

AN ANALYSIS OF HERITAGE IN TOURIST BROCHURES, HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA, 2019

by

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My thesis is dedicated to everyone in the world, especially healthcare workers, world leaders and anyone who has suffered from COVID-19. We are all going through tough times right now. But we will get through this. Humanity finds a way every time to survive and adapt. Stay strong and healthy!

ABSTRACT**An Analysis of Heritage in Tourist Brochures, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 2019**

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I collected brochures from several sites in Halifax during the summer of 2019, analyzing them for heritage content, especially keeping an eye out for Scottishness and idyllic maritime folk themes. In the early-mid 20th century, the Nova Scotian government took interest in these things, and elevated their importance to help create a unified heritage strategy. I examined Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove as case studies that had elements of Scottishness and idyllic maritime folk themes, respectively. In this thesis, I lay out histories of the two sites and of Nova Scotia's historical heritage development, explaining why Scottishness and idyllic maritime folk themes are still prominent in the province's tourist landscape today.

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CHAPTER 1: Introduction

This paper presents an analysis of heritage as it is portrayed in brochures collected within the City of Halifax, Nova Scotia during the summer of 2019. While many brochures from several sites were collected, two specific tourist sites, Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove were examined. As Ian McKay (1992, 1994, and 2010) argues, themes of Scottish tartanism and the maritime folk image have long been portrayed as central to Nova Scotia's cultural identity. Yet, these themes were not born out of a historically-factual reading of the province's past but, rather, have been promoted by the provincial government since the early to –mid-20th century. These themes were still found to be prevalent in the tourist brochures collected as part of this study. Two sites in particular, Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove, represent the longevity of Nova Scotia's promoted Scottish and maritime folk identity. Heritage may be considerably managed by state interests, as demonstrated by Citadel Hill; however, as seen with Fisherman's Cove, it can also emerge from a more community-based, grassroots sense of place.

Citadel Hill is a former British military fort dating back to 1749, located on the top of the drumlin on the Halifax Peninsula (McKenzie, 2018). The fort ended its military use in 1931, except for a temporary re-occupation during World War II. It was designated as a National Historic Site in 1935, and over the next few decades saw a rise in visitors and restoration efforts. In 1980 it launched its living history program (Cuthbertson and Beveridge, 2001), which has developed since to offer many guided tours and activities, including an Army Museum, World War exhibits, Ghost Tours and the ability to dress up as a soldier of the 78th Highlander

Regiment (Parks Canada, 2020), a Scottish regiment that was stationed at the Citadel from 1869 to 1871 (Cuthbertson and Beveridge, 2001). Role-playing guests and staff dressed up as members of the 78th Highlanders, figure most prominently in Citadel Hill's brochures. Guest role-playing experiences include costume fitting and military exercises, such as marching and firing guns, while park staff role-players will perform other duties, such as firing the noon cannon (Cuthbertson and Beveridge, 2001). Parks Canada opens the Citadel to visitors year round, though the bulk of its activities and services are only offered from May 7 to October 31 (Parks Canada, 2020).

Fisherman's Cove is located south of Dartmouth in Eastern Passage. When Halifax was settled in 1749, the Indigenous Mi'kmaq settled the area during the summer season to fish, and also canoed to trade in Halifax and carry other goods (MacDonald, 1999). Governor General Edward Cornwallis granted land in Eastern Passage to European settlers in 1750, which displaced the Mi'kmaq to McNabs Island. By 1851, forty-two families out of 661 people living in Eastern Passage primarily fished to earn their living. By 1999, only 16-17 fishermen still fished out of Fisherman's Cove, in large part due to the collapse of the Atlantic cod industry in the early 1990s (MacDonald, 1999). A redevelopment plan in the mid-1990s turned Fisherman's Cove, locally known as 'the Crick' or 'the Cove', into a tourist attraction, which restored the waterfront buildings and boardwalk, and created souvenir shops, restaurants and a heritage centre. Maritime crafts, cuisine and stories are a selling point of the site. Many of the shops and services are open year round, though most are subject to seasonal changes in scheduling (Fisherman's Cove, 2020).

This thesis involved collecting nearly 300 brochures from several tourist sites in Halifax, though special focus was given to brochures featuring Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove. In the early 1990s, historian Ian McKay published influential research on the nature of Nova Scotia's Scottish and maritime folk heritages, including how these themes were developed and typical ways in which they are portrayed in provincial promotional materials (McKay, 1992; 1994). In this thesis, I will explain how Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove are linked to tartanism and maritime folk culture, respectively, showing how Nova Scotia's heritage tropes identified by McKay still resonate today. Chapter 2 lays out some background on tourism and McKay's work. Chapter 3 provides details on the study area and methods. Chapter 4 discusses the findings about the nature of heritage in the brochures, in particular for Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove. Chapter 5 provides a wrap-up and some concluding thoughts. The goals of this research were to analyze tourist brochures and to compare them for similar and conflicting heritage narratives, to get an overall sense of the heritage marketing within Halifax and to examine these brochures for themes of Scottishness and maritime folk imagery.

CHAPTER 2: Literature Review

2.1 Research Background

John Urry (1990) describes tourism as a world engulfing phenomenon, acting as a separator between work and leisure. Traveling somewhere for leisure takes people out of their work sphere, and changes their way of seeing things because we see places through the tourist gaze. Tourism routinely partakes in the “spectacle-ization” of place, as those places reconstruct themselves to become marketable to potential visitors. Urry (1990) critiques 1990s society as a “5 minute culture” with demand for television-like experiences, which, he says partially explains why places with contested heritages and complex histories are simplified to have a dominant theme. Since tourism is a largely visual experience, according to Urry, it has to be constructed from a place of deciding what the tourist should see. The tourist gaze is drawn away from real life in a way, as tourists specifically look for the sites promised to them in marketing and that they have heard about from others. According to Urry, tourist gazes are constructed in contrast to non-tourist gazes, and evolve over time in relation to evolving interests of the site (Urry, 1990).

Perkins and Thorns (2001) contends that Urry’s concept of the tourist gaze is Eurocentric because it neglects tourists engaged in physical activities, focusing on sightseeing tourists in Europe rather than all types of tourists. New Zealand has many forms of physical activity and mental stimulation involved in its tourist activities, which cannot adequately fit into

the passive tourist experience Urry suggests, where “the typical tourist experience is... to see named scenes through a frame, such as the hotel window, the car windscreen or the window of the coach” (1990, p. 100). At Citadel Hill and Fisherman’s Cove, the tourist gaze conveyed in promotional materials may inform one’s expectations of the place, but the way in which someone physically and mentally engages with the place will vary depending on a variety of factors, such as mood, level of desire to be there, how much effort they put into interacting with the features of the site, etc. Some guests may want to try everything they possibly can, including getting involved in physical activities, while others may be more passive (Perkins and Thorns, 2001).

A number of tourists or potential tourists can be shown the same brochure of an attraction and each one will view it differently. Part of this is because of what MacCannell (2001) calls the second gaze, which is the part of us that questions what we see at tourist sites. What is being presented to us is not the complete picture of everything that goes on; there was some level of work involved to create any particular tourist attraction, which the visitor is not shown. The second gaze represents a yearning for more. The first gaze proposed by Urry is still valid, according to MacCannell, and which one is at work in the tourist’s mind depends on what they are thinking. The first gaze is shaped by tourism marketing departments into how they want their attraction to be seen. It encourages the notion that “what you see is what you get” (MacCanell, 2001, p. 35). The second gaze involves a yearning for a behind the stage look, or what MacCanell (1976) previously described as authenticity. Authenticity in tourism is considered important to many when it comes to visiting historic sites. Citadel Hill promotes its front regions, which constitute the primary tourist gaze (Urry, 1990). Meanwhile, it hides the

back stage (behind the curtains) elements of the show. The processes going into the creation of the tourist experience, such as meetings that may have taken place years ago, cooking meals in a kitchen for tourists, or even the Citadel's Highlander actors showing up to work and putting their uniforms on in a change room would be considered back stage processes. People are there to see soldiers in Highlander uniforms marching and firing cannons, which makes it fun and easy to interpret as a show portraying some time in the past (MacCannell, 1976).

MacCannell described visitors to highly developed tourist sites, such as Switzerland, as seeking non-routine experiences. They seek out authentic displays of local life. Staged authenticity helps mediate visitor experience, so site managers set the stage of sites that appeal to tourists' desires to see local, 'native' life as it really is (MacCannell, 1976). The more authentic a site appears, the greater the potential it has to gain and increase profits through visitor spending. A study of guests at the Flora Macdonald Scottish Highland Games in North Carolina found that those who perceived the games as most authentic spent the most money (Chhabra et al., 2003). A study from Hahoe village, South Korea also found that guest satisfaction with the authenticity made them more likely to become loyal customers who would revisit in the future (Park et al., 2019).

The creation of an 'authentic' experience is important to sites like Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove, and a standard of performance needs to be maintained to meet guest expectations. Heritage tourism thus also reflects wider economic trends, and an essential part of it is "the quest for an authentic experience" (Park et al., 2019, p. 99). The concept of the gaze is important to my thesis, not just for analyzing Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove for how they

appear in brochures (first gaze), but also for delving into their development to see what it took to create them and maintain them (second gaze).

Heritage tourism can be simply defined as “visitors to heritage areas/sites” (Seale, 1996, p. 486). However, this definition includes not just those visitors who specifically go to a site to experience its history, but all tourists who go there, regardless of their motivation for visiting. Another definition is that heritage tourism applies to sites representing past and present time periods and objects, and attracts those who wish to visit a different time and/or place (Park et al., 2019). The meaning of heritage tourism, and what makes someone a heritage tourist has been extensively discussed, with some researchers saying that simply going to a heritage site does not make one a heritage tourist (Poria et al., 2003). Personal perceptions, motivations and awareness of the site are important in determining if one is a heritage tourist. Heritage tourists have been described as visitors who visit a site because it appeals to their perception of their own heritage, and may be considered the basis of the heritage tourism phenomenon (Poria et al., 2003). Some people visit heritage sites because they are drawn to its heritage attributes, but do not consider it part of their own heritage. They may be drawn to other characteristics about the site, or may not be aware of the heritage features. Since people who visit are not only wishing to visit the past, other services in heritage sites such as shopping, dining, relaxation and entertainment are important to help draw more people to contribute to the site financially (Waite, 2000). Citadel Hill and Fisherman’s Cove go beyond simply acting as museum environments, with shops and entertainment options included as well. The Citadel has interactive experiences, such as ghost tours at night, which is featured in one type of brochure collected during this thesis. Visitors are guided along the ramparts and dark passageways while

listening to creepy stories from the fort's past. This relates to my research because it can help explain why certain heritage stories are promoted at places like Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove. Heritage efforts in the early 20th century in Canada were mostly interested in the distant past, with landscapes such as castles, battlefields and old churches being considered culturally significant enough to be preserved and presented, which made military sites and old communities and architecture highly sought after for preservation (McKenzie, 2018). More recent studies examine the complexities of various stakeholders and the development of how heritage is designed to interpret the past and show it to visitors (Weaver, 2011).

2.2 Storytelling

The role of narrative story telling at tourist sites is not just done by the site's managers, marketers or other employees, but is also built individually in the minds of visitors (Chronis, 2012). Narratives are constructed out of a desire for meaning, and humans have been storytellers for centuries. Stories are an important part of heritage sites because they explain the historical significance of the site of interest. They are also an important part of tourism in general for reminiscing about a trip and sharing the experience with others (Rickly-Boyd, 2015). A coherent, interesting story can succeed on a wide scale as knowledge, shared among the local population of a particular region. Visitors to sites such as heritage museums can connect to the stories, and relate them to their own lives, even when they have little to no prior knowledge of the events depicted in the museum (Chronis, 2012). Chronis says that the prior knowledge carried by museum visitors, what they have heard from others, read in stories and media, watched in movies and TV shows and "their personal experiences provide a narrative

background that will inform their subsequent interpretation of the museum experience.”

(Chronis, 2012, p. 453).

Chronis (2012) outlines a three-stage storytelling process provided for museum visitors. In the first stage, narrative enrichment, they come into contact with the contents of the museum. They selectively pay attention to some museum information and displays over others, which makeup the visitor’s internal narrative. In the second stage, narrative imagining, the visitors expand their understanding, in an attempt to look at the big picture. The visitor can fill in narrative gaps based on prior knowledge and imagination or predict missing narrative links between museum content. The final stage, narrative closure, sees the visitor come to pass judgement on the story they have pieced together. They have a view of how they feel about the story morally, and connect it to their own experiences and known stories from the world (Chronis, 2012). These principles do not just apply to standard museums, but also interpretive sites like Citadel Hill and Fisherman’s Cove, because they also have a story to tell embedded in their built environments and which is alluded to in their promotional materials.

Brochures, such as the ones for Citadel Hill, which promote role-playing and guest interaction, display an effort on the part of the site managers to have a more hands on, experience-based interaction, moving away from the older practice of heritage sites being developed as exhibits and educational sites. Ching-Fu and Fu-Shian (2010) distributed a self-administered questionnaire to visitors to popular heritage sites in Tainan City, Taiwan. The 447 completed surveys showed a strong link between experience quality (the mental, subjective feelings experienced from a place), satisfaction and perceived value. Based on the results, they

argue that “the experience quality can be created and lead to the visitor’s perceived value and satisfaction. This eventually contributes to customer loyalty” (pg. 34). The interactive experiences of Fisherman’s Cove, Citadel Hill and other similar sites need to be maintained, or ‘upcycled’ carefully for quality to keep up guest satisfaction. This includes not only general maintenance and building upkeep, but also checking that employees maintain a quality level of performance (Campbell, 2015).

Nuryanti (1996) argues that heritage is part of a society’s cultural view, and is meant to propagate past values that match with the region. Heritage sites are meant to act as an imagination ground for those interested in heritage, so visitors can interpret themselves as visiting the past while staying in the present. Interpretation moves beyond just tangible objects and facts, it also elicits emotional responses and deeper meanings for the tourist. Heritage sites are also frequently visited by people who live in the region or country because the story it tells connects to them and contributes to their understanding and appreciation of their locale or nation. There is always a context of social and cultural values influencing the character of built heritage sites, and these sites cannot reliably be counted on to always be equal and unbiased when representing contentious moments in history. Heritage stories do not necessarily represent a factual account of a region’s history, and can become a source of contention. In order for heritage tourism to be successful, Nuryanti (1996) says it requires “great care in planning, development, management and marketing, and different approaches may be needed in establishing heritage tourism in developing and developed countries”, particularly in colonial states (pg. 257). The stories told at Citadel Hill and Fisherman’s Cove may reflect history, but the way they tell it is done according to the site managers.

