

SITES OF GRAVE MEANING: THE HERITAGE OF HUMAN REMAINS ON THE RIDEAU CANAL

by

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ABSTRACT

The Rideau Canal in south-eastern Ontario falls under three major heritage designations. However, the cemeteries that house the bodies of the labourers who built the canal are left out of official heritage discourses of the canal for several reasons including: a lack of historical and archaeological research on the canal labourers after their deaths; specific cultural and geographical conditions under which labourers were interred, which have led to misconceptions of “unmarked” and “forgotten” cemeteries and; the inability of current policy and legislation used to administer the canal to recognize human remains as contributing to heritage value. This thesis demonstrates how the bodies of canal labourers currently contribute to the heritage value of the canal and their own local communities both in terms of tangible and intangible cultural heritage, and advocates for a shift towards a new heritage discourse of the canal which recognizes this contribution.

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PROLOGUE

November 1, 2017.

Newboro Community Hall. Newboro, Ontario.

“Did you find what you were looking for?”

The research participant who I had come to speak with was sitting in the middle of a long table with a few other men while three women bustled back and forth from the table to the kitchen carrying pots of coffee, plates and napkins. I fidgeted with the rental-car key in my hand as I walked up to join them, “I’m not sure. I think so.” He looked satisfied, so I sat down beside him and set my notebook on the table. Within seconds, one of the women appeared and handed me a bowl of butternut squash soup and some slices of bread. I waited for the men to be handed bowls as well and began to eat as they chatted about various things happening in the township. Soon after, four members of the Ontario Provincial Police entered the hall and were greeted with excited “Hellos” from the men and offers of lunch from the women. They sat down across from me with their food and were inundated with questions about the ground-penetrating radar (GPR) map they had been constructing at the Royal Sappers and Miners Cemetery where I had also been moments before. I had been invited to observe the remote sensing technique in action by one of my research participants and stood in a slight drizzle as the members carefully pushed the lawnmower-sized device back and forth across a grid they had laid out in a corner of the cemetery.

“What did you say you were studying?” the officer sitting across from me asked.

“Heritage conservation. At Carleton University.” No one pressed this any further. I finished my lunch as they continued to answer questions from people around the table. As people began

exiting the hall, one of the women offered to show me some of the pictures hanging around the room. They were black and white photographs of early Newboro, some decades after the building of the Rideau Canal. I pondered whether they might be useful to the research in any way, but once again decided I was unsure. I thanked her for the tour and then made to say goodbye to my informant.

“It’ll be interesting to see what you write,” he said as we shook hands.

“I hope so.” On the way back to the car I reflected on the hospitality of the people I had encountered thus far in my research. A few hours earlier I had been visiting another research site, the Chaffey’s Lock Cemetery, where I conducted an impromptu interview with a resident who lived close-by the graveyard. She had been taking photographs of the various plaques hanging on the memorial wall when I approached, and offered to lend thoughts over a cup of coffee when I told her I was there to do research. A few lines in particular stood out:

PD: I had my work group from Kingston come... We had dinner at the Opinicon and then we had a late night walk through the cemetery. I guided them, and they were fascinated by the plaques and the stories and... it’s like even in Kingston and Ottawa they don’t know—like here you are coming from BC and you know what’s going on?

CG: [Laughs].

PD: And most people around here can’t be bothered to know the history...

CG: Does the community value being connected to the greater heritage of the canal itself?

PD: I think so. Those few little handful of people... I mean other people might, but you don’t see them coming forward to act on it. (Participant D, November 1, 2017).

It was strange to me as well that I knew anything about the cemeteries housing the bodies of the labourers who built the Rideau Canal. For one thing, living in British Columbia I had never heard of the Rideau Canal prior to applying to graduate school in Ottawa. For another, the cemeteries are

not listed as part of the heritage resources of the canal on Parks Canada's or UNESCO's web pages. Nor are they included within the heritage value or the character defining elements of the canal on the Canadian Register of Historic Places – all websites one would commonly visit to find historic information about the canal. On the surface, it appeared that the cemeteries were not a part of the heritage of the canal. Or at the very least, that they were simply unknown.

Yet the cemeteries are known. References to the lives and deaths of the labourers can be found in history books about the canal and Ottawa. The cemeteries themselves are mentioned in websites created by local heritage societies along the canal; one even appears in the town's historical walking tour. Most importantly, they are known by people who care about them: people who maintain them physically, conduct remote sensing and genealogical research on them, or simply visit them to pay their respects. It was clear to me that the cemeteries that housed the labourers played an important role in the heritage of the canal – a heritage undeniably representative of monumental efforts of human labour. The question then became, why are the bodies of canal labourers left out of authorized discourses of the canal presented at national and international levels?

INTRODUCTION

"It may be readily appreciated that a canal under construction is no place for children to play." (Bush, 1981, p. 25)

This is not, as you may expect, the beginning of a Jane Austen novel. In the Fall of 1829 an article in the *Brockville Gazette* reported the death of a contractor's child on the Rideau Canal, through the inadvertent action of a pile-driver. It concluded "If machinery of so dangerous a kind and so easily set in motion, is left accessible to children during the absence of the workman, accidents that occur in consequence can only be attributed to willfull [sic] neglect" (Bush, 1981, p.25). The death of this child is tragic and deserving of the scathing remarks, but theirs was not the only death on the Rideau Canal and willful neglect was not the biggest obstacle faced by those who built it. In the six years it took to construct the Rideau Canal from 1826-1832, dangerous working conditions including blastings, cave-ins and several disease outbreaks took the lives of several hundred labourers. Malaria alone is estimated to have taken up to 500 lives (Watson, 2006, p. 19). The bodies of some of these labourers are buried in various sites along the canal which has since become a national and world heritage site and a heritage river. But neither the cemeteries nor the bodies of the labourers are included within the heritage resources or official heritage discourses of the canal.

The issue, in this case is not that cemeteries cannot be designated as heritage sites. There are precedents for the designation of cemeteries as heritage in Canada. In Ottawa, the Beechwood Cemetery was designated a national historic site in 2000, and gravesites are listed among the character-defining elements. However, how historic sites are designated and what in-particular is

designated within them happens on a case-by-case basis. To understand why canal labourer gravesites are not included within authorized heritage discourses of the canal requires first understanding:

- how bodies are entwined in the history of the canal and what conditions led to their exclusion from official heritage discourses
- identifying the barriers to recognizing human remains as heritage in current policy and legislation relevant to the canal
- understanding how bodies have historically occupied precarious positions along divides of biological and material culture within anthropology and anthropology-adjacent disciplines such as museology and heritage conservation

Shifting towards a heritage discourse of the canal that includes the bodies of labourers as heritage then includes:

- identifying current policy and legislation relevant to the canal which are congruent with recognizing human remains as heritage
- further advocating for a framework that includes embodied and affectual understandings of heritage
- tracing how interactions with human remains by community members local to canal cemeteries support understandings of canal gravesites as both tangible and intangible cultural heritage

These are the goals of this thesis. To work towards these goals I will first introduce some theoretical context specific to the primary disciplines which have guided this project: anthropology and heritage conservation.

BODIES AND BIFURCATIONS

In conducting the research for this thesis I found myself frequently navigating notions of duality, binary and bifurcation. My own peregrinations in academia have taken me along various divides of interdisciplinarity: I earned a degree in cultural anthropology and archaeology in an institution and time when these departments bifurcated into separate faculties and aligned themselves with social sciences and hard (environmental) sciences respectively. I learned to think about bodies in two distinct languages. In cultural anthropology I interrogated notions of the self, identity, culture and society and learned how to use the methods of ethnography to learn from the world around me by situating my own body in relation to others and learning how to listen. In archaeology I memorized human skeletal anatomy, learned how to read bones, maps and material cultures and used scientific method to extrapolate information about people I would never meet from the marks they left on the world. I always had the feeling that these things were really two sides of the same coin but found myself having to choose between heads and tails.

In this thesis, the body is confronted with many dualities: nature and culture, dead and alive, biologically made and socially constructed, material and immaterial. I make a distinction here between material and immaterial bodies because I think that they do separate work and affect people in separate ways, but I also assert that they are two parts of the same whole. When I refer to material bodies, I am referring to physical human remains, but this is inclusive of their “affective presence,” or ability to affect the living (see Krmpotich et al., 2010). I take the position, as Krmpotich et al. (2010) do, that it is important to read bones not simply as material remains, but as parts of people that can be sensed through our faculties (p. 372). This definition opens up the

possibility, as Sofaer (2006) does, to conceptualize human bodies as material culture, and avoid reductionist views of human remains discretely as sources of biological information. This distinction is important, I believe, in making a case for human remains as tangible cultural heritage. When I refer to immaterial bodies, I am referring to bodies as they appear in stories, personal and collective memories and/or as spectres. For this, I draw on a strong scholarly lineage that suggests bodies are not just seen and touched, but can also be sensed in various ways (see Bell, 1997; Davidson, 2016; Derrida, 1994; Krmpotich et al., 2010; and McCormack, 2010).

Human remains therefore present challenges to notions of heritage value and to notions of tangibility and intangibility in regards to cultural heritage. Material bodies undeniably act as tangible forms of heritage: those aspects of heritage which we can see and feel that make up the majority of heritage sites and built heritage (including material culture). At the other end of this divide are intangible¹ forms of heritage: those aspects of heritage which we can see and feel (affectually) that are, as Logan (2008) points out, embodied in people rather than through inanimate objects, making them both difficult to conserve and raising new ethical and practical issues (p. 33).

Inherent in these discussions are numerous other dualities including so-called official and unofficial heritage (see Harrison, 2012). Official heritage, what Smith (2006) has theorized as the “authorized heritage discourse” (AHD), describes how heritage is legitimized through the expertise

¹ The UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage* (2003) signaled an expansion in the global protection of heritage from tangible cultural heritage, including heritage sites, monuments and artifacts, to include intangible cultural heritage including “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills” (see Logan, 2008).

of architects, historians and archaeologists who have emerged as the spokespersons of the past (p. 29). Such authorities are also therefore responsible for the construction and regulation of the range of values and understandings that constitute what we understand to be cultural heritage (ibid., p. 11). Non-experts, including but not limited to grassroots initiatives, community members and other stakeholders represent alternative heritage discourses. These are often imagined to be operating in opposition to each other. In Canada, and in the case of the Rideau Canal, Parks Canada acts as the steward of national historic and world heritage sites. However, when it comes to the cemeteries which house the remains of canal labourers, Parks Canada does not appear take an active role from either management or policy perspectives, as this thesis will explore. Furthermore, canal cemeteries and human remains are conspicuously absent from the designated heritage resources of the canal (see Tables 1-5).

When the Rideau Canal transitioned from the Department of Transport to Parks Canada in the early 1970s, this not only resulted in an entirely new mandate of operation, which focused on historic preservation, restoration, interpretation, environmental conservation and recreational development, but also dramatically reconceptualized the canal from utilitarian waterway to heritage landscape and associated features. Through this reconceptualization, the historical and material makeup of the canal was given new meaning in the language of heritage value. Much of what we know about the canal today comes from the extensive historical research produced in the early years of the canal management by Parks, particularly in the early 1980s. As the history and features of the canal were unearthed and evaluated, not all parts were considered equal and certain aspects of the canal's history rose to prominence. Among the things left out of the story were the bodies of the labourers and the presence of their final resting places. However the

absence of bodies within discussions of heritage value is not unique to the Rideau Canal; it is an issue that is apparent in heritage legislation and policy in Canada, and in the policy of those who manage heritage in Canada at both the national and international level. As I will show, frameworks for heritage legislation and policy from provincial to international levels, as they apply to the Rideau Canal, struggle to recognize burials or human remains as cultural heritage – tangible or intangible.

I contend that the bodies of canal labourers maintain both a material and immaterial presence on the canal, and that their presence contributes to both the tangible and intangible heritage value of the canal. Key to this is identifying affectual understandings of heritage value in addition to expert knowledge-based values that are currently utilized in reference to the canal. In this regard I am building on the existing theoretical work of Smith (2006) who suggests viewing heritage as a cultural *process*, where sites and objects are cultural tools that facilitate acts of remembering, rather than embodying value in-and-of themselves (p. 44). This is important in sites such as cemeteries whose value may lie in their cultural, social or spiritual significance rather than any particular form or plan. This ontological conception of heritage is inherently affectual. Affect here is not, however, as Smith suggests, merely the embodiment of thought and emotion. It exists also, as Davidson et al. (2011) suggest, in flux, as a situational ethic (p. 5) beyond and between material property that manifests in relations between things; an ecology (p. 6).

MILIEU

While the implications of the research are relevant to the canal in its entirety, the data is drawn from two particular field sites along the canal. The primary field site is the Chaffey's Lock Cemetery located in the Community of Chaffeys Locks², Ontario, part of the Township of Rideau Lakes. The Chaffey's Lock Cemetery pre-dates the building of the canal to the earlier Chaffey's Mills settlement. As this thesis will explore, the knowledge of canal labourer grave sites within the cemetery ebbed and flowed over generations in the Chaffeys Locks community but has variously survived in narrative practices. The discovery of remains at Kingston Mills, Newboro and Chaffeys Locks in particular fueled in-depth searches and restoration work by community members starting in the early 1990s (Patterson, n.d., p. 4). Since then, the cemetery at Chaffeys Locks has served as a site of commemoration for (Irish) canal labourers with a dedicated ceremony and the erection of a memory wall (discussed in Part Two).

I conducted research at this cemetery through numerous site visits and both pre-planned and un-planned interviews.

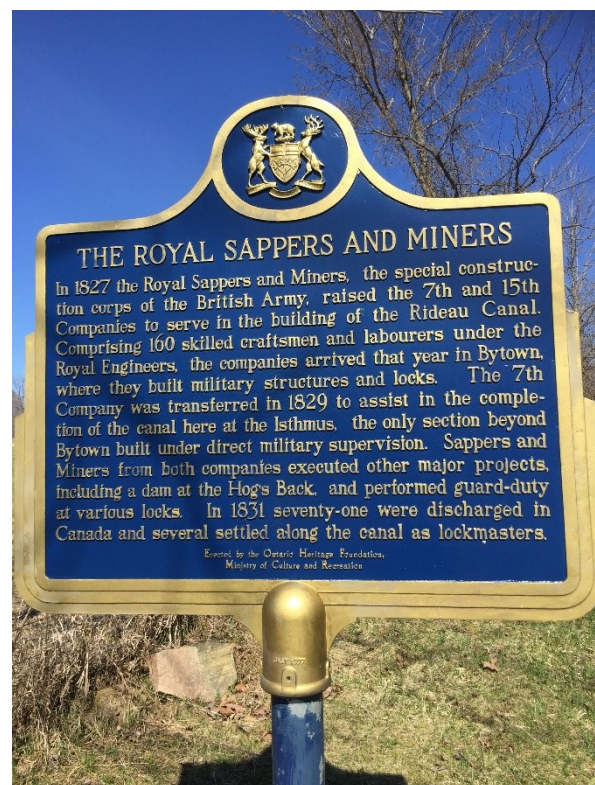


FIGURE 1: A PLAQUE DEDICATED TO THE ROYAL SAPPERS AND MINERS 7TH AND 15TH COMPANIES AT THE CEMETERY IN NEWBORO, ON (PHOTO BY AUTHOR).

² The Canadian Permanent Committee on Geographic Names officially lists the township as "Chaffeys Locks" (Township of Rideau Lakes, n.d.). Other local place names, including the cemetery use "Chaffey's Lock."

The second field site is The Royal Sappers and Miners Cemetery (formerly the Old Presbyterian Cemetery) at Newboro, Ontario. This cemetery has a similar history to that of Chaffeys Locks, but in addition to the unmarked graves of canal labourers, this is also a known and commemorated site for the engineer work force (the Royal Sappers and Miners) who were integral to the building of the canal and were especially present at the “Isthmus.” As especially challenging sites requiring complicated engineering, the military were present in the construction at the Isthmus (Newboro) and Hog’s Back Falls. While no labourer deaths were recorded at Newboro, thirteen members of the 7th Company of the Sappers and Miners are recorded as being buried at in this cemetery. It is also the field site where I was able to observe first-hand ground-penetrating radar in use for mapping grave sites. I have not included in this thesis examples of grave sites in Bytown (now Ottawa). While connections can be made between the Rideau Canal and the former Barracks Hill Cemetery, this burial ground is currently being excavated with research being conducted by Paterson Group and the Canadian Museum of History. In the future, data from this research could prove fruitful in connection to the themes of this thesis.

