

Damming the Remains: Traces of the Lost Seaway Communities

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ABSTRACT***Damming the Remains: Traces of the Lost Seaway Communities***

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Damming the Remains examines the lived experience of 11,000 people who lost their homes in the 1950s to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. Ten villages on the river front were lost altogether in Eastern Ontario and northern New York State, while another five were negatively impacted. On the Canadian-side, these have become known collectively as the "Lost" and "Survivor" Villages respectively.

The flooding for the Power Project drastically altered the landscape along the river creating unsightly mud flats encouraging the growth of pestilential weeds that trapped debris from the river. Some points of land that would not be flooded, particularly on the American shore, had sections carved out and placed elsewhere in the river where a build-up of soil served to reduce the river's flow rate to one more suitable for the generation of electricity. As a result, along with dredging for a deeper shipping channel, both shallow and deep areas of the river were transformed affecting previous habitats for flora and fauna.

Based on extensive archival and newspaper research, this thesis includes oral history interviews with former residents and incorporates visual evidence with considerable participant observation as well as on-the-ground exploration of the physical remnants. This thesis builds upon the work of Daniel Macfarlane, Joy Parr, and others in exploring how the memories and perspectives of the dislocated residents have evolved over the past fifty-eight years. It was particularly useful to compare the oral interviews conducted by the Lost Villages Historical Society in the late 1970s with those I obtained between 2008 and 2016. Of particular interest is the study of how local people individually and collectively remember the inundation and the resulting losses. As a cross-national study, this thesis enhances the sparse scholarship in the United States on the rearrangement of the land and river that displaced 1,100 people in New York.

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Last, but certainly not least, I want to thank my wonderful family because everything begins and ends with them. Both of my parents were educators and inculcated in us a love of history. If my father were alive to read this thesis he would say "you have scaled Parnassus." My mother would have said, "Don't get ahead of yourself, dear." They are as much a part of this thesis as I am. If my sisters, Margaret Mary and Patricia O'Flaherty were not my siblings, they would still be my best friends. They believed in me when I stopped believing in myself. Thank you, girls. Finally, a heartfelt thank you to my late husband, Fred Boyko, who, not only gave me the opportunity to return to university in mid-life, but supported it fully.

DEDICATION

To the memory of my late husband, Fred Boyko, "*See you later alligator.*"

To my sister, Margaret Mary O'Flaherty, for her encouragement, moral support, and good-natured teasing about my love for 'big boffo lighthouses'.

And to my sister, Patricia O'Flaherty, who now knows more about the dislocations on the Seaway than I do. Thank you for reading innumerable drafts, correcting my grammar, suggesting wording, querying the unclear, faithfully executing many research assignments, and dragging me off to play with your mare and foal when my head needed clearing.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AO:	Archives of Ontario
Hydro:	Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario
IJC:	International Joint Commission – Canadian Section
LAC:	Library and Archives Canada
LVHS:	Lost Villages Historical Society
OPG:	Ontario Power Generation Corporate Records Office
PASNY:	Power Authority of the State of New York
Power Project or Project:	The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project
SLU:	St. Lawrence University Archives

Introduction: Footprints on the River

“It was the one great river which led from the eastern shore into the heart of the continent. It possessed a geographical monopoly; and it shouted its uniqueness to adventurers. The river meant mobility and distance; it invited journeyings; it promised immense expanses, unfolding, flowing away into remote and changing horizons, [...] to the unfettered and ambitious, it offered a pathway to the central mysteries of the continent.”¹

Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*

The explorer, Jacques Cartier, first entered the estuary of the St. Lawrence River on August 10, 1535, the feast of St. Lawrence, for whom he named the river. From the first European settlement on the St. Lawrence in 1608, it inspired tales of danger, adventure, romance, beauty, and opportunity. The St. Lawrence River looms particularly large in the national imagination of Canadians. Donald Creighton and other early historians suggested that it was the cradle in which Canada was born and provided European settlers and traders with access to the heart of the continent. Geography seemed to buttress the nation-building project on an East-West axis.² While the mythic importance of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes was not nearly as central to U.S. identity and history, where notions of the frontier took precedence, the water route enabled the development of major inland ports in what became the industrial heartland of Canada and the United States. As the third largest river in North America, at 1,197 kilometres in length, and water flows varying from 6,000 to 20,000 cubic metres per

¹ Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956), 6.