2.3 Heritage Interests

Ashworth and Tunbridge (2007) explored the relationship between heritages, identity and place, the tensions involved in heritage policy decisions (such as tourism vs. local interests) and how heritage simultaneously acts as a source of unification and division in a multicultural society. They use the term 'plural society' to describe societies like Canada that have cultural diversity, but where multiple cultures also "stand alone" in contrast to other local cultures and the power of the state. In part, Canada's multiculturalism rose out of a desire to distance itself from the United States and its melting pot style of cultural assimilation. This was already present by the late 1930s despite being less ethnically diverse than the United States at the time, and there was already an "assumed superiority" over the United States (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2007, p. 181). They describe five examples of plural societies, including the salad bowl model, which they ascribe directly to Halifax. A salad bowl model is a society where heritage policy is developed to create a new multicultural identity, seen in the cases of colonial settlements. In my brochures, I want to see how much the salad bowl model accurately describes Halifax's heritage in its brochures. Some of the brochures with heritage content seemed to stand alone, by having heritage messages not commonly seen in other brochures.

Efforts to preserve built structures are nowhere near as common in China as they are in a typical Canadian context. The general practice in Chinese history has been to tear down old, decaying buildings in favour of new ones. However, the so-called "heritage industry" has grown since the 1980s as Chinese cities work to attract tourists, and a case study can be related to Halifax. Su (2011) found that the reconstruction of Mu Palace in Lijiang Old Town, southwest

China was done in the 1990s because local officials saw it as a symbol of the local, historically marginalized Nakhi ethnic group's resilience. They saw it as helping provide a story hook to attract visitors. This was seen locally with Citadel Hill in the late 1970s – mid 1980s when the Planning Team saw the potential to draw in more visitors using the 78th Highlander Regiment, following in the trend of Nova Scotia's Scottish themed heritage and attractions (McKenzie, 2018). Scottish identity been built up in Nova Scotia, as well as multiculturalism both in the province and across the country. Prior to the 1930s when there was no unified image of Nova Scotia's identity, people would keep to their own ethnic groups, such as Irish, German, English, etc. (McKay, 1992), suggesting a more salad bowl model. Angus L. Macdonald's government remolded the province into a new heritage identity with Scottishness and maritime folk imagery, somewhat similar to South Africa's overhaul of its heritage policies after the end of apartheid (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2007). This suggests there was a move away from the salad bowl model, though Ashworth and Tunbridge point to more recent developments such as Africville memorials to show that the salad bowl model has since come back to Halifax (Ashworth and Tunbridge, 2007).

2.4 What is Nova Scotian heritage?

Ian McKay (1992, 1994) gives a real, local example of invented heritage and tradition in Nova Scotia, its supposed "Scottishness" and maritime folk nature. Invented tradition is a concept proposed by Hobsbawm and Ranger (1983) suggesting that history as we know it is not necessarily reflective of reality. Rather, history has routinely been molded by people for political or financial gain, or to promote or put down cultural groups. Traditions can be

presented to be older or more significant than they actually are (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). As seen with the case of Nova Scotia's past interests in elevating Scottishness, the provincial government has played a part in favouring certain heritage narratives over others. McKay describes tartanism as "the system of signs testifying to the supposed Scottish essence of Nova Scotia" (McKay, 1992, p. 6). Tartans are criss-cross patterned cloth which comes in a variety of colours, usually representing a Scottish clan. The provincial flag, coat of arms and regional tartan are the signs McKay considers to be most important emblems of the province's official Scottishness. The provincial flag, coat of arms and the name were derived based on a brief Scottish connection in the 1600s, from the establishment of small Scottish settlements in Port Royal and Cape Breton. Both of these only lasted very briefly. Port Royal made it longer than the Cape Breton settlements, but still only managed three years because it was taken by the French in 1632 (McKay, 1992). Nova Scotia's Scottishness was also a continuation of the provincial government's officially stated-position that it was historical fact that Nova Scotia had "five founding white races" (McKay, 2010). These races included the French, the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Hanoverians (The German House of Hanover, which ruled the UK from 1714-1901). The state's touristic motivations were in part used to alleviate the province's economic despairs during the Great Depression in the 1930s, and the presence of Mi'kmaq or Indigenous peoples in general was completely ignored in any attempt to appeal to tourists (McKay, 2010).

By the 1950s, it had become a widespread truth to Nova Scotians that this was a province of Scottish origin. But, as McKay (1992) points out, just two decades earlier this was not the case. There had been no widespread publicly held view of Nova Scotia's heritage.

Premier Angus L. Macdonald, who himself was of Scottish descent, was won over by one of his fellow Liberal Party members, who urged the Premier to play up the province's Scottish history, especially for the benefit of the tourist economy. The reality is Nova Scotia was settled by peoples of many origins. This was illustrated by the 1921 census, which revealed that Nova Scotians with English ancestry were the dominant group at 39% of the total population, compared to 28% of Nova Scotians having Scottish backgrounds (Government of Canada, 1921). If any province had a claim to Scottishness at the time, it would be Prince Edward Island because it had the highest percentage of people with Scottish origins (McKay, 1992). In Halifax, and Nova Scotia as a whole, the Scottish tradition with its signs of tartanism, ceremonial bagpiping and other "Scottish" practices, were elevated by Macdonald above all other groups of origin as a way to create a unified idea of Nova Scotia's heritage between the 1930s-1950s. Prior to this, there was no catch-all term for what constituted "Nova Scotianness", let alone anything on the level of the province's contemporary nickname, New Scotland (McKay, 1992). Therefore, widely held beliefs about Nova Scotia's Scottish history are not truths about the nature of the place, but rather were borne out of a wider narrative transmitted through means such as political actions, marketing strategies and word of mouth. Macdonald considered Scots to have chief characteristics giving them a strong moral foundation, including strong religiosity, love of education, and high senses of pride, self-reliance and loyalty. These were used to "stand against socialism" because Scots were considered truly individualistic and would never find it appealing (McKay, 1992, p. 40). Despite his Scottish roots, however, Macdonald had little to no interest in preserving the Gaelic language, and only instituted a couple of tiny measures to strengthen it by the time he died in 1954, which severely hurt the

language's chances of survival because he was in the best position to help it. Instead, he focused more on spreading tartanism through events such as the Antigonish Highland Games (McKay, 1992). After Macdonald, events and sites continued to take advantage of tartanism. In the late 1970s and early 1980s, the Citadel Hill National Historic Site Planning Team chose the 78th Highlander Regiment to represent the Citadel in its living history program, in part because their Scottishness was more marketable at the time. There were other Scottish regiments, as well as English and British North American based regiments that also had been stationed at Citadel Hill, but only the aforementioned Scottish regiment has been used in the interpretive programs since the 1980s (McKenzie, 2018). The images of tartanism are therefore an important thing to look out for in contemporary Nova Scotian tourism marketing, especially with Citadel Hill imagery, because they evidence the lasting impact of the mandating of Scottish heritage in Nova Scotia. McKay's tartanism thesis is significant to this study because it provides an historical account of how this key component of provincial identity was developed to support Nova Scotian tourism, allowing me to examine contemporary brochures for any signs of its continued persistence.

In the early-mid-20th century, Nova Scotia also went through a period where the rural and seaside communities became romanticized as being "folk" people, a counterpoint to the ills brought into cities by things like industrialisation. Folk people are those represented as living a more traditional lifestyle, often living in rural areas, and looked at as creating the arts and beliefs of a wider region. McKay and Bates (2010) talk about several key factors and players that went into creating the commonly known Nova Scotian heritage, turning the province into a 'province of history'. Primarily, this work was done by the state during the inter-war period

between World War I and World War II, often using the work of musicians, writers, artisans and other artists for inspiration. For instance, the *Evangeline* poem by American writer Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, about lovers being separated by the British during the expulsion of the Acadians, was inspiration for creating the view of Acadia as an idyllic, pastoral landscape that was suddenly brutally upended by the British. McKay (1994) takes a hard stance against these practices, as he examines the careers of folklorist Helen Creighton and craft artist Mary Black as launching points for making rural Nova Scotians and their lifestyles fetishized. What he calls cultural producers, people like Creighton and Black often intentionally fabricated their own identities in experiences when using pseudonyms while writing about the common folk experience. McKay exposes Creighton for lying about visiting Sable Island, calls her Victorian Aunt alias deceptive and says she ignored fisherman's work songs and other expressions of unhappiness with their poor financial situations. Creighton romanticized folk life by cherry-picking elements of rural and folk culture that served her own antimodernist agenda, which was making out the folk to be idyllic. Creighton would even cast shade on other artists, like musician Peter Seeger to keep out what she saw as radicalism, because songs about folk struggles were in complete opposition to her work. McKay says some of her work also fetishized Scottish people, which the Angus L. Macdonald government and others eventually used to boost Scottish heritage focus as well as the image of hardy fisher-folk while completely disregarding their struggles (McKay, 1994). He is less harsh towards Black because she would work cooperatively with less fortunate and marginalized groups, and did not try to hijack parts of their culture and shut down other parts that expressed their struggles. In other words McKay felt that Black was much less guilty of cultural appropriation than Creighton because she

attempted to empower people rather than put them down. Putting so-called antimodernist ideals into the image of rural Nova Scotians is problematic according to McKay, and while folk images liked to depict a family outside their home in a fishing village as serene and peaceful, McKay calls it an image of a struggling family under the weight of 'uneven capitalism' (McKay, 1994). This is important when analyzing Fisherman's Cove, in order to see if the struggles of fishers are apparent in the promotional material, and to see if there is evidence of increased economic strength for fishers today in Fisherman's Cove.

Thus, according to McKay, the traditions of Scottishness and the folk life in Nova Scotia were invented by various interests, for political and financial gain, cultural pride and to unify Nova Scotians around notions of a shared past.

2.5 Analyzing Brochures

In this section, I will give examples of a few studies that involved brochure collection and analysis, as they formed the basis for how I went about my method of data collection. In a study from North Carolina, in the southern United States, travel promotion was found to be at odds with the idea of Southern hospitality, because of its exclusion of African Americans in promotional images (Alderman and Modlin, 2013). From almost two thousand photographs in the brochures that had people, these authors found that only 8.2% contained black people, despite the state's population being 22% black. Conversely, white people make up 74% of the state's population, but were represented in over 90% of the pictures. The researchers found this gap especially egregious for areas with higher percentages of black people in the population. Alderman and Modlin (2013) argue that this exclusion of black people promotes a

damaging politics of belonging, such as at heritage plantation sites, which often gloss over or exclude their history with the black community and slavery. To obtain their brochures, the authors collected a single copy of every pamphlet from the state's annually most-visited welcome centre. They categorized their brochures based on imagery, which I will also do when looking for signs of heritage.

In a Newfoundland study of tourist resources, Palmer et al. examined how common brochures marketed ethnic groups in Newfoundland, including both current and former groups who lived there (Palmer et al., 2008). In their research, the authors found that the Great Northern Peninsula's local tourist brochures and their focus on Viking history massively overshadowed other groups such as the Inuit, English, Irish and Basque, who all inhabited the island of Newfoundland for much longer and in greater numbers. They also go on to reference that the Norse people who actually visited Newfoundland were not "Vikings", but were sailors, farmers and traders. Real Vikings raided the mainland European coastline. The authors looked at the text and imagery in each brochure to help them identify sites promoting ethnic groups and their cultures (Palmer et al., 2008). Their argument regarding Vikings is similar to McKay's (1992) research on Nova Scotian Scottishness. It is true that the Norse people settled Newfoundland just as the Scottish settled Nova Scotia, but they were far from the largest group to do so and their presence in history has been exaggerated.

Another example comes from Texas. The Alamo Fort in San Antonio fell to a much larger Mexican force in 1836 during the Texas Revolution, but the Texans eventually won the war. Decades later, after going through military and church ownership, which saw some buildings in

the site destroyed and fall into decay, the state government acquired the fort in 1883, and proceeded to make it a hotspot for tourism that played up its historic significance. A study of brochures from the area in the 1880s – 1930s found that they actively promoted the site's significance as a sign of Texan's resilience and freedom from Mexican oppression, based on phrases and imagery denoting Texas' physical strength and rebellious nature (Campeanu, 2003).

Finally, in a study of the Shield Volcano region of the Gondwana Rainforests of the Australia World Heritage Area, researchers collecting brochures very similar to the way it was conducted in this thesis. They went to several sites in the Shield Volcano region of the Gondwana Rainforests of Australia World Heritage Area to collect brochures. They categorized brochures according to how much natural imagery they used what kind of natural imagery they used, and also based on signs of the sites' World Heritage Status. The researchers found that the brochures were weak at connecting Gondwana to its World Heritage Status, as very few of them actually mentioned it was a World Heritage Site. Thus, they stated that the Gondwana Rainforests were missing out on fully communicating the region's natural heritage value (Wilson et al., 2011).

The main strategies I adopted from these studies were to collect brochures from multiple sites, create categories by which to classify them, categorize them into tables and have criteria in mind to look for related to my research questions. Here, I was looking for how prominent of a role heritage plays in contemporary tourist brochures, and to what extent tartanism and the maritime folk theme could still be found in them. In the next chapter, I

describe the study area, methods of data collection and analysis and limitations of this research.

CHAPTER 3: Methodology

The goals of this research were first to analyze tourist brochures and to compare them for similar and conflicting heritage narratives; second, to get an overall sense of the heritage marketing within Halifax; and, finally, to examine these brochures for themes of Scottishness and maritime folk imagery.

3.1. Study Area and Data Collection

The study area for this research project was in the urban core of the Halifax Regional Municipality, mainly downtown Halifax, during the summer of 2019. I visited two provincial information centres, one on the Halifax Waterfront and another at Halifax's airport (Stanfield International), as well as Halifax's VIA Rail Station, Pier 21 and two hotels for the purpose of collecting tourist brochures for sites in the urban centre of Halifax Regional Municipality (Figure 1). I chose to visit sites mostly within the downtown Halifax area, because this is where a significant volume of tourist activity occurs, especially tourists coming off the cruise ships, and also to keep the areal extent of my research relatively small. I also wanted to analyze what sites are being promoted in the brochures in Halifax, which is not necessarily limited to sites in the urban core itself, such as Peggy's Cove. The Halifax Waterfront is immensely popular with visitors and locals alike. Rehabilitated old industrial waterfront buildings catering to tourism and commerce have boomed (Glaeser, 2011). The number of cruise ship tourists has increased every year since 2015, going from 222,309 annual visitors to 323,709 in 2019 (Cruise Halifax and Port of Halifax, 2020), making cruise ships a significant part of Halifax's tourism. I also collected

brochures from the Halifax Airport because it is not too far away, and it is a significant point of entry for Nova Scotia's tourists.