Doing research in cemeteries requires considering the broader social/scholarly milieu of these sites as culturally-situated spaces. Cemeteries, of course, are intrinsically linked to studies of death and dying. Scholars have been exploring questions of death and contributing to growing bodies of literature of the topic in a social context. The emotional force of death, for example, is said to derive less from an “abstract brute fact than from a particular intimate relation’s permanent rupture” (Rosaldo, 1989, p. 2). This complicates, to some degree, traditional notions of ethnography that prefer events bounded in definite locations in space and time, having middles and endings (ibid., p. 12). Cemeteries also provide a rich field for anthropological study as they

illustrate the emotional and symbolic meaning attached to bodies and their markers as material culture and even the bodies of the dead (Francis et al., 2005, p. xv). Visitors to cemeteries, for instance, go to learn about memorials and particular tombs, have transcending experiences, and the opportunity to meditate or mourn (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013, p. 13). As such, research within cemeteries has powerful potential for the aforementioned notions of in-/tangibility, embodied and affectual conceptions of heritage. I refer to the intangible here for not just bodies but spectres as well play a role in the heritage of the canal.

A NOTE ON METHODS AND THEORY

This thesis developed as an interdisciplinary project in both method and theory. The research employed ethnographic methods and combined archival work with participant observation and interviews. When I say archival, I am referring to both primary and secondary sources. In terms of primary sources, some research was conducted at Library and Archives Canada to study documents³ related to the construction of the canal and especially the spread of disease (malaria and cholera) during the construction period. For the purpose of this study, such sources were used primarily to supplement a broad existing body of literature on the canal (see Footnotes 3 and 4). The spread of malaria and the cholera epidemics of 1832 and 1834 have been noted for their importance in the history of public health in Canada and their place in the labour history of the canal (see in particular Bilson (1984); Watson (2006) and Wylie (1983)). Primary sources relating to the administration of public health services were useful in particular for more closely examining the attitudes of public health officials towards the working class. Sources such

³ The majority of these records were found in the Hill Collection (LAC reference MG 24 I 9).

as these largely corroborated the narratives already established by canal historians, (for instance, that Colonel By was demonstrably sympathetic to the labouring workforce, especially during times of epidemic).

Secondary sources on the canal contributed greatly to this thesis in building a comprehensive study of the existing literature on the canal, conducted prior to and during fieldwork and interviews. The greatest number of these sources derived from the large collection of historical works available through the Carleton MacOdrum Library's Ottawa Resource Room. These works are widely available and focus primarily on the construction of the canal, the transformation of the landscape and social history of Bytown and the Rideau Corridor (especially Fleming (1981); Gordanier and Busschaert (1982); Gordon (2015); Huitema et al. (2002); Legget (1972, 1988); McKenna (2008); Passfield (1985, 2013); Purdy (1986); Turner and Visser (1995); Watson (2006) and Wylie (1983)). A second body of sources which were crucial to this research deal more closely with the labour history of the canal. A wealth of research on this topic was conducted by Parks Canada historians in the early 1980s and is only available by appointment through the Parks Canada Library in Cornwall, Ontario. The majority of these reports exist as microfiche film or printed copy only (Including Bush (1981); Carter-Edwards (1987); Humphrey (1974); Turner (1980); Valentine (1985) and Wylie (1981)). All of these works were essential to building the particular narrative of the canal which I present in Part One of this thesis. The contribution of this thesis in terms of historical sources, therefore, is primarily one of synthesis: I construct here a concise history, primarily focused on the life, labour and deaths of the labourers of the canal, which is otherwise fragmented and sometimes inaccessible. One body of research which is not currently well-represented is the contribution of Indigenous groups to the construction of the

canal. Some information exists on Indigenous use of the land prior to construction, as discussed in Part One.

As this thesis is situated within the disciplines of cultural anthropology and heritage conservation, the remaining literature reviewed includes a broad range of topics within these disciplines including a review of relevant heritage policy.

When I refer to ethnographic research, I refer not just to a method but also an approach to both theory and ethical considerations. Advocates of critical ethnography, for instance, note ethnography's potential to disrupt the status quo, and unsettle both neutrality and taken-for-granted assumptions by bringing to light underlying and obscure operations of power and control (Madison, 2005, p. 5). In the context of this research, ethnographic inquiry is particularly important in articulating perspectives that may fall outside of the AHD, and may complement conventional frameworks for determining heritage value. Smith (2006) uses critical discourse analysis in analyzing the material consequences of social relations (p. 13), but in the case of the Rideau Canal, discourse is not just situated within disciplinary modes of knowledge production, it is also culturally and geographically situated. In conducting ethnographic fieldwork at particular cemetery sites, I was able to observe particular modes of knowledge production in context.

The final mode of research was interview. Between October 2017 and March of 2018 I conducted seven semi-structured interviews with individuals who have ties to the heritage of the canal, including local historians and community organizers. The interviews were then transcribed and the data was analyzed. Interviews were mostly pre-arranged and relied on snowball or network-sampling methods of purposive sampling where I identified key participants and was

subsequently referred to other interested informants. One interview was conducted spontaneously on site. The interviewees consisted primarily of residents of various communities in the Rideau Corridor and represented a mix of expert and personal knowledge of the canal and the related cemeteries. The ethnographic and interview portions of the research constitute the basis of Part Three of this thesis in which I analyze the affective presence of human remains at the field sites mentioned. The works of Sofaer (2006) and Krmpotich et al. (2010) previously mentioned were crucial to this analysis.

In Part Three I discuss Gubrium and Holstein's (2009) conception of "narrative reality" as a theoretical approach to analyzing folklore, but it is also relevant from a methodological approach to interviewing, recognizing interview results as "actively constructed, collaborative, and situationally mediated" (Gubrium & Holstein, 2009, p. 37). Throughout the thesis, I use excerpts from the collected interviews as an ethical stance in allowing research participants to speak for themselves and to highlight the particular importance of storytelling in the heritage discourse of the canal. I also recognize the co-constructed nature of interviews which are influenced both by my particularly-situated questions and my inherent interpretation within this text.

For this research I did not conduct interviews with employees at Parks Canada, the National Capital Commission or other governmental or non-governmental agencies, with administrative responsibility for the canal. I fully expect that individuals within these agencies would offer their own understandings of canal graves and human remains that are more nuanced than what is available through their agency's written policies. However, by focusing on the written policies themselves, I hope to highlight the reality faced by most of my interviewees: that current policy

and legislation governing the canal does not include recognition of human remains, material or immaterial, as cultural heritage resources.

PART ONE: A BRIEF HISTORY OF LABOUR AND BODIES ON THE RIDEAU CANAL

The goal of this chapter is to explore how labourer bodies, both in life and death, have always been at the centre of the story of the Rideau Canal, from its construction to its reconceptualization as a national and world heritage site. I examine the role that bodies, laid to rest in specific cemeteries along the Rideau Corridor, play within the history of the construction of the canal, and within the communities that continue to live along its shores. When I discuss history here I am making a distinction, as Logan (2008) does between history and heritage: “Heritage is the result of a selection process. It is not everything from our history – heritage and history are not one and the same. The aim of heritage protection is to pass on this selection of things with their values intact and in authentic condition⁴” (p. 34). Similarly, Smith (2006) defines heritage as the material reality of the past, having material consequences for community identity and belonging (p. 29). In presenting a history of bodies on the canal here, I am expressing how bodies have been prominent in the *history* of the canal in juxtaposition to how they have consistently been excluded from the *heritage* of the canal.

⁴ I make this distinction, not to deny that history is also the result of a selection process, but to highlight the material consequences vis-à-vis policy and legislation that are the result of what gets categorized as legitimate cultural heritage and what does not.

CANAL ORIGINS

The Rideau Canal, henceforth referred to simply as “the canal⁵,” was constructed between 1826 and 1832. It encompasses a route of 202km from the Ottawa River on the eastern side of Parliament Hill in Ottawa, to the Kingston Harbour on Lake Ontario, connecting the watersheds of the Rideau, Cataraqui, and Gananoque rivers. Historically, the construction of the canal was a response to the tense political climate that followed the War of 1812. Vulnerabilities exposed during the war led British authorities to believe it was necessary to develop an alternative travel route from Montreal, to Kingston and other key locations in Upper

Canada (Gordanier & Busschaert, 1982, p. 15). Kingston became a crucial fortress and dockyard during the War, as Lake Ontario became a key naval battleground (Legget, 1988, p. 15). While, by



FIGURE 2: MAP OF THE RIDEAU CANAL WATERWAY (SOURCE: [HTTP://WWW.RIDEAU-INFO.COM/CANAL/MAP-WATERWAY.HTML](http://www.rideau-info.com/canal/map-waterway.html))

⁵ When I refer to “the canal,” I am referring as Turner and Visser (1995) do, to both the canal route itself, and the entire waterway including the shorelines of several lakes in the area around the headwaters of the two river systems (p. 9).

1801, a road existed between Montreal and Kingston, it was prone to flooding in the spring and summer months, making parts of it impassible. A regular courier service had developed along the St. Lawrence River as an early transport link between Montreal and Kingston, but efforts to maintain the river road by local militia were frequently inhibited by seasonal duties such as harvest (Legget, 1988, p. 15).

Following the war, the idea of establishing a more secure inland communication and travel route between the Lower Province and the interior settlements began to be contemplated (Gordanier & Busschaert, 1982, p. 8). Before the war was over, a series of studies and surveys called for alternative routes that would use the Ottawa, Rideau, and Cataraqui Rivers to connect Kingston to Montreal (ibid., p. 17). The alternative route would be longer than the direct St. Lawrence route, but more easily defensible by local militia in the case of further war with the U.S. “canalization” of the Rideau and Cataraqui rivers would be a major undertaking, requiring an ascent of 84m from the Ottawa River to the summit of Upper Rideau Lake followed by a descent of 49m to Lake Ontario. Construction was entrusted in 1826 to the Corps of Royal Engineers, with Lieutenant-Colonel By as the superintending engineer (ibid., p. 30). Colonel By designed a slackwater canal system with high dams which raised the water level to flood the rapids to a navigable depth, the success of which would totally alter the nature of the Rideau, Cataraqui and Gananoque rivers, creating several new lakes, widening existing ones and “taming” previously unnavigable rapids and falls.

EMPLOYING A LABOUR FORCE: IMMIGRATION, CONSTRUCTION AND HARDSHIP

The construction of the canal lasted six years from 1826-1832 and required a workforce that was greater in number than the two largest cities in Upper Canada at the time, Kingston, and York (Toronto) (Passfield, 2013, p. 4). From the local population, French Canadians experienced with navigating the Ottawa River were generally employed where their experience with woodcraft could be best utilized (Legget, 1972, p. 48). Advertisements for construction jobs were posted by Colonel By in Montreal and New York (*ibid.*, p. 5), which attracted waves of immigrant overwhelmingly Irish labour, but also included skilled English, Scottish and French Canadian tradesmen. In Britain, the rapid growth of manufacturing and the modernization of agriculture had resulted in displacement, unemployment and destitution for farm labourers, artisans and small business proprietors; turning to an international labour market in British North America, they were forced to compete with French Canadians who were also moving to cities in Upper and Lower Canada to escape overpopulation on important agricultural lands (Wylie, 1981, p. 1).

The rapidly growing population in Britain, becoming more of an economic burden than resource, played another important role: an opportunity to populate Upper Canada with people not only willing to do hard labour, but who could also be called upon to defend the inland travel route if they were encouraged to settle in the area (Gordanier & Busschaert, 1982, p. 9). In this way, the physical bodies of the canal workforce, as well as later waves of immigration, played an equally important role in the defence of British North America as the canal itself. Though it is hard to assess the relative numbers of workers based on cultural background at specific sites, existing records indicate that French-Canadian workers dominated at the northeast end, and Irish to the

southwest, including the sites at both Newboro and Chaffey's Locks (McKenna, 2008, p. 5). It is likely that the proportion of Irish labour was exaggerated by commentators at the time because the Irish were "so highly visible in their poverty and behaviour" (Wylie, 1981, p. 13). Particularly vulnerable due to their wretched conditions before and after arriving to work on the canal, they were more susceptible to exploitation and reacted with displays of group solidarity and violence (ibid., 1981, p. 2).

The immigrant men provided a willing and eager pool of labourers, but many of them were also in poor health on arrival as a consequence of the deplorable conditions they experienced aboard their voyages to North America. Some of the Irish labourers also brought their families to

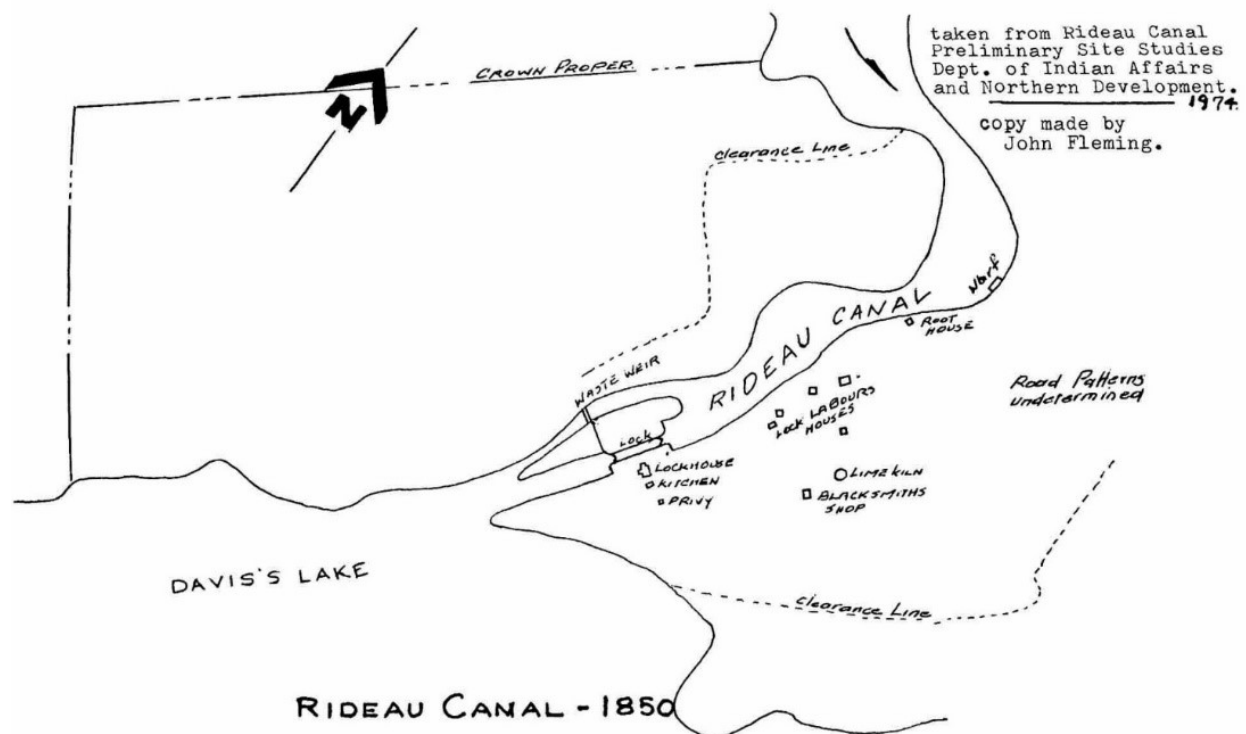


FIGURE 3: MAP OF CHAFFEYS LOCKS, 1850, SHOWING THE LOCATION OF THE LABOURER CAMP ADJACENT TO THE CANAL, NORTH OF THE CURRENT CEMETERY (FLEMING, 1981).

