shared use. This criterion focuses on highlighting sites of shared use and their ability to illustrate humanity's aspiration for peaceful reconciliation.
6. **Condition of the site:** *the Landscape of Grand Pré is in excellent condition, displaying the tangible and intangible evidence of a lieu de mémoire and of a symbolically reclaimed landscape.* As per the requirements of the *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*, the comparative analysis includes the state of conservation of similar properties.

These criteria enable us to compare the nominated property to similar sites by focusing on the key elements articulated in the proposed outstanding universal value for the Landscape of Grand Pré. These key elements are a *landscape transformed into a lieu de mémoire* (criteria 2, 3, and 4) and a *landscape symbolically and peacefully reclaimed* (criteria 1 and 5).

### 3.c.vi. Comparative analysis of the *lieu de mémoire* and of the symbolically reclaimed landscape

#### *Sites on the World Heritage List*

The World Heritage List includes sites that are associated with the homeland of diasporas. Some are related to the slave trade, such as James Island and Related Sites World Heritage Site (Gambia), the Island of Gorée World Heritage Site (Senegal), and Le Morne Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site (Mauritius), and some are related to indentured labour, such as Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site (Mauritius). Others show the tangible evidence of a diaspora community's use and continuing transformation to reflect its identity, such as the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga World Heritage Site (Madagascar) and Masada World Heritage Site (Israel). Each of these

sites provides evidence of the identity of a diaspora symbolically expressed in a landscape.

#### **James Island and Related Sites (Gambia)**

James Island and Related Sites is a World Heritage serial site with seven components located along the Gambia River in Gambia. They consist of Portuguese and French colonial religious, administrative, and military buildings, as well as Mandinka villages on James Island and along the banks of the river. Together, they evoke the different aspects of the African-European encounter from the 15th to the 20th centuries, particularly the transatlantic slave trade.

Most relevant to this comparative analysis is that it was inscribed in part because it was “directly and tangibly associated with the beginning and the conclusion of the slave trade, retaining its memory related to the African Diaspora” (excerpt from the Statement of Outstanding Universal Value). It is associated with the beginning and the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade.

The Gambia River represents the first trade route between Africans and Europeans and became an early corridor for the slave trade. The Mandinka of the Kingdom of Kaabu had long traded with merchants along the Atlantic Ocean, including Phoenicians and Arabs. When the Portuguese arrived in the 15th century, later followed by the English in the 16th century and other colonial powers, these Mandinka settlements along the river functioned as the infrastructure necessary to support slave trade. They included forts and military structures, chapels and missions, European settlements, Mandinka villages, warehouses, slave houses, trading offices, and other administrative buildings. The setting that surrounds those structures includes agricultural land and the Gambia River. Today, most of the structures directly associated with the slave trade and the military settlement are in ruins. The Mandinka villages are still active and busy settlements. One warehouse has been transformed into a museum. These features are evocative of the slave trade and as such are important for the collective memory of the African Diaspora. Based on an assessment of condition performed by ICOMOS (International Council on Monuments and Sites) in 2003, the buildings and structures that are not in ruins are in good condition. The archaeological

heritage has in general been stabilized but in some areas is affected by coastal erosion.

James Island and Related Sites World Heritage Site is similar to the Landscape of Grand Pré in that both are associated with a diaspora. It also retains authenticity of location and setting with relation to the diaspora's homeland. The location of the sites along the Gambia River, surrounded by agricultural fields and traditional villages, is evocative of the homeland and enables a connection with the traditional way of life and the ancestors' culture. In addition, these sites are located where the activities involved in the slave trade occurred, reinforcing the spirit of the place.

At Grand Pré, the location of the memorials next to the dykelands and in the heart of the Acadian settlement, as confirmed by archaeological evidence, creates the sense of place and the authenticity of the *lieu de mémoire*. The dykelands are evocative of the agricultural land that was created by the ancestors of today's Acadians, typical of their way of life. The presence of the archaeological features is tangible evidence of their historical presence and of the events surrounding the Deportation.

Where the Landscape of Grand Pré differs from James Island and Related Sites is that its Acadian diaspora continues to nurture a relationship with the site and enrich its memorial experience. Unlike James Island and Related Sites, the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits memorials that were erected by the diaspora community and that reflect their collective identity. The Memorial Church at Grand Pré, the crosses, and other tangible objects echo the Acadians' collective understanding of their heritage. The act of erecting those memorials is evidence of the Acadian community's intent to reclaim the land from which they were forcibly removed and to create a *lieu de mémoire* central to their collective identity, as well as a sense of recovery of their homeland. The Landscape of Grand Pré is the heart of the Acadians' community, the place where significant political, social, and cultural events that unite them take place. Their act of reclamation was performed in a landscape in which they no longer live. It is a testament to the value of reconciliation with the events of the past and reaching out to others in a spirit of mutual respect.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of connecting with one's homeland for which James Island and Related Sites was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites retain enduring meaning in evoking painful historical events for the diasporas. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits the evidence of the community's ongoing efforts towards reconciliation with those events and striving to overcome them. The physical transformation of the landscape is the tangible manifestation of those efforts and allows the Landscape of Grand Pré to sustain its active role in reflecting the common heritage and identity of the diaspora.

#### Island of Gorée (Senegal)

The Island of Gorée World Heritage Site is a complex of buildings that functioned as the largest transatlantic slave trade centre between the 15th and 19th centuries. It is located on the island of Gorée off the coast of Senegal and occupied a strategic position between Europe and Africa, connecting the hinterland "source" of the slaves with the European ships that transported them to international markets.

When it inscribed the Island of Gorée on the World Heritage List, the World Heritage Committee concluded that "the various elements of this 'memory island' – fortresses, buildings, streets, squares, etc. – recount, each in its own way, the history of Gorée which, from the 15th to the 19th century, was the largest slave-trading centre of the African coast." This statement confirms the Island of Gorée as a *lieu de mémoire* and a suitable comparison with the Landscape of Grand Pré.

The Island of Gorée is a small island in the Atlantic Ocean close to Dakar. Between the 15th century and the abolition of slavery in the 19th century, it was successively governed by the Portuguese, Dutch, English and French, each adding to the architectural character of the buildings. It is estimated that between the mid-15th century and the mid-18th century, some 20 million slaves passed through the island on their way to plantations and other markets around the world. The island displays evidence of a complex system of selection, preparation, and shipping of slaves, an illustration of the inhumanity of slavery. It contrasts the stark and squalid living conditions of the slaves with the

elegant houses of the European traders and administrators. The main tangible structures consist of a fortification sitting on a rocky promontory, a dock, slave houses with cells, the governor's residence, and religious buildings. Based on the 2009 report to the World Heritage Committee and the minutes of the 33rd World Heritage Committee meeting in Seville, the conservation of the structures is a concern, and coastal erosion is affecting a significant section of the island.

The Island of Gorée is similar to the Landscape of Grand Pré in its association with a diaspora, the authenticity of its location and setting, the role of the site in collective memory, and the shared landscape. The Island of Gorée is a *lieu de mémoire* for the African diaspora, as recognized by the World Heritage Committee in its use of the expression "memory island" to convey its essence. Places associated with the slave trade are significant evidence of the experience of slavery and its everlasting impact on the identity of the African Diaspora. The Island of Gorée is the location of the treatment and transfer of slaves, which makes it an authentic place for descendants to connect with their heritage. This *lieu de mémoire* is a pilgrimage destination where all members of the African Diaspora, and indeed humanity as a whole, can learn about the conditions of slavery, assess the impact of the slave trade on the populations affected by it, and reflect on the horrors of human exploitation. The Statement of Outstanding Universal Value stresses that the Island of Gorée also aims to be a sanctuary for reconciliation and forgiveness. This last aspect mirrors the reality at Grand Pré.

The contrast with the Landscape of Grand Pré is apparent through the elements of the memorial experience, the role of the site in the collective memory, and the shared landscape. While the Island of Gorée is a "memory island" where the remains of the slave trade are the memorial elements of the landscape since reclaimed by the African Diaspora, Grand Pré exhibits a different expression of memorialization. Its memorial buildings, structures, and activities are designed intentionally to create a landmark and reclaim a homeland to share a common heritage and build a collective identity. These symbolize a return to the land from which they were forcibly removed. The Island of Gorée, in contrast, is a place of concentration and transition, without evidence of the cultural attributes associated

with the identity of the diaspora. Furthermore, the ongoing erecting of memorials at Grand Pré, and use of the landscape for political, social, and cultural events, demonstrates the role that this landscape plays in nurturing and crystallizing the collective identity of the Acadians. Grand Pré is the heart of the community for Acadians. In their minds, it marks the beginning of their diaspora and brings it together. This is not the case for the Island of Gorée, which is one site among many important ones worldwide that set forth evidence of the tragedy of slavery. Finally, whereas the Island of Gorée is a sanctuary for reconciliation, in Grand Pré this act of reconciliation is ongoing. Reconciliation with history is effected both by Acadians through their cultural events and the celebration of the vibrant Acadian communities, and by Acadians and the local residents through acts of sharing, openness and dialogue.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of belonging to a community and maintaining a shared heritage for which the Island of Gorée was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites are *lieux de mémoire* tied to defining moments in the collective memory of diasporas and are important places of pilgrimage to learn and reflect on those moments. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré demonstrates the contemporary relevance of these *lieux de mémoire* through the ongoing use and physical transformation of the place by the Acadians to reflect their collective identity. The Landscape of Grand Pré is a living landscape that continues to evolve in tandem with the community's values, ensuring its enduring relevance as their most important *lieu de mémoire*.

#### Le Morne Cultural Landscape (Mauritius)

Le Morne Cultural Landscape World Heritage Site consists of a rugged mountain that projects into the Indian Ocean on the Island of Mauritius. It was used as a shelter for escaped slaves, making it a centre of resistance against oppression.

The site was inscribed as "an exceptional testimony to maroonage or resistance to slavery in terms of it being used as a fortress for the shelter of escaped slaves, with evidence to support that use" as well as "a symbol of slaves' fight for freedom, their suffering, and

their sacrifice, all of which have relevance beyond its geographical location, to the countries from which the slaves came – in particular the African mainland, Madagascar and India and South-east Asia.” As a significant place for the descendants of the Maroons and for its relevance to places where the slaves came from, Le Morne is a *lieu de mémoire* that is important to a diaspora, particularly those of African and Malagasy descent.

The cultural landscape consists of archaeological sites and of the mountain of Le Morne acting as a natural fortress. In addition, the oral traditions surrounding the memory of the Maroons are the attributes that confirm the landscape as a *lieu de mémoire*. Based on an assessment carried out by ICOMOS in 2008, the condition of the site is good.

Mauritius became associated with the transatlantic slave trade as soon as the Dutch created their first settlement there in 1639. The Dutch brought hundreds of slaves to the island to exploit its natural resources. When French colonists settled Mauritius in 1721 after the Dutch had left, they also brought slaves with them. By the late 18th century, close to 85 per cent of the island’s population were slaves. As a result of this situation, slaves often attempted and in many cases succeeded in escaping from their owners. During the 18th and 19th centuries, Le Morne Mountain was the focal point for the Maroons, slaves who had escaped and were evading the colonial authorities. Some slaves were able to evade recapture for a short period of time, while others created small settlements on the mountain. Still others chose to plunge to their deaths from Le Morne Mountain rather than be recaptured. These stories were recounted by 19th century anti-slavery authors and became part of the collective memory of the Maroons as well as a symbol for the anti-slavery movement.

Le Morne Cultural Landscape is similar to the Landscape of Grand Pré in its association with a diaspora, the authenticity of location, and the role of the site in collective memory. Like Grand Pré, Le Morne Cultural Landscape serves as a focal point for the collective identity of a diaspora. It is a *lieu de mémoire* where members of the community come to learn about their shared heritage, commemorate a dark period in their history, and celebrate their achievement. Furthermore, that connection is enhanced by the features of the

location itself. Reminiscent of an *axis mundi*, the mountain is the axis around which the connections between heritage, present sense of identity and collective aspirations revolve.