To obtain data, I collected tourist brochures from two Nova Scotia Provincial Visitor Information Centres: one on the Halifax Waterfront and the other at the Stanfield International Airport. I also collected brochures from other sites in the city of Halifax, including Pier 21, the VIA Rail Station, Hotel Halifax and the Westin Nova Scotian. In the provincial information centres, there were sections for brochures from parts of the province outside Halifax, but I avoided collecting from those, and only collected copies of the ones placed in the Halifax section. Some brochures from outside Halifax were still collected anyway because they had been placed in the Halifax section, and I did not discard them because I still wanted to classify them to get an accurate picture of what brochures are actually included in Halifax-focused brochure collections, though they were not the focus of the later discussion. The other sites all had smaller collections of brochures, so I collected at least one of everything.



Figure 1. Location of the tourist sites from which I collected brochures. Not displayed: Halifax Airport.

3.2 Content Analysis

Flowerdew and Martin's (2005) writing on the philosophy of choosing between qualitative and quantitative methods gave me a solid base of understanding for determining why qualitative methods were the best approach for my research. Tourist brochures have combinations of written texts and visual texts that serve as the base data for content analysis. For many geographers, written texts provide just as strong a sense of place, belonging, and spatial awareness as maps and other visual media. While there is the old English adage that a picture is worth a thousand words, it is just as important to write them down. In the field of heritage tourism, geographers use both textual media to relate their messages, and find meanings that one may help reveal about the other. Brochures contain text and visuals that may express heritage through certain phrases or images (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005).

Content analysis can be carried out qualitatively or quantitatively. Generally, qualitative content analysis is carried out as either relational content analysis, or conceptual content analysis. Conceptual analysis involves the marking of a concept, by checking for relevant text that codifies it, at the discretion of the researcher(s). It is used to find patterns and themes in documents (Rossi et al., 2014). Relational analysis also works by codifying concepts, but goes a step further by relating concepts to each other within the context of the overall content. When I analyzed my brochures, I used relational analysis to look out for terms such as 'history' or 'heritage' as well as imagery that was meant to convey to the reader that this is an expression of local heritage making a connection to history, such as in the case of Citadel Hill inviting people to role play as a soldier stationed there in the 18th century (Rossi et al., 2014).

Qualitative content analysis focuses on the language used to communicate a particular message, and the content and contextualized meaning of a text or group of texts. The accumulative approach of qualitative analysis involves choosing words or groupings of words in a text, but goes beyond that to analyse the latent content, that is, hidden meanings and concepts. Quantitative content analysis is generally carried out by measuring frequencies and producing stats on the coded concepts set by the researchers with the help of statistical software, or by hand, depending on time and the amount of data (Rossi et al., 2014). In my study, I classified the brochures manually using Microsoft Excel spreadsheets. In the North Carolina study discussed earlier, the researchers examined all of their brochures by hand, and circled faces of any person in the photos. The colours they used for their purposes were categorized (coded) based on ethnicity, and qualitatively analyzed for latent content and contextualized messages about racial inequality (Alderman and Modlin, 2013). A study collecting brochures from Australia (Wilson et al., 2011) coded concepts such as the types of natural imagery and phrases to see how effectively Gondwana Rainforest brochures promoted its status as a World Heritage Site.

3.3 Classifying the Brochures

I next created Excel documents for each brochure-dispensing site visited, entering each unique brochure from the site into a spreadsheet containing all the brochures for the location. I categorized each entry by name (such as the event, location, store, museum, etc. being promoted), geographic point of interest, type of activity being advertised (museum, restaurant, bar, concert, play, golf course, etc.), whether there was visible government involvement, the

type of heritage promoted, and the level of heritage. For the level of heritage, each brochure was classified as having overt heritage content, tangential heritage content, or no heritage content. For instance, a brochure with no heritage content would be something like an ad for a beauty store that makes no reference to heritage whatsoever, and does not make any effort to present itself as a culturally relevant piece of local history. A bar or grill that boasts about its support of local products, such as claiming to use 100% Annapolis Valley cider, would also fall into this category. A brochure with tangential heritage content would be one that makes some reference to Nova Scotian tradition and practices, but does not drive it home hard that it is a heritage tradition. An example of this can be found in brochures for J. Farwell Sailing Company's sailing tours. Their tours are not advertised to teach you about history, but the activity of sailing does relate somewhat to Nova Scotia's historically maritime culture. Brochures with overt heritage content would be ones that explicitly state that a site and its activities, products, etc. are part of a historical tradition or event. They should be able to make it abundantly clear to anyone reading it, even someone with absolutely no knowledge about the place, that the site is one of historical significance. A good example of this would be a brochure for Citadel Hill. Some of their brochures invite you to come and roleplay as a Highlander soldier at the Citadel, and partake in daily fort activities such as marching around the courtyard. This is intended to represent a real past practice, making it obvious to anyone who reads this brochure, regardless of whether they are a long time Halifax resident or a first-time visitor, that the 'become a soldier' experience is meant to be seen as an expression of heritage. Those brochures with overt heritage content were the main subjects of interest for my analysis, as they give a contemporary sense of what Nova Scotia presents as heritage to visitors and locals alike.

Nova Scotia's Department of Communities, Culture and Heritage released a heritage strategy guide for the province for 2008-2013, calling for initiatives to coordinate efforts of those sites representing Nova Scotia heritage, to develop sustainable heritage sites with a flow of employees and resources, and to increase public recognition of the province's heritages and their value (Nova Scotia, 2008). It also goes into detail defining heritage and many terms related to it, such as tangible cultural heritage, intangible cultural heritage and natural heritage. Tangible heritage is defined to include buildings, artifacts and records. Intangible cultural heritage has belief systems, oral history, language, folklore and music. Wildlife, air, water and land make up natural heritage (Nova Scotia, 2008). However, it barely gives any specific examples of what counts as Nova Scotian heritage, so to classify heritage within my brochures, I had to judge for myself what was heritage and what was not, as described in the previous paragraph. The only time the strategy guide mentions a specific example is when saying that languages such as Mi'kmaq, Gaelic and Acadian dialects are considered heritage assets and resources. It lists building types that fall under the category of heritage places, such as houses, churches, farm buildings, streets and districts, but does not give any real example. One of the heritage values is defined as "celebrates Nova Scotia's uniqueness and diversity" (Nova Scotia, 2008, pg. 9). It seems that the provincial government does not want to dictate heritage from as much of a top down approach as it did with the push to embrace Scottishness, but nonetheless the government still holds power in allocating resources for heritage initiatives.

I had decided text was the most important thing to look at when discerning overt from tangential heritage. Referring to lengths of time and specific dates (e.g. "step back into 1869") and certain events that connect to the site (the Titanic, World War II, Canada's immigration

port, the Victorian Era, etc.), as well as some relevant imagery were the things that made a site most eligible to be classified as overt. Key themes in the text like those were the main things I looked for. Simply imagery itself with historical connections would not be considered overt, because not everyone knows that certain signs (tartanism) are considered part of Nova Scotian heritage.

3.4 Limitations

A few notes and possible limitations should be laid out before discussing how I went about analyzing the brochures. The way sites are marketed in brochures, flyers, pamphlets and guidebooks at tourist booths is not necessarily the same as the way they are promoted in other visual media. I collected these brochures over the course of summer 2019, so what I collected then would most certainly not be the exact same brochures someone else would collect while trying to duplicate this study, even if they visited the same sites as me on the same days of the year that I did. The brochures are categorized according to my own criteria, which means some brochures will be categorized differently than how someone else would do them, even when using the same categories and classifications as I did. The visitor information sites I chose to visit are located in two major hubs for visitors to Halifax (Airport and Waterfront area), and the other sites I went to were chosen because of their downtown locations, in part because downtown Halifax would have the most visitors, hotels and attractions, so therefore it should have the most sites with brochures. An important thought to keep in mind is that brochures are not necessarily what most people look at before visiting a tourist site, especially in the digital age. They are just one of many ways that places market themselves.

CHAPTER 4: Results and Discussion

I collected 9 brochures from the VIA Rail Station, 11 from Pier 21, 94 from the Airport Visitors Centre, 69 from the Waterfront Visitors Centre, 52 from the Westin Nova Scotian and 38 from Hotel Halifax, for a total of 273 pamphlets (Table 1). See the Appendices for a more detailed breakdown and classifications of the brochures. The visitors centres had brochures and pamphlets for the entire province, and brochures were organized by region. I only took brochures from the Halifax sections. The other places had smaller selections, so I took copies of each one they had on their racks. Using content analysis, I determined to what level the individual brochures appealed to heritage. I also visited the Halifax Marriott Harbourfront Hotel, which interestingly, did not have any brochures. It simply had an interactive kiosk featuring all regions of Nova Scotia, allowing the user to search for restaurants, parks, beaches, bars and other relevant tourist attractions. This could reflect the hotel's desires to reduce paper usage and waste.

What sets apart the overt heritage brochures from the tangential ones is that the former would make a direct connection to history. If a brochure made an explicit reference to a historical event or past, and it was the primary focus of the brochure, I would classify it as overt. The text itself was the most important part of this, because it could explain events and dates in ways that images could not convey. Many of the brochures classified with tangential heritage made some effort to appeal to history, whether through imagery, words or some combination of the two. However, they did not make a strong enough suggestion that they

were historically or culturally significant to be an overt expression of heritage. Common themes in tangential brochure included cuisine, sailing and sports. Brochures with no heritage connection tended not to make any effort to display heritage. Many ads for hotels and various other businesses fell into this category. Despite the fact that many of them appeared to be generic, non-tourist oriented ads, I collected them anyway because I wanted to determine what proportion of all the pamphlets, brochures, magazines and other materials present in brochure areas had relations to heritage.

Table 1. Summary of analyzed brochures.

Brochure locations	Number of brochures with overt heritage	Number of brochures with tangential heritage	Number of brochures with no heritage	Total number of brochures
VIA Rail Station Halifax	2	2	5	9
Pier 21	4	2	5	11
Halifax Airport Visitors Centre	8	18	68	94
Halifax Waterfront Visitors Centre	8	18	43	69
Westin Nova Scotian	4	12	36	52
Hotel Halifax	2	11	25	38
Sum of all locations	28	63	182	273

As Table 1 reveals, roughly 10% ($n = 28$) of all brochures were classified as having overt expressions of heritage. The most common attraction featured in these brochures was the Citadel Hill National Historic Site, appearing in eight of the overt pamphlets. A total of seven brochures were specifically made by the Citadel Hill Historic Site, while the site also appeared in

a Parks Canada Activity Guidebook. Citadel Hill is also referenced in some of the other brochures, with some companies offering tours to the site or showing pictures of it. Perfect Picnic on Citadel Hill - by Halifax Citadel Society encourages people to use Citadel Hill as a picnic site. Other common brochures with overt heritage connections included sites/events such as Pier 21, the Henry House and the Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo. I obtained two brochures of the same type for the Auction House and Fisherman's Cove from two different locations, which I classified as overt. Other overt heritage, material of which I only obtained one copy, included the Army Museum (located in the Halifax Citadel), the Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia, Parks Canada Activity Guide: Mainland Nova Scotia 2019, Canada's Musical Coast - Inverness County 2019 Activity Guide, Acadian Guide 2019, Province House Nova Scotia, Titanic in Nova Scotia and Halifax Public Gardens. A couple of these are for sites located outside Halifax, but as mentioned earlier, were included anyway to accurately portray what is included in Halifax-specific tourist brochure collections. A Pier 21 brochure featured in bold text, "Step into the Past at Canada's Last Standing Immigration Terminal", and encouraged people to come and learn about their family history. Pier 21's brochures appeals to guests through storytelling similar to how Chronis (2012) described museums. Pier 21 is primarily focused on Canadian immigration. The immigrants displayed there may connect to people who have also made the journey of moving to a new country, especially if they immigrated to Canada. Immigrants and descendants that come from the same country as those they see in the museum or with family members in it can feel a shared heritage with the people in the exhibits. Other than Citadel Hill, Scottish imagery was present most notably in the Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo

brochures, especially with tartanism and pictures of bagpipe players dressed in kilts (Appendix B).

It is also worth noting that specifically African Nova Scotian related material was the focal point of only two of the brochures, one from the Black Cultural Centre promoting the African Nova Scotian Heritage Museum in Dartmouth, and another for Africville Seaview Memorial Church. Both were retrieved from the Halifax Airport Visitors Centre. It best exemplifies the salad bowl model, which is the emergence of new heritage identities in post-colonial societies, contributing to multiculturalism. However, the multiculturalism of Halifax's heritage in the brochures I collected was not as pronounced as the salad bowl model of heritage strategy that Ashworth and Tunbridge (2007) ascribe to Halifax. Indigenous peoples were only represented in two pamphlets, and had no brochures marketing for sites of Indigenous related tourism. A Shubenacadie Canal brochure makes a small reference by mentioning that the canal system was used by the Mi'kmaq for thousands of years prior to European settlement. The 2019 Parks Canada Activity Guide for Mainland Nova Scotia makes a few references to Mi'kmaq heritage. It promotes hearing Mi'kmaq storytelling and learning other traditional practices at Kejimikujik National Park. The section on Port-Royal says it has Mi'kmaq tales and Wigwam immersion, and there is an image of a Mi'kmaq drum. Many of the tangential brochures had local connections, such as the Nova Scotia Sport Hall of Fame brochures featuring athletes from the province, most prominently featuring Sidney Crosby, providing a form of sport heritage (Appendix C, D).

Even in brochures that did not make overt connections to heritage, some still displayed Scottish imagery such as tartans. The 100 Things to do in Downtown Halifax brochure included an image of Scottish Highlanders to promote The Royal International Tattoo. The Historic Properties Shopping Experience brochure had images of tartans and briefly mentioned Nova Scotia's Scottish past. The Nova Scotian flag was in a number of brochures, which itself is similar to Scotland's flag. Overall, however, the Scottish connection was not too common in the general collection of brochures, but when it comes to overt material that made its cultural and historical significance obvious, the Scottish connection is apparent. Romanticized images of maritime life were featured in a number of the brochures as well, such as with those advertising sailing trips and ones like The Mercantile Social showing off seafood (Appendix E). The 2019 Parks Canada Activity Guide for Mainland Nova Scotia features simpler folk life, especially with its section on Acadians. The 2019 Acadian Guide does this as well, both offering Acadian cooking classes and stories about Evangeline and the expulsion by the British. East Coast Outfitters offers sea kayaking from Lower Prospect, west of Halifax, as well as offering an historic fishing village with a crafts shop and old fishing stories to listen to. Evergreen House in Dartmouth is tangentially connected to the folk by its mention of having once been the home of folklorist Helen Creighton. Brochures mentioning a folk lifestyle are not too common, though some take advantages of folk-environment images such as boats at sea and old village buildings as well as folk cuisine, mainly lobster and other seafood.