² See Harold Innis' contention that the transportation network and, in particular, the central place of river systems in moving staples such as wheat and furs asserted a geographic unity that foreshadowed Confederation in Harold Innis, *The Fur Trade in Canada: An Introduction to Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000), 114, 262. Donald Creighton took the Staples theory a step further by focusing on the St. Lawrence River as the basic communication network across Canada that provided a uniquely Canadian economic establishment independent of the United States. Creighton's theory came to be known as the Laurentian theory. See Donald Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956), 250-252. A.R.M. Lower extended the Staples and Laurentian theories to the Metropolitan theory by pointing out the economic ascendancy of metropolitan centres vis-à-vis the Canadian hinterland in A.R.M. Lower, *Colony to Nation* [4th ed., rev.] (Don Mills, On: Longmans Canada, 1964), 198-200. For a concise discussion of these schools of thought in Canadian history see J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metroplitanism, and Canadian History," *The Canadian Historical Review* 35/1 (March 1954): 1-21.

second, the St. Lawrence made an ideal candidate for the production of electricity in the boom times that followed World War II.³

If the St. Lawrence River provided opportunity, it also presented challenges to the settler societies taking root in North America. The British novelist, Charles Dickens, wrote about the beauty of the river as it winds through the thousand Islands arriving at Dickinson's Landing where "the river boiled and bubbled strangely, and where the force and headlong violence of the current were tremendous."⁴ Donald Creighton cast the eleven rapids between Montreal and Lake Ontario as "fundamental weaknesses"⁵ in the river where it was "broken [...] stumbled and faltered,"⁶ obstacles to transportation and barriers to economic development in North America.

By the mid-twentieth century, with a downriver drop of 28 metres, the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River was a hydroelectric dream waiting to happen. At 87 kilometres in length, this section of the river, from Cardinal to Cornwall in Ontario, and between Ogdensburg and Massena in New York, became the largest construction area of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project ("Power Project" or "Project"). This was a massive engineering project on a world scale and one of the largest in twentieth-century North America at the time of its construction. Prior to 1958, ships navigated the St. Lawrence River through a series of fourteen foot canals which could not accommodate the increasingly larger ocean-going vessels. As a result, shipping companies expended money and human resources on transshipments to move cargo from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the upper Great Lakes and back again. As former Wales resident, Françoise (Fran) Laflamme put it, "Five canallers⁷ were required to carry the cargo of one ocean liner."⁸ Jack Leitch, president of Toronto's Upper Lakes Shipping, recalled these ships as "too old or too small. They weren't making any money. We needed to get rid of the canallers and to meet the steady increase in demand to move coal and iron ore."⁹ This was a sentiment shared by most shipping companies at the time. Since the mid-

³ When compared with other rivers such as the Ottawa or Columbia, the rather small flow variance in the St. Lawrence makes it an ideal candidate for the production of electricity. Its average maximum flow is usually only twice its minimum while the Ottawa River's maximum is twelve times its minimum and the Columbia River's maximum is thirty-three times its minimum. OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91-123, Bin 11-19-183, Box 2 of 67, File 010 January–June 1958; May 27, 1958.

⁴ Charles Dickens, *American Notes* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett, 1961), 144-145.

⁵ Creighton, 7.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ Canallers and lakers were 250-foot vessels with a draft of less than 14 feet. Canallers travelled the length of the river while lakers plied the Great Lakes.

⁸ Fran Laflamme. *Lost Villages Now & Then*. Written and produced by Fran Laflamme. Produced with the aid of the Lost Villages Historical Society, Reflection 92 from the Ontario Ministry of Culture and Communication, and Gaby's Video Productions, undated.

⁹ Jack Leitch to D'Arcy Jenish in D'Arcy Jenish, *The St. Lawrence Seaway: Fifty Years and Counting*. (Manotick, On: Penumbra Press, 2009), 41.

nineteenth century, industry and agriculture in both Canada and the United States had agitated for improved navigation over the 4,828 kilometre length of the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system. By the turn of the twentieth century, the pressing need for electricity had added fuel to the navigational fire.

It was not until the era of frenzied canal building in the nineteenth century that serious plans emerged to construct a mega waterway that would harness hydroelectric power, and not until the early twentieth century that it became clear that such plans would entail demolishing whole communities. The idea for a deep waterway on the St. Lawrence Seaway had dragged on through the first half of the twentieth century interrupted by the more immediate demands of two world wars, the Korean War, and the Depression, the powerful anti-Seaway lobbies such as the railways, and the ambivalence of the American Congress. As negotiations with the U.S. floundered, Canada proposed building an all-Canadian seaway which acted as a catalyst for Congress to ratify the Wiley-Dondero Act in May of 1954. This essentially provided the legislative basis in the United States to proceed with the Power Project on the St. Lawrence.