Canada, building rough shanty camps at the work sites or leaving their families in Kingston or the newly created Bytown (Ottawa) (Watson, 2006, p. 19). Members of the Royal Sappers and Miners who were recruited as engineers for the project lived periodically in tents or at their quarters on Barracks Hill (now Parliament Hill) (Purdy, 1986, p. 31). McKenna suggests that within work camps, labourers “developed a rough and ready boisterous male culture which involved arduous labour in unspeakably difficult conditions, a cheerful indifference to their own safety on the job, heavy drinking and, on rare occasions, violently disruptive behaviour” (McKenna, 2008, p. 4). This depiction seems largely based on attitudes towards Irish immigrants by Loyalists and other British settlers at the time who described them as “beastly drunk” creatures with brutish attitudes, and more often than not distinguished from others by the relative poverty in which they lived (Lockwood, 1980, p. 82).

Irish labourers’ racialized and lower-class status in the workforce, and in British North American society in general, affected them in both life and death. Among several distinct kinds of work on the Rideau, including excavation, masonry quarrying and construction, and the erection of waste weirs, bridges, rubble embankments and dams, the particularly arduous work of pick and shovel excavation was seen as the forte of the Irish (Wylie, 1981, p. 17). All of this work on the canal was done by hand: the carting and hauling of supplies was done by teams of oxen; the blocks were hoisted by the use of a simple hand crane; excavation work was done by pick and shovel, the earth and rock being hauled away in wheel barrows; holes were drilled by hand using a sharp pointed rock chisel and a heavy sledge hammer, then filled with gun powder and blasted (Gordanier & Busschaert, 1982, p. 14). More efficient technologies such as plows, scrapers and dredges used on the Erie and Welland canals were rendered ineffective by the rocky terrain of the

Rideau Corridor, and experiments with new equipment seem to have been discouraged by the abundance of cheap labour (Wylie, 1981, p. 16).

The work was not only arduous but sometimes dangerous, precarious and violent. Labourers sometimes took jobs requiring greater skill than they possessed, enticed by higher wages. Some labourers involved in quarrying with explosives were blown to pieces by their own shots, killed by stones falling on them (Wylie, 1981, p. 18), or were blinded by blasting powder (Bush, 1981, p. 24). Cave-ins at dams and other excavations were also a hazard; labourers trying to undermine trees by digging beneath their roots were sometimes buried alive (*ibid.*, p. 24). To compound the danger of the working conditions, many Irish arrived with insufficient clothing for Canadian winters (Wylie, 1983, p. 21). Bodies on the Rideau Canal were visible in both their labour and their suffering: "I have seen heads, arms, and legs, blown about in all directions; and it is in vain for overseers to warn them of their danger, for they will pay no attention" (MacTaggart quoted in Wylie, 1981, p. 18).

Disease presented an even greater threat to the workforce than injury. Malaria, which was prevalent in North America and brought from other continents as early as the 1700s, was transmitted more easily in the close proximity of the work camps (Watson, 2006, p. 19). Malaria, also referred to as "ague" and "swamp fever" at the time (Gordanier & Busschaert, 1982), took an estimated 500 lives, while other diseases (including the first outbreak of cholera in Canada in 1832) and work-related accidents are estimated to have taken another 500, making the total number of deaths during construction from 1827-1831 upwards of 1000, though it is hard to get exact numbers from existing records (Watson, 2006, p. 19). "The burden of malaria rested most heavily

on those least able to bear it, the common labourer generally and the poor Irish immigrant in particular. The disease was more devastating to those with lower health resistance” (Wylie, 1981, p. 28). Regardless of class or ethnicity, the rising death toll from both malaria outbreaks and the later cholera epidemic in 1832, required that spaces be found to bury the dead, from Bytown to Kingston.

BURYING THE DEAD, SETTLEMENT AFTER THE CANAL

Cure for the Cholera Morbus

Take 2 table spoonfuls of soft maple charcoal

2 hogs lard

2 maple sugar

Mix the whole together then give the person attacked in portions of two spoonfuls at a time. If the person attacked be cramped or has spasms immediately rub them with warm lye not so strong as to burn or injure the skin. After which the person may eat soup or anything he likes. If great thirst, water into which live coals have been thrown. Should vomiting take place, a very small cup of melted hogs lard and if the first does should be vomited up, a second or third portion can be administered.

Dr. A.J. Christie

(Christie, n.d.)

Colonel By himself was not unsympathetic to the labourers who worked and also died during the construction of the canal. He felt, in particular, for the Irish immigrants arriving on crowded, rat-infested ships from their voyage across the Atlantic “with nothing but rags to cover them,” who were soon to be put to hard labour on unfamiliar land (Purdy, 1986, p. 38). By was also a product of his class and position: “as an officer and a gentleman, he did not question the justice of a hierarchical social order or the inevitability of poverty. His main duty was to produce a canal of good quality as quickly and cheaply as possible” (Wylie, 1981, p. 8). Individual contractors were responsible for the health and care of labourers, and no attempt, with the exception of military workers, was made to establish a system of insurance. Workers in need of medical

attention could receive it from local or sometimes military physicians, but only if they were in the area and if the worker could afford it (ibid., p. 27). The Sappers and Miners (and their families) who worked on the canal could receive pension from injury or death related to the construction, but contract labourers and their families were less fortunate. Inquests into their work-related deaths were rare and compensation was even rarer (Valentine. 1985, p. 21). Inquests that we know of (while comical to be sure) also focus on the drunkenly image of the Irish labourer instead of the impoverished worker, as told by one participant, a local historian:

PB: In fact there's a funny one out of Smiths Falls, um, because on one of the inquests—the only inquests I've seen are of guys dying of drinking. And, well one fell off the Hogs Back dam for instance, and ardent intoxication was the inquest result. But another guy was trying to swim the Rideau River out of Old Sly's, because apparently, according to the story, they ran out of rum... he'd heard there was rum on the other side of the river, decided to swim the river, and the inquest stated that he died with a bottle in his mouth. So I don't know if that's on the return trip or he had a bottle going out, but that was—he was last seen going down with a bottle in his mouth [laughs]. And then a couple years later... in fact this guy had a funeral. So the same story, now this guy's having a funeral in Smiths Falls. And of course it's a good old Irish funeral with lots of drinking. And one of his buddies dies in the funeral procession [laughs]. From, presumably alcohol poisoning. (Participant B, October 26, 2017)

As the number of deaths rose, however, decisions would have to be made about where to bury the labourers (and sometimes their wives and children) who died during the construction period. In Bytown, so many people died of swamp fever (malaria) that the community's first civilian cemetery was opened (Purdy, 1986, p. 38). In 1828, a particularly bad outbreak of malaria spread all along the canal route and halted construction in some segments entirely. A military hospital was erected at Barracks Hill where the military officers were housed, but Colonel By ordered medical officers to treat all workers, not just those employed directly by the Ordnance (Purdy, 1986, p. 38). The two doctors in charge of the project were overwhelmed with the demand for

medical attention (Gordon, 2015, p. 50) and the most effective medicine for treating malaria at the time, quinine, was in small supply and generally too expensive for widespread use. Colonel By and his chief clerk John MacTaggart were both afflicted for several months. Previous to 1828, the bodies of those who died in Bytown were ferried across the Ottawa River to be buried in Hull (Legget, 1972, p. 210), but the large number of malaria-caused deaths required a dedicated space in Bytown. Half an acre of land was set aside from the military reserve bounded by today's Elgin, Metcalfe, Queen and Sparks Streets, and divided into Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic parts (ibid.). John Burrows later added another section to the cemetery for Methodists, but few bodies were buried there (Ross, 1927, p. 101). It became known as the military graveyard, though many civilians were interred there as well (Serré, 2011, p. 20).

Along other parts of the canal, those who died were buried in cemeteries relatively close to the works (Watson, 2010, p. 108). These burying sites, such as the one at Jones Falls, originally interred the men who died during the construction of the canal, locks and dams, but some saw continued use to the mid 1800s (ibid., p. 106). By the late 1800s, most of these cemeteries, as well as local family cemeteries, fell out of use in favour of formalized church cemeteries, and were subsequently abandoned and "forgotten" (ibid.).

Of course, only a minority of those who worked on the canal met their death during its construction. While some of the labour force found their final resting place in the ground adjacent to the canal, others settled the land above or moved onto other places. Some pre-canal villages existed, clustered around mill sites at Kingston Mills, Brewers Mills, Chaffey's Mills, Perth, Merrickville, Burrit's Rapids and Kemptville, but most settlement developed as a result of the

construction of the canal (Turner & Visser, 1995), though few of these settlers were the labourers or their families. When construction of the canal started in 1826, much of the Rideau Canal route was punctuated with sparse settlement and rapids providing waterpower to various types of mills (Watson, 2006, p. 30). However, such mills and individual settlement programs did little to encourage further settlement until after the canal was completed, offering easier transport between Bytown and Kingston.

Following the completion of the canal, the option of staying in Canada and settling land along the canal was given to members of the military by the British Ordnance Office, a portion of whom did settle in villages along the canal route (Patterson, 2006, p. 10). Often representing the most privileged of the work-force, forty-one Sappers and Miners settled along the canal, several of whom made up the first generation of lockmasters and all receiving land grants for their efforts (Turner & Visser, 1995, p. 35). In the decade following the canal's completion, over 262,000 Irish immigrated to Canada with 60% travelling the Rideau Canal to the port of Kingston. In 1840 alone, 5,400 settled in Ottawa, Kingston and points between (Patterson, 2006, p. 24). Some of the settlers were also construction labourers, but only a small proportion of labourers actually settled in the area. While the reasons why can only be guessed at, job dissatisfaction and fear for their life prompted some to flee before the construction was complete (Valentine, 1985, p. 28). The Irish who came to Canada to perform wage labour may have also preferred labour to agricultural proprietorship; while many French Canadian labourers returned home, the Irish roamed farther, participating in an international working class that was responsible for much of the development of other major transportation facilities in North America (Wylie, 1981, p. 35).

INDIGENOUS USE OF THE RIDEAU CORRIDOR

The Rideau Corridor was already part of a vibrant cultural landscape and seasonal habitation route long before canal construction or European settlement. Indigenous history and occupation of the corridor is extremely complex and still contested. Various Indigenous groups used the region for summer hunting and fishing, and had established travel routes that included much of the later canal route, utilizing the Gananoque, Cataraqui and Rideau River watersheds (Watson, 2006). The Ottawa River (Kichi Sibi or “Great River” in Algonquin language) watershed was inhabited by Algonquin peoples at the time of European contact in the early 1600s, and despite being largely dispossessed by other groups in later years, they have never surrendered their claim to the land (Roche-NCE Inc, 2009, p. 2).

While the Rideau River, like most other Ottawa River tributaries, was actively used by the Algonquin people at the time of first contact, the southerly part of the route likely represented both a contact point and a buffer zone between Anishinaabe and Iroquoian peoples who were engaged in ongoing warfare. By the time the first European settlers arrived in 1784, many of the region’s initial inhabitants had been displaced. Parts of the region were later occupied by Haudnosaunee people, only to be reoccupied by other Anishinaabe people (predominately Mississaugas who moved southward from the Mississagi River area of northern Ontario) in the first few years of the 18th century and it was mostly interactions with Mississaugas that are documented in the early canal construction records. Parts of the corridor were then reoccupied by Algonquin and Nipissing peoples in the 19th century. Anishinaabe peoples in the area led a semi-nomadic habitation establishing summer and winter camps as required. In addition to

gathering wild food on a regular cycle, they utilized sophisticated hunting techniques for harvesting deer, crafted spears and bows, and were adept at making lightweight birch bark canoes that were ideal for making long voyages on broken rivers (Gordon, 2015, p. 8).

The exact canal route, as it exists today, is not likely to have been utilized as the original Indigenous portage route as some areas, such as Cranberry Marsh, were impassible prior to canal alterations (Watson, 2006 p. 29). However, the Rideau route saw continual use as an Indigenous travel way between Lake Ontario and the Ottawa River until the late 1800s (including during and after the construction of the canal). Most famously, during Colonel By's inaugural voyage on the canal in 1832, a local newspaper reported that an Indigenous leader and several of his people joined By's procession in their canoes and followed his voyage through two or three lakes. While Indigenous peoples maintained a presence in the Rideau Corridor before and after the construction of the canal, their role in the construction is poorly documented.

RIDEAU CANAL: LIFE, DEATH AND REBIRTH AS A HERITAGE CANAL

The construction of the canal vitalized inland settlement, both attracting immigrants interested in labour and later providing a transportation route to the majority of incoming residents from 1832-1847, many of whom found the peaceful waterway an attractive place to settle in itself (Turner & Visser, 1995, p. 25). While it was originally constructed to defend British North America from the United States of America, it never served this purpose. The military character of the canal was eventually displaced by its commercial viability, falling under civilian administration by 1850. By 1880, more than forty-five industries existed along the canal including grist, saw and textile mills. These industries too receded in economic importance as urban areas

grew along with the potential for prosperous agricultural opportunities in the west. Still, the area saw continuous interest as increased affluence and leisure time brought the arrival of a new class of seasonal and temporary residents interested in fishing, cottaging and general tourism.

Given the continuous use and settlement of the Rideau Corridor following the completion of the canal, and the detailed history of labour, life and death summarized above, how is it that the bodies of the labourers and the cemeteries they inhabit came to be left out of broader narratives of the heritage of the canal? The first answer to this question is based partly on a misconception of canal labourer graves as being unmarked and forgotten, thus unknown. In my research, this idea appeared both in local history books such as Laurel Fleming's (1981) *Hearth and Heritage: History of Chaffey's Lock and Area, 1800-1980*, and in more monumental volumes on the history of canal labour such as Katherine McKenna's (2008) *Labourers on the Rideau Canal, 1826-1832: From Work Site to World Heritage Site*. This misconception can be attributed to two causes: a general gap of historical research on what happened to the bodies of labourers *after* they died, and more common misunderstandings about burial practices in the early 19th century.

When I arranged to visit the Parks Canada Library in Cornwall, Ontario to review manuscripts about canal history, the Parks historian who assisted me in tracking down the materials suggested that the topic of labourer graves addressed an area which was not currently represented in the research done on the canal. While the early historical work of Parks Canada built much of the foundation for what we know about labour history on the canal, the research focused on the lives of the labourers and ended at their deaths. This was not so much an accident as a deliberate focus for Parks Canada at the time, as evidenced in the introduction of one such

manuscript: “Firstly, the concentration on the working lives of the Rideau Canal builders is indicative of a trend in North American historiography which has attempted to rescue the “little guy” from the margins of history and to study the lives of working class people in and of themselves. Secondly, this emphasis is a direct result of Park’s Canada’s desire to present meaningful interpretive displays on the lives on the lives of the builders of the Rideau Canal to its visitors” (Valentine, 1985, p. iv). It goes on to list the possibilities for further research on the Rideau Canal labourers: the extent to which labourers remained in the area after completion of the canal; comparing the experience of the Rideau Canal labourers with that of other canal labourers in the 19th century; and family life during the construction period (ibid., p. xv). We can attribute a lack of historical research focus in part to the lack of archaeological research done on the canal; what little work has been done has focused primarily on architecture and engineering works and not the associated material culture or remains.

In regards to the latter misconception, the absence of stone burial markers in some of the known burial sites (the Chaffey’s Lock Cemetery does have stone markers) has more to do with the high cost of producing such markers at the time. It was a more common practice to use markers made of wood, which have eroded in the almost two centuries since the building of the canal (Participant B, October 26, 2017). Similarly, where, when and how labourers were buried may also have depended on whether or not a clergyman of their respective faith was available for the service:

PC: Well, you have to remember there was a lack of clergymen. It was really an issue. They didn’t get a Catholic church in Elgin, this area, until the 1860s, they had a Catholic church in Westport which was strongly Catholic in the village until the 1850s. And they did have a small church in the 1840s up on the mountain, basically surrounded by Irish Catholic

families. Um, so what would happen was a priest would come through—this is in the Sweeney diary, it's quite clear, there are references to it—the priest would come through on the steam boats. And if there was a need for a baptism or, um, something like that—a marriage, or something that could wait—but if there was a death, it would be really hard for a Catholic to get last rites. (Participant C, October 26, 2017)

In summary, an existing gap in knowledge about labourer cemeteries and their common misconception as being unmarked, forgotten or lost might account for why they are not included within the cultural heritage resources of the canal or in the authorized narratives presented at national and international levels. This is due to a specific focus on the part of Parks Canada historians to develop the labour history of the canal, and a lack of archaeological work on the subject. It is also the result of culturally and geographically specific conditions which made it difficult for some labourers to receive proper burials with stone markers that would have better survived into the 20th and 21st centuries. This does not address, however, how these cemeteries have *not* been forgotten or lost, but have been maintained and even commemorated at the local level, as will be discussed in Part Three of this thesis.