4.1 Specific Examples

After collecting and analyzing the brochures, Citadel Hill and Fisherman's Cove stood out to me. Citadel Hill stood out because it was the most common site making an overt connection to heritage, and because of its Scottish connection, as discussed by McKay (1992). Fisherman's Cove made overt connections to the maritime folklore, discussed by McKay (1994) also, though there were only two brochures for it out of all the sites I visited. Peggy's Cove may be the more popular fishing village out of the two, however most of the brochures relating to Peggy's Cove were advertising trips to multiple places, and none of them focused nearly as much attention on the site's history or heritage as the Fisherman's Cove brochures did. I also selected them in part because one of them, the Citadel, is clearly government run, while the other is not. The development of these sites should then have some differences, and ultimately it will be seen if being government funded or run has an effect on how much the site caters to the Scottish or maritime folk image. I think it is worth examining one government and one non-government run site to see if there are differences in how much they stick to the stereotypes of Scottishness and maritime folk imagery. For example, seeing if the government run site plays into the stereotypes more, or if the non-government one attempts to break away from them more.

4.1.1 Citadel Hill

Although Citadel Hill has existed in some form since 1749, when the settlement of Halifax was founded, it has not always been the same fortification in situ. There were four iterations of the fort built between 1749 and 1906, as it was important for the British military and often required building upgrades (McKenzie, 2018). The settlement of Halifax was founded

with military use in mind. The British military considered Halifax to be a good defensive site because they believed the large harbour could hold up to one thousand ships and because the drumlin on the peninsula offered a great point to observe the harbour and would allow them to send clear signals to ships (McKenzie, 2018). This can be gleaned even from some of the promotional materials collected. The 2019 Parks Canada Activity Guidebook shows an aerial shot of the Citadel above the city skyline, suggesting it was a useful site for looking out into the harbour. Parks Canada's guidebook on National Parks and National Historic Sites in Atlantic Canada says, "Where better to get your Halifax bearings than at the Halifax Citadel, which in its current form has been a core part of this culturally vibrant city since 1828. Halifax's original guardian has many tales to tell, plus affords spectacular views and promises engaging activities" (Parks Canada, 2016, p. 14). In the 2018-19 season, Citadel Hill was by far the most visited National Historic site in Atlantic Canada according to Parks Canada. It attracted 517,723 visitors, more than 300,000 more than the next most visited site on the east coast, which was Green Gables House in Prince Edward Island, which hosted 198,893 visitors (Parks Canada, 2019). It was also more visited than all of the national parks, park reserves and marine conservation areas except for the Prince Edward Island National Park (Parks Canada, 2019). It is a premiere stop for visitors to Halifax, helped by its central location on the Halifax Peninsula and due to being located right next to the downtown core.

The work to make Citadel Hill into a tourist attraction did not start until after the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada (HSMBC) took greater interest in developing the site into a living museum. This followed Parks Canada's restoration efforts on the Citadel in the 1960s and 1970s. It had been established as a National Historic Site in 1935, and there were

some interpretative education programs being run, starting in 1951, but they were irregularly scheduled and not permanent (McKenzie, 2018). The HSMBC was traditionally interested in Imperial British pride, especially as it pertained to wars, forts, soldiers and battles, so it is no surprise that Citadel Hill caught their eye (Taylor, 1990).

The Citadel's focus today on the 78th Highlander Regiment of Foot was a result of a long decision-making process by the site's Planning Team in the late 1970s. Earlier attempts at roleplaying and narrative storytelling were made dating back to 1954, with people wearing the uniforms of the 18th-century English Corps of Commissionaires. They took part in military demonstrations for show, such as firing the noon cannon. The Black Watch (Royal Highland Regiment) of Canada was stationed at Citadel Hill in the mid-1950s and did the 'Changing of the Guard ceremony' as part of their normal duties. The presence of the performers and the soldiers doing military practices was popular and attracted visitors, but they were performed irregularly and the Citadel's Planning Team saw potential to attract more visitors by setting up a permanent interpretation program (McKenzie, 2018). The Citadel's Planning Team set up an Animation Committee, comprised of several military historians to select a regiment that had been stationed at the Citadel between 1860 and 1875. The decision to establish the 78th Highlanders as permanent living subjects at the Citadel was influenced by their popularity. They had more farewell postings for them than for other regiments from the time in local newspapers. They also had bigger goodbye parties than the other regiments, according to historians (Harper and Vance, 1999). The 78th Highlanders were one of 11 Scottish regiments in the early 19th century, altogether making up the bulk of Scotland's premier military forces (Cookson, 2009). Their Scottish roots helped, because the Planning Team saw it as being easier

to market in line with contemporary perceptions of Nova Scotia's Scottish history, and it was thought that their uniforms would capture the public imagination better than the other regiments under consideration (McKenzie, 2018). By this time, Nova Scotia's Scottishness had become well engrained in the public mind thanks to Angus L. Macdonald's work elevating Scottish history in Nova Scotia earlier in the 20th century (McKay, 2010). Though the 78th Highlander Regiment only visited the Citadel between 1869 and 1871, it was common for various regiments to come into Halifax and only have short stays (McKenzie, 2018).

The promotional material for Citadel Hill still prominently features the symbols associated with Scottishness. Tartans, kilts and text calling people to come experience the Victorian era in 1869 make direct reference to the 78th Highlander Regiment. People are shown smiling having a good time while they dress up in Highlander uniforms and fire a 19th-century Enfield rifle (Figure 2, 3, 4). They show the past meeting the present, primarily with an image of two women taking a selfie with an iPhone while wearing costumes inside a room with the aesthetics of 19th century barracks (Figure 2). By 1980, the Citadel switched hiring policies to only allow young white men to pose as the soldiers stationed there (McKenzie, 2018). This sparked outrage in the early 90s and led to a new initiative to make the site more diverse and include African Nova Scotian heritage, such as the Jamaican maroons who helped build the first hilltop fort from 1796-1800. Supporters of hiring only white men said it was about maintaining historical accuracy, while detractors said it was racist to exclude ethnic minorities from jobs because of their skin colour (McKenzie, 2018). Ironically, the brochures of Citadel Hill that I collected almost exclusively featured white people, mostly men. This relates to McKay's findings from early 20th century tourist promotional images and their tendency to use only

white people. This evidenced discriminatory marketing practices by excluding non-white Nova Scotians from tourist marketing (McKay, 2010). In the Citadel Hill brochures that I collected they did not show any non-white people, nor did they refer to any of the site's history with African Nova Scotians or Mi'kmaq. There is also no mention of the Jamaican maroons who helped build the first and third hilltop versions of the fort in the brochures I collected (McKenzie, 2018), so it would appear that the efforts to make the site more diverse and inclusive of other heritages have not come to fruition within the marketing material that I gathered. However, pictures for other sites in the *Parks Canada Activity Guidebook Mainland Nova Scotia 2019* featured more racial diversity, so it is most likely just a coincidence, though an odd one considering that Citadel Hill now has exhibits of African Nova Scotian and Mi'kmaq relations with the fort (McKenzie, 2018).

Citadel Hill is the most common heritage site present in the brochures I collected. Out of all the brochures with overt heritage, it had by far the highest number of brochures across the six sites from which I collected. Its many Scottish images and words evoking it supports the legacy of tartanism, contributing to the notion that it is both common sense and a fact of Nova Scotia's past, despite its adoption being arbitrary at its roots (McKay, 1992). It may be the most powerful force today, especially in the realm of historic sites and tourist attractions that maintains the impression of Nova Scotia being synonymous with 'New Scotland'. The authenticity of a site is often a measuring stick of how successful it is at connecting with tourists. If a site feels genuine, original and symbolic, tourists are more likely to perceive it as authentic heritage (Rickly-Boyd, 2015). People are there to see soldiers in Highlander uniforms marching and firing cannons, which makes it fun and easy to interpret as a show portraying

sometime in the past. Sadly, the desire to be authentic has also lead to its problematic policies, which were unintentionally reflected in the brochures I collected in 2019.

Halifax Citadel
NATIONAL HISTORIC SITE

Welcome to the Victorian era. Come explore the year 1869 and meet a Highlander!

Enjoy the ceremonial **CHANGING OF THE BENTRY**, be witness to the **WOOD GUN** firing, take in the intensity of **DRILL AND RIFLE FIRING DEMONSTRATIONS** and listen to the **SCOPERS AND DRUMMERS** perform traditional regimental tunes. Explore the essentials of the site on a **DAILY GUIDED TOUR** or investigate on your own.

SOLDIER FOR A DAY! Find out what life was really like for the "Redcoats". Once you don the authentic uniform you are ready for your first lesson in foot drill. Next, learn how to handle and fire a rifle (Ages 16+) - becoming a soldier is hard work. Your private in-depth tour of the Citadel and refreshments will be your reward! (Duration: 3 hrs.) May-October. Daily 10am and 2pm. Cost: \$708. Registration required.

WE'RE RESTORING THE CITADEL WALLS!
Please excuse the mess as you may see scaffolding and heavy equipment at your site. Ever wonder how the walls were constructed and maintained? Visit the new **SHAPING OF THE HILL** interactive exhibit that tells the story of the four Citadels. It's your opportunity to explore years of engineering prowess!

HEAD IN THE AIR! Experience the sound, sight and smell of black powder. Step up and fire an authentic Snider-Enfield rifle with the 78th Highlanders 19th century firepower at its best. May-October Daily, 9am-5pm. Ages 16+. Cost: \$22. No registration required. (Weather dependent)

Discover the Halifax Citadel, where the sounds of a modern bustling port city are exchanged for the crack of rifle fire and the eek of bagpipes. The kilted 78th Highlanders and the Royal Artillery help visitors step back to 1869. One of Canada's most visited National Historic Sites, the Halifax Citadel helps bring a piece of Canada's early history to life.

GHOST TOURS Discover the haunting secrets and fascinating history of the Halifax Citadel as you wander by candlelight along the fort's ramparts, dungeons and dimly lit passageways.
July 11-October 28, Thursday, Friday and Saturday nights 8:30pm. Duration: 75 minutes.
Cost: Adults \$14, seniors/students \$16, youth \$8, freely \$2 adults, 2 youth \$25.
Purchase tickets at www.eventbrite.ca

CALLING ALL KIDS!

A SOLDIER'S LIFE Experience life as a soldier in a 19th-century fort. Enlist, get a uniform and settle in for the role-playing adventure. Who said history can't be fun?
July-August. Daily, 1:30pm and 3:00pm (Duration 30 mins)
Ages 6-12. Cost: \$7.30. Register at least 30 minutes prior at the Entry Desk or at the Information Centre.

CITADEL ADVENTURES! Kids will enjoy becoming a spy with the help of a special comic book and spy kit. Find the clues and help foil the enemy's plans - you'll discover some of the darkest corners of the fort in your search.
May-October. Daily. Ages 6-12.
FREE! Pick up your copy of the poster/kit at the Information Centre.

HALIFAX CITADEL
5425 Governor's Drive, Halifax
902-426-6366
halifax.citadel@pc.gc.ca
parks.canada.gc.ca/halifaxcitadel

May 7-June 25: 9am-5pm
July 1-Aug. 31: 9am-6pm
Sept. 1-Oct. 31: 9am-5pm
Nov. 1-May 6: Grounds accessible 9am-5pm; limited visitor services

Halifax Citadel Parks Canada Halifax

Figure 2. Halifax Citadel National Historic Site 2019 Activity Guidebook. Parks Canada (2019).

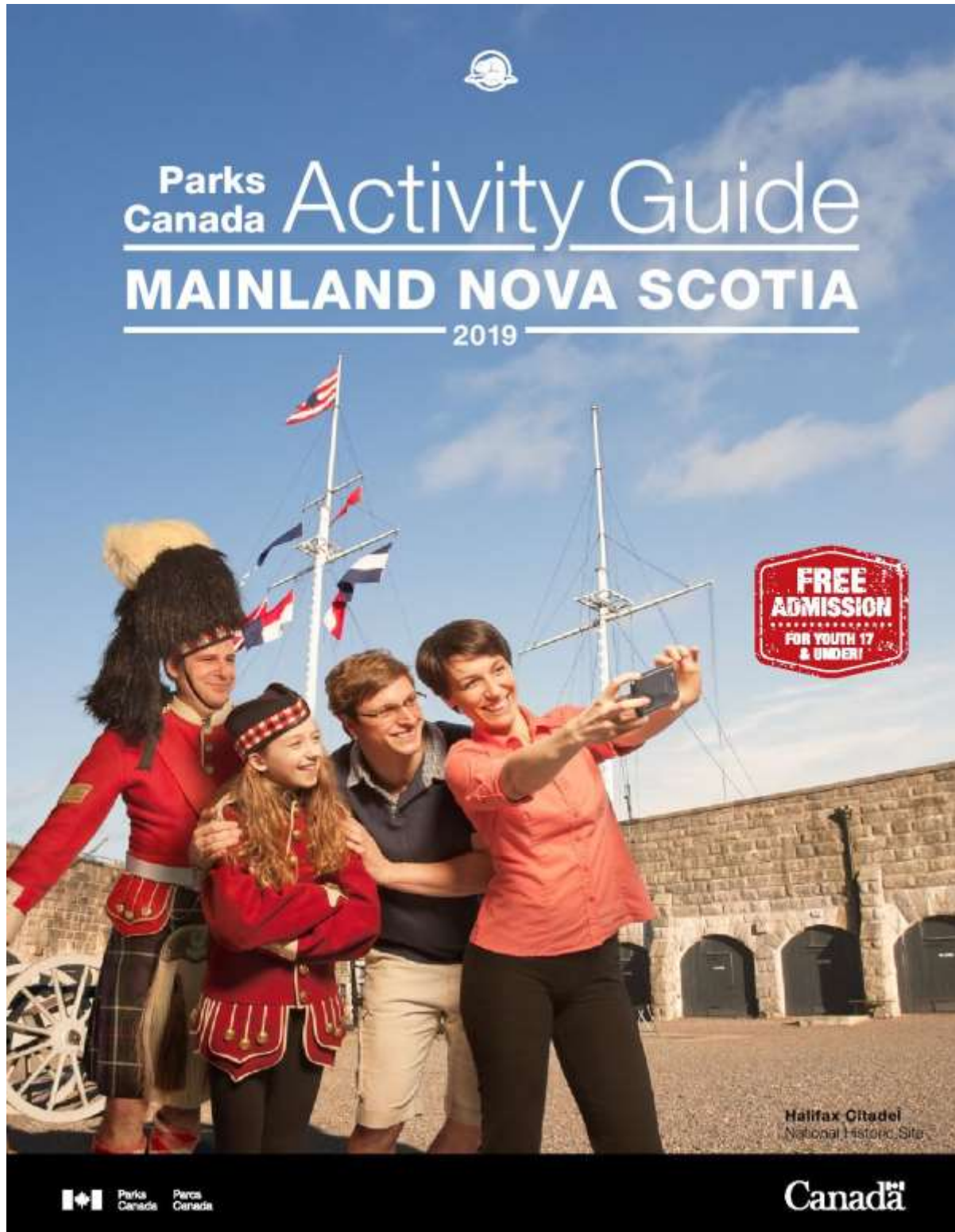


Figure 3. Halifax Citadel on the cover of 2019 Parks Canada Mainland Nova Scotia Activity Guide. Parks Canada (2019).