The first canals had been built on the river in 1783 at Coteau du Lac and Split Rock. Two years later the Trou du Moulin and La Faucille canals were built at the confluence of the Ottawa River and Lake St. Louis and by 1805 were replaced with the Cascades canal while Coteau du Lac and Split Rock were enlarged. It was a crude system forcing the loading and unloading of cargo to portage around rapids not yet canalised. Two of the worst bottlenecks were at Lachine near Montreal and at the International Rapids Section from Cornwall to Prescott. During the War of 1812, the difficulty of getting material and supplies from Montreal to the forts on the Great Lakes had proven the inadequacy of the existing system. At the same time, plans were already underway to build the New York State Barge Canal (later the Erie Canal) which would connect the Great Lakes ports with the Port of New York, a continuous waterway to the ocean and a severe, economic threat to the Port of Montreal.¹⁰

The first Lachine Canal was finally completed in 1825 with a 4.9 foot draft but by 1833 it was too small to handle ships with a draft of nine feet and the International Rapids Section was still a problem until the engineers decided that a nine-foot canal system should be built uniformly to bypass all eleven rapids between Montreal and Lake Ontario. The nine-foot system opened in 1848 and, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the entire canal system was upgraded to a fourteen-foot draft from Montreal to Welland and there it remained until construction of the twenty-seven foot Seaway began in 1954.¹¹

¹⁰ *St. Lawrence Seaway & Power Project 1959* (Montreal: Reid and Boulton Publishing Co., 1959), 35-46.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Building the waterway was one thing, but harnessing the rapids to generate electricity was another and had serious consequences. To take advantage of the substantial drop in water level required a tremendous force of water to drive the turbines that generate hydro-electric power. To that end, the engineers calculated that the proposed dam required a 32 mile-long reservoir that would be wider than the existing river bed. Massive flooding would result. Up to 37,000¹² acres of land would be inundated in Ontario and another 18,000 in New York State. All riverfront communities in the path of the Project had to be relocated, along with highways, bridges, and railway tracks. The relocation of people is a frequent consequence of the re-engineering of landscapes and the hydro-electric power project on the St. Lawrence River resulted in the dislocation of approximately 11,000 people. Of those displaced, 6,500 residents and another 1,000 cottagers lived in Ontario¹³ and 1,100 people lived in New York. In addition, the Seaway dislocated another 1,500 people in Beauharnois, Quebec, and 177 families from Montreal's south shore indigenous community of Kahnawake which lost one-sixth of its land area (1,262 acres of land). The cross-border Mohawk community of Akwesasne also lost 130 acres of land in the United States.¹⁴

On the Canadian side of the river the project completely inundated six villages and three hamlets¹⁵ located between Cornwall and Cardinal in Eastern Ontario. Together these settlements came to be known as the 'Lost Villages' of Ontario. Hydro organized the resettlement of the residents of these communities into two newly-created towns: Ingleside (for the people who had lived in Dickinson's Landing, Wales, Farran's Point, Aultsville, Santa Cruz, and Woodlands) and, further east, Long Sault (which accommodated those to be moved from Maple Grove, Mille Roches, and Moulinette). I argue that these small communities did not disappear quietly. As discussed in Chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis, from 1954 until 1958, there was considerable protest in both Canada and the United States which focused mainly on objecting to the failure of the governments and utilities involved to adequately consult with

¹² The Power Project required 22,000 of these acres for the relocation of people; Ontario Hydro used the remaining 15,000 acres for relocating the highway and the railway as well as the creation of waterfront recreational areas.

¹³ Clive Marin and Frances Marin, *Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 1945-1978*, (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1982), 18. The 6,500 people in Ontario included 1,550 from the surrounding rural areas and 1,100 farm folk. Populations at the time of inundation were: Mille Roches, 874; Moulinette, 311; Dickinson's Landing, 180; Wales, 210; Farran's Point, 184; Aultsville, 312; Morrisburg, 2,000; Iroquois, 1,049.

¹⁴ Daniel Macfarlane, *Negotiating a River: Canada, the U.S., and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2014), 126; Today Kahnawake's land mass is 50.41 square kilometres and Akwesasne's land mass is 85.89 square kilometres.

¹⁵ In Eastern Ontario a hamlet is defined as a ribbon settlement on a single roadway with no subsidiary streets.

individuals and local municipalities. This deprived the inhabitants of their life on the river by moving them inland for, as one of the interviewees pointed out, “The river was our life.”¹⁶ The paucity of consultation resulted in considerable bitterness toward the power companies and the governments.