This leads to the second broader answer for why canal labourer gravesites might have been left out of heritage narratives of the canal, which is that current policy and legislation under which the canal is administered are at variance with recognizing the human remains of the canal labourers as cultural heritage resources in-and-of-themselves.

PART TWO: HERITAGE POLICY AND LEGISLATION ON THE CANAL AND THE ABSENCE OF BODIES

PD: So right now, Parks Canada, this is like a recent topic that's out there in Chaffeys everybody feels—it's sort of a joint effort between Parks Canada and our heritage society. I don't know the exact details on it, but heritage is saying, 'we want everything natural.' It's really just because they don't want to pay anybody to cut the lawn. That's what most people feel. And whether it really is an environmental thing, that is questionable. Because, it's funny the conversations that have come out of it recently. Some people are like fiery upset that Parks Canada has not kept it, and they're just letting it go. So the bulk of the effort for that to be cleaned is me organizing in April a community cleanup. And I'll get about six people to come in with tarps and rakes and we'll push the brush out and clean it up... and one guy did it about halfway through the season this year, and that's about all the upkeep that's been done this year. So Parks really has done nothing. And they see it as a failure by Parks to not respect that history. (Participant D, November 1, 2017)

In Part One, I traced a history of bodies on the Rideau Canal from their presence as living, labouring bodies to their interment in canal cemeteries. The canal experienced its own transition from military defensive route, to transport route, tourist attraction and heritage site. In this transition, the military and engineering features of the canal's history rose to prominence in the heritage values associated with the canal, while labourer bodies were underrepresented or in some cases forgotten. In Part Two, I take a closer look at the policy and legislation pertinent to the canal at the provincial, national and international levels. In doing so, I highlight how the bodies of labourers, material and immaterial, are left out of listed designated cultural heritage resources attributed to the canal. I limit my policy analysis to those charters, acts, or other documents which have been referenced directly in the current management of the canal or were referred to by my research participants. At the international level, for instance, I have focused on the language used by UNESCO in the World Heritage Convention to designate sites with “outstanding universal

value,” a concept which was further referenced by ICOMOS in its 2007 evaluation of the Rideau Canal nomination.

Perhaps most significantly, in 1972 management of the canal passed from the hands of the Department of Transport to Parks Canada authorities. Even as it enjoyed its new life as a recreational route and tourist attraction in the early 20th century, the canal experienced general neglect and disrepair (McKenna, 2008, p. 1). Despite being designated as a National Historic Site in 1925, it wasn’t until the changeover of administration to Parks Canada in 1972 that a greater emphasis was placed on understanding the heritage value and preservation, rehabilitation and restoration needs of the canal.

In addition to adding a wealth of historical research, the management of the canal changed dramatically by broadening its objective to servicing the needs of the tourist industry, taking a more significant role in environmental management, and acquiring funds needed to maintain heritage structures and support interpretive programs (Turner, 1990, p. 9). However, as I have traced through my condensed history of the canal, bodies themselves are represented not just through built heritage, but also through their shaping of and physical presence in the landscape itself. While, as I have shown, the Rideau Corridor was a cultural landscape long before settler presence and construction of the canal through the seasonal habitation, hunting, fishing and canoeing practices of Indigenous peoples, under its management by Parks Canada, the canal is defined as a cultural landscape, a designation to which certain standards and guidelines must apply. Parks Canada defines a cultural landscape as “any geographical area that has been modified, influenced or given special cultural meaning by people, and that has been formally recognized for

its heritage value. Cultural landscapes are often dynamic, living entities that continually change because of natural and human-influenced social, economic and cultural processes” (Parks Canada, 2010, p. 49).

Currently, the canal falls under three major designations as a National Historic Site of Canada (1925), a Canadian Heritage River (2000)⁶ and a UNESCO World Heritage Site (2007). It therefore is administered under a complex list of legislation and policy including: The Parks Canada Agency Act, National Historic Sites Policy, Historic canals Policy, Cultural Resource Management Policy, Historic canals Regulations, and the Canadian Heritage Rivers System (Parks Canada, 2005, p. 3-4), as well as the Navigable Waters Protection Act, the Fisheries Act, Species at Risk Act, Federal Wetlands Policy, and National Capital Act (Dillon Consulting, 2012, p. 33). As the stewards of the canal, Parks Canada’s *Rideau Canal National Historic Site of Canada: Management Plan* (2005) remains the authoritative policy for the conservation of the canal and its associated features. The management plan represents Parks Canada’s commitment to ensure the commemorative integrity of the national historic site, guide appropriate public use and utilize cultural resource management principles and practices to ensure the conservation of the cultural and natural values of the canal (Parks Canada, 2005, p. 1). Commemorative integrity is maintained “when the resources directly related to the reasons for the site’s designation as a national historic site are not impaired or under threat, when the reasons for the site’s national historic significance are effectively communicated to the public, and when the site’s heritage values, including those

⁶ The Canadian Heritage River designation is that of the entire Rideau Waterway, the Rideau Canal included.

resources not related to national significance, are respected by all whose decisions or actions affect the site” (ibid., p. 11).

To add to the complexity, the Rideau Canal as part of the larger Rideau Corridor, is a multi-jurisdictional landscape with federal, provincial and municipal levels of government as well as the Algonquin Traditional Territory in the Ottawa Rivershed. The canal is therefore represented by a complex list of stakeholders:

TABLE 1: CONSERVATION STAKEHOLDERS OF THE RIDEAU CANAL (FROM DILLON CONSULTING, 2012, P. 33)

<i>Jurisdiction</i>	<i>Stakeholders</i>
<i>Federal</i>	Parks Canada, the National Capital Commission, Transport Canada, Fisheries and Oceans Canada, and Indigenous groups in eastern Ontario
<i>Indigenous</i>	Algonquins of Ontario, Mississauga, Mohawk, and Métis
<i>Provincial</i>	the Ministry of Municipal Affairs and Housing, the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs, the Ministry of Environment, Ministry of Natural Resources, Ministry of Tourism, Culture and Sport, and Ministry of Economic Development and Innovation
<i>Conservation Authority</i>	the Cataraqui Region Conservation Authority and Rideau Valley Conservation Authority
<i>Municipal</i>	all upper-tier, lower-tier, and single-tier municipal government jurisdictions traversed by the Corridor
<i>Community</i>	all local community groups, non-governmental organizations, individual businesses and persons that have an interest in the Rideau Canal and the Corridor

Given the complexity of stakeholders, policy, and legislation related to the canal, it is no surprise that what specifically is identified as having heritage value in regards to the canal has been equally complex and somewhat contentious. More specifically, human remains and their associated

material culture (outside of architecture and engineering works) are noticeably underrepresented in the cultural resources of the canal.

In the early years under Parks Canada, an emphasis was placed on simply taking stock of the canal and its associated features. Most prevalent in this regard were the associated engineering works including locks, dams, weirs and embankments, as well as canal buildings including twelve defensible lockmaster's houses, four blockhouses, the Commissariat Building and Blacksmith Shop. This is probably due in large part to the wealth of materials available. Parks historians had the benefit of voluminous records of all aspects of the canal's construction meticulously recorded by the Royal Engineers and available through the Public Archives of Canada (now Library and Archives Canada) who also published contemporary accounts of how standard locks were built, changes made during construction, and where particular materials were sourced and substituted during the building of particular structures (Passfield, 1985, p. 5). Parks also inherited a large number of drawings from the Department of Transport itself. Great amounts of research and consultation resulted in numerous large-scale assessments such as the *Rideau Waterway, Assessment of Structures*. Such reports called for the creation of programs for rehabilitation of canal structures and an adequately-funded maintenance system. The focus on the built environment, and engineering features in particular, is not entirely surprising. Within the system of national historic sites, the Rideau Canal is commemorated within the sub-themes of: 1. Technology and Engineering (within the theme Developing Economies) and 2. Communications and Transportation (within the theme Developing Economies) (Parks Canada, 2005, p. 4-5).

At present, the cultural resources associated with the canal in its management plan are divided by Parks Canada into Level 1 and Level 2 resources, with Level 1 resources being those directly related to the reasons for commemoration (as a National Historic Site of Canada). These resources are listed as follows:

TABLE 2: CULTURAL RESOURCES AS DEFINED BY PARKS CANADA (ADAPTED FROM PARKS CANADA, 2005, p. 13-14)

<i>Resource Typology</i>	<i>Resources</i>
<i>Level 1</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 40 of the Rideau's 47 locks; • 18 of the Rideau's 45 dams, weirs and embankments; • 18 canal buildings consisting of 12 defensible lockmaster's houses, 4 blockhouses, the Commissariat Building and Blacksmiths Shop; • all 22 lockstation landscapes; • all archaeological sites dating from the construction and military periods; • archival material from the military period; • archaeological artifacts from the construction and military period
<i>Level 2⁷</i>	engineering works, buildings, archaeological sites, and moveable objects from the post military period to 1967; and heritage messages dealing with the canal after the construction and military period

Dillon Consulting, who produced the *Rideau Corridor Landscape Strategy: Landscape Character Assessment & Planning and Management Recommendations* for Parks Canada in 2012, divides resources between cultural and natural features:

⁷ Level 2 resources are defined as contributing to heritage character and experience, but not related to the original reasons for designation (Parks Canada, 2005, p. 14).

TABLE 3: RESOURCES AS DEFINED BY DILLON CONSULTING (ADAPTED FROM DILLON CONSULTING, 2012, P. II)

<i>Resource Typology</i>	<i>Resources</i>
<i>Cultural</i>	urban, suburban, estate lots, rural lots, historic landscapes, waterfront development, agriculture / farmland, managed landscapes, institutional/campus, industrial areas, resource extraction areas, and utility landscapes ⁸
<i>Natural</i>	lakes/open water, rapids/falls, vegetated river/creek valley, forested upland, forested lowlands, wetland/marsh, and significant landform

The division of cultural and natural resources is of course prevalent in discussions of world heritage where UNESCO World Heritage sites are designated as cultural, natural or mixed sites. The Rideau Canal was designated as a purely cultural site during its World Heritage designation in 2007 under criteria i) and iv) of the World Heritage List which recognize masterpieces of human creative genius, and outstanding examples of built heritage (including landscapes) and illustrate significant stages in human history respectively. However, as the selection criteria for World Heritage reflect, human remains are noticeably absent in what gets defined as “human history.” In the case of the canal, military and engineering history figure most prominently in its justification for designation:

⁸ While no definitions of historic landscapes, managed landscapes or utility landscapes are given in this report, Dillon Consulting cites Parks Canada’s definition in regards to cultural landscapes.

TABLE 4: RIDEAU CANAL WORLD HERITAGE DESIGNATION CRITERIA (ICOMOS, 2018)

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Significance</i>
i)	The Rideau Canal remains the best preserved example of a slackwater canal in North America demonstrating the use of European slackwater technology in North America on a large scale. It is the only canal dating from the great North American canal-building era of the early 19th century that remains operational along its original line with most of its original structures intact
iv)	The Rideau Canal is an extensive, well preserved and significant example of a canal which was used for a military purpose linked to a significant stage in human history - that of the fight to control the north of the American continent

CANAL BODIES: HERITAGE VALUE, HERITAGE RESOURCES, AUTHORIZED DISCOURSES

Understanding why human remains have been generally left out of the designated cultural heritage resources associated with the Rideau Canal, requires a brief analysis of how human remains fit into broader concepts such as heritage value which dominate heritage conservation policy in Canada at all levels from municipal to world heritage. While Parks Canada is the primary steward of the canal, it recognizes in its management plan the role that the residents of the canal corridor play in protecting “unique cultural and natural heritage character and scenic beauty of the canal corridor through the co-operative efforts of stakeholder groups, government agencies, public and private sector partnerships, municipal land use policies, and private stewardship” (Parks Canada, 2005, p. 15). Generally speaking, these stakeholders exert their power through legislation at the provincial level. Since Part Three of this thesis will be primarily concerned with canal corridor residents’ role in the commemoration and conservation of canal cemeteries, my analysis for this section will be primarily concerned with legislation and policy at the provincial level, namely, the interaction between the Ontario Heritage Conservation Act and the Funeral, Burial and Cremation

Services Act. Therefore, I will work backwards from how human remains are valued by UNESCO in terms of world heritage, and move towards policies and legislation that directly affect canal corridor residents.

WORLD HERITAGE: UNESCO AND OUTSTANDING UNIVERSAL VALUE

As noted above, heritage sites, cultural and natural, are inscribed on the World Heritage List by UNESCO according to a list of criteria. These criteria, under the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (or World Heritage Convention)* (UNESCO, 1972), are used to determine if a site demonstrates “outstanding universal value” (OUV). While the convention itself never gives a definition of OUV, the 2005 *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention* defined OUV as “cultural and/or natural significance which is so exceptional as to transcend national boundaries and to be of common importance for present and future generations of all humanity” (UNESCO, 2005, p. 14). Agencies at the national level who manage world heritage have loosely elaborated their own definitions, namely that “[p]roperties need to be outstanding from a global perspective. World Heritage does not aim to recognise properties that are remarkable only from a national or regional perspective” (Government of Australia, 2018). In its advisory package for the canal’s world heritage designation, ICOMOS noted that the military use of canals has been underplayed by canal historians and in heritage nominations, and urged the Rideau Canal nomination to highlight the military engineering and transport history of the canal, and its role in the development of canal technology (ICOMOS, 2007, p. 122). This recommendation was clearly heeded when we consider the tables above.

From the perspective of OUV, it becomes easy to see how the remains of canal labourers, while important from national and certainly regional perspectives, may fail to invoke significance to a global population. In regards to the World Heritage Convention, the only reference to archaeological material is in regards to the definition of “cultural sites” which may include archaeological sites or structures that are archaeological in nature. Of course, archaeological sites do not imply the presence of human remains⁹. However, none of “human remains,” “cemeteries,” or “burials” are mentioned at all in the convention, leaving the category “archaeological sites”¹⁰ as the only possibility for their inclusion in world heritage designations. In contrast, anthropological work on cemeteries and other places of burial have pointed out that as spaces defined *by* human remains, cemeteries are rich sites for discussion of memory and heritage¹¹. In the case of canal labourer cemeteries, buried bodies also represent a community whose ethnic identity lies at a distance from where they were buried in Upper Canada. Such burial sites act as a memoryscapes, providing a reflection of a common homeland and collective experience, and bridging two or more worlds, that of origin and that of settlement (Francis et al., 2002, p. 105-10).

⁹ Although, as Curtis (2003) points out, the excavation of human remains is most closely associated with archaeology in the public imagination (p. 22).

¹⁰ It is important to note that discussions of archaeological sites within world heritage have a long history, represented through numerous international charters and documents including the Athens Charter (1941), the General Conference on International Principles Applicable to Archaeological Excavations (1956), the Venice Charter (1964), the Burra Charter (1979) and the Charter for the Protection and Management of the Archaeological Heritage (1990). However, as the Rideau Canal is not designated as world heritage as an archaeological site, I will only discuss archaeological sites here as they relate to OUV.

¹¹ For instance, Francis et al. (2002); Cattel and Climo (2002); Maddern (2007), Maddrell and Sidaway (2010); and Woodthorpe (2010).

From this perspective, labourer cemeteries have much to offer in the history of global human migration and settlement in the early 19th century. Such patterns and histories might also demonstrate OUV under two world heritage criteria: ii) to exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, demonstrating developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design; and v) to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment. It is interesting to note that during its original the nomination, the proposal package for the Rideau Canal did include criteria ii) on the basis that it represented a global flow of ideas via the transfer of European canal technology to the North American landscape. This assessment was not considered justified by ICOMOS in its review of the nomination (ICOMOS, 2007).