Figure 4. Halifax Citadel Soldier for a Day Brochure. Halifax Citadel National Historic Site (n.d.).

4.1.2 Fisherman's Cove

Fisherman's Cove is located in Eastern Passage, Nova Scotia. It was often referred to as 'the Crick' or 'the Cove' by locals through its history up to the mid-1990s, when the Fisherman's Cove Waterfront Development occurred (Fisherman's Cove, 2020). From the time of its settlement until the collapse of the Atlantic cod industry in the early 1990s, local fishermen

worked out of the Crick and fished for both ground fish and lobster (MacDonald, 1999). After the industry collapse, the fishing sheds and docks began to deteriorate because fishermen struggled to make an income. This coupled with the suburbanization and industrialization going on in Eastern Passage made it so fishing was no longer the town's main industry. Long-time residents of Eastern Passage described their community as being far removed from the city. They felt it was a tight-knit village with a rural feeling and strong sense of place. The loss of fishing threatened the sense of community pride and history (Brown, 1998).

For some maritime communities, the sea provides an identity and social bond with other members of the community. Sea-based work has been used to develop self-esteem in troubled youth in Bermuda (Andrews, 2012). Seafood markets and sailing expeditions are just a couple of the examples of how many waterfronts promote "maritimity", which is "the special relationship between people and sea" (Andrews, 2012, p. 353). The benefits and perceived joy of spending time in a maritime environment can make it easy to overlook what it is actually like to live there with a subsistence-based lifestyle reliant on fisheries, especially when one only hears positive stories about it (McKay, 1994) and when tourist interests want to make a maritime site seem as appealing as possible.

The Fisherman's Cove Waterfront Development Plan was established in 1995 by Sperry and Partners Ltd, an architectural company, to save the fishing area of Eastern Passage, mainly with tourism in mind, though the community heritage was very important as well. They believed that local demonstrations of fishing practices and direct access to the fishing area and its products would best attract tourists, restore Fisherman's Cove's place as the community's

centrepiece and simultaneously save Eastern Passage's relationship to the sea (MacDonald, 1999).

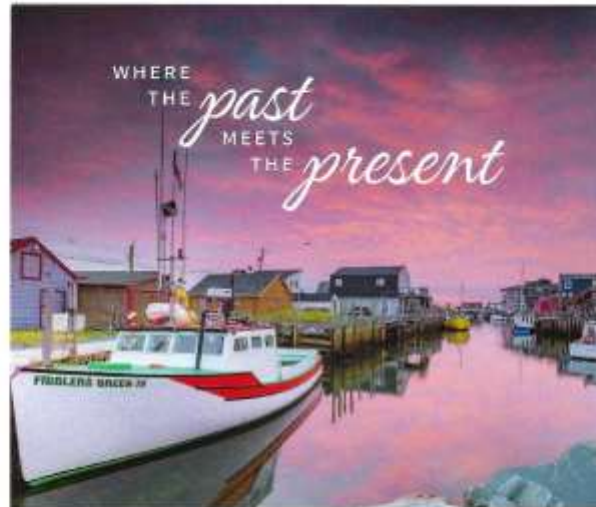
Over 20 years after the redevelopment plan, Fisherman's Cove, or 'the Crick', appears to be alive and well. The brochure refers to it as "a quaint 200 year old fishing village", despite the fact that, according to the 1827 census, none of the 26 families living in Eastern Passage had fishing listed as their profession. The first census that recorded residents fishing for their primary income was in 1851 (MacDonald, 1999). The brochure images show colourful shacks and shops, boardwalks, boats and the ocean. Maritime folk art and fresh maritime seafood with a view of Halifax Harbour are also offered, while promising a look into the past (Figure 5, 6). In Fisherman's Cove, considerable work was done to restore the old buildings into a more colourful state, similar to Lunenburg's houses, while still trying to retain the old structural framework. This was likely beneficial to tourism, much in the same way that desirable aspects of maritime heritage, particularly fishing architecture, contributed to people's wellbeing in the Galicia region in Spain (Durán et al., 2015). The authors found that this was closely followed by fisherman's knowledge and other traditional knowledge. Traditional boats and fishermen's folklore were the least valued. The researchers suggest that fishing architecture is therefore the most important thing for conservation policies to focus on, but that they should still protect the less valued aspects as well, and move towards elevating the value of intangible heritage. It also aligns with the recent trends to rehabilitate old waterfront sites into tourist attractions (Firth, 2011) and, while there are new economic activities going on in Fisherman's Cove, it is set apart from most new waterfront attractions because it has maintained its traditional economic function. Long-time residents of Fisherman's Cove also felt connected to the architecture and

atmosphere, expressing nostalgia for the old fishers' social gathering spots in The Crick. One woman points out the stove in a store, Quigley's, as being a popular spot for fishermen to sit around and share stories (Brown, 1998).

The brochures for Fisherman's Cove certainly romanticize the rural fishing life in Nova Scotia similar to how McKay (1992) described it happening in the early 20th century. In addition to the romantic view of a look into the past, it also creates a sense of relaxation. Its encouragement to watch fishing boats come into Halifax Harbour with their hauls for the day, relaxing in the sand and strolling the boardwalk create the image that it is a serene place to visit. However, I do not think Fisherman's Cove today would necessarily fall under an example of 'uneven capitalism' in the same way McKay had described in regards to older images from the 20th century. Fisherman's Cove may not have still been around today if it were not for the redevelopment plan to make it into a tourist spot, and with tourist dollars now coming, the economy of Eastern Passage and Fisherman's Cove alone has diversified. Another distinct difference is that not everyone who lives in Eastern Passage has to fish anymore, and it is likely that a number of people who have worked in Fisherman's Cove since the mid-late 1990s have not gone fishing at sea once in their lives. Therefore, McKay's view that any particular family living in a fishing village is struggling likely holds less water now. Some, like Eastern Passage, are far less reliant on fishing than a typical Nova Scotian fishing village from several decades ago was, though it certainly does still appeal to the same maritime folk tropes that were seen in 20th century brochures.

The workers in Fisherman's Cove do not have to rely solely on fishing; now they have restaurants, gift shops and other stores. It can be empowering too, considering that the whole local fishing industry was in risk of collapsing. Fisherman's Cove has options for employment now that it never had 25 years ago. Community-based tourism creates new job opportunities (Salazar, 2012). No longer do residents have to work in the fishing industry to work in Fisherman's Cove. There was no forced government or company effort for Fisherman's Cove to be converted into a tourist spot that the community was against. The empowering effect of community-based tourism is often more beneficial when the tourism is wanted, and when it is applied through a grass roots approach (Knight and Cottrell, 2016, Salazar, 2012). Sperry and Partners Ltd avoided a top down, purely private interest approach to the Fisherman's Cove Waterfront Development plan. They implemented a community economic development plan which aimed to improve the lives of residents with sources of income and work opportunities, which included steps such as local self-governance, economic diversification and an education process in which community members both witness and actively participated in the renewal of Fisherman's Cove (MacDonald, 1999). The redevelopment was not exploitative in the same way Helen Creighton exploited folk people, but rather used the same old stereotypes to benefit the community, similar to how Mary Black empowered the people she worked with (McKay, 1994). The recommended marketing strategy set out by the Development plan included talking about and showing the sites' semi-rural atmosphere, its boardwalk, mentioning its proximity to the urban centre of Halifax, its oceanic qualities, the variety of stores and restaurants, the beach, local artisans and watching locals take part in fishing (MacDonald, 1999), which appeal to the folk image and to the community's sense of pride (Brown, 1998).

The story of the rebirth of Fisherman's Cove is equally as interesting as the ways it is described on the brochures, if not more so. However, its redevelopment only has a very brief description on their website's history section (Fisherman's Cove, 2020). It seems like a missed opportunity not to market that aspect of their history more. If told well, it could help attract more visitors who may feel inspiration or relation to the themes of rebirth (Chronis, 2012). Fisherman's Cove serves as an example of heritage that is community-based, and it does not seem like locals are being exploited or taken advantage of, based on their development history. Even though the site was not developed by the government, the state-developed trope of idyllic maritime folk life is prominently featured in the Fisherman's Cove brochure. No mention of the struggles of the past and its near death are made, which could be said to go against the desired easygoing, relaxing nature of the promotional material, and parallels the provincial government's past efforts to ignore the hardships of fisher folk lives and fetishize it.



WHERE
THE *past*
MEETS
THE *present*

Fisherman's Cove is a quaint
200 year old fishing village.

This hidden treasure, minutes from Halifax, offers visitors a peek into the past while providing a variety of modern day activities for the whole family.

Stroll the boardwalk and relax in the sand. Watch fishing boats come home with their catch and sailboats drift by as they enter Halifax Harbour.

**FISHERMAN'S
COVE**

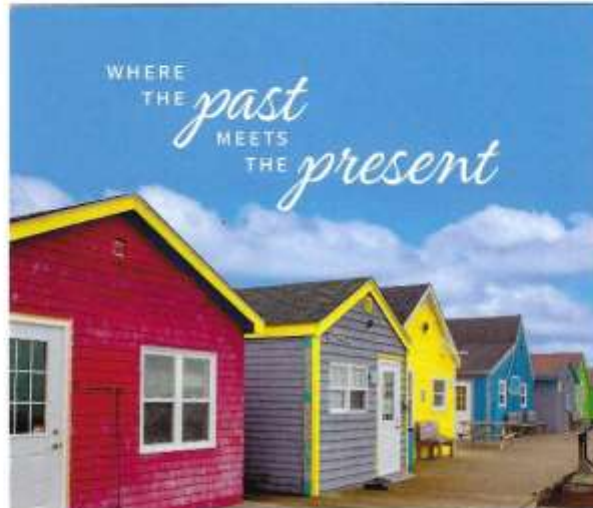
4 Government Wharf Rd
Eastern Passage, NS
B3G 1M7

902-465-6093
info@fishermanscove.ns.ca
www.fishermanscove.ns.ca



Figure 5. Fisherman's Cove Brochure Side A. Fisherman's Cove (n.d.).

6



Our colourful shops are part of the restoration. From souvenirs and artwork to apparel and accessories: you will find everything from Maritime folk art to locally made products like jewellery, home-made baked goods, jams and recipe books.

If you find yourself hungry, thirsty or both. We have plenty of shops and restaurants with everything from soup, sandwiches, sodas, ice cream or maritime meals specializing in fresh seafood with a panoramic view of Halifax Harbour.

**FISHERMAN'S
COVE**

4 Government Wharf Rd
Eastern Passage, NS
B3G 1M7

902-465-6093
info@fishermanscove.ns.ca
www.fishermanscove.ns.ca



Figure 6. Fisherman's Cove Brochure Side B. Fisherman's Cove (n.d.).

4.2 Discussion

Local people can be an important part of the heritage tourism experience, especially when a heritage site is located in a high traffic spot for a community, and may be part of what attracts people to a site. This can be especially applied to Fisherman's Cove, where they encourage visitors to come and watch fishers go about their daily routines. Even Citadel Hill has this feature to some extent. Though it is not one of the most high-traffic areas for locals in Halifax it depends on many locals nonetheless to play the part of soldiers, and even for keeping the facilities clean and restoring the building materials as needed (Nuryanti, 1996). It is important for the Citadel to 'upcycle', which is to constantly reassess their display and performative materials for quality, to make sure they can continue to be used and adapted, as the site's use of objects may degrade them over time (Campbell, 2015). A great deal of work is required to keep the Citadel running, especially with its use of old technology such as the gun powder, Enfield rifles and noon cannon.

Heritage empowerment is a great tool for community empowerment. As seen in Eastern Passage with Fisherman's Cove, when the Atlantic cod industry collapsed, things looked grim. The economic viability of fishing decreased, and so did the number of fishers. The Fisherman's Cove Waterfront Development plan started by Sperry and Partners Ltd had the goal of involving the community from the get go, and thus were successful in re-establishing Fisherman's Cove as an economic centre in Eastern Passage. Identity loss is experienced when there is a loss of cultural identity, even for people in Eastern Passage who were not fishers. Fishing was a source of pride for the community, though not everyone necessarily shared this identity. Tangible

heritage loss can also damage and lead to the loss of intangible heritage, such as the meaning of a place as its use changes, and loss of oral traditions, such as sharing stories with friends about the latest fishing trip. Preventing loss of cultural heritage in situations like Fisherman's Cove was beneficial to the local economy, both for creating jobs and diversifying the types of work available on the Eastern Passage waterfront, opening it up to others who may not have ever worked in the area because they were not fishers (Stephens and Tiwari, 2015). However, Fisherman's Cove could be missing an opportunity to attract more visitors by not promoting its struggles and rebirth in the 1990s, which reflects the legacy of romanticizing maritime folk life and brushing the struggles away. This would allow it to appeal to more types of tourists, such as those who may be more interested in recent history (Poria et al., 2003). As discussed in the literature review, storytelling is a powerful tool to connect people to a site and they can relate the events to their own lives even if they have no personal connection to the place (Chronis, 2012).