It would be nineteen years after inundation before the Ontario villages and hamlets started to be called the ‘Lost Villages.’ Sitting around a kitchen table on the evening of February 11, 1977, a few former residents of the inundated communities came up with the idea of forming a new society dedicated to the history of the lost communities. Fran Laflamme, quickly organized a meeting of local citizens for the following Monday, St. Valentine’s Day, at which she reminded them that “As the years pass we are losing things from People’s memories [...] If we don’t start doing something now to preserve our heritage, then it can never be done.”¹⁷ A few years previously Mary Mack,¹⁸ an active member of the Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry-Cornwall Historical Society had encouraged Fran to join the society to which Fran had replied she would rather preserve the story and artifacts of the flooded villages. Mary remarked “Ah yes, you want to tell the story of the Lost Villages.”¹⁹ Mary’s casual use of the term stayed with Fran and during the course of that evening, the meeting participants appointed a committee to form *The Lost Villages Historical Society*.²⁰ Its mission is to collect artifacts, documents, as well as the life stories of former residents to inform the public of the communities lost to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project in the late 1950s.

In addition to the Lost Villages, the Project also affected the towns of Morrisburg, which lost its waterfront, and Iroquois, which was moved in its entirety approximately one mile inland.

¹⁶ Accessed August 14, 2015, http://megaprojects.uwo.ca/iroquois/OldIroquois_content.html. The web site that Joy Parr created with Jon van der Veen, *Lost Scapes: Visiting Old Iroquois*, is powerfully sensual in that she engages with former residents in a manner that “allows them to share their own stories of bittersweet memories; of lives once lived in a small, closely-knit community, and of the sense of dislocation and loss they felt following the flooding.” Parr refrains from historicizing or interpreting the interviews leaving ownership of the story where it belongs, with the community.

In the course of my research, I had occasion to visit the Iroquois Public Library and found the librarians and any patrons who happened to be there very excited that I was continuing the work Parr had begun on the village’s dislocation. They recalled the models of the town she had constructed just outside the library in the community hall where she invited residents to walk among her exhibits making corrections. Joy Parr’s initiative in Iroquois’s community centre was the forerunner to both her 2009 book, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday: 1953-2003 and its accompanying web site, Lost Scapes: Visiting Old Iroquois*. For a complete discussion of how she approached the subject in Iroquois see Joy Parr, Jessica Van Horssen, Jon van der Veen, “The Practice of History Shared across Differences: Needs, Technologies, and Ways of Knowing in the Megaprojects New Media Project,” *Journal of Canadian Studies* 43/1 (Winter 2009): 39.

¹⁷ LVHS Archives, Scrapbook #1, Alex Mullin, *Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, Wednesday, February 16, 1977.

¹⁸ Mary Mack was the first female councilor in Cornwall.

¹⁹ Accessed July 26, 2015, <http://lostvillages.ca/about-the-society/>.

²⁰ Ibid.

As both towns remained on the map, they became known as the ‘Survivor Villages’ in the region. On the American shore, the village of Louisville Landing disappeared completely along with the riverside roads in the towns of Louisville, Waddington, and Massena. Replacing the land with water fractured what Tina Loo calls the “intimate geography of belonging”²¹ that inheres in places lost. The sponsors of the Power Project included two federal governments, two power authorities, two seaway corporations, one state and two provinces. The power portion of the Project was a joint undertaking between The Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario (“Hydro”)²² and The Power Authority of the State of New York (“PASNY”) while the navigation arm was assigned to the two newly created agencies: The Canadian St. Lawrence Seaway Authority in Canada and The Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation in the U.S.²³ The thrust of this project was to harness the swift flowing water of the Saint Lawrence River with two objectives: to construct a continuous deep draft waterway along the river that could accommodate ocean-going vessels and to generate electricity.

According to J.R. McNeill, close to forty million people world-wide have been displaced by hydro-electric projects. Dam construction has had a similarly profound effect on wildlife and the environment. As McNeill said, the physical changes to the hydrological cycle were vast in their consequences for wildlife, for people, and for societies “so that we have constrained the future in order to liberate ourselves from the past.”²⁴ Losing the rapids, the river, and the landscape to the flooding may have eclipsed both the individual and collective voice of the residents but, while no doubt painful, this does not necessarily imply they felt completely defeated. The measure of the social and political atmosphere of the 1950s reified corporate/government authority during a time of dramatic modernization and, assuredly, the residents mourned their losses. One of the responses to the loss on the part of some of the residents was silence. I argue that the silence masked a pervasive anger which was held in check for 19 years until it spilled over into a powerful counter-narrative embodied in the founding

²¹ Tina Loo, “Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River,” *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007), 909.

²² The Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario ceased to exist on April 1, 1999 and was replaced by (1) Hydro One for transmission and distribution of power, and (2) Ontario Power Generation. Discussion prior to April 1, 1999 uses Ontario Hydro (“Hydro”) and Ontario Power Generation (“OPG”) thereafter. Hydro One will not be referenced as it played no part in the Power Project; *The Seaway News*, July 10, 2008.