Cemeteries in particular have been noted in their potential to represent transnational identity formations taking place within global cultures where other heritage institutions such as museums struggle (Maddern, 2007, p. 40). Moreover, cemeteries and other burial sites have become a driving force in world heritage



FIGURE 4: INSIDE THE MEMORIAL WALL AT CHAFFEY'S LOCK CEMETERY (PHOTO BY AUTHOR).

tourism via such concepts as “dark tourism¹²” and “genealogical tourism.” Travellers who visit cemeteries based on ethnic or genealogical motivations, find their own personal meaning in the sites that they visit. Simone-Charteris et al. posit that “the experience of cultural heritage attractions is co-constructed in the present through interaction of producers and consumers. In other words, it is the contemporary view of the past; of what people look for in the past, that shapes the past” (2013, p. 62). Such co-constructions are represent more affectual and embodied experiences of heritage and offer powerful new potentials for what can be considered as having OUV, including material bodies themselves.

Since its rehabilitation in the 1990s, the Chaffey’s Lock Cemetery has had distinct international significance. A memory wall was erected in the name of the Chaffey family, the builders of the Rideau Canal and other “early pioneers.” To further commemorate the work of the Irish labourers who made up the majority, if not the entirety¹³, of the workforce at Chaffey’s, the Irish Ambassador to Canada, Donal Denham, dedicated the “rediscovered grave sites” in memory to those Irish canal builders, at a ceremony, on July 21, 2001 (Patterson, n.d., p. 6). This dedication took place on Crown Land, under the aegis of Parks Canada and within the world heritage designated zone.

¹² While dark tourism most often includes burial sites or sites which feature difficult heritage, it is noted in particular as a behavioural phenomenon unique in that it is defined by the tourist’s own motives rather than the features of the attraction itself (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013, p. 13).

¹³ While most of the published research and interview data suggests this is the case, one informant who is an authority on the social history of the South Crosby has pointed out the presence of British and American settlers and some French Canadians who likely contributed to the workforce in the area.

At the level of national heritage, I have noted above that Parks Canada is the federal agency in charge of managing the canal. As seen in Table 2, the cultural and natural resources of the canal are therefore defined by National Historic Sites policy. In addition to this, Parks Canada also has its own *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*, which advises on the conservation of heritage sites and materials but also defines the language under which heritage value is determined by Parks. For the Rideau Canal, archaeological sites relating to the canal building era are listed as Level 1 cultural resources. These resources are further defined as:

TABLE 5: ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESOURCES OF THE CANAL AS DEFINED BY THE RIDEAU CANAL MANAGEMENT PLAN (PARKS CANADA, 2005, P. 73)

<i>Resource Typology</i>	<i>Resources</i>
<i>Archaeological sites</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the ruins of the engineers' building, the remains of the lime kilns, the remains of the Sapper's Bridge and the blacksmiths' shop - all at Ottawa Locks; • the original dam at Merrickville (underwater site); • the construction camp at Newboro; • the remains of the submerged bridge at the Jones Falls dam (underwater site); • the guardhouse remains at Jones Falls; • the guardhouse remains at Morton Dam

Once again, neither burial sites nor human remains are noted among the archaeological resources associated with the canal¹⁴. The Parks Canada *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* has separate guidelines for burial sites (deemed "culturally-sensitive places") which are not referenced in the current canal management plan. I will return to this in

¹⁴ The 2005 management plan does note that no comprehensive inventory of Level 1 archaeological resources for the canal exists, however, there is little to indicate that burial sites are among the resources determined to be under-researched.

the final part of this chapter where I discuss the potential of these guidelines for moving toward a more affectual heritage for the canal that includes burial sites.

As the grave sites at Chaffeys are within the geographical area considered to be the Rideau Canal National Historic and World Heritage site, we would expect the Standards and Guidelines for culturally-sensitive places to be integrated at Chaffeys Locks¹⁵. Historically, at Chaffeys Locks, such considerations have not always been given. In one instance, when damage to the cemetery was sustained during the installation of power lines, community members were frustrated with the response by Parks Canada:

PA: The hydro came in and went through here to put that hydro wire that's on, and they brought mechanized vehicles in and broke the stones. So we complained to Parks Canada when we came in here and found what was happening and Parks Canada said, "Oh, we don't do anything with that." But they came in here and cleaned up the stones and took away all the ones with people's names on them and threw them in the dump.

CG: They weren't preserved, they were thrown away?

PA: Yeah, that was Parks Canada's attitude. (Participant A, October 24, 2017)

In other instances, the relationship between Parks Canada and community caretakers or each party's responsibilities to the canal cemeteries are unclear or contentious.

PC: I think the one at Chaffey's, there's always been a push and pull about that cemetery between the community and the canal. And because it's on crown and land and the relationship between the canal and the people, sometimes it's a little contentious?

¹⁵ Interestingly, the cemetery at Chaffeys Locks is noted in the *Rideau Corridor Landscape Strategy* as adding to the "particularly noteworthy" features of Chaffey's Lock (Dillon Consulting, 2012, p. 19), although neither cemeteries or archaeological sites are listed as cultural resources (see Table 3).

CG: What is the contention? Does the community want more representation of the cemetery by Parks Canada or they're like, 'this is our space?'

PC: That's a really interesting question. I think... I would say Parks Canada being a government bureaucracy has a lot of fairly strict rules about things. And I think the community, like in these other ones that were abandoned and under the township umbrella, people went in and took active charge and were, you know, deeply underground and pulling up so-on and so-forth. And I think Parks Canada is just that extra layer of bureaucracy that people have to deal with. (Participant C, October 26, 2017)

The ability of community members who do their own work to maintain canal cemeteries to participate in heritage designation and management of the cemeteries on canal property is consistently unclear, despite a demonstrated knowledge of legislation surrounding heritage and cemeteries in particular. The *Rideau Corridor Landscape Strategy* itself notes that municipalities have the power under the Ontario Heritage Act (OHA) to designate significant heritage buildings and sites as part of the Corridor's landscape character (Dillon Consulting, 2012, p. 37). However, in the case of cemeteries and other burial sites, what protection they can assume under the OHA is not as straightforward.

PROVINCIAL HERITAGE: ONTARIO HERITAGE ACT AND THE FUNERAL, BURIAL AND CREMATION SERVICES ACT

In my interviews, it was common for participants to mention the Ontario Cemeteries Act in regards to provincial legislation on cemeteries and burial sites. The Ontario Cemeteries Act, known since 2002 as the Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act (FBCSA), does not actually advise on heritage matters; it is concerned with the regulation of designated (not in the heritage

sense) and undesignated¹⁶ cemeteries in Ontario. In this sense, the FBCSA is authoritative in matters that may arise such as altering or increasing the capacity of a cemetery, the disturbance of burial sites, investigations into the origins of burial sites or the declaration of cemeteries as abandoned. Multiple interviewees mentioned the declaration of abandoned cemeteries throughout my interviews. The Township of Rideau Lakes, for instance, has an Abandoned Cemeteries Committee which oversees thirty-two sites.

The question then becomes, why designate cemeteries as abandoned and not as heritage sites? Under section 101.1 (4) of the FBCSA (2002), a cemetery that is declared abandoned becomes the responsibility of the municipality within which it is geographically located, or the of Crown in lieu of a local municipality. This works to the advantage of groups advocating for the general maintenance of cemeteries, as it means access to municipal resources. As in the case of the cemetery at Newboro, the municipality may also take an interest in recognizing the cemetery as a historic site (Participant A, October 24, 2017). At Chaffeys Locks, the cemetery is already recognized as Crown land therefore limiting, to the frustration of local heritage advocates, what the municipality can do to commemorate its own heritage.

Perhaps more pertinent, the FBCSA generally takes precedence over heritage designation when it comes to cemeteries and burial sites. According to the Government of Ontario on their website, cemeteries can be designated heritage sites under Part IV (individual designations) or Part V (heritage districts) of the OHA. Cemeteries may be seen as having heritage value if they are

¹⁶ According to the FBCSA, designation is the difference between a cemetery (designated) and a burial site (undesignated) (Government of Ontario, 2002).

connected to a specific historic event, a well-known people or pioneering family, or a specific well-known person or community (Government of Ontario, 2017). However, as the operation and management of cemeteries is regulated by the FBCSA, most activities at designated heritage cemeteries do not require heritage permits unless they directly affect the heritage values of the site. In other words, cemeteries as contemporary sites of burial take precedence over cemeteries as sites of heritage.

Another important question in this regard is *what specifically* is designated under the OHA when it comes to cemeteries and burials? While cemeteries may be designated under Part IV and Part V, these sections designate sites and associated materials but do not include any specific language for human remains. In regards to the OHA, the only section which specially references burials is Part VI, which deals with resources of archaeological value. Under Part VI, a heritage property does not include buildings or structures other than ruins, burial mounds, petroglyphs and earthworks (Government of Ontario, 1990). Even in the case of archaeological sites, heritage value, under provincial legislation, lies in the burial structure (the mound), and not in human remains themselves. While it is generally understood that the FBCSA takes precedence over the OHA when it comes to the operation and management of cemeteries, it legislatively prevails over Part VI of the OHA, specifically (Section 105), further undermining the ability to attribute heritage value to human remains in Ontario law.

I have given particular attention here to how cemeteries and other burial sites are regulated at the provincial level. In Canada, “provincial governments have responsibility for ‘Property and Civil Rights in the Province’ under section 92(13) of the *Constitution Act, 1867*. As

this section includes cemeteries, it means that each provincial government is responsible for administering cemeteries within their province in accordance with their own provincial legislation” (Union of Ontario Indians, 2015, p. 10). However, as I have laid out in this chapter, cemeteries, such as the ones along the Rideau Canal, are a part of larger webs of multi-jurisdictional policy and legislation which can be difficult to navigate and even harder to reconcile with non-canonical understandings of what constitutes heritage such as the embodied and affectual ones I have proposed.

In 2015, the Union of Ontario Indians produced a *Toolkit for Understanding Aboriginal Heritage & Burial Rights & Issues*. In addition to defining terms such as “burial site” and “heritage site” in terms that may be more relevant to Indigenous communities, the document also usefully lists all relevant provincial legislation pertaining to heritage and burial sites in Ontario. What the document, and my above analysis, reveal, is that while legislation pertaining to heritage and burials often run parallel to one another, they do not overlap in ways that allow for embodied/affectual understandings of how the remains of canal labourers may constitute heritage within their respective communities. At the provincial level, wherein lies the authority to administer cemeteries, “the legislation and process that is applicable to a particular heritage and burial right and issue is very much contingent on whether it is located on or off-reserve, if it is on private or public land, and whether it concerns a heritage site or a burial site” (ibid., p. 14); burials as heritage are not considered.

CANAL BODIES: SPIRIT OF PLACE, CULTURALLY SENSITIVE PLACES AND AFFECTUAL HERITAGE

I will now consider other existing frameworks for heritage which may be suitable in the case of the Rideau Canal cemeteries. These are guidelines produced for the management of heritage, some by Parks Canada and some by UNESCO, that are not currently referenced in the canal management plan or any of the canal's statements of significance at the national or international level.

I include them here for their potential for embodied and affectual understandings of heritage as introduced previously. To recap, I borrow from both Smith (2006) and Davidson et al. (2011) to conceptualize a definition of affect that represents the embodiment of thought and emotion as well as a set of relations between things, people and places. In this way, as Smith (2006) asserts, heritage can be embodied with particular values, meanings and affects (p. 57), and in this case specifically, the bodies of canal labourers do so. To conclude this chapter, I present a heritage site in Ottawa—the National War Memorial—in which human remains *are* given significance, and discuss how this example may be understood in relation to the canal cemeteries.

THE UNESCO MANUAL FOR ACTIVITIES DIRECTED AT UNDERWATER CULTURAL HERITAGE

In an annex to the 2001 UNESCO Convention, the Scientific and Technical Advisory Body endorsed the production of a manual for thirty-six rules for consideration in the management of underwater cultural heritage, primarily focused at archaeological practices. While the cemeteries with which this thesis is concerned are on land, the language contained within the manual differs

significantly from other similar documents¹⁷. In Rule 5 of the manual, the committee calls specifically for careful consideration of impact on human remains and venerated sites, noting that “significance is perceived differently by different people, by different interested parties, and by different ‘stakeholder’ groups” (UNESCO, 2013, p. 42). The inclusion of human remains specifically is unique among UNESCO documents. Moreover, Rule 5 continues to declare that human remains call for attention and care “in respect of other people’s feelings” as they “embody interpersonal human relations, in the present as much as in the past” (ibid., p. 45). This statement demonstrates the potential for embodied understandings of heritage (located *in* bodies specifically), and also significantly justifies feeling and emotion as important heritage values in a UNESCO-produced document.

Such statements create the potential for the bodies of canal labourers to be included among the cultural heritage resources of the Rideau Canal. In terms of Canadian-specific policy, we can find similar sentiments in the *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada*.

PARKS CANADA’S STANDARDS AND GUIDELINES FOR ARCHAEOLOGICAL SITES IN CULTURALLY-SENSITIVE PLACES

According to Parks Canada’s Standards and Guidelines, burial sites are categorized as archaeological sites, but in a unique category, “culturally-sensitive places” (CSP). CSPs are defined as “specially recognized places that have been given special meaning by a group or a community...

¹⁷ I should also note that due to the nature of the canal, especially the flooding of previous terrestrial landscapes, it is likely that the canal itself contains underwater cultural heritage of archaeological value.

[including] burial grounds, above-ground burials, abandoned cemeteries and other sites that may have cultural or spiritual value to a community” (Parks Canada, 2010, p. 99). According to Parks, these sites are given special status as their heritage value resides primarily in their cultural, social, and spiritual significance, and such value is “not always proportional to the extent or state of their physical remains,” therefore special conservation strategies are needed where they may be little tangible evidence to accompany certain sites (ibid., p. 122).

TABLE 6: GUIDELINES FOR PRESERVATION AND REHABILITATION OF CULTURALLY-SENSITIVE PLACES (REPRODUCED FROM PARKS CANADA, 2010, P. 123)

	<i>Recommended</i>	<i>Not Recommended</i>
1	Understanding the potentially sensitive nature of an archaeological site and its environment, for a group or community, before any intervention is undertaken.	
2	Protecting and preserving the landscape and its natural features that directly contribute to the site’s heritage value.	
3	Recording without disturbance the elements that contribute to the heritage value in consultation with the affiliated community.	Recording the elements that contribute to the heritage value, using methods that disregard the sensitive nature of the sites.
4	Stabilizing the character-defining elements, using methods that do not affect the site’s heritage value.	
5	Working with interested parties, particularly the affiliated community, to define acceptable activities at a culturally sensitive place.	Allowing activities in culturally sensitive places, without notifying interested parties, resulting in negative impacts on the heritage value.
6	Preserving the heritage value of a site by enabling a continued relationship between cultural groups and culturally-sensitive places, when this relationship contributes to the heritage value of the site. This includes access and use for rituals, ceremonies and traditional gatherings, while ensuring measures to protect heritage value are in place. The need to preserve the community’s relationship with the place should be balanced with the need to preserve the character-defining elements.	
7	Protecting the archaeological context of burials to preserve associated information.	

8	Removing , when appropriate, human remains with associated funerary objects and surrounding soil, with the support of the affiliated community and after documenting their position.	Removing human remains without the support of the affiliated community, and without including information about context and location, such as soil, position, funerary objects, etc.
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The guidelines offer a framework for the preservation of Canadian heritage sites containing burials, but moreover they call for the preservation of the *heritage value* of the site by enabling the continued relationship between the site and its attributed cultural group. This requires, as the guidelines state, an understanding of the cultural or spiritual value of burials to the community. It is less clear how these notions are embodied through the remains present or how to interpret them outside of archaeological contexts. Once again, we face the conundrum that archaeological sites must be given archaeological status before they can be included in heritage discourses. This further limits the potential for immaterial bodies. To consider this element, another important Canadian document must be considered.