At Grand Pré, the place itself plays a similar role, with its concentration of memorials including the Memorial Church and the crosses. For both places, the stories linked to their diasporas were known beyond the diaspora itself, giving them an additional universal role in a broader collective memory.

The Landscape of Grand Pré contrasts with Le Morne Cultural Landscape in the elements of the memorial experience, in the role of the site in collective memory, and in its being a shared landscape. The impact of the Deportation on the Acadians is still felt and expressed in songs, pilgrimages to Grand Pré, and artistic expressions. The Acadians’ return to Grand Pré and their reclamation of it through symbols is a powerful illustration of the importance of *lieux de mémoire* in maintaining and nurturing a collective identity. The symbolic reclamation also illustrates a collective desire for reconciliation with history, with both the events of the Deportation and the resulting loss of land. Finally, Grand Pré is the most important *lieu de mémoire* for Acadians. In Acadian communities around the world, its memorials serve as landmarks and symbols of their shared heritage and collective identity. Unlike the descendants of the Maroons, the Acadians remain a diaspora that retains a sense of “paradise lost.” This is an important characteristic, as it contextualizes the act of symbolic reclamation of a homeland.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of belonging to a community and maintaining a shared heritage for which Le Morne Cultural Landscape was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites are focal points for the communities where they can share their common heritage and celebrate their achievements. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré also illustrates connection to homeland. The ongoing reclamation of the landscape by the Acadian diaspora creates that focal point and stresses that connection. The Landscape of Grand Pré enhances the sense of loss and celebration that diasporas have experienced during their forced removal and their symbolic return.

### Aapravasi Ghat (Mauritius)

Aapravasi Ghat World Heritage Site is set on the Bay of Trou Fanfaron in the Mauritius capital city of Saint Louis. It is a complex of three buildings erected in the 1860s, fewer than half the structures that were once present.

The site was inscribed on the World Heritage List because of its association with the use of indentured labour, in particular because it is “strongly associated with memories of almost half a million indentured labourers moving from India to Mauritius to work on sugar canes plantations or to be transhipped to other parts of the World.” Its association with a diaspora and with the memories of that diaspora validates the comparison with the Landscape of Grand Pré.

Mauritius was under French control from the time they formally possessed the island in 1721 until the British conquest in 1810. In 1834, Britain abolished slavery in all its colonies. To maintain a supply of workers for the plantations and other industries of the empire, a system of indentured labour was introduced. Saint Louis, in particular the Bay of Trou Fanfaron, became a central location for treating immigrants from India and transferring them to plantations around the world. Aapravasi Ghat was built in 1849, expanded over the years, and finally ceased to operate in 1923. Modern transformations, such as a bus station, a motorway, and the demolition of other buildings, have altered the site’s cohesion. Part of the site was landscaped in the 1990s to create a commemorative space. Every November a Hindu religious ceremony is held there to commemorate the arrival of the labourers and in memory of the *jehaji bhai* (shipmates’) spirits. Archaeological features are investigated and protected as important elements of the site. Based on an assessment carried out by ICOMOS in 2006, the condition of the site is fragile, and its conservation is good.

Aapravasi Ghat and the Landscape of Grand Pré are similar in their association with a diaspora, some elements of the memorial experience, and the role of the site in collective memory. Hundreds of thousands of people from India and Africa came through Aapravasi Ghat to work in the plantations or to be transhipped to other places around the world, in effect contributing to the forcible relocation of entire populations and creating a diaspora. The creation of a

commemorative space and the holding of religious ceremonies echo the elements of the memorial experience at the Landscape of Grand Pré. Finally, the interest in researching and protecting the archaeological features reinforces the authenticity of the location and the importance of these attributes in creating the spirit of the place. This is similar to the Acadians’ erection of memorials on the location of the Acadian settlement.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is different from Aapravasi Ghat in the elements of the memorial experience and the role of the site in collective memory. Unlike Aapravasi Ghat, the Landscape of Grand Pré is a *lieu de mémoire* that reflects the identity of its diaspora and was symbolically reclaimed through the erection of memorials. It creates a landmark, a single focal point, for the sharing of common heritage and the expression of collective identity. Grand Pré is a starting and an end point, whereas Aapravasi Ghat is an important landmark and a focal point for some, but mostly marks a place of transition for the descendants of its diaspora. Their ancestors left their homelands and passed through Aapravasi Ghat on their way to conditions of indentured labour, a situation akin to the sites related to the slave trade.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of belonging to a community and maintaining a shared heritage for which Aapravasi Ghat was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites are focal points for the communities where they can share their common heritage and commemorate significant events in their history through the erection of memorials and pilgrimages. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré displays the evidence of a character-defining *lieu de mémoire*, one that is a focal point for the community and anchors their identity in a place and time. This is demonstrated by the ongoing use by the Acadian community since the late 19th century for their most significant political, social, and cultural events.

### Royal Hill of Ambohimanga (Madagascar)

The Royal Hill of Ambohimanga World Heritage Site is located in the hills of Madagascar, on the remains of the ancient capital and of the royal burial grounds.

It was inscribed on the World Heritage List as the “most significant symbol of the cultural identity of the people of Madagascar” and “an exceptional example of a place where common human experience has been focused in memory, ritual and prayer.” As such, the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga is a *lieu de mémoire* where the community shares a common heritage and expresses a collective identity. This is comparable to the Landscape of Grand Pré.

The site consists of a royal city, a burial site, and an ensemble of sacred places. It is built on a hill that includes woodland preserved for practical and spiritual reasons, clearings on the lower ground, and terraces on the lower hilltops. The site originates from the 15th century. By the 18th century, it had acquired the status of a capital with an elaborate defence complex of gates and walls. By the end of the 18th century, the capital was moved to Antananarivo, but Ambohimanga remained an important burial place and the religious capital. In the late 19th century, the French colonial authorities moved the remains of royalty to the new capital in an attempt to remove the sacred character of the site and the symbolic national identity attached to it. The tombs were demolished and a French garrison was built there instead. The site nevertheless has maintained its religious nature to this day and is an important pilgrimage destination. It is associated with feelings of identity, having maintained its symbolic and sacred character. Based on an assessment carried out by ICOMOS in 2001, the condition of the site is good.

The Royal Hill of Ambohimanga is comparable to the Landscape of Grand Pré in its authenticity of location and its role in the collective memory of the communities. The Royal Hill of Ambohimanga, because of its location on the remains of the royal city, is a *lieu de mémoire* for the Malagasy that connects them to the achievements and most illustrious moments of their history. That connection is best described as a spirit of the place which makes this landscape sacred. It allows the ongoing performance of pilgrimages, rituals, and other collective expressions of identity, confirming the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga as the location in which to share a common heritage, express identity, and seek inspiration to build the future of the community. In addition, this *lieu de mémoire* has consistently been for the Malagasy the most significant place of collective expression of

identity, inextricably linking it to the strength of the community. For the Acadians, the Landscape of Grand Pré fulfills the same role.

However, the Landscape of Grand Pré contrasts with the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga because of its association with a diaspora, its elements of the memorial experience, and its character as a shared landscape. Although the Malagasy *lieu de mémoire* is important to any member of that community anywhere in the world, and although it is associated with colonial attempts to erase Malagasy identity, the site is not associated with a diaspora that was forcibly removed from its homeland. By contrast, the Landscape of Grand Pré illustrates clearly the consequences and challenges of maintaining a connection with the homeland for a population that was forcibly relocated. For Acadians, connecting with Grand Pré is an essential element in maintaining their collective identity. That contact allows them to anchor their heritage, identity, sense of community, and efforts of reconciliation with history in a single place. The symbolic reclamation of their homeland at Grand Pré is also an essential element in maintaining their collective identity. Unlike the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga, the Landscape of Grand Pré saw another population replace the Acadians after their removal, and this population continues to live on its lands. Consequently, both Acadians and current inhabitants have learned to share the landscape.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of belonging to a community and connecting with one’s homeland for which the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites are focal points for the communities where they can share their common heritage and maintain a sense of community through pilgrimages and other collective expressions of identity. They illustrate the spirit of place that results from the strong and meaningful connection between a community and the *lieu de mémoire* that defines its identity. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré also provides an illustration of the importance of that connection when a community has been forcibly removed from its homeland. The events that have led to the community’s departure and symbolic return to its homeland show that the identity, survival, and renaissance of that community were tied to its aspiration of returning home. In their

efforts to reinstate that connection, the Acadians moved towards a collective and peaceful reconciliation with their past and celebration of their future.

#### Masada (Israel)

Masada World Heritage Site is an archaeological site in the Judean desert in Israel. It consists of remains of a large fortress surrounded by the siege works of the Roman army. Masada was discovered in 1842 and extensively excavated in the 1960s. Based on an assessment carried out by ICOMOS in 2000, the condition of the site is good.

Masada was inscribed on the World Heritage List because, as articulated in its Statement of Outstanding Universal Value, it is a symbol of the Ancient Kingdom of Israel and because of its association with the creation of the Jewish Diaspora, with Jewish identity, and with universal events associated with the continued human struggle between oppression and liberty. Because it is a *lieu de mémoire* for the Jewish Diaspora, and because it displays evidence of the community's identity and of its continuing use by that community, Masada is comparable to the Landscape of Grand Pré.

The site of Masada was first fortified in the second century BCE. It was the subject of numerous military and administrative structural developments for centuries until the Jewish Revolt of the first century AD against Roman rule. In the years following the fall of Jerusalem in 70 AD, a group of settlers arrived in Masada, a town that had been under the control of the Zealots since the beginning of the revolt. The Roman governor decided to eliminate this centre of resistance and sent a large contingent of soldiers to subdue the inhabitants. They established a camp around Masada, building impressive siege works and preparing for an assault. That assault came in the spring of 73 AD. The Roman troops successfully breached the walls of Masada. The Zealots defended the place with determination, but when it became clear they could not resist much longer, their leader convinced the inhabitants and remaining defenders that death was preferable to slavery. All but two of nearly 1000 men, women and children decided to take their own lives. As a result of this event, Masada became an important symbol of Jewish identity. Today, Masada still inspires generations of members of the Jewish people. It is there that

newly minted soldiers of the Israeli Defence Force complete their training by taking their oath of loyalty. They are reminded of the sacrifice of their ancestors and encouraged to reflect on the universal message of freedom and the fight against oppression.

Masada is similar to the Landscape of Grand Pré in its association with a diaspora, its authenticity of location, elements of its memorial experience, and the role of the site in the collective memory. The fall of Masada was a turning point in Jewish history, one of a handful of events that completed the destruction of Judea by the Romans and marked the beginning of the diaspora. Because of that, it is one of the most important *lieux de mémoire* for the Jewish people. It is a place that has retained its authenticity and where the physical connection with the archaeological remains powerfully conveys the experience and its message of continued resistance against oppression. Similarly, Acadians have a strong sense of place in relation to Grand Pré. They connect with the events surrounding the deportation and reflect on the plight of their ancestors, taking inspiration from their perseverance and resilience in the face of adversity. Each group gathers around these *lieux de mémoire* as a means to share a common heritage, reaffirm its identity, and commit to continuing to build its sense of community.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is different from Masada in the elements of its memorial experience and the role of the site in the collective memory. While Masada is one of the most important sites of the Jewish Diaspora, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the single most important character-defining place for the Acadians. The complete story of the birth, deportation, renaissance, and ongoing evolution of the Acadians is expressed at Grand Pré through the memorials and the use of the place. Acadians go to Grand Pré to discover fundamental aspects of Acadian collective identity. Moreover, their connection with the *lieu de mémoire* was manifest through a physical transformation involving the creation of memorials to reclaim a land that was no longer theirs. Without that physical transformation, the presence of the Acadians in that landscape prior to their deportation, and hence their ability to express their collective identity, would have been forgotten. Finally, the Acadian experience at Grand Pré epitomizes the human aspiration of reconciliation with the events of the past that

still affect its present and future. The Landscape of Grand Pré is an ongoing act of reconciliation for the Acadian community, one that was and continues to be achieved peacefully through a sharing of a common heritage with the local inhabitants.