²³ Carleton Mabee, *The Seaway Story* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 205.

²⁴ J.R. McNeill, *Something New Under the Sun: An Environmental History of the Twentieth-Century World* (New York, NY: W.W. Norton & Company Inc., 2000), 182. Some progress, specifically at the local level, has been made since the mid-1970s to rectify the negative impact of dam building and, at the very least, world citizens are now aware of the negative effects that engineering can have on the environment and humanity. See Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams* (London & New Jersey: Zed Books, 1996), 281.

of the Lost Villages Historical Society which was the first visible sign that the story-line was shifting.

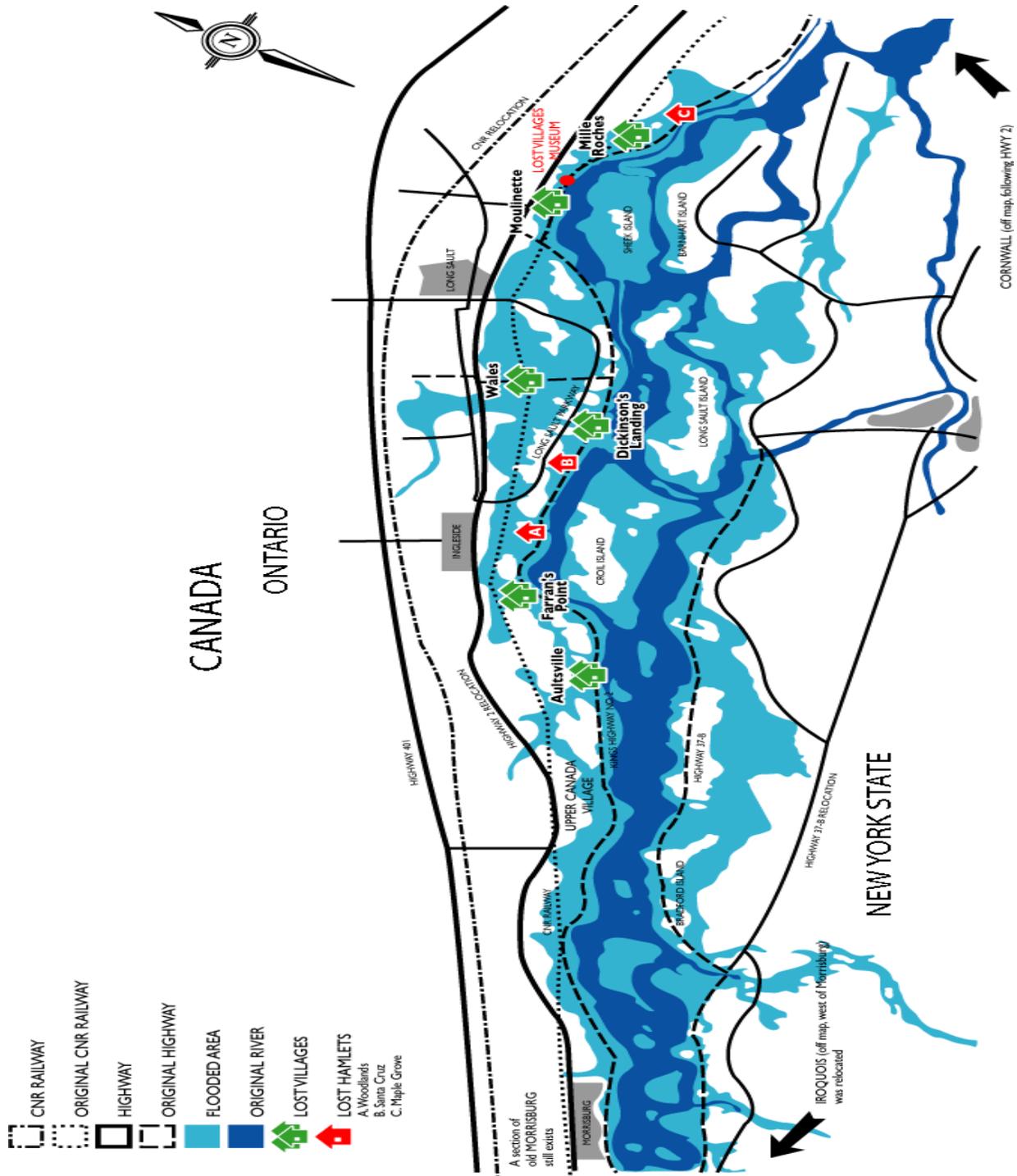


Figure 0.1: Map of International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

American residents were equally angry at losing their homes and farms and even angrier at PASNY's refusal to underwrite any costs of moving, not to mention its continued ownership, to this day, of the New York shoreline. This is a situation that continues to provoke the residents and municipalities who, as late as 2015, are adamant that PASNY should compensate the U.S. towns along the river (1) for having had the power dam in their back yard for the past sixty years, (2) for the miles of riverfront seized, and (3) for the land flooded during the Power Project.