THE QUÉBEC DECLARATION ON THE PRESERVATION OF SPIRIT OF PLACE

The *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of Spirit of Place*, adopted by the ICOMOS 16th General Assembly in 2008, was a landmark heritage document not only for Canada but for World Heritage. On one hand, the declaration provided new terms for discussing tangible and intangible heritage as separate but entwined concepts, but it furthermore enshrined the language of emotion into world heritage: “Spirit of place is defined as the tangible (buildings, sites, landscapes, routes, objects) and the intangible elements (memories, narratives, written documents, rituals, festivals, traditional knowledge, values, textures, colors, odors, etc.), that is to say the physical and the spiritual elements that give meaning, value, emotion and mystery to place” (ICOMOS, 2008).

Significant here is the notion that memories and narratives associated with a particular place contribute to its spirit, and therefore its heritage value. As demonstrated through the interviews conducted with community members, the cemetery at Chaffeys Locks for instance maintained its relevance in the community through memories and narratives of grave sites and ghosts, even when the site fell into disrepair or before the exact location or number of remains was unknown. Immaterial bodies, as aspects of intangible cultural heritage of the canal, contribute significantly to the spirit of place.

THE NATIONAL WAR MEMORIAL AND THE TOMB OF THE UNKNOWN SOLDIER

To understand how these concepts might be applied to the canal, one can draw parallels here to another national historic site in Canada, the National War Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier in Ottawa. The Confederation Square National Historic Site (which includes the National War Memorial and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier) was formally recognized in 1984, with its primary heritage value being a national ceremonial site and physical manifestation of a public space designed in the City Beautiful style (Canada's Historic Places, n.d.). Since its addition to the site in 2000, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier has been included as one of the character defining elements of the larger Confederation Square, however, it is included in particular reference to "its location, above-ground footprint, design and materials" (ibid.). The material body of the soldier being un-mentioned. Davidson (2016) points out that it is the actual physical human remains of the soldier that have recast Confederation square as a burial site, "materially and affectively [expanding] the halo of reverence felt at the [National War Memorial]" (p. 186). The remains of the soldier serve an ontological purpose as both actual and ideal: actual human remains

and the idealization of a young Canadian man who died at Vimy ridge, both evoking emotion and affectual response (ibid., 188). In this way, the Unknown Soldier also contributes to the heritage value of the National War memorial through his immateriality.

What the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, as part of the National War Memorial, demonstrates, is the ability of human remains in their materiality and immateriality to imbue a heritage site with new ontological meaning and heritage value, both embodied and affectual. This can be understood through the analysis provided by Davidson, and also through the frameworks created by such documents as the UNESCO manual, the guidelines for culturally-sensitive places and the Québec Declaration listed above. But such conceptualizations are currently absent from how cemeteries within heritage sites are understood in Canada, and in the case of the Rideau Canal in particular where cemeteries and graves are left entirely out of authorized narratives. This is contrary to how community members describe the significance of the cemeteries within their own communities. This does not demonstrate a lack of awareness by heritage professionals, but an indication that current conceptualizations of heritage value and policy and legislation need to be reframed to include more embodied and affectual understandings of heritage in order to recognize bodies, material and immaterial, within the heritage discourses of sites such as the Rideau Canal. In the following chapter, I demonstrate some of the ways that such conceptualizations of embodied and affectual heritage take place at Chaffeys Locks and Newboro.

PART THREE: BODIES AND SPECTRES ON THE RIDEAU CANAL

“Magic, anthropologists have always known, is about what people throughout the world do when faced with uncertainty, catastrophic damage, injustice, illness, suffering or harm, while ritual (also magical in its logic) is performed to forestall or prevent these very things. Magic is not about deficient logic, childish mental mistakes, clever priestly illusions or other mistaken technologies. It is the universal feeling that what we see and feel exceeds our knowledge, our understanding and our control.” (Appadurai, 2008)

In Part Two I explored the actual policy and legislation under which the canal is administered and maintained, and the absence of human remains within the cultural heritage resources identified by the agencies who administer it. I also identified other existing policies that are relevant to the Rideau Canal and would offer productive pathways to recognizing the bodies of labourers as tangible or intangible cultural heritage resources through notions of spirit of place and culturally sensitive places. In this section I will explore how the bodies of labourers, both material and immaterial, presently serve as heritage resources through:

- defining the specific cemetery spaces at which both the lives of the labourers and the labour history of the canal are commemorated
- as archaeological resources (though presently unrecognized)
- embodying the labour history of the canal and evoking the embodied response of visitors as affectual experiences of heritage
- appearing in folklore and personal/generational memories
- appearing through various practices of remote sensing

MATERIAL BODIES: CONSERVATION AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The apparent tensions between conservation policy and the recognition of human remains as having heritage value in and of themselves are indicative of two broader discussions: the place of archaeology and the material body within heritage conservation, and the place of the material body within and between anthropological subfields.¹⁸ I use the term material body here to refer specifically to physical human remains and their associated social, cultural and heritage values. That is to say, the material body combines the notion of the “biological body” and “material culture.” This combination resists common distinctions within such terms as “human remains” which are exclusive of the material remains of human action (Curtis, 2003, p. 27). The social, cultural and historical values of canal labour(ers) often referred to as the “human history” of the canal is not necessarily in question as it is enshrined in the language used by UNESCO, Parks Canada and provincial legislature. Material bodies, and to a lesser degree the spaces they inhabit, occupy more precarious spaces within the conservation of the canal. canal labourer cemeteries, such as the one at Chaffeys Locks, are sites where these discussions merge in potentially productive ways. As a direct link to the construction of the canal, the material bodies of labourers have always been valued by community members for their heritage value in regards to nation-building narratives, labour history and genealogical connections.

¹⁸ Anthropology is generally understood as a “four field” discipline, including cultural anthropology (concerned with human societies and cultures), linguistic anthropology (concerned with language and social life), physical anthropology (concerned with the physical/biological human body) and archaeology (concerned with human material culture).

Understanding the place of material bodies within heritage conservation requires some understanding of how anthropological subfields, and archaeology in particular, intertwine with conservation. Conservation historians point out that archaeological sites have been a part of heritage conservation and interpretation before such formal/disciplinary definitions of heritage began to appear (Matero, 2008, p. 1). Conservation and its belief in the safeguarding of cultural and natural resources from destruction and depletion naturally has significance to archaeology: both disciplines consider material culture to have value, whether archaeological or heritage, and so there has been a growth of interest in applying the principles and interventions of conservation to archaeological materials and sites¹⁹. However, the primary method of conducting archaeological fieldwork, excavation, is at its core a destructive and irreversible process. As Matero points out, archaeological sites are not found, they are made through the very act of doing archaeological research/practice (ibid., p. 3). In this way, the creation of the archaeological record, and the study of human material culture, is inherently antithetical to conservation.

How then can archaeology and the material body contribute to heritage? To a certain degree, this depends on whether the body is excavated, studied, exhumed or not. Following Matero's logic, the labourer cemeteries such as the one at Chaffeys Locks are not considered archaeological resources because they have not been the subject of archaeological study. This might explain, for instance, why legislation such as the FBCSA prevails over legislation related to

¹⁹ Common conservation interventions for archaeological sites include reconstruction (although this is not always considered appropriate, for instance by Parks Canada), reassembly (anastylosis), *in situ* and *ex situ* preservation, and interpretation (Matero, 2008, p. 5).

heritage: burials are burials first and only archaeological sites when they are made so. However, while labourer cemeteries on the Rideau Canal have not been the subject of archaeological research in terms of excavation, they have been the subject of such practices as remote sensing, as I will explore in the pages to follow. However, archaeological bodies personify the past in ways that other archaeological finds cannot, and it is precisely the physicality and presence of bodies that bring people face to face with history (Sofaer, 2006, p. 1). Furthermore, bodies within the ground, especially those buried for long periods of time, are not bound by the form in which they were interred. Buried bodies are unstable entities that change, decompose and meld into the earth; bodies become a part of the very fabric of cemeteries (Woodthorpe, 2010, p. 66).

We can, however, consider another role of the material body in heritage if we expand heritage to include such fields as museum studies. Human remains, skeletal, mummified or otherwise preserved, are a contested but popular fixture within museums.²⁰ While heritage institutions such as Historic Scotland refuse to display human remains on their own properties, they do allocate remains in their possession to museums who are willing to do so (Curtis, 2003, p. 22). In addition, the vast majority of museum collections consist of materials used by people who are now dead, though unlike churches, cemeteries or other places of memory, they rarely make this connection, portraying death in the abstract (ibid., p. 30-1). Human remains are often included within museum collections on the assumption that they fall on the 'nature' side of the Cartesian divide, justifying their use in scientific research (ibid., p. 28). Furthermore, their inclusion and study within museum collections, specifically in the mid to late 19th century, was used to make profound

²⁰ A study by Nick Merriman in 1989 revealed that 44% of people identified museums with churches, temples and other monuments to the dead (Curtis, 2003, p. 29).

cultural pronouncements about race and biological/social evolution, as well as, in later years, to posit generalized theories about the human species. Unlike other material culture collections within museums, material bodies had concrete implications in medicine and anthropology (Redman, 2016, p. 7-8). As cultural historian Samuel J. Redman suggests, “[a] common understanding of human remains as objects of scientific value had wholly permeated throughout the anthropological community. This common understanding that human remains might contribute to racial theory and knowledge of prehistory reached across disciplinary lines” (ibid., p. 116).

However, both archaeology and museum curation rely on considerations of the sacred to enrich understandings of material remains. This is also true within heritage conservation where, as Jack Elliot Jr. points out, “the language of the historic preservation movement is based on what claims to be an objective historiography, [but] is belied by the frequent use of the term 'significance': one which emphasises the power of places and objects 'to manifest a sense of something that is beyond and involves a very complex relationship between past events, specific places and conscious humans’” (ibid., p. 29).

Understanding how material bodies affect archaeologists, museum curators, and more to the point, canal residents and visitors, necessarily requires acknowledging the affective power of human remains and how they can contribute to heritage value. Material bodies carry a deferred agency of human action through their own presence as the dead or through living people, but they also have agency as materials and things (Krmopotich et al., 2010, p. 373); as they straddle the nature/culture divide they also straddle the subject/object divide. Laqueur describes the “work of

the dead” in how we imagine them to be, how they give meaning to our lives, and how they structures public spaces, time and politics (2015, p. 17). Like flies caught in amber, bodies may inform the present by revealing a glimpse of the past, but their living selves are neither here nor there. As such they carry great enormous potential to embody heritage value as they “make the past present in ways far more salient and consequential than notions of ‘heritage’ or acts of commemoration can often accommodate” (Krmopotich et al., 2010, p. 378).

ANTHROPOLOGY AND THE MATERIAL BODY

In referring to the affective quality of material bodies and their potential within the language of heritage value, I am of course invoking their relevance to studies of social memory and history. Making such connections is valuable, as Cattell and Climo (2002) describe, in calling for greater unity within anthropology by bringing cultural, linguistic, physical and archaeological disciplines together on topics of mutual interest (p. 2). Cemeteries have always been valued as rich spaces for anthropological study because of how they illustrate the symbolic meaning and interactions between people and material culture, including bodies themselves (Francis et al., 2005, p. xv). But material bodies between anthropological subdisciplines take on various meanings and functions that complicate how bodies, such as the archaeological body, can be integrated into heritage conservation discourses.

Archaeological bodies straddle disciplinary divides in that they are studied through two contrasting approaches: science-based osteological approaches which focus on the skeleton as material remains, and more humanistic views of the body as socially constructed and historically contextualized and produced (Sofaer, 2006, p. xiii). Bodies exist essentially on a spectrum of

biologism to social construction because biological processes and cultural life are intertwined in the body (ibid., 60). Sofaer sees potential in this duality to reposition material bodies as part of material culture: “By dissolving the perceived dichotomy between persons and artefacts, the notion of the body as material culture provides a potential vehicle for reconciliation between science and humanism on a meta-theoretical level. Indeed, it radically changes the subject-object relationship; the body becomes the object of study but, as a person, is also an active subject” (2006, p. 86). Such an approach could have tremendous potential for the inclusion of human material bodies in discourses of heritage value and conservation.

Material bodies in the ground are not just bodies however, they occupy and define spaces: cemetery spaces. However, while there is no cemetery without the dead, the cemetery also relies on the discreet and hidden body, preferring the absence of bones, mounds, smells, and the presence of monuments to refer to the dead (Laqueur, 2015, p. 279). In contemporary anthropological fieldwork in cemeteries, the materiality of the buried body has gone consistently unspoken by cemetery-goers in contrast to their active role in maintenance and boundary-making above ground at burial sites (Woodthorpe, 2010, p. 62). Research within death studies in particular, calls for the study of spaces of death (hospitals, battlefield, cemeteries, etc.) to be studied as spaces *per se*, rather than areas where things happen (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2010, p. 2). Deathscapes, as they are called, intersect with other topographies such as landscapes (including cultural landscapes), memoryscapes and heritage sites. However, the study of landscapes of memory rely on the aspect of the visible and tangible *aides de memoire* familiar within discourses of heritage conservation and the “heritage industry” has its own criteria by which landscapes can be evaluated as “cultural-historical things” (O’Keefe, 2007, p. 10).

The question is then, what role can *bodies* themselves actually play within heritage conservation praxes? For many of my interviewees, the graves of canal labourers and the bodies within them are sites for remembrance that are akin to other tangible heritage such as architecture and engineering but offer more powerful expressions of cultural memory. As one participant stated, the presence of the bodies at the Chaffey's Lock Cemetery offers a "stronger cultural memory in some ways than just looking at a house or a lock" (Participant C, October 26, 2017). The tangibility of the bodies in these instances are an important aspect of how they are able to affect the living. In the example below, heritage is embodied in two ways: first, the labour that produced the canal is embodied in the remains of the labourer being visited, and second, heritage is embodied through the processual act of visiting and walking between the graves.

PD: It's funny how we interpret death and burial and grieving and that sort of thing in today's age and how we did it back then, and sort of the process of going through it. Where today, someone dies, we have our moment and then we don't have that body to sort of go back and—it's kind of silly, we know that person's not there but there's... I don't know... It's kind of neat too when you see the mounds all lined up. It's like every time you walk through there, it's like, 'Yeah, there really is a body under here of somebody who gave everything.' I don't know. (Participant D, November 1, 2017)

To examine the role that labourer bodies, and the cemeteries they inhabit, play within the heritage of the canal, we must examine both material and immaterial bodies. In my fieldwork, the immaterial body proved to be more than a foil to the material body or an obvious entry point into discussions of intangible culture. Immaterial bodies play a distinct role in surviving the memory of labourer cemeteries within communities and within the cultural landscape of the canal through three general pathways: folklore and personal/generational memories, remote sensing, and as

spectres. Where the common conception of canal labourer graves is that they were unmarked or forgotten (see Fleming, 1981 and McKenna, 2008), their spectres have proven far harder to forget.

IMMATERIAL BODIES: THE SPECTRE AND INTANGIBLE CULTURE

Discussions of the immaterial body within the context of this paper must begin and end with the spectre. Spectres on the canal appear in various forms. First is the spectre in the sense that Derrida (1994) has written of, which represents something that is not seen, but which one can imagine, sense and project (p. 100-1). The spectre is simultaneously something that is known (because it can affect the living), but can't truly be known because it is non-present, the "being-there of an absent or departed one no longer [belonging] to knowledge" (ibid., p. 6). Spectres also exist as ideas separate from the material bodies of the canal labourers; they are the *idea* of forgotten bodies that haunt the living, not the bodies themselves. Spectres in this sense evoke Tamas' (2016) conception of the "ghost" as exclusions and invisibilities, "lurking in the absences, the shadows of the not-quite-known or the not-here-now, [the] things that condense in the gaps" (p. 40). They also follow Bell's (1997) conceptualization of "ghosts of place," the un-embodied but nonetheless felt presence that possess and give a sense of social aliveness to a place (p. 815). Both of these spectres are present and active on the canal, but require some positioning within both anthropological and heritage conservation discourses.