In conclusion, the nominated property illustrates the same values related to the importance of belonging to a community and connecting with one's homeland to reaffirm its identity for which Masada was inscribed on the World Heritage List. Both sites are character defining for the communities: places where they can maintain a sense of community through the learning of past achievements, pilgrimages, and collective expressions of identity. Members of the diaspora come to those *lieux de mémoire* to reflect on significant events of their history and seek individual and collective inspiration from the way their ancestors overcame adversity. In contrast, however, the Landscape of Grand Pré is the most important such *lieu de mémoire* for the diaspora, as it ties all the key events of the Acadians' history: their birth as a people, their forcible removal, and their renaissance. It not only stresses the difficult events of its past but also focuses on the way the community overcame them, thus allowing an ongoing effort of reconciliation with history.

The comparison of the Landscape of Grand Pré with sites already inscribed on the World Heritage List underlines the relevance for humanity as a whole of the aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation. These are fundamental to the human experience as they highlights the importance of a shared heritage in the collective development of communities. The Landscape of Grand Pré also introduces the human experience of creating *lieux de mémoire* through symbolic reclamation of a landscape by a diaspora. This experience, currently not represented on the World Heritage List, is an important illustration of the connection between a diaspora and its homeland, one experienced by many communities around the world, as well as an inspiring illustration of peaceful efforts by a diaspora to reconcile with its past and build for its future.

#### *Sites not on the World Heritage List*

The following sites are not on the World Heritage List, but they offer valuable comparisons between the Landscape of Grand Pré and *lieux de mémoire* for diasporas. They also highlight the value of Grand Pré to the Acadian people and to universal human experience.

#### **Birchtown (Canada)**

Birchtown is an 18th century Black Loyalist settlement located on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean in Nova Scotia, Canada. It commemorates the Black Loyalist Experience, an event of national historic significance in Canada. The commemorative plaque reads:

After the American Revolution, over 3500 free African Americans loyal to the Crown moved to Nova Scotia and New Brunswick where they established the first Black communities in Canada. Birchtown, founded in 1783, was the largest and most influential of these settlements. The population declined in 1792 when many Black Loyalists, frustrated by their treatment in the Maritimes, emigrated to Sierra Leone in West Africa. Although diminished in numbers, Birchtown remains a proud symbol of the struggles by Blacks in the Maritimes and elsewhere for justice and dignity.

The site consists of archaeological remains, religious and domestic buildings, landscape features, and spiritual structures. The condition of most of these features is good. Some of the buildings require preservation work.

The Black Loyalists were slaves who joined the British forces during the American Revolution in exchange for the promise of freedom. The British colonial authorities had resorted to that strategy to bolster the undermanned British army in North America and to weaken the enemy's economy by removing its primary source of labour. After the war, a large number of those African Americans who had fought for the British Crown (3500, or 10 per cent of all Loyalists who relocated to Nova Scotia) were transported to Nova Scotia. That movement was recorded in the *Book of Negroes*, a late 18th-century

document that provides detailed information on the thousands of African-American slaves who had fought for the British Crown and were transported out of the United States of America. They were settled principally in Nova Scotia around Halifax, in the Annapolis Valley, and on the Atlantic Coast, and they quickly encountered living conditions that made it very difficult for them to envision a future there. First, the competition for land and resources was intense, as the white Loyalists were also vying for property and jobs. This led to tension and displays of racism, and the Black Loyalists were given poor land that was difficult if not impossible to render productive. Second, the weather proved to be a significant challenge, particularly in the absence of shelter and resources. Consequently, in 1791, half of the town's population accepted a grant of land in Sierra Leone. Known as the Nova Scotians, these settlers founded Freetown and are the ancestors of most of Sierra Leone's Creoles (Krios). Today, Birchtown is the site of ongoing efforts to memorialize the story of the Black Loyalists through the erection of memorials, the restoration of important structures, and the archaeological investigation of notable features. Descendants of those Loyalists come on a pilgrimage to Birchtown to trace the route their ancestors took to return to Africa. At a minimum, there is awareness in the Black Loyalist and in the Sierra Leone communities of those links.

Birchtown has similarities with the Landscape of Grand Pré in its association with a diaspora, its authenticity of location, and elements of its memorial experience. Because of the events and the people associated with its settlement, Birchtown reaches out beyond its borders. It is an important link between slavery and freedom; America and Africa; and European, African and North American experiences. In the case of Grand Pré, the site is an important link between peaceful settlement and forcible relocation, Europe and America, and European and North American experiences. Those links stress that, for both Birchtown and the Landscape of Grand Pré, the location itself was the setting for important character-defining events in the history of each community. However, the strength of the community and the aspiration to maintain a collective identity allowed each community to overcome the challenges of its history. This is most tangibly expressed in those landscapes through a similar

memorial experience. That experience emphasizes erecting memorials and maintaining structural evidence on the site to reflect the presence and the values of the Black Loyalist descendant community at Birchtown and of the Acadians at Grand Pré. In both places, the community has reclaimed the landscape so it can share its common heritage and express its collective identity.

The Landscape of Grand Pré differs from Birchtown in its elements of memorial experience, the role of the site in collective memory, and in its being a shared landscape. In contrast to Birchtown, Grand Pré is a *lieu de mémoire* that is character defining for the Acadian community. It allows the sharing of the common heritage and, through ongoing cultural, social, and political use, has maintained its role in expressing and nurturing a collective identity. Grand Pré has been popularized among Acadians and non-Acadians for well over a century and has become part of the collective memory of Acadians. Since the middle of the 19th century, Grand Pré has been the tangible and intangible location of the consciousness of Acadians as a people, of their history, of their symbols of identity, and of their achievements. The huge international gatherings held there attest to its role as the active and foremost connection for a diaspora dispersed around the world. At Birchtown, the *lieu de mémoire* is next to a small Black Loyalist community and has been contested locally by members of neighbouring communities. By comparison, Grand Pré is no longer the site of an Acadian settlement, which means that another group has developed its own connection with the landscape. This suggests that for both communities to maintain their own connection with it, the landscape needs to be shared through mutual respect.

In conclusion, the comparison of the nominated property with Birchtown highlights that the Landscape of Grand Pré is a vibrant example of a *lieu de mémoire* that has deep meaning for a dispersed diaspora. Its ongoing use in the expression of collective identity confirms that spirit. It stresses that collective will, use, and engagement are instrumental in creating a character-defining *lieu de mémoire*.

#### Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (United States)

The Trail of Tears National Historic Trail is a route that connects the locations in the southeastern United States from which the United

States government forcibly relocated Native American tribes, beginning in 1831. Their point of arrival was thousands of kilometres away in the Midwest.

The trail was designated of national significance because it commemorates the forced removal of the Cherokee people from their homelands in the southeastern United States to Indian Territory (present-day Oklahoma) in 1838–1839. Its significance, based on its designation, lies in that it represents the tragic impact of Indian Removal policy on the history, culture, and soul of the American nation; it represents tenacity, perseverance, and resilience as survivors relocated/rebuilt their institutions despite great adversity; and it provides the opportunity for Native Americans and all people to reconnect with places that evoke the most important event in their history.

The Trail of Tears is a *lieu de mémoire* associated with a people expelled from its homeland, and it continues to be associated with the cultural identity of that people. In those respects, the Trail of Tears and in particular its places of commemorations are comparable with the Landscape of Grand Pré.

Since the early 19th century, the American government had adopted a policy of allowing Native Americans to remain east of the Mississippi River if they became better assimilated into Euro-American culture. This policy aimed to render these tribes dependent on white American settlers for goods and to force them to give up land to acquire these goods. In 1830, the Indian Removal Act was passed, allowing the forcible relocation of tribes east of the Mississippi. This made room for settlers and speculators to take over highly desirable land. It was also a tool to address the concern of some people that the presence of Native Americans in those areas was a threat to peace and security. Consequently, between 1831 and 1839, tens of thousands of people were expelled from their homeland and made to walk to Oklahoma, thousands of kilometres away.

In 1987, the United States Congress designated the Trail of Tears nationally significant. It consists of approximately 8000 kilometres of trails connecting the locations from which the Cherokee, Chickasaw, Choctaw, Muskogee-Creek, and Seminole were removed in the states of Georgia, Tennessee, Alabama, North Carolina, Mississippi,

Louisiana, Kentucky, and Florida to their destination in Oklahoma. Several locations along the trail are individual places of memory, such as grave sites or temporary settlements. Other key locations are emerging as landmark sites of *lieux de mémoire* such as the Cherokee Trail of Tears Commemorative Park (Commemorative Park) in Hopkinsville (Kentucky) and the Cherokee Removal Memorial Park (Memorial Park) at Blythe Ferry (Tennessee). Those locations are the focus of memorial activities on the part of the Cherokee.

The Commemorative Park in Kentucky is the location of a Cherokee encampment in 1838 and 1839. It is also the burial site for two Cherokee chiefs who died during the removal. Statues of these chiefs were crafted by a local artist and recently unveiled with delegations from Cherokee bands present. A log cabin dating back to the period of the removal serves as the heritage centre of the Commemorative Park. Near the burial site, seven Red Cherokee Chief Dogwoods were planted to commemorate each of the seven Cherokee clans. Every year in September, an intertribal powwow is held at the park. It is a gathering of Native American people to celebrate their heritage, to express collective identity, and to share their pride with non-Native Americans. The condition of the site appears to be good.

The Memorial Park in Tennessee was the gathering point for 9000 Cherokee, where they camped for weeks prior to their removal. It now hosts a boardwalk, shelters, a visitor centre, and a genealogical library. It will soon host a memorial wall that will include a circular base, similar in form to the seal of the Cherokee Nation, surmounted by seven panels representing the seven Cherokee clans. The panels will list the names of the head of each of the 2537 households and the number of family members as shown in the 1835 Census that was taken in preparation for the removal. The condition of the site appears to be good.

The Trail of Tears, the Commemorative Park, and the Memorial Park bear similarities with the Landscape of Grand Pré in their authenticity of location, elements of the memorial experience, and role of the site in the collective memory of a people. The trail follows the path taken by the Native American tribes almost 200 years ago on their way to a foreign land. The experience of walking on that trail is

powerful for the descendants of those who were forcibly relocated. They connect with their ancestors in one of the character-defining moments of their history. By extension, the trail itself has defined the character of the identity of those tribes. Also, as with Grand Pré, the events of the Trail of Tears were popularized through public accounts, songs, and writings, ensuring that those events would remain part of the collective memory. Finally, the erection of memorials is an act of symbolically reclaiming the trail and leads to public awareness and recognition of the impact of those events on the Native American tribes.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is different from the memorial space at Blythe Ferry and the Trail of Tears in its elements of memorial experience, the role of the site in collective memory, and its shared landscape. While the Trail of Tears is a tangible testament to the particular events, it physically covers the entire experience of the forced migration, with no single place that emerges as a symbolic landmark of the people. Blythe Ferry is now being developed as a central point to learn about and experience the Cherokee removal. However, time is required to see whether it emerges as a focal point of the collective memory of the people. The recent commemoration of that event signals that the potential for reconciliation with history is only beginning. Finally, the symbolic reclamation is primarily related to the event rather than to a homeland.