This speaks to a prolonged resistance on the part of the residents to accepting the loss of their homes. On the Canadian side I argue that the establishment of the historical society, the museum, and the bus tours, along with interviewing the elderly, grew out of such resistance and were the first steps taken on the road to recovering their own story. The museum site at Long Sault is not a metaphor for the lost villages; it is an actual, albeit unconscious, attempt to recreate the lost landscape as a site of memory to mourn lost community. It remembers the past, and provides a unifying story for the successor towns. It is a gathering place where former residents can express their grief, honour the past, and locate enough pieces of the past in which to anchor the present.²⁵

While inundation appeared to quell protest, in fact it induced a sense of deep dissatisfaction and mourning that did not go away. Front and centre are the Lost Villages Historical Society and Museum, the *lieux de mémoire* that became positive sites of recovery that now actively compete with official Seaway histories by finding value in what had been lost.

No equivalent of the historical society and museum has appeared on the American shore. The explanation for this likely rests with the fewer numbers of people dislocated. Whereas in Ontario the Power Project demolished whole villages, the landscape in New York largely consisted of farms and camps with only one village disappearing in its entirety, Louisville Landing.

Just as the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway was coming to an end, a 1957 Act of Parliament in Great Britain called for the flooding of the Tryweryn Valley in northern Wales to develop a water reservoir to service the City of Liverpool in England. Because it was an Act of the British Parliament, the Liverpool City Council did not need planning consent from the local Welsh authorities. Being one of the last exclusively Welsh-speaking communities, the citizens of

²⁵ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 4-5, 8, 13.

the valley tried unsuccessfully for the next eight years to save their homes before inundation in 1965.²⁶

Although the inundation of the Tryweryn Valley was relatively small, closer to home, the New Brunswick Electric Power Commission (“NBEPCC”) constructed the much-protested Mactaquac Dam on the Saint John River in New Brunswick fourteen miles above Fredericton between 1965 and 1968. The process displaced about 3,000 residents and landowners and several Maliseet First Nations families along with one of its burial sites.²⁷ As Samantha Bourgoïn argued in her 2013 M.A. thesis, industrialization and modernization in New Brunswick were essential to the political agenda for the province’s economic development.²⁸ Historian P.D. McClelland maintained that the absence of industry had rendered New Brunswick backward when compared to other provinces and countries²⁹ while Katie Shawn Ferrar’s 2005 M.A. thesis looked at the Mactaquac in terms of its negative repercussions with respect to the relocation of residents, the disruption of the salmon fishery upon which the Maliseet First Nations heavily depended and, as with Wales, the removal of valuable farmland, not to mention the nefarious effects on the landscape in the St. John River Valley.³⁰ Both Bourgoïn and Ferrar situated the construction of the dam as a prime example of James C. Scott’s theory of high modernism, as did James L. Kenny and Andrew G. Secord who argued that New Brunswick’s ‘power for industry’ project emerged from a broad policy of regional modernization, development, and social betterment.³¹

In its heyday of dam building, from 1933 and well into the 1960s, the Tennessee Valley Authority (“TVA”) flooded numerous towns displacing 15,000 people and leaving most of the relocation to private developers.³² Co-incidentally, the TVA employed the same engineering

²⁶ Wyn Thomas, *Hands Off Wales: Nationhood and Militancy* (Llandysul, Ceredigion: Gomer Press, 2013), 1-13.

²⁷ James L. Kenny and Andrew G. Secord, “Engineering Modernity: Hydroelectric Development in New Brunswick, 1945-1970,” *Acadiensis* 39/1 (Winter/Spring, 2010):18. Following Ontario’s lead in creating Upper Canada Village in the wake of the St. Lawrence River flooding, the government of New Brunswick created King’s Landing Historical Settlement to save several buildings from the villages lost to the Mactaquac Dam which would otherwise have been demolished in preparation for the flooding of the Mactaquac’s head pond.

²⁸ Samantha Bourgoïn, “Disregarded Sentiments: Discovering the Voices of Opposition to the Mactaquac Dam” (M.A. thesis, St. Mary’s University, 2013), 4, 29,30.

²⁹ P.D. McClelland, “The New Brunswick Economy in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Economic History* 25/4 (1965), 686-90.

³⁰ Kenny and Secord, 10; Katie Shawn Ferrar, “Power for Progress: The Mactaquac Development and Regional Development Plans, 1964-2003” (M.A. thesis, University of New Brunswick, 2005), 97-98; Bourgoïn, abstract.