From a group of five founding white races in Nova Scotia, including the French, the English, the Scottish, the Irish and the Hanoverians (Germans related to the House of Hanover), the Scottish were elevated in status and historical significance above the rest in the early-mid 20th century (McKay and Bates, 2010). The legacy of this still plays out in contemporary Nova Scotia tourist resources. By far the most prominent ethnicity being promoted is Scottishness. It comes as no surprise that Citadel Hill plays a big part in this, as the most prominent heritage site in both the urban landscape and tourist marketing realm, based on visitation numbers (Parks Canada, 2019) and its prominence in Halifax brochure sites. The provincial government's policies of promoting Scottishness and romanticized maritime folk life have not gone away, and

as seen with the case of Fisherman's Cove, is still reflected in its brochures despite not being government run.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSIONS

The goal of this research was to determine how strong of a presence heritage has in Halifax's tourist brochures, and particularly if the Scottish and maritime folk themes could be found in them today. The Scottishness and folk images are not necessarily frequently popping up, but they certainly have a presence. Scottish themes are especially apparent thanks to Citadel Hill and the Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo brochures, and by other material which will incorporate the Nova Scotian flag, bagpipes or tartans. Folk theme imagery in the brochures was not as prominent as Scottishness, tending to focus more on the typical environment images of the folk, not necessarily focusing on folk people themselves. For example, there were many brochures showing off oceanic imagery, but most of them did not mention fishermen, rural life or other types of 'folk' people or their lifestyles. There were some, especially involving Acadian culture, and the Fisherman's Cove brochure was the most typical folk image of a fishing village. After examining McKay's findings, as well as the concepts of heritage and authenticity, we see how Scottishness and folk themes still play roles in Nova Scotia today. Scottishness may be particularly powerful because of the push by the provincial government to convince Nova Scotians it is part of our collective provincial identity. Citadel Hill's 78th Highland Regiment role-players are rooted in historical accuracy, which helps lend credibility to their daily performances at the Citadel (Campbell, 2015). The invented tradition of Scottishness came about as a way of unifying Nova Scotians and appealing to tourism, in large part thanks to former Premier Angus L. Macdonald's keen interest in the subject (McKay, 1992).

The folk themes came about from folklorists who recorded certain aspects of folk culture and published them, which the government used for inspiration for its marketing materials (McKay, 1994). Overall, overt heritage expressions are not frequent, though subtle or small links are often made through images and phrases.

Heritage sites reflect the chosen tradition that varying interests have decided to preserve and manage over time (Hobsbawm and Ranger, 1983). This is seen in Halifax with the promotion of trying the Highlander soldier experience at the Citadel, or in Eastern Passage with the redevelopment of Fisherman's Cove into a tourist site in a bid to save it from falling apart after the collapse of the local fishing industry. McKay's findings on the prominence of Scottishness and folk life still hold true in Halifax's tourist brochures, especially for Scottishness. The folk aspects are not quite as apparent, which may be because as the urban centre of the province, not as many sites that would be considered folk are located nearby. According to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2007), the state holds the greatest power to shape heritage landscapes. Despite this, Nova Scotia does not have an overarching system governing what counts as heritage and what does not. There are national parks and historic sites that present themselves clearly as sites of history and heritage, but not many other places beyond them make heritage a big focus. Citadel Hill is the most prominently featured heritage landscape in Halifax's tourist brochures, and is the most visited park in Nova Scotia (Parks Canada, 2019), thus it serves as an anchor for the perception of Halifax's history. Fisherman's Cove is a reminder that heritage doesn't have to be state mandated, and it has a potentially fascinating story about its revival that is not being marketed to its full potential.

Possibilities for future studies could include analysis of other types of tourism, such as sports, cultural, religious, environmental and recreational tourism. Researchers could study the nature of those types of tourism, and how prominent they are in specific geographic areas, and how their activities are portrayed. Brochures from other regions of Nova Scotia could also be analyzed to see if the themes of Scottishness and idyllic folk life are as pronounced as in Halifax. This would allow for comparisons of the influence of past tourism policies according to the geographic region and types of tourist attractions in the area. Perhaps the folk imagery would be more pronounced in tourist material outside of the Halifax Regional Municipality. In other regions, similar methods can be used to see how prominent past tourist strategies still are in the current landscape, whether it is heritage tourism or another type.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A. VIA Rail Station Brochures

Legend for all appendices

Visible Government involvement?: N = No, Y = Yes

Level/strength of heritage: N = None, T = Tangential, O = Overt

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of thing it advertises?	Visible government involvement ?	Types of heritage used	Level/strength of heritage
Jfarwell Sailing Co.	Halifax Harbour	Sailing	N	Nova Scotia Boating, oceanic view enjoyment	T
Army Museum Halifax Citadel	Downtown Halifax	Self-guided walking tour of World War 1 related buildings and monuments	Y	War time city scape, soldier memorials, events like how the Citadel held prisoners (mainly German "enemy aliens"	O
2018/2019 Season Look Up into the Heavens	Halifax Auditoriums	Halifax Camerata Singers Singing Events	N	None	N
Customs House Artisans Incubator	Port Hawkesbury	Crafts Shop	N	None	N
100 Things to do in Downtown Halifax	Downtown Halifax	Many events, attractions and businesses	N	Nothing really, other than some events like the Tattoo and an image of the Scottish Highlanders in it	T
Henry House	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Restaurant/pub	Y	Historical figure William Alexander Henry lived in it in mid-1800s. House is a registered National Historic Site.	O

HFX Bucket List Pass	Halifax	A plan to save money on visiting local sites	N	View of waterfront on a busy summer day. Names many popular tourist sites.	N
Café Chianti	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Italian Restaurant	N	Focuses on Italian cuisine heritage, nothing Maritime, Nova Scotian or local in anyway	N
Tunes at Noon in Grand Parade	Downtown Halifax	Live music schedule for July and August 2019	N	Some of the band names may be of local/Maritimes based ones	N

Appendix B. Pier 21 Brochures

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of thing it advertises?	Visible government involvement?	Types of heritage used	Strength of heritage used
Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo Festival Presented by Halifax Heating	Downtown HFX - Scotiabank Centre	Event to watch	N	Music, National Holiday, long running annual event, some tartanism, bagpipers imagery	O
Royal Nova Scotia International Tattoo Festival Power of Peace	Downtown HFX	Event to watch	N	Music, National Holiday, long running annual event, tartanism imagery	O
I <3 bikes	HFX Waterfront	Rental/transportation service	N	N/A	N
Shakespeare by the Sea 2019	Point Pleasant Park	Event to watch	Y		N
Nova Scotia Sport Hall of Fame	Downtown HFX - Scotiabank Centre	Museum - Sport, and activity centre	N	Sport, local celebrity	T
70th Maritime Fiddle Festival	East Dartmouth	Event to watch/participate in	Y	Music, long running annual event	T
The Coast Off Campus Halifax Map	Downtown Dartmouth,	(To-do guide?), Ad map - food, shopping, drinking	Y	Food	N

	DT HFX, North End HFX				
HFX Bucket List Pass	Halifax	To-do guide	N		N
Pier 21 - Step into the past	HFX Waterfront, South End, (Downtown?)	Museum - History	Y	Canadian History	O
Pier 21 Gift Shop	^	Museum - History	Y	Canadian History	O
Customs House Artisan Incubator	Port Hawkesbury	Museum - Art	N	Art, Local History	N

Appendix C. Halifax Airport

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of thing it advertises?	Visible government involvement?	Types of heritage used	Level of heritage
x32 hotels, motels and Bed and Breakfasts	Across the HRM, quite a few near airport	Hotel/B&B	N	None	N
Shubie Campground	Shubie Park (Dartmouth)	Park Campground	Y	None	N
x5 craft/jewellery stores ads	Halifax	Crafts and Jewellery	N	None	N
Many Marvelous Magazines	Halifax (Corner of Queen & Morris)	Newspaper and art cards store	N	A bunch of its art cards are Canadian and local. Prints global newspapers	N
Gourmandises Avenue Chocolaterie	Halifax Seaport Market (the store location)	Chocolate Store	N	None	N
Woozles	Halifax	Kids themed	N	None	N

		toy/activity store			
Wheaton's	Berwick, Sackville, Dartmouth, Moncton, Fredericton, Halifax	Maritime themed chain of stores	N	"A proud Maritime family business since 1990", has some imagery of rugs, seagull imagery, maple syrup and carrot cake jam	T
Room 152 Clothing Boutique	Dartmouth (Portland Street)	Clothing store	N	None	N
DC - "Discover the best deals here!"	Dartmouth Crossing	Various stores in DC	N	N. Promotes Village Shops on one part of the brochure. Nice map of Dartmouth Crossing highlighting many stores.	N
Uniacke Estate Museum Park	Mount Uniacke	Trails park	N	Talks about how Attorney General Richard John Uniacke lived in the estate in 1820. "It's your heritage..." header on one page, encouraging environmentally friendly and lawful practices, such as no hunting, fishing, feeding animals or damaging anything.	T
Rockbottom	Halifax (Spring Garden Road)	Restaurant and Brewery	N	None	N
Bramoso	Halifax (Quinpool Road)	Pizzeria and Beer Bar	N	None	N
Downtown Dartmouth Walking Tour: Beer & Cider	Downtown Dartmouth	Bars, pubs and patios	N	None	N
Welcome to Dartmouth - by Destination Dartmouth	Dartmouth	General things in Dartmouth	N	City of Lakes, eco-tourism, mentions 1750 founding	T
Café Chianti	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Italian Restaurant	N	Focuses on Italian cuisine heritage, nothing Maritime, Nova Scotian or local in anyway	N
Battery Park and North Brewing Company	Downtown Dartmouth (Ochterloney Street)	Beer store, and eatery/pub	N	One business on one side, the other on the other side.	N
Henry House	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Restaurant/pub	Y	Historical figure William Alexander Henry lived in it in mid-1800s. House is a registered National Historic Site.	O
Alexander Keith's Brewery	Downtown Halifax	Brewery tours	N	Beer stuff. Antlers for Moose, shown in photo of people clanging glasses.	T

Lower Deck	Halifax (Upper Water Street)	Tap room, beer market and pub	N	None	N
Chefabod Café & Catering	Halifax (Kempt Road)	Middle Eastern/Canadian restaurant	N	None	N
RCR Hospitality Group	Downtown Halifax	Restaurants and bars, a collection of 6	N	Evokes the waterfront, seafood, drinking culture, one image of Union Jack makes connection to Britain	T
Celtic Corner and Seventy 3	Downtown Dartmouth (Alderney Drive)	Open bar patios	N	Calls them "Two of the best patios side by side in Dartmouth"	N
Tall Ship & Yacht Sailing Experiences – Ambassatours	Halifax Harbour	Sailing and drinking!	N	Seeing local landmarks, partaking in sailing in some of the sailing tours like Tall Ship Silva.	T
The Auction House	Halifax (Argyle Street)	Drinking, eating and auctions	N	Mentions history: built in 1765 directly across from St. Paul's Anglican (1750, oldest building in Halifax). Auctions since 1840, and brought back by new owners.	O
Atlantic Canada Aviation Museum	Opposite side of highway from Stanfield Int'l Airport	Aviation museum	Y	Houses replica of first aircraft to fly in Canada, the Silver Dart, the oldest home-built aircraft in NS and various war time planes.	T
Compass Distillery	Halifax (Agricola Street)	Distillery tour and tastings	N	None	N
The Music Room Chamber Players Series 2019-20	Peggy Corkum Music Room, Halifax	Season 8 of Scotia Festival of Music	Y	None	N
Mabata Glocal Eatery	Bedford	Restaurant and Bar	N	None	N
Hatfield Farm	Hammonds Plains	Farm activities, horse rides	N	None	N
Hop! Skip! Jump!	Halifax	Indoor playground	N	None	N
Segway NS	Dartmouth, Halifax	Segway tours	N	Imagery of the harbour, Halifax skyline, Dartmouth waterfront	N
Discovery	Halifax Waterfront	Centre for Sciences	N	None	N

Centre					
Captured Escape Rooms	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Puzzle/maze rooms, challenges	N	None	N
Bowlarama	Dartmouth, Halifax and Spryfield	Bowling	N	None	N
Halifax Citadel - Family Fort Fun!/Ready, Aim, Fire!	Citadel Hill	Military fort national historic site	Y	Encourages kids to enlist in authentic uniforms, and says you can "Step up and fire an authentic Snider-Enfield rifle with the 78th Highlanders! 19th century firepower at its best!"	O
Municipal Archives	Dartmouth	City archives	Y	Old photos, some of landmarks like Town Clock and old map of Dartmouth. Encourages finding genealogical/family records, historic maps and plans and city meeting minutes.	T
Shubenacadie Canal Waterway - Yours to Explore	Shubenacadie Canal	Canal and parks, paddle, swimming, nature watching, sightseeing	N	Old photos. Mentions old European settlements/landmarks, and how this was used by the Mi'kmaq for thousands of years prior	T
Uniacke Estate Museum Park (smaller version)	Mount Uniacke	Trails park	N	Talks about how Attorney General Richard John Uniacke built estate in 1815 overlooking Lake Martha, on one of only two "great roads" in NS. Large family lived there for 7 generations. Encourages going along a portion of Old Post Road from Halifax to Windsor.	T
The Cathedral Church of All Saints	Halifax (Cathedral Lane)	Church	N	None	N
Pier 21	Halifax Waterfront	Canadian Museum of Immigration	Y	Tracing family routes, immigration history. "See how Canada is shaped by the world". "Step into the past at Canada's last standing immigration terminal".	O
Nova Scotia Sport Hall of Fame	Scotiabank Centre	Provincial Sports Hall of Fame	N	Images of great NS athletes. Hockey most prominent sport, including Crosby as the most prominent athlete	T
Nova Scotian Crystal	Halifax Waterfront	Watching glassmaking, bar	N	Claims to be the only place in the country where you can see mouth-blown, hand-cut crystal	N
Halifax Ghost Walk and Walking Tour	Halifax	Guided tours	N	Hear stories of the city, including little known facts (fictional and for fun mostly), see landmarks like the Citadel	T
Photobook	Halifax	Photographic guided	N	Opportunity for historic photos of landmarks	N