In conclusion, the comparison of the nominated property with the Trail of Tears highlights that the Landscape of Grand Pré illustrates the importance of a *lieu de mémoire* as a single focal point to allow the sharing of a common heritage and the expression of a collective identity. In addition, the value of Grand Pré is well established. For almost a century, its ongoing use by the Acadian community has demonstrated its essential role as a *lieu de mémoire*. Finally, Grand Pré is a symbolic reclamation of a homeland, demonstrating the community's aspiration to connect place, history, and collective identity. As such, it is more than a memorialization of an event; it is a symbolic appropriation that defines the value of its landscape for present and future generations.

#### Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux (St. Vincent and the Grenadines)

Dorsetshire Hill is a mountain and Baliceaux is an island in the islands of St. Vincent and the Grenadines, in the Caribbean. These sites relate to the deportation of the Garinagu in 1796 from their homeland to the island of Roatán off the coast of Honduras.

The Garinagu are a people of mixed African, Arawak and Carib ancestry whose presence and identity were recorded as early as the 1630s by French travellers. When the British took over the island from France after the Treaty of Paris in 1763, the Garinagu and the French settlers fought the new authorities. Under the leadership of Joseph Chatoyer, the Garinagu stood successfully against the British, eventually forcing them to sign a peace treaty in 1772. By 1795, Britain had demonstrated it had no intention of holding to the terms of the treaty, which led to a second insurrection, again led by Chatoyer. That conflict ended with Chatoyer's death at Dorsetshire Hill and the internment of the Garinagu on the island of Baliceaux. Some 5000 people remained on the rocky outcrop for months. Half of the prisoners died, and the remainder were deported to the island of Roatán. The story of Chatoyer's fight and death was recounted in 1823 in the play *The Drama of King Shotaway*, the first known play written by an African American. Today, the diaspora is located mainly in Honduras (Roatán and mainland), Belize, and the United States. Since at least the early 1990s, both Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux have served as places of pilgrimage and commemoration of the events of 1796.

Dorsetshire Hill consists of a forested and residential promontory overlooking the capital, Kingstown. A monument commemorating Joseph Chatoyer has been erected in the past decade and is now the subject of an annual wreath-laying ceremony. The monument is in good condition. Baliceaux is a rocky outcrop southeast of the island of St. Vincent. The setting and location are in good condition.

Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux are similar to the Landscape of Grand Pré in that they are associated with a diaspora, they have authenticity of location, they have similar elements of the memorial experience, and they are a site of collective memory. The similarities in the history of each diaspora form an interesting parallel: both were forcibly removed because of real or perceived lack of loyalty to the authorities, both were people born from the meeting of two

worlds and who considered America their homeland, and both were uprooted and sent far away from their ancestral lands. The memorialization of the events on the site where they occurred reinforces the connection between today's communities and their ancestors. These places have acquired spiritual significance, justifying a pilgrimage, rituals, and expressions of collective identity. The *lieux de mémoire* of Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux were maintained in songs, literature, and oral tradition before tangible memorials established them as such. This is similar to the situation at Grand Pré.

The Landscape of Grand Pré contrasts with Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux in the elements of the memorial experience, in the memorials' role in collective memory, and in its being a shared landscape. Unlike Dorsetshire Hill, which commemorates the death of Joseph Chatoyer as much as it does the end of the Garinagu's fight against the British, the Landscape of Grand Pré focuses on the collective experience of the deportation, its impact, and the renaissance of the people without lionizing individuals. The Acadian people as a whole are admired for their perseverance and resilience in the face of adversity, and those qualities become character-defining values that are shared and reaffirmed at Grand Pré.

Also, the collective experience at Baliceaux has not brought about a physical transformation of the space to reclaim a homeland. Both Baliceaux and Dorsetshire Hill are symbols of pride and collective identity for the Garinagu, who recently have begun carrying out annual rituals and pilgrimages. Those are different from the experience at the Landscape of Grand Pré, where rituals and pilgrimages have been inextricably tied to the development of the Acadians' collective identity for the past century. It is not merely a question of carrying out those rituals. At Grand Pré, pilgrimages are part of the sharing of common heritage, reaffirmation of identity, and an ongoing development of collective identity.

The comparison of the nominated property with Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux highlights that the Landscape of Grand Pré illustrates a community's experience of a *lieu de mémoire* about that same community. The Acadian deportation and later renaissance are communal events that were interpreted to reflect community values of perseverance and resilience. In Grand Pré, the community's ongoing

use of the *lieu de mémoire* allows the sharing of those values and the reaffirming of a collective identity based on them.

#### Memorials of the Scottish Highland Clearances in Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea (United Kingdom)

The memorials at Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea are three significant *lieux de mémoire* associated with the Highland Clearances, an event of forcible removal that took place in the 18th and 19th centuries in the Highlands of Scotland, in the United Kingdom. They are in the County of Sutherland in northeastern Scotland, the location of the most brutal phase of eviction.

After the battle of Culloden in 1746, where the Scottish Highland supporters of Charles Stuart were defeated, the British government enforced a series of acts that effectively put an end to the traditional clan system, the authority of the clan chief, and the social system of the small agricultural villages. One effect was to transform the role of clan chief into landlord and to alter the sources of revenue for the Scottish aristocracy. Coupled with an increasing demand for cattle and wool as a result of the industrial revolution underway in England, some Scottish lords saw an opportunity to "improve" their lands and the revenues they generated. They decided to replace their tenants with sheep. The Clearances saw the forced removal of hundreds of thousands of people from the Highlands to areas along the coast between the late 18th century and the middle of the 19th century. Some were forced to build their own homes and become fishermen. Others were boarded onto ships for North America, where they were promised a better life. Finally, many decided to emigrate on their own towards the British colonies in North America and Australasia. This forced removal altered Scottish identity and has had a permanent impact on the landscape of the Highlands and on Scottish Highland culture to this day. The Highland Clearances are remembered in Scotland, Canada, and Australia, where most of the descendants continue to perpetuate the stories of those events through oral tradition and memorialization.

Because the memorials are located in the homeland of the Scottish diaspora, and because they are a place of pilgrimage by mem-

bers of that community, the memorials to the Highland Clearances are comparable to the Landscape of Grand Pré.

Numerous places commemorate the Highland Clearances. Virtually any remains of a house or village are considered a memorial place for the respective descendants of each clan, and many people make a pilgrimage to their ancestral clan home. Two villages in the far north of Scotland, Achinloch and Badbea, have served as longstanding memorials to those who were removed. Achinloch is an abandoned settlement in the County of Sutherland, one of the main areas of aggressive expulsion by the landowners. The remains of 11 houses stand as witnesses to the impact of the Clearances.

Badbea is a coastal township built in the 18th and 19th centuries by families who had been evicted. It was abandoned in 1911. That same year, the son of a villager who had emigrated to New Zealand many years earlier returned and built a monument to the people of Badbea from the stones of his ancestors' house. The monument is a simple cairn that stands in the middle of the village, an eloquent statement to the sense of loss and pride felt by the villagers. Badbea continues to attract visitors who wish to understand the impact of the Clearances.

In 2007, the Scottish government unveiled a monument depicting a family about to board a ship during the Highland Clearances in Helmsdale, the heart of the most tragic events surrounding the Clearances. The plaque reads:

"The Emigrants" commemorates the people of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland who, in the face of great adversity, sought freedom, hope and justice beyond these shores. They and their descendants went forth and explored continents, built great countries and cities and gave their enterprise and culture to the world. This is their legacy. Their voices will echo forever through the empty straths and glens of their homeland.

This new monument is intended to serve as a central point of commemoration of the Highland Clearances.

The memorials to the Highland Clearances are located in the homeland and are associated with a diaspora that was unable to

return to that homeland. Through various commemorative actions in the many abandoned settlements of Scotland, the descendants have maintained the memory of the Clearances.

The memorials to the Highland Clearances are similar to those of Grand Pré in their association with a diaspora, their authenticity in location, some elements of the memorial experience, their role in collective memory, and some aspects of shared landscape. Like the Landscape of Grand Pré, the memorials to the Highland Clearances highlight the experience of forcible relocation and the subsequent diaspora. They are evocative testimonials of the community's attachment to its homeland, an attachment that transcends time and space. Both the events and the places are recounted in songs, literature, and other artistic expressions, thus maintaining a collective memory about them. For some, a return to the place of their ancestors in the Highlands is a spiritual journey back to their roots. The authenticity of the location and of its inhospitable setting is essential to nurturing the connection with their forebears, their suffering, and their survival. Similarly, for Acadians, the authenticity of the location of the memorials on the site of the ancient Acadian settlement, within an agricultural landscape dominated by the dykelands, is vital. It reinforces the experience of sharing a common past and connecting with the challenges and successes of their ancestors.

The Landscape of Grand Pré contrasts with the memorials to the Highland Clearances in some elements of the memorial experience, the memorials' role in collective memory, and some aspects of shared landscape. Sites such as Badbea and Achinloch, which exhibit the deliberate abandonment of ruins, deliver a powerful reminder of the harshness of the Highlanders' living conditions, the impact of a forced removal on a people and their sense of loss, and the destruction of a way of life. The Landscape of Grand Pré, however, reinforces the successful renaissance of a people by displaying memorials exhibiting the symbolic reclamation of a lost landscape. The physical transformation of Grand Pré evocatively illustrates the resilience of the people as much as it shows the impact of their forced removal. Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea are three important *lieux de mémoire*. Yet, although the Helmsdale memorial is intended to become the focal point of the commemoration, none of these three

places has yet become that focal point in the same way that Grand Pré is for the Acadians, as a place of gathering and celebration of identity. For Scots of the diaspora, the pilgrimage to the place of their ancestors is as important, if not more, as going to one of the collective *lieux de mémoire*.

The comparison of the nominated property with the memorials to the Highland Clearances highlights that the Landscape of Grand Pré represents an important aspect of *lieux de mémoire*: the importance of the authenticity of location and setting in enabling the connection between the diaspora and the experience of its ancestors. In addition, the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits the extraordinary capacity of communities that have lost the tangible evidence of their existence in the past to affirm their existence in the present through memorials and the ongoing use of those memorials for collective identity. Table 3-5, on the next page, outlines the comparison of the Landscape of Grand Pré with all the foregoing sites that are also *lieux de mémoire* associated with diasporas.