³¹ Kenny and Secord, 4.

³² OPG, SPP Series, C.E. Blee, Chief Engineer, Tennessee Valley Authority to J.R. Montague, Director of Engineering, HEPCO, February 5, 1952; OPG, SPP Series, Norman Moore to Otto Holden (n.d.) 1952.

firm, Uhl, Hall and Rich, that would lead the Power Project on the American side of the St. Lawrence. The TVA became the prototype for both water management and social engineering schemes over the next four decades. Scott stylized it as “the granddaddy of all regional development projects.”³³ In fact, Hydro Chief Engineer, Otto Holden, studied the TVA’s methods of land expropriation and relocation plans as a template for the St. Lawrence Project. The one-time chairman of the TVA, Arthur E. Morgan, viewed the project, not only as a water-management mega-project, but as an inclusive programme of social engineering to rectify the economic doldrums of the Tennessee Valley. The 6.5 million people who inhabited the mountainous eastern portion of the Tennessee Valley lived in dire poverty and it was the dream of Morgan and President Franklin Roosevelt to fundamentally alter their material living conditions.³⁴ As a result, the Board of the TVA developed the Tributary Area Development (“TAD”) enterprise which encouraged local citizens to participate in its economic, health, and education components but remained silent on allowing them input to the upheaval of relocation.³⁵ Historians David Ekbladh and Daniel Schaffer saw the TAD as progressive modernization within a co-operative, democratic atmosphere whereby technology enhanced the lives of the residents by developing land and water more efficiently.³⁶

What is missing from the analysis of these historians and from the ideals of Morgan and Roosevelt is the input of those on whose behalf they presumed to speak. These were top-down plans made by the governments and utilities involved for a population that they assumed would be grateful for government-industry foresight and magnanimity. This was the reasoning behind James C. Scott’s argument that this high modernist approach of the TVA failed within the context of liberal-democratic ideals.³⁷ Morgan and Roosevelt believed that the project was greater than water management and had to include an improvement in the quality of life for the people of the Tennessee Valley.³⁸ Morgan maintained that the policies he created were concerned with the personal circumstances of persons whose land was being taken, that each

³³ James C. Scott, “High Modernist Social Engineering: The Case of the TVA,” in *Experiencing the State*, eds. by Lloyd I. Rudolph and John Kurt Jacobsen (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 20.

³⁴ Arthur E. Morgan, *The Making of the TVA* (London and Buffalo, NY: Pemberton Books, Prometheus Books, 1974), 155.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 158-160.

³⁶ David Ekbladh, “‘Mr. TVA’: Grass-Roots Development, David Lilienthal, and the Rise and Fall of the Tennessee Valley Authority as a Symbol for U.S. Overseas Development, 1933-1973,” *Diplomatic History* 26/3 (2006), 336; Daniel Schaffer, “Environment and TVA: Toward a Regional Plan for the Tennessee Valley, 1930s,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* 43/4 (1984), 353.

³⁷ James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998), 224; James C. Scott, “High Modernist Social Engineering: The Case of the TVA,” in *Experiencing the State*, eds. by Lloyd I. Rudolph and John Kurt Jacobsen (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2006), 20.

³⁸ Morgan, *The Making of the TVA*, 7.

case was treated on its individual merit, and that in a majority of cases “the information, counsel and consideration given to land owners resulted in more desirable situations after the taking than had existed before.”³⁹

At the extreme end of the spectrum, following the 1989 slaughter in Tiananmen Square, the politics of communist China became the catalyst to complete the Three Gorges project to dam the Yangtze River. This created a lake, roughly the size of Lake Michigan, and displaced about 1.3 million people. Environmental author, Patrick McCully, pointed out that following the 1949 revolution, China constructed, on average, something in the order of 600 dams per year in an effort to comply with Mao Tse Tung’s 1950s initiative, ‘The Great Leap Forward.’ The objective of the programme was to achieve unprecedented economic growth and the grandest of these schemes was the Three Gorges project. Envisaged in 1919, its architects developed the first draft plan in 1944 followed by a detailed design in 1955, co-incident with the construction on the St. Lawrence. Work on the Three Gorges finally commenced in 1993 with resettlement of the people and the destruction of 1,400 villages.⁴⁰ As Chinese artist Wu Hung put it, “It is the largest hydroelectric project in human history producing the equivalent of fifteen nuclear power plants.”⁴¹ As with the St. Lawrence, the submerged debris of factories and hospitals ensured damage to the ecosystem and contamination of the waters. Writing prior to project completion, Hung concluded that the “ecosystem of the region will be disrupted and natural beauty of the three gorges changed forever.”⁴²