Walking Tours		tour			
World Peace Pavilion	Dartmouth Waterfront	Cool structure	Y	Has rocks and artifacts contributed by 80 countries for its erection in 1995	N
Family Bonds & Belonging - Pier 21	Pier 21 (Halifax Waterfront)	Photo gallery	Y	New exhibit displaying family photos/artifacts. Can add your own family photo to portrait wall.	T
Hali Drive		App store game about Halifax	N	Seems cool	N
Halifax Map	HRM, various spots	Compilation of food, drink, stores	N	Lots of evocative Maritime imagery, such as boats, Peggy's Cove, seafood, and donairs	T
The Africville Project	Africville, Halifax	Africville Seaview Church Memorial	N	Old images from Africville, story of forced removal of its primarily black residents	T
Black Cultural Centre for Nova Scotia	Dartmouth (Cherry Brook Road)	African Nova Scotian Heritage Museum	Y	Brief summary of black habitation in NS. Old black and white images of black people, and contemporary one of a black family	O
Culinary Experiences - Ambassatours	Halifax Waterfront	Sailing and drinking!	N	Seeing local landmarks, partaking in sailing in some of the sailing tours like Tall Ship Silva. Basically same as the earlier one, but more emphasis on food images	T
HFX Bucket List Pass	Halifax	A plan to save money on visiting local sites	N	View of waterfront on a busy summer day. Names many popular tourist sites.	N
Harbour Hopper Tours	Halifax Downtown, Waterfront and Harbour itself	Bus/water tours	N	Claims to teach about Halifax's naval fleet, Halifax Explosion, the city's role during war and peace, and seeing/learning about sites in the city. Tours also available in Mandarin, French, Spanish, German, Italian and Japanese (new feature for 2019).	T
Family Fun Experiences - Ambassatours	Downtown Halifax, Waterfront and Harbour	Tours, sailing and food	N	Guided tours on bus and water, partaking in sailing. More emphasis on tours than earlier ones. Addition of Harbour Hopper/Theodore Tugboat Tours!	T
Halifax Citadel - Get close to history!	Citadel Hill	Military fort national historic site	Y	Calls it one of the world's greatest 19th century British forts. Calls noon gun a Halifax tradition since 1856. Firing Authentic Enfield Rifle. Tartanism soldier, flags!	O
Halifax Citadel - Soldier for a Day and Ghost Tours	Citadel Hill	Roleplay as a soldier and ghost tour in the Citadel	Y	Military - invites you to become a Highlander/Red Coat, and enjoy spooky stories while touring the old fort	O
Fisherman's Cove	Eastern Passage	Fishing village destination	N	Described as over 200 years old and quaint. Seaside and boating imagery. Very Maritime	O
Pleasureville	Halifax Neptune	Neptune Theatre Show	N	None	N

	Theatre				
Symphony Nova Scotia	Halifax venues, mostly Dalhousie Arts Centre	Musical shows	Y	Some Maritime stories like Anne of Green Gables	N

Appendix D. Halifax Waterfront Visitors Information Centre

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of activity it advertises?	Visible government involvement?	Types of heritage used	Level of heritage
Halifax Map	Halifax, Bedford and Dartmouth, but main focus on the peninsula	Restaurants, bars, museums, souvenir and clothing stores	Y	Sea food, donairs. Images of ocean villages and lighthouses	T
The Captain's Boil	Spring Garden Road, Halifax	Seafood restaurant	N	Anchor logo similar to East Coast Lifestyle, represents the sea, not O	T
Cabin Coffee	Downtown Halifax	Coffee shop	N	N (mentions locally roasted coffees, but hardly unique to HFX)	N
Amos Pewter	Mahone Bay, Halifax, Peggy's Cove and Charlottetown	Artisan craft shop	N	None	N
The Auction House	Halifax (Argyle Street)	Restaurant, bar and auction house	N	Details history, including being built in 1765 across from St. Paul's Anglican Church ("the oldest building in Halifax"), and how it continues auction tradition	O
Sawadee	Halifax (Granville Street)	Asian tea, décor, treats, jewellery, dishes, assorted crafts store	N	None	N
Leathersmith Designs	Dartmouth (Woodlawn Road)	Leather-making store, produce many types of leather products	N	None	N
Straight Adventures Comics & Curiosities	Dartmouth, Downtown Halifax by Waterfront and Fredericton	Comic book stores	N	None	N
Atlantic News (Many	Halifax, "corner of Queen and Morris"	Sells local and Canadian art cards	N	N, the closest thing it has to showing heritage is the word Atlantic in its name	N

Marvelous Magazines)		and international newspapers			
The Cathedral Church of All Saints	Halifax (Cathedral Lane)	Anglican Church of Canada	N	None	N
Atlantic Canada's Aviation Museum	Halifax Stanfield International Airport	Aviation Museum	Y	Boasts having the Silver Dart, the oldest home-built aircraft in Nova Scotia	T
Municipal Archives	Dartmouth (Ilsley Avenue)	Municipal Archives	Y	Old looking photos of local sites from Halifax, Bedford and Dartmouth, such as the Old Town Clock from Citadel Hill looking over the water	T
Titanic in Nova Scotia	City of Halifax and Dartmouth	Titanic graves, memorial sites and exhibits shown on a map	Y	Explains how Halifax became the final resting site for many Titanic victims, and tells about some Haligonians connections (some who died on board)	T
Halifax Citadel National Historic Site - "Family fort fun!"	Citadel Hill	"A Soldier's Life" - roleplaying as 19th C. fort soldier, and firing an authentic Snider-Enfield rifle with the 78th Highlanders	Y	Presents its self as having authentic experiences within the Citadel, showing how it was like for the 19th century soldiers stationed here, image of Highlander soldier in uniform, and a kid visitor wearing one	O
Halifax Citadel National Historic Site - "Get close to history!"	Citadel Hill	General Citadel Hill activities - noon gun, roleplaying as soldier, guided tours, firing Snider-Enfield rifle, war/army displays	Y	Pretty much the same as above, also has pictures of soldiers and guests in 78th Highlander uniforms, tartan flags in background, overview aerial image of the Citadel, says to "Get close to history!"	O
Day Tripper Tours	South Shore, Halifax, Annapolis Valley, Peggy's Cove, CB, PEI	Guided tours providing accommodation, half day or full day, and custom destinations with multi-day trips to CB or PEI	N	Typical heritage images like boats, sea village, Peggy's Cove lighthouse, Citadel Hill and the Old Town Clock	T

Aberdeen Charters and Tours	Halifax, South Shore, Annapolis Valley, Bay of Fundy	Tours to various parts of Nova Scotia, to be selected/customized by the customers	N	Other than naming places, really nothing, the only images are of the vans used for transport	N
Parks Canada Activity Guide: Mainland Nova Scotia 2019	Mainland Nova Scotia, but only including Halifax and west of it	Details various parks, including Citadel Hill, Kejimkujik, Port Royal, Grand Pre and Fort Anne	Y	Many images, such as Highlanders at Citadel Hill with cannon/tartans, Fort Anne offers immersive experiences living like a soldier, Mi'kmaq practices at Keji. Port-Royal mentions Mi'kmaq tales/Wigwam immersion, that you can "hear stories from Samuel de Champlain" about his time in Acadia. Grand Pre has an Evangeline Pop Art workshop, and Acadian cooking class for Fring Frang. Acadian flags. Mi'kmaq drum	O
Nova Scotia Provincial Parks Guide 2019-2020	Provincial Parks in NS	Guidebook detailing provincial parks	Y	Many images of beaches, seaside images like Shelburne, some small references to historical sites	N
Dine 2019 - Restaurant Association of NS guide to fine food+drink	All of Nova Scotia	Showcases select restaurants and bars	N	Some imagery of lobsters, lighthouses and other Marine features, but really no reference to heritage otherwise - any brochure could include landscape images, doesn't mean it has anything to do w/ heritage	N
Canada's Musical Coast - Inverness County 2019 Activity Guide	Inverness County in Cape Breton	Food, museums, drinks, music, beaches, ocean tours and other landscape sites.	Y	Lobsters, fiddle, talks about Gaelic and Acadian language, music, arts and other activities. Explains that music was the thing that kept people together through harsh winters. French words/Acadian imagery.	O
Decouvrir L'Acadie de la Nouvelle-Ecosse - Acadian Guide 2019	Cheticamp, Sydney, Isle Madame, Halifax, Truro, Chezzetcook, Rive-Sud, Par-En-Bas, Baie-Sainte-Marie, Annapolis Valley, Pmquet	Acadian heritage sites and culture	Y	Lots of Acadian imagery (flags, clothes, buildings), history such as the expulsion, Evangeline statue in Grand Pre, Port Royal habitation, encourages joining Samuel de Champlain's "Order of Good Cheer". Primarily presented in French.	O
Halifax Food + Drink - by The Coast	Dartmouth, Sackville, Bedford, Halifax	Collection of restaurants and bars	N	Some sea-side, lobster imagery	N

Pier 21 - "Step into the Past at Canada's Last Standing Immigration Terminal"	Pier 21, on the Halifax Waterfront	Museum	Y	Talks about Canada's ongoing immigration story, hands on learning and exhibits, and allows you to "trace your roots at the Scotiabank Family History Centre"	O
North West Arm Boat Tours	North West Arm	Boat tours	N	Map imagery of local landmarks such as Point Pleasant Park and Dingle Tower	N
The Halifax Ghost Walk 30th Season 2019	Downtown Halifax	Ghost tour, telling ghost stories	N	N other than saying it's "North America's Oldest Ghost Walk"	N
Evergreen House - ad by Dartmouth Heritage Museum	Dartmouth (Newcastle Street)	House museum	Y	Claims to have been frequented by Joseph Howe and home to NS folklorist Dr. Helen Creighton. Over 14 000 historic photographs, countless artifacts, and also shows Quaker House on Ochterloney on its map	T
Welcome to Dartmouth - ad by Destination Dartmouth	Dartmouth	Wants you to visit exploredartmouth.ca for more details, but briefly mentions the lakes, eco-tourism, Shubenacadie canal	N	Mentions it's the City of Lakes (having 23), founded in 1750, city flag/seal, mentions Shubie Canal, eco-tourism, "unique cultural museums" and that it's close to Eastern Shore beaches	T
Perfect Picnic on Citadel Hill - by Halifax Citadel Society	Citadel Hill	It's a postcard, but contains info about Citadel Hill parking, entrance, bathrooms and facilities	Y	Picture of people eating on the hill with a view of the Old Town Clock (not shown in the photo, but mentioned), just encouraging people to use the hill as a picnic site	T
Halifax Citadel - Soldier for a Day and Ghost Tours	Citadel Hill	Roleplay as a soldier and ghost tour in the Citadel	Y	Military - invites you to become a Highlander/Red Coat, and enjoy spooky stories while touring the old fort, images of men in redcoat/Highlander uniform (one meant to be a soldier on site, the other a guest)	O
Residence Inn Marriot	Downtown Halifax (Grafton)	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad with no connection to heritage	N
Hampton Inn and	Downtown Halifax (both on Brunswick St,	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N

Homewood Suites by Hilton	same address)				
Future Inns	Moncton	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Still Waters B&B	Dartmouth (Waverley Road)	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Quality Inn	Halifax Airport	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Snowflake Manor	Oakfield NS	Bed and breakfast	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Alt Hotels	Halifax Airport	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Best Western Plus Chocolate Lake Hotel	Halifax near Chocolate Lake	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
The Hollis	Halifax (Hollis Street)	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Lord Nelson Hotel & Suites	Halifax (South Park Street)	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Boating Atlantic Guide 2019	Atlantic Canada	Sailing locations, clubs, regattas and other events	N	Some loose connection to history, such as how the biennial Boston to Halifax (Marblehead to Halifax Ocean Race) is said to longest running offshore ocean race in the world at 112 years. Boat/ocean imagery	T
Nova Scotia Sport Hall of Fame - HFX Sport Heritage Walking Tour	Metro Centre. Halifax Peninsula	Sports history self-guided tour, gives a map with suggested walking routes and stops in a couple of different "loops"	N	Explaining sport use in many sites, such as rowing in the Northwest Arm, Halifax Commons use as field sites	T
Coastal Waters Bed and Breakfast	Three Fathom Harbour NS	Bed and breakfast	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Killarney Bed and Breakfast	Bedford	Bed and breakfast	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
SeaWatch Bed & Breakfast	Halifax (Ferguson's Cove Road)	Bed and breakfast	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Delta Hotels Marriot	Dartmouth Crossing	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N

Dartmouth					
Hampton Inn and Homewood Suites by Hilton	Dartmouth Crossing	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
HFX Bucket List Pass	Halifax	Coupon thing to redeem online to save money on certain attractions	N	Mentions some historic sites like the Citadel, but makes no attempt to teach about heritage or history in anyway	N
Hali Drive	Halifax	Game app for Apple and Google phones/tablets	N	Very nice colourful image of the harbour with a globe slant	N
Howard Johnson Inn and Suites	Bedford Highway, Halifax	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Atlantica	Halifax (Robie Street)	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, but it does point people towards the Citadel in a map along with hospitals and schools	N
Ambassatours Family Fun Experiences	Halifax Harbour, Peninsula, Peggy's Cove, Lunenburg + Mahone Bay	Tours in Halifax, on the Harbour hopper/Theodore Tugboat, or bus to Lunenburg + Mahone Bay or Peggy's Cove	N	Becoming a deckhand on the Tall Ship Silva immersive experience, plus visiting "historic sites" outside HRM already mentioned, hop-on-hop off double decker bus	T
Atlantic Splash Adventure	Lucasville NS	Waterpark	N	Awesome looking slides, but not related to heritage	N
Travelodge Suites	Dartmouth	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Camp at Woodhaven RV Park of Halifax	Hammonds Plains	RV Park and campsites	N	Images of people sitting outside their RVs. Has images of Peggy's Cove, Downtown HFX and Lunenburg, which the site suggests to visit while staying at their park. "Closest campground to Halifax".	T
The Haliburton	Halifax (Morris Street)	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Jfarwell	Halifax Harbour	Sailing	N	Nova Scotia Boating, oceanic view enjoyment	T

Sailing Co.					
Ambassatours Tall Ship and Yacht Sailing	Halifax Harbour, Peninsula, Peggy's Cove, Lunenburg + Mahone Bay	Sailing, food and drink	N	Taking part in sailing and typical Maritime food and drink	T
Ambassatours Culinary Experiences	Downtown Halifax, Peggy's Cove, Lunenburg + Mahone Bay	Food and drink	N	Almost the exact same as the one above from Ambassatours. Both talking about historic tours as well.	T
The Waverley Downtown Halifax	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Hotel Ad	N	Just an ad, no heritage connection	N
Hearthstone Inn	Dartmouth, Port Hawkesbury, Sydney	Hotel ad	N	Just an ad, but says to "Experience the warmth of a Maritime Welcome"	N
Captured Escape Rooms	Downtown Halifax (Barrington Street)	Escape room game (work with a team to solve puzzles and escape rooms to move on to the next one)	N	No heritage connection, but it sounds pretty fun!	N
Kartbahn Indoor Karting	Bayers Lake Halifax	Go-karting and KBTactical Laser Tag	N	None	N
Nova Scotia Sport Hall of Fame	Metro Centre	Sport museum for Nova Scotia	N	Sidney Crosby featured prominently, says you can "Discover over 150 years of Nova Scotia Sport History"	T
HMCS Sackville: Canada's Naval Memorial	Halifax Waterfront	Living museum, it's a restored warship	Y	"The only surviving corvette of more than 100 built in Canada during the war" - World War 2. Commissioned in 1941, helped defeat Nazis in Battle of the Atlantic. Retired in 1982 after over 40 years of service.	T
Hatfield Farm	Hammonds Plains	Horse farm! Come to the country side	N	Said to offer a "rustic country atmosphere". All you can eat hot dogs; I remember now going there for a field trip in elementary!! The image of Fort Clayton is where we did it!	N
Harbour Watercraft Rentals and Adventures	Halifax Waterfront	Sea-doo to self-guide yourself around the Harbour, Bedford Basin, around the	N	Sightseeing opportunity	N

		bridges, McNabs and Georges Island			
Cosmic Bingo	Halifax Forum Bingo Hall	Bingo	N	None	N
Bowlarama	Spryfield, Dartmouth (Woodside) and Halifax (Bayers Road)	Bowling	N	"We're different on the East Coast! Small ball, BIG FUN!", "Experience our culture". More so marketing buzzwords than anything to do with heritage.	N

Appendix E. Westin Nova Scotian.