Property	Landscape of Grand Pré	James Island and Related Sites World Heritage Site (Gambia)	Island of Gorée WHS (Senegal)	Le Morne Cultural Landscape WHS (Mauritius)	Aapravasi Ghat WHS (Mauritius)	Royal Hill of Ambohimanga WHS (Madagascar)	Masada WHS (Israel)	Birchtown (Canada)	Trail of Tears National Historic Trail (United States)	Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux (St. Vincent and the Grenadines)	Memorials of the Scottish Highland Clearances in Helmsdale, Achinloch, and Badbea (United Kingdom)
Comparative criterion											
Association with a diaspora	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes, to some extent	Yes	Yes, to some extent	Yes	Yes	Yes
Authenticity of location and setting in relation to the homeland	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Yes	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Somewhat	Yes	Yes	Yes
Elements of the memorial experience	Memorial structures and buildings Archaeological and historical evidence Continuing use	Buildings Above-ground archaeological evidence Historical evidence	Buildings Historical evidence	Archaeological and historical evidence Continuing use	Buildings Archaeological and historical evidence Memorials (recent) Use (recent)	Structures Archaeological and historical evidence Continuing use	Archaeological and historical evidence Continuing use	Archaeological and historical evidence Memorials (recent) Continuing use	Archaeological and historical evidence Memorials Continuing use	Memorials (recent) Use (recent)	Archaeological and historical evidence Memorials (some recent) Continuing use
Role of the site in collective memory	Character defining	Significant	Character defining	Character defining	Significant	Character defining	Significant/ character defining	Significant	Character defining	Character defining	Significant
Sharing of the landscape	Yes	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Yes, to some extent	No	Yes, to some extent
Condition of the site	Excellent commemorative landscape Excellent connection with the dykelands Excellent condition of memorials Good condition of archaeological heritage Ongoing use Regular and ongoing pilgrimage	Good condition of buildings Good condition of archaeological evidence Under threat from coastal erosion	Condition of buildings ranging from poor to good	Excellent condition of the mountain Good condition of archaeological heritage Ongoing use	Good condition Excellent condition of memorials Regular use	Good condition of structures Good condition of archaeological heritage Ongoing use	Excellent site condition Good condition of archaeological heritage Ongoing use	Good condition of archaeological heritage Average condition of structure Excellent condition of memorial plaque	Unknown condition of archaeological heritage Good condition of trail Good condition of memorials Ongoing use	Good condition of Dorsetshire Hill memorial (built early 2000) Annual wreath laying/pilgrimage at Dorsetshire Hill Pilgrimage when possible at Baliceaux	Unknown condition of archaeological heritage Good (Badbea) to excellent (Helmsdale) condition of memorials Moderate use for cultural connection (Badbea and Auchinloch individual pilgrimage, Helmsdale recent memorial)

Table 3–5 Comparison of the Landscape of Grand Pré with other *lieux de mémoire* associated with diasporas

**Conclusion – The Landscape of Grand Pré: an evocative *lieu de mémoire* illustrating universal human aspirations**

This comparative analysis has explored the complex phenomenon of *lieux de mémoire*. While the “label” is modern, it establishes a definition for a human behaviour of identifying those places, uses, and objects that are significant to collective identity and are rooted in history. The comparison of the nominated property with other sites that possess similar characteristics, emphasizing place and the use of place, has helped in the dissection of the notion of *lieux de mémoire*. The comparisons clearly show that the experience of *lieux de mémoire* is shared among many people and is expressed in many forms. They also highlight the particular experience of diasporas and their ability to define a heritage that maintains a sense of collective identity and of group consciousness.

By comparing and contrasting the Landscape of Grand Pré with other similar sites, this analysis has highlighted the value of Grand Pré in embodying the concept of *lieux de mémoire*. As is the case at all the comparable sites, the Landscape of Grand Pré illustrates the strong and enduring connection between people and place and its effect on collective identity: the African diaspora at James Island and Related Sites and the Island of Gorée, the descendants of indentured labourers from southeast Asia at Aapravasi Ghat, the Maroons at Le Morne Cultural Landscape, the Malagasy at the Royal Hill of Ambohimanga, the Jewish diaspora at Masada, the Black Loyalists at Birchtown, the Cherokee at the Trail of Tears, the Garinagu at Dorsetshire Hill and Baliceaux, and the Scots and the memorials to the Highland Clearances. The outstanding value of these *lieux de mémoire* is understood through their association to a community and through the tangible manifestation of the connection that binds place and people together. That value is the spirit that emanates from those places.

This analysis has also highlighted the value of Grand Pré in illustrating the experience of diasporas symbolically reclaiming their homeland. The connection between place and people and the maintenance of a sense of community are fundamental elements of a diaspora’s collective identity. The sense of loss experienced by diasporas and their hope to reconnect with their homeland are important drivers of their efforts to build a future for their community. The political, social, and cultural expression of those efforts through symbolic

reclamation is one that supports the aspiration of peaceful reconciliation with history and strives for a return to a homeland in a spirit of respect with those other communities that have also come to build their own connections with the place.

The Landscape of Grand Pré is an exceptional example of both a *lieu de mémoire* and a symbolically reclaimed landscape. Associated with the Acadian diaspora, it was symbolically reclaimed over a century of erecting memorials and using it for cultural, social, and political events. The *lieu de mémoire* bears the qualities of the homeland the Acadians left behind when they were deported: dykelands, dispersed settlements, and agricultural activity. The symbolic reclamation occurred through the expression of their collective identity, such as the erection of a Memorial Church, and through the landscape’s ongoing use where music, literature, and other artistic expressions are on display. Finally, one extraordinary element of the Landscape of Grand Pré is its layering of meaning for different communities, illustrating a peaceful reclamation and ongoing efforts of reconciliation with history. The Acadians are an absent community among the inhabitants of Grand Pré, yet they were able to return and resurrect their former existence in the landscape and establish their present and future existence there. This was done progressively and peacefully, without resorting to conflict or disrupting the local community. In return, the local community has assisted, contributed and participated in this symbolic reclamation through tangible actions of sharing.

Throughout this comparative analysis, the Landscape of Grand Pré has been shown to be an exceptional *lieu de mémoire*. The authenticity of location and setting are intrinsic components of a *lieu de mémoire*. The location of the memorials on the remains of the ancient Acadian settlement next to the dykelands is the most evocative and complete illustration of a *lieu de mémoire* that brings together a diaspora as they return to their homeland. It enables modern Acadians to make a direct and tangible connection with their ancestors and their legacy. This connection allows the Acadians to gather together and fulfill the universal aspirations of sharing their common heritage, reaffirming their identity, and continuing to build their sense of community.

The Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits the key attributes of a *lieu de mémoire*, including memorial structures and its ongoing use through pilgrimage, events, and other forms of ritual. This physical transformation of the landscape is apparent. It reflects the cultural values and creates a focal point for those values. These attributes are tangible evidence of the Acadians sharing their heritage and expressing their collective identity.

The Landscape of Grand Pré plays an essential role in a people's collective memory, confirming its place as a character-defining *lieu de mémoire*. It illustrates the main stages through which the present-day Acadians have formed their identity as a people. It has retained a deep meaning for a dispersed diaspora through over a century of their ongoing use of the reclaimed landscape. Grand Pré is their focal point, the most significant place of their collective identity, inextricably tied to their community's heritage and aspirations. By symbolically reclaiming that landscape, the Acadians have symbolically appropriated it and defined its value for present and future generations. This landscape celebrates a community through communal experience around heritage and collective identity. It stresses the values of perseverance and resilience, inspired by the legacy of the community's ancestors. Because of this role, the Landscape of Grand Pré has maintained a contemporary relevance for the community. It is a place of ongoing and evolving meaning which is evidence of its importance to the community.

As a shared landscape, the Landscape of Grand Pré is a successful reclamation and return by a diaspora. The *lieu de mémoire* serves as a catalyst and symbolizes an ongoing effort of reconciliation between members of the diaspora, history, and the local community. As individual Acadians discover their collective identity, they reflect on their history and its legacy; and as Acadians and the local inhabitants of Grand Pré use the place for cultural, social, and political purposes, they share their values and an open dialogue. It is a *lieu de mémoire* that reflects humanity's aspirations for peaceful reconciliation with its past.

By comparing and contrasting the Landscape of Grand Pré with other similar sites, this analysis has clearly demonstrated the value of Grand Pré in illustrating the universal human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation. Places as *lieux de mémoire* are tangible expressions of those aspirations. They emphasize the mnemonic role of landscape features, archaeological vestiges, and other tangible evidence in nurturing a contact with the past for a community and their importance in collective identity. In an ever-changing world, these *lieux de mémoire* anchor individuals and communities in history and in place. They serve as points of reference for values, identity, and aspirations.

Finally, the comparison has highlighted the value of the Landscape of Grand Pré in exemplifying communities' aspirations to exist in history and to strive for reconciliation with the past. The loss of land, the fragmentation of a community, and the forced separation of a community from its ancestral land are traumatic individual and collective events that threaten the future of the affected community. A community's will to reclaim its homeland is an expression of its will to remain part of human history and to contribute to it. A community's will to reclaim that homeland through peaceful and symbolic means is an expression of its will to reconcile with history and to set a course for its future that stresses the value of sharing over conflict. These aspirations are expressed in the first paragraph of the preamble to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, in that the "recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world." In that, the Landscape of Grand Pré, the Acadian experience, and the stewardship of the local landowners, provide a poignant and powerful living example of the universal human aspirations to belong to a community, to connect with one's homeland, and to seek reconciliation.

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### 3.d. Authenticity and Integrity

#### 3.d.i. Authenticity

The nominated property fulfills the conditions of authenticity set out in Section II E of the *Operational Guidelines*. The authenticity of the nominated property is found in its agricultural system through the dykes, *aboiteaux*, land use and patterns, and community-based management. The authenticity of the Landscape of Grand Pré is also expressed through, and associated with, the memorials to the Deportation of the Acadians.

The stewardship of the Grand Pré Marsh Body has contributed greatly to maintaining the authenticity of the agricultural aspect of the Landscape of Grand Pré. Another important factor in maintaining the site's relevance and authenticity is the Government of Canada's ownership of the part of the site that contains the memorials related to the Deportation, and the collaboration with the Acadian community to manage it. The agricultural and memorial dimensions are equally dominant in characterizing the spirit of Grand Pré.

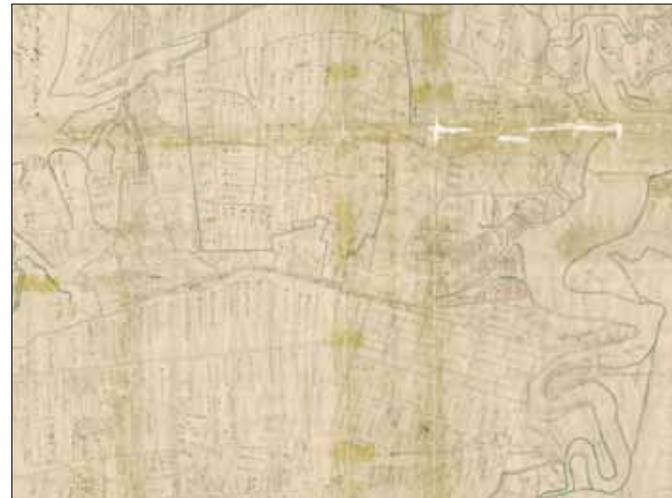
#### Authenticity in form and design

##### *The dykelands*

The dykelands are characterized by an organic field pattern based on fields of irregular sizes and shapes (see Figure 3-12). The field pattern appears in John Bishop's map (1770), the earliest detailed map of Grand Pré, and is consistent with the pattern of other Acadian dykelands of the time (see Figure 3-13). This pattern reflects the phases in which the dykelands were created, as well as how they were adapted to the geophysical features of the landscape.



3-12 In this aerial view of the dykelands, the organic shapes of the fields are visible.



3-13 The irregular field shapes of the dykelands are visible in this 1770 map.

Historical maps from the 18th, 19th and early 20th centuries, as well as aerial photography from the 1920s onwards, confirm the organic nature of the field patterns on the dykelands. Some 30 per cent of current fields have retained the same pattern as observed on maps from the 1760s. The most recent marsh reclamation occurred on the west side of Grand Pré Marsh in the mid 1950s and resulted in the same organically formed field pattern as those in the 1680s. New fields are indistinguishable from older fields.

The design of the drainage system of the dykelands has maintained its authenticity. The creeks still serve as the main drainage outlet, and the *aboiteau* is still the technology used to evacuate water into the Minas Basin. The creeks have followed the same footprint since the 1680s. The authenticity of the design is first recounted in 1699, in the *relations de voyage in Acadie* of a French traveller, the Sieur Dièreville. In the 18th and 19th centuries, numerous French, British, and American travellers describe the Grand Pré dykeland.

#### *The aboiteaux and dykes*

The *aboiteaux* are built with a simple and effective design that has been used for centuries. It consists of a hollowed tubular form (sluice) with a gate (flap) that opens and closes mechanically with the tides. Evidence of that simple design relies on archaeological discoveries of 17th, 18th and 19th century *aboiteaux* as well as design templates located in institutional, municipal, and provincial archives (see Figure 3-14).



3-14 This *aboiteau*, discovered in 2006, follows the same design as modern *aboiteaux*.