To talk of spectres on the canal invokes a sense of ghostly apparitions, those normally attributed to the supernatural, magical or enchanted. It is precisely within this realm that they find ontological importance within scholarly discourse. Laqueur's (2015) notion of the work of the dead fleshes out how the dead remain active agents in history, doing things that the living could not do

on their own (p. 18). The dead as they are imagined, the immaterial bodies, enchant the “purportedly disenchanted world [and reinvent] enchantment in more democratic forms... a new and modern magic that we can believe in [where] layers of meaning from the deep past lie beneath the present, waiting to be reused and reimagined” (ibid., p. 14). Often this work, the interaction between the living and immaterial bodies, happens within cemetery spaces which, as liminal spaces, “bridge notions of self and other, time and space, individuals and [communities], past and present” (Francis et al., 2002, p. 95) and allow for the continuation of conversations between generations (ibid., p. 98). Such instances, where worlds appear to intertwine in nonsensical ways, require methods and techniques to make sense of and address ethical-phenomenological questions: what Appadurai (2008) identifies as magic. Magic in this conceptualization is essential in filling the rhetorical void of naming the un-nameable within academia, and provides a language with which to speak about things for which we have no words or don’t (yet) understand (ibid.).

Similarly, the spectre creates a language useful for discussing the immaterial body within heritage conservation. In *The Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, intangible heritage on the world heritage scale was defined as “practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 2). These forms of heritage, as Logan (2008) points out, are embodied in people, rather than through inanimate objects, making them both difficult to conserve and raising new ethical and practical issues (p. 33). Notably, intangible cultural heritage has no set of criteria in which it might be assessed as having OUV as equal to the operational guidelines for heritage places (which is dedicated to tangible cultural and natural heritage) (ibid., p. 37). Intangible cultural heritage, therefore, operates much like the spectre. This raises the question: are immaterial bodies heritage?

This depends first on how one defines heritage. Critical heritage scholars such as Beverly Butler (2016) note that “routinized UN/UNESCO-led heritage discourse” represents a banalization of heritage where the constrictive category of heritage value (especially represented in OUV) is increasingly pressured to demonstrate value through economic, social, scientific or otherwise quant-/qualifiable terms (p. 131). Butler suggests that heritage can be reframed or shifted from existing through notions of value to acting through notions of efficacy. Where heritage value seeks resolution through attachment to things and places, heritage efficacy, which recognizes heritage more processually as an embodied experience, seeks to grapple with what can never be known, but merely “sought in various acts of ‘displaced grasping’ at the invisible” (p. 119). Heritage efficacy welcomes the spectre. Such debates of efficacy destabilize core categories and boundaries, challenge routinized versions of heritage, and open pathways to view heritage as transcendent where heritage is not constituted in modernity as ruptures of the past (p. 118) but instead both haunts and is haunted by spectres bodies.

IMMATERIAL BODIES: FOLKLORE AND LOCAL/GENERATIONAL MEMORY

*“All long dead, their spirits linger yet
To wonder o'er at midnight hour, the lake they cannot forget
Reminders of a long forgotten day, why should they linger here?
Like dead leaves drifting from a long forgotten year.*

*And their ghostly whisperings, at midnight you may hear
E'en though you may not see, the boat their spirits steer
You may hear their voices, speaking, in varied tone
If at midnight you listen, to the ghosts of the Opinicon!”
(Excerpt from, “The Ghosts of the Opinicon,” (Fleming, 1981))*

Folklore has always been present and intertwined with the history of the canal, beyond the scope of what is relevant for this paper, and certainly well before the arrival of settlers²¹. Some folk stories may have haunted even the labourers of the canal during its construction. For instance, there is a rumour of a giant fish which haunts a geographical feature known as “Devil’s Hole” at Hog’s Back (National Capital Commission, 1993, p. 36), which is an integral location along the canal featuring skillfully engineered locks and a dam²². The roaring falls at the site also presented one of the most dangerous working environments on the entire canal, with multiple fatal collapses (Clark, 2013, p. 4)²³. It is no wonder that a site which was the location of such human tragedy might inspire such fantastical stories as a giant and dangerous fish. However, my point in discussing the role of folklore here is not to examine just how folklore about labourer bodies and spectres is produced, but also what it *does*. Writing on the function of stories in society, Gubrium and Holstein (2009) advocate for a sense of storytelling that centers on the social organization of narrativity (p. xvii). This approach posits a reflexive relationship between narrative work (people telling stories) and narrative environments (where stories takes place), recognizing that both continually shape each other, rather than environments simply existing empirically to shape stories on their own terms (p. xviii). This is achieved by asking such questions as, where are stories encountered, who

²¹ Since this thesis is concerned with settler grave sites specifically, and the Irish labourer graves at Chaffey’s and Newboro in particular, I do not here venture to include Indigenous story traditions or oral histories as they do not have an impact on how contemporary settler communities remember settler cemetery sites, although I’m sure settlers at the time would have been aware of these stories.

²² Hog’s Back Dam was 17 feet higher than the largest dam in North America at the time it was built (Van De Wetering, 1997, p. 124).

²³ Anecdotaly, Devil’s Hole became a popular rite of passage for young men in Ottawa as a diving area. The dangerous waters were the cause of numerous deaths over the years, prompting the city to close it off to the public (Clark, 2013, p. 4).

produces these stories, under what circumstances and for what purpose, and who encounters them, how are they accepted and how are they challenged? (p.23).

For most of the stories I encountered, original authorship is untraceable, but publishers are not. In recent years, research and local interest books on the canal have included stories that have persisted along the Rideau Corridor, and have such become a part of educational materials, even as interpretation by Parks Canada²⁴. In an “edu-kit” designed by Parks Canada 1999 for use in Ontario classrooms to “teach young people awareness of the canal,” an entire section is devoted to myths and legends featuring both fictional and historical characters. Several of these stories involve deaths, human remains and spectres. One story titled “Oliver’s Ferry,” tells of a ferryman who operated between Perth and Brockville before and during the building of the canal. As the legend goes, travellers who came to his ferry after dark were allowed to stay the night before making the voyage in the morning, but many who stayed with the ferryman were never seen again. Years later, when the ferry was replaced by a bridge and the ferryman’s home was torn down, human skeletons were found in the walls and under the floor boards.

This myth has been debunked (see Watson, 2010), although the discovery of human remains along the canal is a common theme that has fueled stories such as this one. In a modern-day tale, workers excavating a gravel pit at Jones Falls discovered human remains partially clothed in a blue military jacket with brass buttons. The remains sparked the imagination of the workers and area residents who believed they had found the unmarked remains of a soldier stationed at

²⁴ See *Heritage Trails, Exploring the Rideau Canal* (Parks Canada, 1999) and *Tales of The Rideau* (Watson, 2010).

Jones Falls during the construction of the canal. Analysis of the buttons debunked this theory, as the uniform dated to the mid 1800s²⁵. However, tales such as this one add to the general conception of canal cemeteries being “unmarked and forgotten.” When material bodies are unearthed, they tend to be marked as discoveries or rediscoveries, even in spaces which have always been known to have human remains. For instance, at Chaffey’s Lock, it is generally perceived that canal labourer remains were “discovered” by the community in the Chaffey family plot, prompting research, restoration work and the ceremony previously mentioned. However, community knowledge of canal labourers and their presence in the landscape, while it ebbs and flows, has remained fairly constant through personal/generational memories:

PC: ...People always knew it was a cemetery. And I believe the last two people buried in there were in the 1930s...

CG: And was there also sort of a continuation of knowledge that there were possibly bodies related to the construction of the canal there? Or people just knew that it had a lock master?

PC: No, I think people always knew that there were people from the canal construction in there. Like, I remember my dad telling me—in the 1930’s when my grandfather was lock master there were—on the other side of the cemetery there were um, a group of tents that were where the fishing guides lived all summer long, because they’d been banished off the point because that was more for tourists and cottagers and stuff. So they set up their tents right next to the cemetery in there. And you’ll find lots of old bottles and stuff. And anyway, they were doing a jokey thing and they found an old skull. And they brought it to grandpa to look at. And he pulled a trick and put it on the counter in front of my grandmother and she freaked right out. (Participant C, October 26, 2017)

Spectres of canal labourers continued to be present on the landscape even as their remains were hidden beneath the ground, and their markers disappeared. In the model of narrative reality

²⁵ A full account of this story, “A Grave Revealing,” can be found in *Tales of the Rideau* (Watson, 2010, p. 105).

proposed by Gubrium and Holstein, the narrative work of community residents (the stories of Labourer bodies) affected the narrative environment (the local cemetery) and vice versa. Stories about skulls and bones made the conditions possible for labourer graves to be (re)discovered, and the presence of mounds and other non-body markers on the landscape allowed for community memory and folkloric tales of bodies and spectres to flourish and persist.

PD: That's a really interesting question, because when we were little—actually when I was really little, I didn't even acknowledge it, I didn't know it was really there, there was no signs. I think, probably a little later in my memory it was there. And we would play—we knew it was a cemetery and knew that, you know, that the workers had died there. But still didn't—you know, there was no sign or plaque or anything. And you could see the mounds sort—the ground is still sort of mound up where all the bodies—not all the bodies—but some of the bodies are. And we would play hide-and-seek in there and that was fun. But it was a mess. And um... yeah. Really only since [restoration work] in the last 25 years or so? That it's really had an impact on just kind of reviving our, sort of our universal—or like our knowledge base of it that was kind of forgotten about, really.

CG: But the community was aware that there were not only bodies there, but they were labourer bodies?

PD: Yeah, they were. (Participant D, November 1, 2017)

Spectres make more obvious appearances in some of the folklore, as apparitions which can be seen or interacted with. In one tale in Parks Canada's edu-kit, the spectre of a woman, Kathleen McBride, known as the "Lady in Blue," haunts the canal bridge at Burrit's Rapids. As the legend goes, Kathleen arrived at Burrit's Rapids in the 1860s and spent her days searching up and down the canal for an unknown reason, though the community speculated it was for a long lost love who died during the construction of the canal. She was last seen searching for her love on October 31st, a frosty, moonlit night. The Lady in Blue can be spotted on bright nights still searching for her love, and visitors are advised to let her be in her eternal search. At Chaffey's Locks, the cemetery

becomes an active social site during particular times of the year, Halloween included. Interviewees mentioned such traditions as hiding speakers to emit haunting sounds, and leading kids through the cemetery to go trick-or-treating at the community hall. The cemetery and local lore dialogically construct a spooky narrative reality.

IMMATERIAL BODIES: REMOTE SENSING

At times it is not the immaterial bodies who make themselves known to the living, but the living who seek ways to interact with the remains of people which they cannot see. During my field observations and interviews, various practices, which can be variously grouped together in terms of “remote sensing,” became a common theme in which community members and researchers seek to remotely interact with graves, primarily for purposes of location and identification. Remote sensing scientifically encompasses numerous aerial and ground-based techniques such as ground penetrating radar (GPR), electromagnetic sonar, and soil resistance. Such techniques have been a staple of archaeological research (see McCormack, 2010 and Rowlands & Sarris, 2007) as non-destructive and cost-effective technologies, which coupled with computer analysis allow investigators to detect features through various spectra invisible to the naked eye. At Chaffey’s Lock Cemetery, GPR has been used to sense disturbances in soil which indicate the presence of burials, and electromagnetic sonar has been used to indicate the presence of metal (or other types) artifacts beneath the soil which may also indicate the presence of material culture and associated remains. GPR and electromagnetic sonar require the use of specialized equipment and

expert interpretation²⁶, though their usage in the field sites I visited appeared to be quite common with one resident owning and operating his own GPR unit.

Information from remote sensing, in the case of Chaffeys Locks, gets interpreted alongside information from the historical record, in lieu of archaeological investigation:



FIGURE 5: A GROUND-PENETRATING RADAR (GPR) UNIT IN-USE AT NEWBORO CEMETERY (PHOTO PROVIDED BY DON ORR).

PA: There's one over there. Back here a little bit, past this tree, over by the white fence post.

CG: Yep.

PA: See one? And there's the other one over here. So they were, uh, put in here and there were 14 people that were rushed into here. In August of [1828]. We know that.

CG: Within this quadrant?

PA: Well we assume. We assume that they were put in there. Because just past that tree- it's massive where the digging was... As you can tell with both the sonar and the electromagnetic. It's massive. Big spot in there that was dug. And not, like individual spots, it was just a big massive spot.

CG: Right, and there's a historical account of 14 deaths at that time?

PA: That's in the papers. That's the last time that any deaths were recorded in here. (Participant A, October 24, 2017)

²⁶ The equipment itself is often not hard to use. Operating a GPR requires the physical ability of pushing an average-sized lawnmower, but takes special software to record and skilled interpretation.

At other field sites, like the Newboro Royal Sappers and Miners Cemetery, remote sensing work is done to fill in gaps where no historical information exists. In all of these cases, ground-based remote sensing techniques are used to locate material bodies (without being able to physically see them) so that they can be marked and recorded:

PF: [W]e are hoping to be able to identify as many burial sites as possible so that we could place some kind of marker on the grave. We won't know who is buried in a grave but at least we can mark the grave. For me it is a matter of respect... I don't think it has changed my view of the people buried there but I feel we are fulfilling an obligation to them, as human beings, by marking their grave sites. (Participant F, March 21, 2018)

"Sense of duty," fulfilling obligations and showing respect to the dead were common motivations expressed by all interviewees throughout the research, whether in regards to remote sensing or other activities in the cemetery. Unlike in archaeological practice, the remains are not located or mapped for the purposes of excavation. In the case of the cemeteries, the material bodies of the labourers will never be physically unearthed or even seen. At Newboro where I observed GPR mapping first-hand, for example, a member of the abandoned cemeteries committee helping with the mapping expressed that the advantage of the remote sensing was the ability to provide information "without the need for digging holes." The committee did have interest, however in doing archaeological work at the military camp adjacent to the cemetery (Participant F, March 21, 2018). Instead, immaterial bodies are manifested on maps and screens and spectres are sensed in the landscape to be commemorated. Location, Derrida (1994) points out, is an essential part of mourning which "consists always in attempting to ontologize remains, to make them present, in the first place by *identifying* the bodily remains and by *localizing* the

dead... Nothing could be worse for the work of mourning than confusion or doubt: one has to know who is buried where..." (emphasis original, p. 9). These moments, where the material body and immaterial body are merged through practices of remote sensing are important for symbolic transformations of the dead by living communities. They offer spaces for the living to graft symbolic structures onto the dead in their places of internment, thereby making them more than physical remains, and instead reimagining them as memories, spirits and spectres (Maddrell & Sidaway, 2010, p. 7). People visit these symbols, memorials and graves to mourn and have transcending experiences (Toussaint & Decrop, 2013, p. 13). This is where the spectre, as the manifestation of the not-here-now, allow cemeteries to bridge notions of time and space. "For something to be transcendental, it must surpass the limits of ordinary knowledge and experience. It is in this supernatural space that history is open to considerable interpretation" (Maddern, 2007, p. 57).

In my research, I encountered forms of remote sensing outside of those traditionally used in archaeological or geographical practice. In one instance, an interviewee described the use of dowsing, a practice commonly used to find veins of ore or sources of water underground, for finding graves. Dowsing, sometimes referred to as "divining," is not commonly associated with science-based remote sensing techniques such as the one above. In recent writing, remote sensing has been closely associated with the spectral, as an element of geographical experience with the capacity to haunt and enchant and be sensed without the fullness of presence (McCormack, 2010, p. 642). The definition of remote sensing can be expanded from a technology-based one, such as the one above, to more of a set of techniques and practices used to acquire physical data of, or tell something about, an object without physically touching or seeing it (ibid., p. 641-2).

Data from techniques such as dowsing can also be mixed with data from other types of remote sensing such as GPR, but dowsing offers more potential for affectual experiences of cemetery spaces, where observers can “interact” with immaterial bodies through the mediation of dowsing rods and special technique. In other words, it offers the potential for living bodies to interact with other bodies as *bodies* and not as soil disturbances or metallic reflections: “Specifically, remote sensing—as the possibility of sensing without direct contact—can be conceived in terms of ethological relations between sensing bodies of different degrees of activity and passivity: relations that involve the capacity of bodies to affect and be affected by other bodies” (McCormack, 2010, p. 644).