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of thing it advertises?	Visible government involvement?	Types of heritage used	Level of heritage
Province House Nova Scotia, 1819-2019	Downtown Halifax (Hollis Street)	Guided tour, museum-like	Y	Invites you to "explore the art, history + architecture of this National Historic Site and Canada's oldest seat of government on its 200th anniversary"	O
Sea Kayaking (ECO) East Coast Outfitters	Lower Prospect (west of Halifax)	Sea Kayaking, lessons and tours	N	Talks about local struggles of their collapsed groundfish industry. Calls it an historic village with craft shop and fishing stories.	T
#SafeOnShore Coastal Safety	Coastal NS	Safety	Y	"Throughout NS there are countless spots where land and sea meet; creating picturesque, natural scenery". Talks about shoreline hazards like plants.	N
ViewPoint Gallery Contemporary Photography	Downtown Halifax (Barrington)	Art Gallery	N	Art exhibits, no explicit connection to local	N
Zwicker's Gallery	Halifax	Art Gallery	N	Mentions Jean-Claude Roy as being a popular artist in Eastern Canada, but nothing really that's heritage	N
Titanic in Nova Scotia	Dartmouth and Halifax	Grave sites	Y	Mentions how the Titanic had many of its victims buried in Halifax, an interesting fact. Shows map of grave sites in Dartmouth/Halifax	O
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia	Halifax and Yarmouth	Art Gallery	N	None	N
Anchor Tours	Halifax, Peggy's Cove, Lunenburg	Tours	N	Authentic NS experience, with delicious local fresh seafood and unique treats	N
Segway NS	Dartmouth, Halifax	Segway tours	N	Imagery of the harbour, Halifax skyline, Dartmouth	N

				waterfront	
Picture Perfect Tours	Halifax	Photographer history tours	N	Tour with photographers to get great photos and hear the local cultural history through stories	T
Art Gallery of Nova Scotia: Atlantic Canada's Premier Art Museum	Halifax and Yarmouth	Art Gallery	N	Local artist Maud Lewis exhibit shown, has her painted house from the 2017 film Maudie	T
Discovery Centre	Halifax	Science Centre	N	None	N
Public Gardens	Downtown Halifax	The public gardens	Y	History of the public gardens detailed, including its species	O
Shearwater Aviation Museum	Shearwater (Dartmouth)	Military aviation museum	Y	Canadian Maritime military aviation historical artifacts from 1918-present	T
Family Bonds + Belonging at Pier 21	Halifax	Immigration museum	Y	Family history	N
Nova Scotia Down East Tours	Peggy's Cove, HFX, Annapolis, South Shore/Lunen.	Guided tours providing transport	N	Sights in Nova Scotia, imagery	N
Halifax Ghost Walk	Downtown Halifax	Guided tour	N	Tour teaching about history and landmarks like Citadel Hill, Public Gardens and St. Paul's Anglican Church	T
Alexander Keith's Nova Scotia Brewery	Downtown Halifax	Brewery tours	N	"The oldest working brewery in NA", "experience real NS good times with songs, stories, and of course, our fine variety of ales"	T
Ferry Service NS-PEI	Northumberland Strait	Ferry	N	None	N
Zwicker's Gallery v2	Halifax	Art Gallery	N	Mentions artists like Earnest Lawson who are from NS	N
Inns of Nova Scotia	Numerous places in NS, and Saint John, NB	Hotel ad compilation	N	None	N
Ferry Service NS-Maine, USA	Yarmouth and Bar Harbour Maine	Ferry	N	None	N
Ferry Service NS-NB	Digby and Saint John	Ferry	N	None	N
Halifax Art Map 2018-19	Halifax	Guide to finding local art galleries and craft shops	N	Promotes Art Gallery of NS - Atlantic Canada's largest art museum. And Teichert Gallery, has original art from Atlantic Canada.	T
Alt Hotel Halifax Airport	Enfield	Hotel ad compilation	N	None	N
Bike Map 2019 Halifax	HRM as a whole	Bike maps	Y	Numerous bike maps across the HRM, but nothing that really	N

				relates to heritage	
Schoolhouse Gluten-Free Gourmet	Lunenburg County	Gluten-free kitchen + delivery	N	Mentions their 150 year old converted schoolhouse in "beautiful Lunenburg County, NS"	N
The Henry House	Downtown Halifax	Restaurant and pub	N	A national historic site with "local pint(s)" and some "warm maritime hospitality", former residence of William Alexander Henry	T
Room 152 Clothing Boutique	Dartmouth	Clothing store	N	None	N
Barber Shop	Downtown Halifax	Barber shop	N	None	N
Historic Properties Shopping Experience	Downtown Halifax	Various stores	N	Various local products like books, toys, sculptures, clothes, tartans, and shirts. Scottish heritage briefly mentioned in text	T
The Piazza at Bishop's Landing	Downtown Halifax	Boutique and dining	N	None	N
The Mercantile Social	Downtown Halifax	Food and Drink - Restaurant/Bar	N	Plays up Maritime foods (seafood) and drinks, and celebrates history of those who built this city	T
Mappatura Bistro	Downtown Halifax	Restaurant	N	Shows map to nearby Public Gardens, boasts about its proximity	T
Halifax Fringe Program Guide 2019	Dartmouth and Halifax	Performing arts festival	Y	None	N
Never Drive High	Nova Scotia	Cannabis Safety	Y	None	N
Gourmandises Avenue	Halifax	Chocolaterie	N	None	N
Fisherman's Cove	Eastern Passage	Fishing village attraction site	N	Claims to offer a peak into the past in this quaint 200 year old fishing village, and offers Maritime folk-art/seafood	O
Woozles	Halifax	Children's Bookstore	N	None	N
Family Artisan Studio	Historic Properties, Downtown Halifax	Artisan - Jewellery Design	N	Vague allusions to local products, claims to be modelled after "practices of tradesmen that built our historic communities"	N
Red Asian Fusion Restaurant	Downtown Halifax	Restaurant	N	None	N
Rockbottom Restaurant+Brewery	Downtown Halifax	Restaurant and Bar	N	None	N
Made in the Maritimes Artisan Boutique	Bedford	Artisan Shop	N	Products made in the Maritimes - aka go local	N
Inkwell Modern Handmade	Downtown Halifax	Prints, Cards, Jewelry shop	N	None	N

Café Chianti	Downtown Halifax	Restaurant	N	None - Italian restaurant and cuisine	N
Uncommon Grounds	Downtown Halifax	Coffee Shop and Gourmet	N	Has all small batch coffee roasted right here in NS to provide the freshest coffee to customers	N
Halifax's Famous Pub & Eatery	Downtown Halifax	Outdoor pub + eatery	N	Lobster dinner menu option	N
RCR Hospitality Group	Downtown Halifax	Restaurants and bars, a collection of 6	N	Evokes the waterfront, seafood, drinking culture, one image of Union Jack makes connection to Britain	T
Sunnyside Mall	Bedford	Mall	N	None	N
Frida Fine Jewelry	Downtown Halifax	Jewelry Shop	N	None	N
Drala	Downtown Halifax	Asian Books, Yoga/Meditation Supplies + Tea	N	None	N
Canook Trading	Downtown Halifax	Fashion	N	"Made in Canada Fashion", images of beautiful forest that could be anywhere in the country	N

Appendix F. Hotel Halifax Brochures.

Brochures	Location (point(s) of interest of the brochure)	Type of thing it advertises?	Visible government involvement?	Types of heritage used	Level of heritage
Jfarwell Sailing Co.	Halifax Harbour	Sailing	N	Nova Scotia Boating, oceanic view enjoyment	T
Harbour City Bar and Grill	Downtown Halifax	Food and Drink - Bar	N	Drinking culture, boasts about its support for local farmers, fishers, brewers	N
Ride Solar	Charlottetown and Halifax, both downtowns	Transportation service on a solar electric motor bus	N	Food and drink, visiting historic sites, distillery/arts tour, live music	T
Halifax Citadel - Soldier for a Day and Ghost Tours	Citadel Hill	Roleplay as a soldier and ghost tour in the Citadel	Y	Military - invites you to become a Highlander/Red Coat, and enjoy spooky stories while touring the old fort	O

Tidal Bore Rafting Tours	Shubenacadie River	River rafting and mud sliding	N	Ecosystem - The Bay of Fundy's high tides provide the waves, a source of pride for NS/NB	T
Kattuk Expeditions	HFX Harbour, Cobequid Mts., Salt Marsh Trail	Kayaking, hiking, biking and dining	N	Flexes Bay of Fundy high tides. Lobster dining, and general admiration of the ocean and landforms	T
North West Arm Boat Tours	North West Arm	Boat tours	N	Map imagery of local landmarks such as Point Pleasant Park and Dingle Tower	N
The Mercantile Social	Downtown Halifax	Food and Drink - Restaurant/Bar	N	Plays up Maritime foods (seafood) and drinks, and celebrates history of those who built this city	N
Plaza Grocery	Downtown Halifax	Grocery Store	N	Just a map showing identifying nearby landmarks like the Metro Centre, no special imagery	N
Distillery Tours and Rum Tasting	Downtown Halifax	Distillery tours/rum tasting	N	Mentions having "local and unique gifts", distillery history, talks about being across from Maritime Museum	N
Taste Halifax	Halifax, Citadel Hill	Food and beer tours	N	Seafood, local spirits, visiting heritage sites such as the Citadel and Historic Properties	T
RCR Hospitality Group	Downtown Halifax	Restaurants and bars, a collection of 6	N	Evokes the waterfront, seafood, drinking culture, one image of Union Jack makes connection to Britain	T
Wine Tours - Uncork Nova Scotia	Wolfville, Windsor: Annapolis Valley, + Halifax	Wine tours	N	Mentions having "delicious local cuisine", and that you can visit prestigious wineries/breweries	N
Capt. Kat's Lobster Shack	Barrington Passage in Shelburne County	Food - Lobster restaurant	N	"Taste of Nova Scotia" badge, lobster imagery, boasts that it's in the "Lobster Capital of Canada"	T
Grape Escapes	Annapolis Valley	Wine tours	N	Local wine culture/history, calls the Annapolis Valley the province's "Wine Country"	N
Segway NS	Dartmouth, Halifax	Segway tours	N	Imagery of the harbour, Halifax skyline, Dartmouth waterfront	N
*Elliot & Vine	Halifax	Bar	N	Basically just an ad, a smaller card	N
Halifax Airport Shuttle	Airport, Dartmouth and Halifax	Shuttle between hotels and the airport	N		N
Gros Morne Cabins	Rocky Harbour, NL	Sea cabin	N	Scenic imagery of the cabins along the coast, looking very Newfie. Gros Morne a World Heritage Site.	T
Glen Arbour Gold	Hammonds Plains	Golf course	N	A nice image and a colourful map, not sure that really counts though	N
Chain Yard	Halifax (North End)	Urban cidery	N	Boasts having traditional ciders from 100% Annapolis Valley apples, "NS food", nice silhouette of skyline	N
Halifax Art Map	Halifax	Guide to finding local art galleries and craft shops	N	Promotes Art Gallery of NS - Atlantic Canada's largest art museum. And Teichert Gallery, has OG art from AC.	T
Halifax Mobility Scooter	Halifax	Rental scooters	N		N

Rentals					
The Links at Penn Hills	Shubenacadie	Golf Course	N	Boasts its spectacular views of the Shubenacadie River Valley, uses some images of it	N
Discovery Centre	Halifax Waterfront	Centre for Sciences	N		N
Quinpool Road - At Your Service	Halifax	Ad map	N	Nice looking map, talks about the tight knittedness, quirkiness and diversity of Quinpool Road businesses	N
Tunes at Noon in Grand Parade	Downtown Halifax	Live music schedule for July and August 2019	N	Some of the band names may be of local/Maritimes based ones	N
HFX Bucket List Pass	Halifax	A plan to save money on visiting local sites	N	View of waterfront on a busy summer day. Names many popular tourist sites.	N
Halifax Titanic Historical Tours	Halifax, South Shore, Annapolis Valley	Tours, the main one of focus being in Halifax	N	Main 6 hour tour about the Titanic and Halifax Explosion, nice historical artwork of Halifax + skyline photo	O
Inkwell Modern Handmade	Downtown Halifax	Store for prints, cards, jewellery, homewares, etc.	N		N
Amos Pewter	Mahone Bay, HFX, Peggy's Cove, Charlottetown	Artisan shop	N		N
Canook Trading	Downtown Halifax	Clothing	N	Photo of trees, but generic looking, it could be anywhere in the country. Maple leaf + "Made in Canada"	N
The Edge	Dartmouth	Café	Y	Just some logos for Downtown Dartmouth, Halifax and Destination Halifax	N
Joy Laking Gallery	Bass River in Colchester County	Art gallery	N	A few samples of Joy Laking's work, who has painted NS and the world in watercolour for over 40 years	N
Vivah	Downtown Halifax	Jewellery shop	N	Ad only	N
The Master Musicians of Halifax	Downtown Halifax	Musical group playing schedule for July/Aug. 2019	N	Ad only	N
Symphony Nova Scotia 2018/19 Season	Halifax	Symphony playing schedule	Y	Celebrates some NS artists/music	T
Neptune Theatre: The Argyle Street Kitchen Party	Downtown Halifax	Musical schedule July-August 2019	N	Describes itself as an authentically Nova Scotian experience, 'kitchen party' image with many instruments	T