3-15 Modern *aboiteaux* use the same design and updated materials as those first constructed in Grand Pré by the Acadians.

The current *aboiteaux* use the same mechanism – a sluice with a flap – and the same approach to building and maintenance using simple and readily available materials (see Figure 3–15). Today, five *aboiteaux* drain the dykelands in the nominated property (see Figure 3–16). They were installed between 1982 and 1997 as part of regular maintenance because the previous sluices had filled with silt deposits. New *aboiteaux* are made from a combination of wood, PVC, metal, and concrete to enhance their durability and effectiveness.



3–16 Five *aboiteaux* drain the dykelands on the nominated property.

The dykes are also built according to a simple and effective design. Based on current technology, and adapting to the natural conditions of Grand Pré, the dykes follow the ideal design to protect the largest amount of intertidal land transformed into farmland. The most recent dykes were built in the 1950s and have applied a simple design that has been used for centuries (see Figure 3–17). The design consists of a pyramid-shaped accumulation of soil whose structural stability over time has been strengthened by facings of grass, wood planks held with metal rods (a “deadman”), and rocks. The dykes’ base extends as far as required to ensure the proper height and protect the farmland from the tides.



3–17 Dykes and *aboiteaux* have always followed the same simple design at Grand Pré.

#### *The memorials*

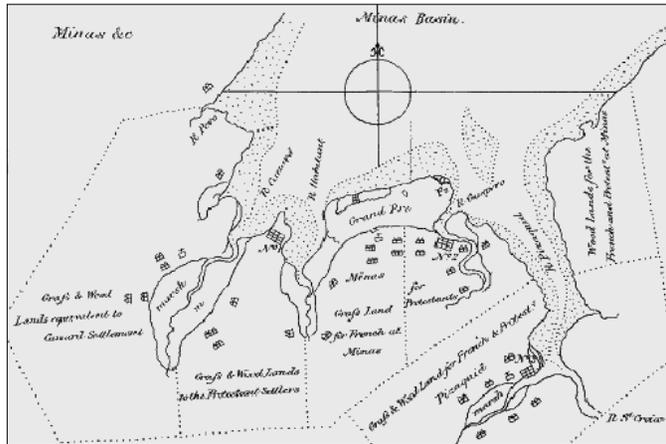
The Memorial Church, the Herbin Cross, the Statue of Evangeline, the Deportation Cross, and the memorial garden have all maintained their authenticity in form and design. The original blueprints for the memorial garden and the technical drawings for the Memorial Church attest to the authenticity of the design as conceived by the architects. The memorial garden was conceived along the lines of a Victorian garden with carefully arranged flower beds and trees and clearly delineated paths that lead the visitor from one memorial to another. These paths meet at the Memorial Church, reinforcing the importance of that structure for the Acadians.

Based on photographic evidence and records of preservation actions undertaken, the design of the memorials is authentic (see Figures 3–18 and 3–19). The protection and maintenance programs of the Parks Canada Agency ensure that any interventions will maintain their authenticity.



This description is consistent with the way the settlers would have initially developed their community: along the dykeland to be close to their work space.

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, maps, including those by the surveyor-general of Nova Scotia, and written descriptions of the area confirm a settlement pattern that consisted of a large work space – the dykelands – surrounded by the agricultural community. The earliest evidence from maps points to the community being concentrated on the uplands to the south of the dykelands (see Figure 3–21).



3–21 This copy of a 1748 map of early settlements near Grand Pré shows the concentration of homes on the uplands.

As the settlement’s population grew, and land was reclaimed to connect the mainland with Long Island, farms were built on Long Island, Boot Island, and farther uphill. Even so, throughout Grand Pré’s evolution since the 1680s, the pattern of a dispersed linear community next to the large open space of the dykelands has been maintained. This is despite the real attempts by the French and British authorities to organize the community along traditional 17th and 18th century seigneurial and town-plot settlement patterns respectively.

The earliest illustration that suggests the presence of a French seigneurial land pattern is the John Bishop (1770) map of Grand Pré (see Figure 3–22).

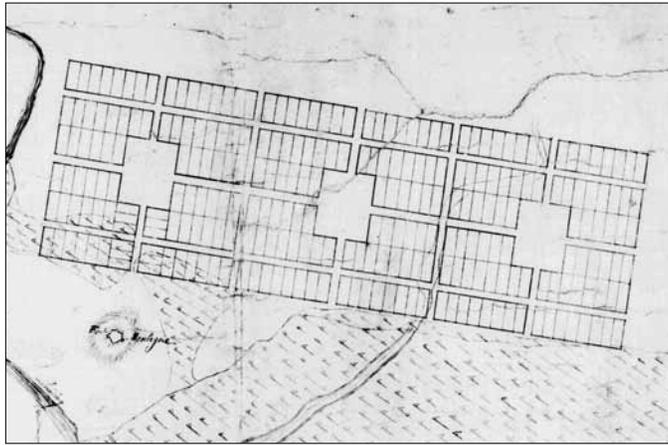


3–22 The John Bishop (1770) map of Grand Pré shows elongated properties, suggesting a seigneurial system.

Historians have interpreted that pattern as evidence of the French seigneurial system because of its distinctive elongated fields running perpendicular to the closest body of water. This was also the land pattern that early Acadian settlers applied, and it is different from later land patterns. British military surveyors seem overall to have respected those divisions before distributing the empty Acadian land to the New England Planters.

The evidence of an Acadian settlement pattern is seen in both the historical and the archaeological records. Both suggest the presence of a typical Acadian settlement, which is linear and dispersed along the uplands close to the dykelands. This is comparable to other well-known Acadian sites from that period in the easternmost provinces of Canada.

The evidence of the British town plot in Hortonville is confirmed by historical accounts of the location of the settlement and through foot, aerial, and remote-sensing surveys. The roads that form the town plot of Hortonville follow what was shown on 18th century maps of the Horton town by Charles Morris (see Figure 3-23) and John Bishop, and 19th century maps by Harris and Church.



3-23 Section of the 1760 Charles Morris map showing the Horton town grid.

These maps also demonstrate the changes in field sizes and in building density in the town plot, confirming the British authorities' failed attempt to concentrate the New England Planters in Hortonville.

### Authenticity in materials and substance

#### The dykes

One feature that speaks to the ingenuity of the dyking system is the use of sod from the marsh to build the dykes that transform that same marsh into farmland. From Acadian times until the 1950s, dykes were built by manually extracting bricks of sod composed of marshland grass – such as *Juncus gerardii* – to form the core and the facing of the dykes. This was ingenious for its use of locally available materials, especially a material that was naturally resistant to the forces of the tides. Today, dykes are still built from soil and sod. They continue to be topped up with soil and vegetation extracted directly from the salt marsh next to the dykes, just as they were in Acadian times (see Figures 3-24 and 3-25).



3-24 & 3-25 Dykes in Grand Pré are still topped with vegetation from the salt marshes. Rock facing is currently used to help withstand the force of the tides, rather than the wooden plank facing that was common in the 19th century.

Over time, different construction methods have been used to reinforce the dyke structure, taking advantage of improved technology and better understanding of the force of the tides. The dykes in the 19th century were once faced with wooden planks, but rocks are now used instead. Today, in areas that are more sensitive to coastal erosion, dykes are regularly faced with large stones (see Figure 3–25).

#### *The memorials*

The Memorial Church has retained its original materials from the time the Acadian community built it in the 1920s and according to the architect's specifications. The Herbin Cross (see Figure 3–26), the well of Evangeline, the Statue of Evangeline, and the Deportation Cross have also all retained their original materials. They are managed according to Parks Canada's cultural resource management policy and the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (Appendix 4G), which stresses the importance of retaining the original material in the ongoing maintenance.



3–26 The Herbin Cross has been maintained according to the original materials used in construction (shown here in 1916).

#### **Authenticity in use and function**

##### *The aboiteaux and dykes*

The *aboiteau* is a core technology of the system that defines the agricultural landscape of Grand Pré. Since the dykelands were first created, *aboiteaux* have evacuated water and drained it via the creeks towards the Minas Basin. Historical accounts and archaeological investigations confirm that no other technology has ever been used to drain the dykelands. The dykes continue to serve as a barrier against the formidable tides of the Minas Basin.

##### *The dykelands*

The dykelands were created in the 17th century exclusively for agricultural use. They have seen different types of agricultural uses over the years including haying, vegetable and crop growing, pasturing, and sod extraction. At different periods, the dykelands were enclosed seasonally for common pasturing and then used to grow crops in the spring and summer. Sod extraction ceased in the 1980s and has not affected the authenticity of the area.

These activities and crops have been recorded extensively in Marsh Body meeting minutes, historical records, and oral tradition. There are many accounts from travellers and agricultural experts describing the agricultural use and the productivity of the farmland. The dykelands in the nominated area have been used exclusively for agricultural purposes since Acadian times.

##### *The memorials*

The Landscape of Grand Pré has inspired numerous references to its memorial importance for the Acadians over the past century.

Public calls for the Acadians to reclaim the land are particularly significant in demonstrating the authenticity of the function of this *lieu de mémoire*. French-language newspapers published articles such as Henri L. D'Entremont's call, in the newspaper *L'Évangéline* in 1895, for Acadians to honour their ancestors. English newspapers also

carried statements by Acadians and non-Acadians alike, such as John Frederic Herbin's observation in the early 20th century before the development of the park that

...The Grand Pré memorial field is the outstanding historical landmark most closely associated with the occupation of the Acadians of this country for seventy years. The Grand Pré burying ground with the church land, have reverted to the descendants of the exiled people. Here a simple cross marks the cemetery.

Later on, in 1917, the Acadians were taking steps to acquire the land at Grand Pré that was said to contain the vestiges of the church of Saint-Charles-des-Mines. Pascal Poirier, one of the Acadian community's most influential politicians at the time, wrote in Acadian newspapers such as *Moniteur acadien* that to contribute to the fundraising campaign was a worthy effort since their return to Grand Pré was a symbolic resurrection of *Acadie* and an act to remember the painful events of the past. In reporting on the decisions of the committee responsible for acquiring the land, Poirier confirmed that the objective was to build a memorial church, a place where Acadians would remember their ancestors and be inspired by their accomplishments. Both Herbin, the creator of the memorial park, and Poirier, a leader in the fundraising campaign to build the Memorial Church, clearly had in mind that Grand Pré and its memorials were for the Acadians to use for their commemoration events and as a symbol of their identity.

The Deportation Cross, another important memorial, was erected in 1924 as a reminder and place of pilgrimage for Acadians. The plaque on the cross confirms the function of the memorial. It reads,

The dry bed of the creek which is in sight, a few paces in the marsh is the spot where the VICTIMS OF THE EXPULSION OF THE ACADIANS OF 1755 were embarked on the small boats to be rowed over to the transports lying at anchor in Minas Basin.

The year it was erected, Henri Bourassa – a prominent journalist and politician from Québec who had Acadian ancestry – organized a trip for the readers of the newspaper *Le Devoir*. He characterized the trip as an opportunity to undertake a “pilgrimage” to a “sacred land” and a “place of memory,” which confirms the function of this memorial as contributing to the symbolic landscape (see Figure 3-27).



3-27 The erection of the Deportation Cross was an important event for the Acadian diaspora.

Today, all these memorials retain the highest degree of authenticity as they continue to serve their original function as places of commemoration and celebration. They continue to be places for the community to gather for its cultural, social, and political events, as well as symbols that evoke the Deportation and the Acadians themselves. This is particularly evident for the Memorial Church, which is a character-defining element of the symbolic landscape and appears on most modern representations of Grand Pré; for the Deportation Cross, which serves as a symbol of the event itself and has been reproduced on monuments in Europe and the United States (see Figure 3-28); and for the Statue of Evangeline, who remains a symbol of the Acadians in music, literature, and art.