IMMATERIAL BODIES: SPECTRES, AFFECTUAL ENCOUNTERS AND THE DISPLACED DEAD

Discussions of the immaterial body, as I said, begin and end with the spectre. In my research, spectres appeared most obviously through folk tales, personal/generational memories and through remote sensing. But the immaterial bodies of the labourers affect the living in other ways, being sensed by living bodies through affectual experiences of epiphany, communion and sometimes fear. In a particularly intimate experience, a visitor to the Chaffey’s Lock cemetery commemoration ceremony in 2001 had a transcendental experience which culminated in the creation of a song:

PG: So they had the two minutes of silence. And I’d never written a song before at all. Anyways, they had their two minutes’ silence. And behind the cemetery there are pine trees: big old pine trees. And it was just dead silent except for the whispering of the wind in the pines and the hairs on the back of my neck were standing up. And I’m looking around and I thought to myself, “Boy, if they’re here, they’re here now.” And so anyways, they did the two minutes’ silence. And I’m on my way home and I thought, “I’ve gotta put this down. I have to write down this song.” You know, I’ve never written a song before. And by the

time I got home I had the melody. And within about an hour I had the words to it. And as I tell people: it was as though I was compelled to write it. You know? It was just too eerie. And I had to write that song down. And of course it's a lament. And I tell people when I'm speaking about it that most songs are written about a group of people. This is about one person and his wife, or his love, was in County Kildare, Ireland. And I say, "Why County Kildare?" I have no idea. That's what came to mind. So I said, "Maybe this is him telling me, that's where he's from, or that's where his long lost love is." (Participant G, March 23, 2018)

The interviewee's experience echoes the story of Kathleen McBride, the "Lady in Blue," who searches for her long lost love along the Rideau Canal, years after his death (whether he indeed existed or not). In both of these instances, a connection is presumed between the deceased and a separate homeland, Ireland. Irish kinship more generally is a common theme in relation to the cemeteries and the labour history of the canal more broadly. At Chaffey's Lock Cemetery, Irish folk societies and Irish-themed businesses feature prominently on as sponsors on the community memory wall. The ceremony in 2001, which featured the Irish ambassador and an archbishop,



FIGURE 6: OUTSIDE OF THE MEMORIAL WALL AT CHAFFEY'S LOCK CEMETERY (PHOTO BY AUTHOR).

drew 250 people from Kingston to Ottawa to Chaffey's Lock, many of whom claim Irish descent but have no genealogical links to the canal cemetery. Some interviewees indicated lineage tracing back to the canal-building

era, the later settlements or the earlier Chaffey's Mill settlement, but connections to the canal labour force itself are unlikely:

CG: So, the people who came to, say that event, this memorialization at Chaffey's or at Jones Falls—they aren't descendants of these canal labour force there's sort of other—

PC: Yeah, they have Irish kinship. Like Kingston for example, had vast amounts of—particularly there were cholera—so when the Irish first coming in droves in say the late 1830s/mid 1830s, to the early 1850s they had mass burials in Kingston. There was a very strong Irish Catholic settlement there, and it evolved into the whole—you know some people get mixed up between the Ulster and the Irish Catholic. You don't if you're from Northern Ireland. (Participant C, October 26, 2018)

In anthropological literature, cemeteries have been noted to act as loci for constructions of identity and ethnicity and as special sites of

memory for groups whose cultural identity lies at a distance geographically or temporally (Cattel & Climo, 2002; Francis et al., 2002; Maddern, 2007; Toussaint & Decrop, 2013; and Francis et al., 2005). For Irish groups in particular, identity is evoked through references to homeland (Francis et al., 2002, p. 101). In the Rideau Corridor, references to Ireland are everywhere in place names from individual settlements and counties to rivers and lakes. The practice of settler-colonizers naming “discovered” land in the 17th century was of course quite common, and ignored the



FIGURE 7: A PLAQUE HONOURING CANAL LABOURERS AT CHAFFEY'S LOCK CEMETERY. SPONSORS INCLUDE THE KINGSTON IRISH FOLK CLUB AND TÍR NA NÓG (AN IRISH PUB) (PHOTO BY AUTHOR).

traditional names given to the land centuries ago by Algonquin and Mississauga people (Gordon, 2015, p. 11). But the presence of Irish names on the landscape may serve a dual purpose for the immaterial bodies along the canal who are themselves nameless. In addition to locating material bodies, interviewees also expressed interest in identifying individuals, although this is nearly impossible with what records survive or ever existed. But the naming of dead bodies serves particular purposes and has implications for how bodies are viewed along nature-culture/object-subject spectra. “Efforts to name bones frequently counteract those aspects of mortuary practices that are often designed to put space between the living and the dead, to transform the dead into another social space and set of social relations” (Krmopotich et al., 2010, p. 379).

In the case of the nameless dead, especially where bodies may be present in large numbers such as at mass graves or sites of war, memorial lists are erected where individual names cannot be attributed to individual bodies (or where individual bodies no longer exist). Unidentified dead are imagined to be present through such lists, as if the lists themselves can embody the spectres of those who they represent (Laqueur, 2015, p. 419). At Chaffey's Locks, where individual names cannot be found, spectres are embodied through imaginations of the “Irish Workers” as a somehow discrete group, or through notions of Irish land (on Canadian soil). Both of these notions are somewhat mythologized in the public imagination. As one interviewee points out, the Irish are not a homogenous group, nor were they the only presence in the canal labour force:

PC: And a lot of this was mythology, right? I mean there were a lot of workers, a lot of local workers, a lot of Americans coming up to work. There were Scots and British working on the canal... And a lot of Ulster Irish not Irish Catholic. And you know the Celtic thing tends to be more the Irish Catholic side of things. But the settlement in this area in, uh, from we'll say 1800 to 1825 in the area right around Chaffey's, Newboro and Jones Falls were about, were Americans. (Participant C, October 26, 2017)

However, the canal labourers did represent an “accidental community,” which Malkki (1997) defines as a group of people who experience war together, are stricken by a particular illness or work together on certain projects (p. 91-2). The canal labourers are united in their unified experience of the working on the canal and in experiencing malaria (and possibly one of the multiple cholera outbreaks as well). Chaffey’s Mills was in fact the most notorious site for malaria along the canal with 100% of the labour force being recorded sick during one particular outbreak (Bush, 1981, p. 59). The tragedy of their circumstances is often brought up in particular as a motivation for commemoration:

PD: And I also just think about what those men—they had to be desperate and crazy to come over here and live through what they must have lived through. The conditions would be simply hellish. And I can’t even imagine that—and I think about that a lot when I’m over there. Like no one today in this culture knows what it’s like to work like that until you die... (Participant D, November 1, 2017)

In regards to land, bodies are sometimes imagined as literally being on Irish soil. In one popular folk tale, an Irish labourer named Denis Donovan died of malaria while working on the canal, his final wish being to have his body sent back to Ireland. According to the tale he was buried on local land with a deed taken out in the name of County Cork, Ireland²⁷. And so, the spectres of the canal cemeteries are imagined to be existing between time and space. Simultaneously part of the past and the present, on Indigenous/Canadian and Irish soil.

²⁷ A full account of the tale and the historical facts surrounding it can be found in Watson (2010).

So far I have presented the case that bodies, both tangible and intangible (or material and immaterial as I have chosen to describe them), represent an important part of the heritage of the canal. While this is expressed through my conversations with specific community members who study and/or maintain canal cemeteries, the cemeteries and the bodies within them are largely absent within authorized discourses of the canal. This is met with some exception, such as the ghost stories presented in Parks Canada's edu-kit, or the mention of the Chaffey's Lock Cemetery

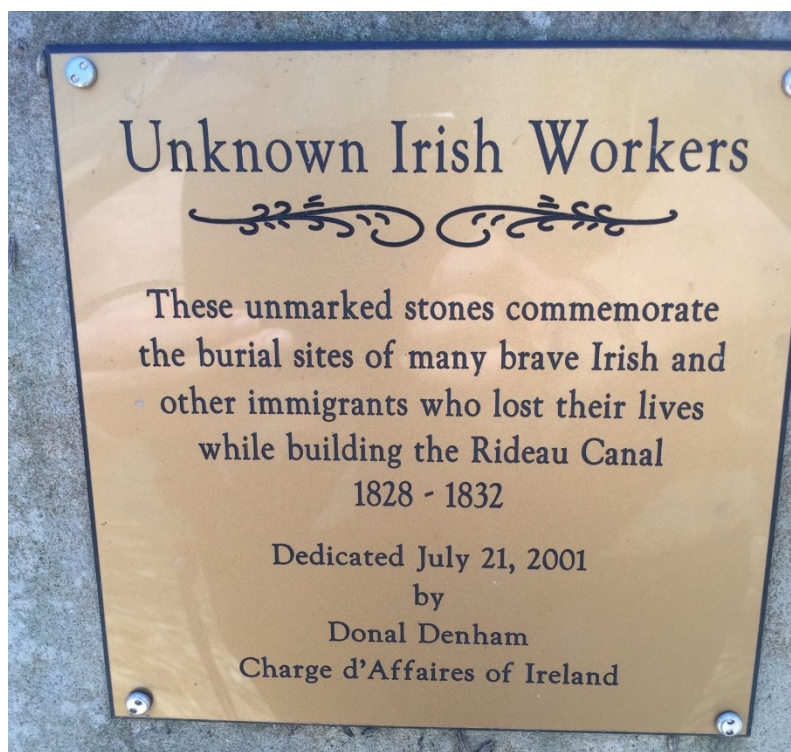


FIGURE 8: A PLAQUE DEDICATED TO CANAL LABOURERS AT CHAFFEY'S LOCK CEMETERY (PHOTO BY AUTHOR).

in Dillon Consulting's (2011) *Rideau Corridor Landscape Strategy*. However, implementing these understandings of heritage would require a canal management strategy that incorporates aspects of the policies listed in Part Two; policies that are congruent with the embodied and affectual understandings of heritage that human bodies can manifest.

CONCLUSION

The Rideau Canal, as one of Canada's eight designated world heritage sites for cultural heritage, has demonstrated on the world stage a level of significance of "outstanding universal value." It is easy to see why. At 202km long, it is the most outstanding example of a 19th century slackwater canal system in the world, an early example of a canal built for steam-powered vessels and explicit military function, and a reminder of a tense period when Great Britain and the United States of America vied for control of the land that was soon to become the federal dominion of Canada. From its conception, the canal required a workforce that was greater than what the local population of Upper Canada could supply, and the labour of bodies. A large portion of these bodies were those of a predominantly Irish immigrant labour force and their families, along with French Canadians in the north-east portion of the canal, and other British workers employed as skilled tradesmen, engineers or in military positions with the British Ordnance. Under harsh working conditions and the spread of disease, some of the labourers met their untimely deaths and were buried in cemeteries along the Rideau Corridor.

The legacy of this labour resulted in the creation of an engineered cultural landscape, and the built features of this landscape (including the canal, associated buildings, locks and forts) are both commemorated and protected as cultural heritage resources. But the cemeteries that house the bodies of the labourers have been left out of the official heritage discourse of the canal. They do not appear within the heritage values or character defining elements of the canal as presented by Parks Canada, UNESCO or the Canadian Register of Historic Places. They are not listed among the cultural heritage resources of the Rideau Canal Management Plan or the *Rideau Corridor*

Landscape Strategy. And they are not commemorated except through the actions of local heritage societies who often maintain the sites through their own municipal or volunteer resources.

This thesis has demonstrated first, why it is that canal cemeteries came to be left out of the official heritage of the canal. When Parks Canada took stewardship of the canal in 1972 it brought a new mandate which focused on heritage and environmental conservation, restoration, interpretation and recreational development. This included a wealth of new research on the canal by Parks historians, but this research focused on the social history of living canal labourers and stopped short of what happened to those who were buried along it. Archaeological research as well focused primarily on the built environment. Finally, specific cultural and geographical conditions including a lack of funds and available clergymen meant that labourers were often buried with wooden markers and the location of their cemeteries eventually gave way to formalized church and community cemeteries later in the 19th century.

As this thesis has also demonstrated, the specific policy and legislation used to administer the canal currently does not include language which recognizes human remains as contributing to heritage value. At the level of international heritage, human remains do not fall into any of the categories used to demonstrate outstanding universal value. At the national level, the remains of the labourers are not included within the archaeological resources listed in the Parks Canada management plan. And perhaps most poignantly, at the provincial level, where archaeological resources are concerned, the *Funeral, Burial and Cremation Services Act* supersedes the *Ontario Heritage Act*, under-privileging the potential for human remains to be considered valuable cultural heritage resources. In order to overcome these barriers, this thesis has proposed moving towards

more affectual and embodied conceptualizations of heritage. The UNESCO *Manual for Activities Directed at Underwater Cultural Heritage*, Parks Canada's standards and guidelines for archaeological sites in culturally-sensitive places, and the *Québec Declaration on the Preservation of Spirit of Place* have been suggested as suitable pathways towards this goal.

Finally, this thesis demonstrated the way that canal labourer bodies through their materiality and immateriality contribute to both the tangible and intangible heritage of the canal as demonstrated through the interviews, stories and historical accounts collected for this research. The bodies themselves delineate spaces of commemoration and mourning, embody the labour history of the canal and generate embodied experiences for those who visit. The spectres of canal labourers appear in stories and memories, appear through remote sensing practices and evoke affectual responses.

In May of 2016, John Festarini, the Associate Director of Ontario Waterways announced that Parks Canada was beginning the process of updating the management plan for the canal, which has not been updated since 2005 (Parks Canada, 2018). The previous management plan pre-dates both the Rideau Canal's inscription on the World Heritage list (2007) and the newest edition of Parks Canada's own *Standards and Guidelines for the Conservation of Historic Places in Canada* (2010). The contributions of this thesis then work towards a strategy which includes more embodied and affectual conceptualizations of heritage value that would recognize human remains, both material and immaterial as contributing to the cultural heritage of the canal.

EPILOGUE: THE SCARS IN OUR EYES

When I walk from my student office at Carleton University to my home in Ottawa I usually choose to walk along the canal. Most often this is to admire the scent of river water which reminds me of my hometown in British Columbia, or to observe the sometimes several hundreds of migratory water fowl that rest in Dow's Lake. On occasion, and perhaps too often, I leave my office in the dead of night, when the canal is devoid of cyclists and joggers, and I walk alone in the silence. It is during these walks that the less-obvious features of the canal make themselves known. Lampposts illuminate fluorescent orange spray paint indicating where an old railing has been taken out and a new railing will be put in. All manners of detrital material culture bubble up from the silt revealing infinite hidden histories of human usage. And every once in a while, my eyes are betrayed by the spectre of a canal navvy hauling stone or taking a break on the edge of the concrete wall.

At one point in time, the bodies of thousands of (mostly) Irish and French-Canadian labourers transformed the landscape of Eastern Ontario. Their hands moved earth, quarried stone and redirected rivers. As the Rideau Canal grew, its roots intertwined with the bones of those who cultivated it, both literally and metaphorically. To reimagine the bodies of canal labourers as part of the heritage of the canal requires consideration of both their presence and their absence, their materiality and their immateriality, their bones and their ghosts. To commemorate exclusions demands a turn from an expert values-based appraisal to one that is affected and embodied. In considering how material and immaterial bodies have been excluded from authorized heritage

discourses of the canal, I contend that they continue to play a role within affectual constellations of commemoration, identity and mourning. And sometimes, they're just a bit spooky.

PD: It's... no I won't even tell. It's kind of stupid. Sometimes it's a little creepy when you walk by there at midnight.

CG: Is it?

PD: By yourself. Perfectly dark. Yeah.

CG: [Laughs.]

PD: It was funny, for the Canada 150 celebrations, we had a heritage event weekend and we all got dressed up. I was dressed up in 1850s clothes. And we had an event at the hall and I came back by myself at midnight. It was a full moon.

CG: [Laughs.]

PD: And I'm carrying a lantern, and I thought, "Oh my god, if anyone saw me right now, they'd be freaked out." Because I was walking right by the cemetery at midnight dressed like that. But that's stupid.

CG: That's awesome. (Participant D, November 1, 2017)

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