3-28 The Deportation Cross, here erected on a modern memorial in St. Pierre et Miquelon (France), has become a symbol of the Acadians worldwide.

### Authenticity in location and setting

#### *The settlements*

The dykelands and settlements from different periods and groups are all in their original locations, as confirmed by historical and archaeological records.

Archival evidence shows that the dykelands have grown and shrunk over time, with periods of successful expansion and others of retreat due to tidal pressures on the dykes. Maps and historical records from the 19th and early 20th centuries show the challenges of building new dykes. This is particularly true for the western side, where the Wickwire Dyke was first built in the early 19th century, then was abandoned and rebuilt numerous times until its current form. The eastern side of the dykelands has also seen some adaptation, but not as pronounced as with the Wickwire Dyke. Consequently, the *aboiteaux* have been moved as needed. They have, however, always been located at the end of one of the creeks that serve as major drainage outlets. Similarly, historical maps, geological soil testing surveys, and archaeological investigations confirm that the locations and paths of the main drainage outlets are identical to the ones created in the 17th century.

Historical and archaeological records also provide evidence that the upland area of the nominated property was the heart of the community. These records detail the first settlement and identify the features central to the community, including cemeteries, roads, churches, mills, and other significant structures.

Historical accounts by travellers, such as the 1748 description by Charles Morris, confirm that the community was located next to the reclaimed farmland. Later maps from the late 18th century locate the settlement on the uplands south of the dykelands. Archaeological evidence confirms that the church, roads, cemeteries and other important structures of the Acadian settlement were all concentrated in that location. The location of the Horton town plot is confirmed by earlier maps prepared by Morris and Bishop. These maps show that the town plot was established on top of a hill next to the Gaspereau River near Horton Landing. The town plot is evident on later maps of the

19th and early 20th centuries. LiDAR (Light Detection and Ranging) mapping and aerial photography have confirmed the authenticity of the location of the town plot and the 18th century field pattern (see Figure 3-29). They have also identified the location of potential vestiges of houses.



3-29 A LiDAR view of the nominated property has allowed professionals to authenticate the location of the town plot and field patterns.

### *The memorials*

All the memorials except the Deportation Cross are located in their original settings. The Memorial Church stands on the land that was acquired by the Acadian community and was thought to contain the vestiges of the church of Saint-Charles-des-Mines. The Statue of Evangeline stands at the entrance of the commemorative gardens where visitors would have arrived from the train station. The Herbin Cross continues to mark the location of the Acadian cemetery. When the Deportation Cross was erected in 1924, it was placed where people then believed the Acadians had boarded the ships in 1755. The Acadian community moved it to its current spot at Horton Landing in 2005 to mark the 250th anniversary of the Deportation. By then, research had confirmed that Horton Landing was the actual site of the departure. Since the Deportation Cross's location in the 1920s was intended to be where the Acadians had been boarded onto the ships, moving it has strengthened the authenticity of its location and setting. All the memorials are located next to the dykelands.

The words of John Frederic Herbin summarize the original idea of where to place the different memorials. With the exception of the Statue of Evangeline, all the memorials are located where he envisioned them:

The proposed restoration of the Memorial Park will consist of buildings to be erected by the Acadians upon the site of the St. Charles' Church. A statue of Evangeline on a stone base with bronze tablets will be erected on the space between the stone cross and the old well. Roads, walks, flower beds and structures to mark the various spots, will add to the attractiveness of the place.

Herbin's vision confirms the importance of the connection between the memorials, the location of the historic Grand Pré, and the dykelands as essential to maintaining the authenticity of the place for the Acadians.

### Authenticity in spirit and feeling

The spirit of the Landscape of Grand Pré is best described by its agricultural identity and its symbolic character as the spirit of *Acadie*, and a place of contemplation and identity. Both are omnipresent when one arrives at Grand Pré. The authenticity of the sense of place, including both layers of meaning, is strong and true (see Figures 3-30 and 3-31).



3-30 Acadian students, in Nova Scotia, participated in an art contest, in 2010, to express what Grand Pré meant to them.



3-31 Local students participated in an earlier 2010 art contest to express what Grand Pré meant to them.

The landscape has retained the agricultural character that the Acadians created along with the dykelands in the 17th century. Its character is the result of the landscape's ongoing use for agriculture and of the community's strong attachment to its farming tradition and land. Local people are proud of this agricultural identity, because

they continue to achieve great productivity while meeting the ongoing challenge of protecting the land from the highest tides in the world. The place's character has inspired travellers and artists for centuries, as can be seen in the many descriptions and iconographic representations of the Landscape of Grand Pré (see Figures 3-32 and 3-33).



3-32 Alex Colville's French Cross (1988) depicts the Deportation Cross at Grand Pré.



3-33 Elizabeth LeFort, a well known Canadian hooked-rug artist, completed a hooked rug of the Memorial Church and Statue of Evangeline in 1955. In 1968 it was presented to French President Charles De Gaulle.

Its agricultural spirit is also inseparable from the sense of place experienced by the Acadians, one that idealizes the paradise lost after the Deportation, and an important element of the symbolically reclaimed landscape. John Frederic Herbin, when he envisioned the creation of the memorial park in the early 1900s, clearly saw the connection between the memorials that would soon be erected and the agricultural setting as intrinsic to the sense of place:

[...] From there the great stretch of the Grand Pré lies as a monument of unremitting labour.

Herbin's vision was consistent with the creation of the symbolic landscape anchored in a place of history, one that would commemorate a tragedy and celebrate the return of the Acadians on the land they were forced to leave:

...The Grand Pré memorial field is the outstanding historical landmark most closely associated with the occupation of the Acadians of this country for seventy years. The Grand Pré burying ground, with the church land, have reverted to the descendants of the exiled people.

The location connects the people with their ancestors and their story. From that connection emerges the sense of sacredness that the Acadians experience in the Landscape of Grand Pré. No structures or buildings from the Acadian period remain, and their absence is a powerful reminder of the Deportation's impact on the people, reinforcing their connection to the land that was lost. The sense of place tied to the Acadian settlement and the importance of the people's collective memory are embodied in the expressions of enduring emotional, spiritual, and artistic connection with Grand Pré (see Figure 3-34). This sense of place is evident in the ongoing references to the Landscape of Grand Pré in songs, paintings, novels, plays, and other forms of cultural expression. It is alive as a symbol that is present outside the boundaries of the nominated property (see Figure 3-35).



3-34 Grand Pré has inspired artists both young and old.



3-35 The Deportation Cross, first erected in Grand Pré, has become a symbol of Acadians worldwide. Here it stands in St. Martinville, Louisiana.

The spirit of Grand Pré is alive in the Acadian community. When asked about the significance of Grand Pré, Acadians use such words as homeland, identity, hope, and pride. The following testimonial from Ronald Bourgeois, an Acadian singer-songwriter from Nova Scotia, powerfully illustrates the spirit of Grand Pré for the Acadians:

Il existe pour tous les peuples du monde, un lieu sacré, propre à chacun, dont l'existence dépasse son importance historique et s'insère dans la conscience collective. Pour le peuple acadien, Grand-Pré est un tel lieu.

Grand-Pré est beaucoup plus qu'un endroit qui raconte l'histoire de cet acte dévastateur que fût la déportation

de 1755. C'est dans ce paysage pastoral de grande beauté que vibrent les vestiges du grand rêve du peuple acadien. Ce rêve brûlant dans le cœur de chaque homme, femme, enfant, famille, le rêve de bâtir sur ces terres une vie où tout était possible.

À Grand-Pré, j'entends toujours le rire des enfants perdus dans le temps.

À Grand-Pré, je sens l'amour d'une mère pour ses enfants.

À Grand-Pré je marche dans les pas de mes ancêtres et je sais que c'est ici, sur cette terre, que je suis complet. C'est ici sur cette terre que je sens de façon viscérale qui je suis, d'où je viens et que j'appartiens à quelque chose de beaucoup plus grand. À Grand-Pré, je fais partie du cercle de la grande famille acadienne.

À Grand-Pré je suis chez moi, je ne suis plus seul.

À Grand-Pré, je suis Acadien.

**(Translation:** For all the peoples of the world, there exists a sacred place, unique to each, whose existence surpasses its historical importance and permeates the collective consciousness. For the Acadians, Grand Pré is such a place.

Grand Pré is far more than a place that recounts the story of the devastation that was the Deportation of 1755. It is here, in this pastoral landscape of great beauty, that the vestiges of the great dream resonate in the Acadian people. This dream, burning in the heart of every man, woman, child, family – the dream of building a life on the land where anything was possible.

At Grand Pré, I always hear the laughter of children lost in time.

At Grand Pré, I feel the love of a mother for her children.

At Grand Pré I walk in the footsteps of my ancestors and I know that it is here, on this ground, that I am complete. Here on this ground that I feel viscerally who I am, where I come from, and that

I belong to something much larger. At Grand Pré, I am part of the circle of the great Acadian family.

At Grand Pré I am home, I am no longer alone.

At Grand Pré, I am Acadian.)

Bourgeois speaks of a deep connection with the land, which allows him to have a sense of identity and of belonging to a community. His words express no bitterness, sorrow, or desire for revenge. Instead, they express great pride in having overcome the challenges that history threw at the Acadian people.

The words of another Acadian, a Cajun from Louisiana thousands of kilometres away from Grand Pré, echo these feelings. Singer-songwriter Zachary Richard says:

Au cœur de [l'histoire de Grand-Pré] est l'intolérance et la résistance à l'intolérance. [...] être Acadien est d'avoir le pardon dans son cœur. Grand-Pré s'aligne absolument dans cet esprit de réconciliation.

**(Translation:** At the heart of [Grand Pré's history] is intolerance and the resistance against intolerance. [...] To be Acadian is to carry forgiveness in your heart. Grand Pré is aligned absolutely with this spirit of reconciliation.)

Yet another Cajun expresses his connection to Grand Pré and to his community in terms of the values that both the place and his people's history embody. Warren Perrin, a lawyer and president of the Council for the Development of French in Louisiana, says this:

J'ai un attachement viscéral à cet endroit qui a connu le meilleur et le pire de la nature humaine et qui demeure intacte. [...] [Grand-Pré représente] l'indomptable esprit humain.

**(Translation:** I have a visceral attachment to this place which has known the best and the worst of human nature and remains intact. [...] [Grand Pré represents] the indomitable human spirit.)

The experience expressed here is survival, the desire to overcome adversity. Grand Pré symbolizes the tragic event of the Deportation as well as the renaissance of the Acadian people, commemorating the negative and celebrating the positive. Those two elements are inseparable here. Acadian songs, literature, and works of art about Grand Pré include the song *Grand Pré* by Angèle Arsénault, a singer-songwriter from Prince Edward Island, Canada, from which this excerpt is taken:

Grand Pré, je ne veux pas vous faire pleurer  
Grand Pré, mais je ne peux pas oublier  
Grand Pré, que mes ancêtres étaient Français  
Et tout ce qu'ils voulaient c'est vivre en paix  
Grand Pré, nous n'étions que quelques milliers  
Grand Pré, nous n'avons pas abandonné  
Grand Pré, aujourd'hui nous pouvons rêver  
Trois millions d'Acadiens et d'Acadiennes continuent à  
chanter  
Nous avons survécu  
Nous sommes les invaincus  
Nous nous sommes relevés  
Nous avons triomphé  
Nous connaissons la guerre  
La faim et la misère  
Mais nous n'avons ni frontière  
Ni haine, ni regard en-arrière  
Nous marchons droit devant  
Vers le soleil levant  
Fiers de notre héritage  
Parlant notre langage  
Marchant à notre pas  
Chantant Alléluia  
Enfants de l'Acadie  
Notre histoire nous a grandi  
Notre histoire n'est pas finie.

**(Translation:** Grand Pré, I do not wish to make you weep

Grand Pré, but I cannot forget  
Grand Pré, that my forbears were French  
And all they desired was to live in peace  
Grand Pré, we were but a few thousand  
Grand Pré, we have not forsaken  
Grand Pré, today we can dream  
Three million Acadians continue to sing  
We have survived  
We are unvanquished  
We have arisen once again  
We have triumphed  
We have known war  
Hunger and misery  
But we have neither borders  
Nor hate nor backward glance  
We walk straight ahead  
Toward the rising sun  
Proud of our heritage  
Speaking our language  
Walking at our own pace  
Singing Hallelujah  
Children of *Acadie*  
Our history has made us grow  
Our story has not ended.)

Grand Pré is a place of human experience. Its story begins with the forcible removal of a people, followed by survival, a yearning for returning to one's homeland, and a collective determination in the face of adversity. That human experience is present at Grand Pré and demonstrates its authenticity.

These are but a few of the many testimonials collected over the past year. Many more are provided in Appendix 10G, and on the Nomination Grand Pré website, from Acadian artists, authors (see Figure 3–36) and other members of the community.

## Grand-Pré

### GRAND-PRÉ

Quand l'Acadie est rentrée d'exil, à la fin du 18<sup>e</sup> siècle, elle a mis le cap sur Grand-Pré. Mais Grand-Pré était désert, brûlé et désert, depuis le jour fatal de septembre 1755. Par superstition ou par crainte de Dieu, on n'avait pas osé s'y installer, personne. On avait laissé là, abandonné aux goélands et aux herbes sauvages, ce bourg jadis si animé et prospère de la rive française appelée Baie du Fond.

Comme un cimetière antique...

Comme un berceau à la dérive...

L'Acadie restait là, tel un sphinx de pierre devant les décombres, murmurant pour elle seule des mots qui s'inscrivaient à mesure dans le firmament. Cette Grand' Prée qui n'était point pour ses enfants ne serait point non plus pour les enfants des autres. Personne n'y ferait son nid, jamais... jamais.

Puis levant la tête et le poing au ciel, la vieille Arcadie, paradis perdu surgi de ses cendres, hucha aux générations à venir : Vous y reviendrez en pèlerinage pour y fleurir les tombes de vos aïeux. Je le dis à tous les LeBlanc, les Bourque, les Bourgeois, les Landry, les Cormier, les Giroué, les Belliveau, les Allain, les Maillet... à tous les enfants du pays qui durant dix ans ont remonté les côtes d'Amérique à pieds, en goélettes ou en charrettes à bœufs, ne touchez point à la Grand' Prée, mais gardez-en mémoire au fond des cœurs et des reins.

Et dans la poche de son devant, l'Acadie renaissante enfouit des mots, mots anciens aveindus à cru de la goule de ses pères... et qu'elle ne voulait pas laisser en hairage à des gots étrangers. Elle y enfouit des légendes et des contes merveilleux, horribles ou facétieux; elle y enfouit des croyances et coutumes enfilées à son cou tel un bijou de famille qu'elle passerait à son tour à ses descendants; elle y enfouit l'histoire de son peuple commencée deux siècles plus tôt, puis ballottée aux quatre vents, et laissée moribonde dans le ruisseau... jusqu'au jour où un jongleur la ramasserait, et la ravigoterait, et la rentrerait de force au pays... Et l'Histoire, qui avait cru déchirer la page où s'était inscrit le nom de Grand-Pré, n'y pourrait rien. La petite histoire, butée, orale et sournoise, aurait le dernier mot.

Antonine Maillet

Antonine Maillet

3-36 Antonine Maillet, renowned Acadian author and winner of the 1979 Prix Goncourt, writes in the voice of Acadie, reflecting on the Acadian experience, and the importance of Grand Pré to the Acadian community.

### Authenticity in traditions, techniques and management systems

#### *Community-based management*

The agricultural system in place in Grand Pré has been recorded since the late 18th century through the minutes of the Grand Pré Marsh Body, the oldest and most active marsh body in North America. While the reference to the organization through its elected chair, known then as the Commissioner of Sewers, has changed to refer to the entire body, its structure, roles, responsibilities, and authorities have not changed. This is evident in the minutes of the Marsh Body as well as through the enshrining of the role of the Marsh Body in legislation in Nova Scotia as early as 1760. The provincial government is now responsible for maintaining the dykes, while the landowners have the predominant role in maintaining appropriate internal drainage, roads, and the internal condition of the dykes. The collaborative approach and shared landowner responsibility in maintaining the dykelands continue a tradition that began with the Acadians. This management approach, an essential component of the maintenance of this polder and its agricultural system, has the highest level of authenticity expected.

Farming techniques have evolved over time, and farmers now apply modern technology and materials for farming and dyking. The Grand Pré Marsh Body is recognized as one of the most progressive marsh bodies in Nova Scotia and one that is most aware of the importance of applying the appropriate farming technique. An important evolution, starting in the 1970s, was to apply landforming drainage techniques. This involves shaping the surface of the land to allow better and faster drainage towards ditches that run alongside the fields and into the creeks. The introduction of modern machinery made this technique possible. Landforming has maintained the traditional field pattern and the natural drainage patterns that are distinctive features of this landscape. Using this technique is consistent with the farmers' centuries-old search for drainage improvements that do not alter the physical characteristics of the landscape, thus maintaining a high degree of authenticity.

### 3.d.ii. Integrity

Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the cultural heritage and its attributes. The nominated property fulfills the conditions of integrity as set out in the Operational Guidelines.

It includes all elements necessary to express its outstanding universal value, is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes that convey the property's significance, and does not suffer from adverse effects of development or neglect or both.

*Includes all elements needed to express the outstanding universal value*

As an agricultural landscape characterized by an ingenious polder system in an exceptional coastal environment, the Landscape of Grand Pré exhibits integrity of the polder system, land tenure, land management, dykeland use, and settlement pattern.

The landscape has maintained the integrity of its polder system. The dykelands in the nominated property exhibit the characteristics of a polder system that reflects an adaptation to exceptional environmental conditions. The *aboiteau* is the only technology applied to drain water from the fields. The *aboiteaux* that were abandoned as they became inoperable have, for the most part, been left in place. New *aboiteaux* were built over the years on top of or next to abandoned ones. Occasionally, abandoned *aboiteaux* are uncovered during ditch maintenance work.

The natural creeks are the main outlets to evacuate water collected from small ditches in the fields towards the *aboiteaux*. Earthen dykes are the only form of dyke walls built in Grand Pré. The line of dykes has moved over time in response to the pressures from coastal erosion and tidal forces. The archaeological remains of the earlier dykes remain in place, mostly beyond the boundaries of the nominated property.

The land tenure and land management also display integrity. The entire dykelands included in the nominated property are under individual ownership and communal management. An organization of landowners, the Grand Pré Marsh Body, ensures the

community-based management of those lands and has authority to discuss as a group the matters of common interest such as roads, drainage, and dyke maintenance. The entire dykelands included in the nominated property are used for agricultural purposes with the exception of the single public road and the roads used by farmers to access their fields (see Figure 3-37).



3-37 Grand Pré Road is the only public road that runs through the dykelands of Grand Pré.

The polder system, the land tenure, the land management, and the land use together demonstrate the integrity of the principles that created that agricultural landscape in the 17th century and that have been maintained since then. The settlement pattern, as illustrated by field patterns and spatial organization, reflects those principles and has retained its integrity. The organically shaped field pattern on the dykelands reflects the adaptation to the natural physical environment of the salt marsh transformed into farmland. They follow the natural contours of the topography and depend on the location and flow of the creeks that drain the marsh naturally. The integrity of the relationship between the agricultural community's work space on the dykelands and living space on the uplands has been maintained. There are no dwellings on the dykelands. In addition, the nominated

property contains evidence of the presence of the French seigneurial settlement pattern, the British town plot, the Acadian settlement, and the contemporary settlement. This evidence is primarily demonstrated through field patterns, roads, and archaeological remains that are clearly visible in aerial photographs and the use of LiDAR technology. The presence of these in the Landscape of Grand Pré completes the characterization of the agricultural landscape.

As a symbolic landscape, the nominated property includes the location traditionally known as the heart of the pre-Deportation Acadian settlement of Grand Pré, all the memorials erected since the early 20th century by the Acadians, as well as the dykelands. These are all locations of importance to the Acadians. Their continued use, through events, pilgrimages, and other forms of social connection, demonstrates the integrity of the intangible connection.

#### *Adequate size to ensure complete representation*

The tangible features that convey the outstanding universal value of the Landscape of Grand Pré consist of elements of the polder system (dykes, creeks, *aboiteaux*), archaeological evidence, settlement patterns (field patterns, roads), and memorials. In addition, intangible features include the community-based management of the dykelands. These features complete the characterization of the agricultural landscape and the Acadian use of the memorials. The size of the nominated property ensures that all these tangible and intangible features are completely represented.

The vast majority of the dykeland under the authority of the Grand Pré Marsh Body is included in the nominated property. It encompasses the entire area initially dyked by the Acadians, including the potential remains of the first dykes and *aboiteaux*, and most of the area dyked since then. It clearly and convincingly exhibits the polder system, the agricultural use, and the community-based management approach.

The nominated property captures with integrity the heart of the traditional four settlement periods in Grand Pré. The entire intact area that is presumed to illustrate the French seigneurial pattern, with its distinctive elongated field pattern along the main water

course, is included. This coincides with the heart of the pre-Deporation Acadian settlement and the location of the archaeological remains of that settlement. The entire town plot of Hortonville, dating to the 1760s and later, is included. It is intact and visible on the ground and by using aerial and LiDAR technologies. Today, the modern settlement overlays these previous settlement patterns and has maintained a linear and dispersed pattern on the uplands. The nominated property includes a representative sample of the settlement that has evolved over time as a result of the work carried out on the dykelands. Portions of Grand Pré and Hortonville, the traditional communities, illustrate the connection between the dykeland as the work space and the settlement as the living space.

The historic roads forming the town plot are intact and are all included in the nominated property. They are visible either on the ground or through the use of LiDAR technology. The historic Old Post Road is included as the main road connecting the historic settlement of Grand Pré/Hortonville with the rest of Nova Scotia. It is intact in its length and footprint. Historic access and circulation roads on the marsh are included and are intact.

All the memorials are included within the nominated property.

#### *Absence of adverse effects from development and/or neglect*

The nominated property does not suffer adverse effects from either development or neglect. The dykelands included in the nominated property are protected under the *Agricultural Marshland Conservation Act* of the Province of Nova Scotia (Appendix 3F), and the municipal zoning protects the land for agricultural use. Any proposal that would change their use would require zoning changes and a request for exemption under the *Agricultural Marshland Conservation Act*. In addition, the dykelands are entirely and intensively used for agricultural purposes and are managed communally by the Grand Pré Marsh Body, which ensures that they do not suffer from neglect. Finally, the dykelands are not accessible to the public since they are for the most part private property and actively farmed. Signs and, in certain locations, barriers are used to alert the potential visitor.

The Grand Pré Marsh Body maintains the roads, creeks, and other drainage outlets. Since the dykelands are actively used for agriculture, it is imperative for the farmers to maintain those features adequately and regularly. The Nova Scotia Department of Agriculture, with the assistance of the Grand Pré Marsh Body, maintains the dykes and *aboiteaux*. They monitor those features regularly to ensure their integrity. The Grand Pré Marsh Body comprises all the landowners on the dykelands, and they meet regularly to ensure the active maintenance of the dykelands.

The settlement area located in the nominated property is managed through the zoning rules in the municipal plan, which regulates development and maintains the agricultural use of the fields.

All the memorials are located on lands administered by Parks Canada, which has the mandate and the expertise to protect them from development and physical degradation. In addition, the Acadians continue to use the memorials for their commemorative and celebratory events, which also helps to safeguard them.