In view of the millions of persons displaced to dam-building around the world, what is the significance of the dislocation on the St. Lawrence? In this thesis, I argue that these small communities did not disappear quietly. From 1952 until 1958, there was considerable protest both in Canada and the United States (see Chapters One and Two). James C. Scott’s influential book, *Seeing like a State: how certain schemes to improve the human condition have failed*, has helped me to understand the dynamics between a state and its citizens whereby the governments involved in building the Power Project failed to adequately consult with individuals and local municipalities. For nineteen years following inundation, the former residents were busy building their lives in the new towns and seemed to resign themselves to the loss of their land and the life they had known in their riverside communities. The memory of the upheaval of the

³⁹ Arthur E. Morgan, *Dams and Other Disasters: A Century of the Army Corps of Engineers in Civil Works* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publisher, 1971), 62.

⁴⁰ Patrick McCully, *Silenced Rivers: The Ecology and Politics of Large Dams* (London and Atlantic Highlands, New Jersey: Zed Books Ltd., 1996), 19, 21, 72.

⁴¹ Wu Hung, Jason McGrath, and Stephanie Smith, *Displacement: The Three Gorges Dam and Contemporary Chinese Art* (Chicago: Smart Museum of Art, University of Chicago, 2008), 12, 13.

⁴² Ibid.

Power Project and the loss of the river did not fade, however, culminating in the establishment of the Lost Villages Historical Society (“LVHS”) and museum.

Spearheaded by Fran Laflamme, the LVHS was solely the initiative of former villagers determined to commemorate the submerged communities. As LVHS member Stanley McNair⁴³ wrote in one of the first LVHS newsletters in October 1977:

“History should be more than the story of wars and Kings
Explorations, treaties and such like things.
It should be the tale of common folk,
How they worked or played or spoke
In fact, history should be,
Of just plain people, like you and me!”⁴⁴

The LVHS took Stanley McNair at his word and in the late 1970s interviewed and then transcribed the stories of numerous elderly former inhabitants of the Lost Villages. The LVHS archives contain 123 audio tapes of interviews with former residents. Most of these interviews were recorded in late 1977 and early 1978, twenty years after inundation. These conversations elucidate life along the river before the flooding and also exhibit time compression whereby the recorded memories speak to the history of these communities dating back to the nineteenth century and before. The newly formed society began to accept donations of memorabilia, photographs and old documents defining its mission to be “the guardian of the heritage of the existing communities, not just a collecting agency for information about the old ones.”⁴⁵ Including the new communities demonstrated a recognition that their twenty year histories had become important to the heritage of the Seaway Valley. At first the artifacts donated to the Historical Society were stored in the members’ homes but as the collection grew, the Society began to hunt for permanent quarters.

Both Jane Craig and Mary Ann Cline-Richer, who used to summer with her aunt in Mille Roches, recalled the sandy beach at Ault Park on Sheek Island accessible only down a steep incline, a favoured picnic spot for the former villagers.⁴⁶ Mille Roches native Levi Addison Ault (1851-1930) had donated this parcel of family land to the former Township of Cornwall before

⁴³ See Chapter 1, p. 19 for the story of Stanley McNair’s struggle with Hydro to keep part of his farm.

⁴⁴ Stanley McNair, *Lost Villages Historical Society Newsletter*, 1/1 (October 1977)

⁴⁵ LVHS Archives, Scrapbook #1, Alex Mullin, *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, February 16, 1977.

⁴⁶ Jane Craig. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, July 9, 2015; Mary Ann Cline-Richer. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Rigaud, Quebec, July 18, 2015.

moving to Cincinnati.⁴⁷ When his descendants learned of the impending inundation, they insisted that the township set aside land on the mainland to replace the park. In response, South Stormont Township deeded a tract of land for the new Ault Park across from Lake View Heights, just west of Cornwall, as the replacement and offered it as a home for the fledgling museum.⁴⁸ In 1984 Norman McLeod of Cornwall Township donated a log house to the LVHS where it sat forlornly while volunteers restored it, until its opening as a museum in 1992. The museum site has since grown to include ten other structures, a few salvaged from the former villages.⁴⁹

The establishment of the Historical Society in 1977 breathed life back into the history of the submerged communities. Simultaneously, St. Lawrence College in Cornwall, established in 1967, marked the tenth anniversary of its existence with a dedication ceremony naming four of its campus halls for the inundated villages of Moulinette, Wales, Mille Roches, and Aultsville. Cornwall Township Reeve,⁵⁰ John Cleary, thanked the college saying:

“For as long as this college lives, some memories of our past remain. For me and many others, the decision by this college to remember the villages we have lost is heart-warming. For our children with no memories of what we had, and for people new to our area, your decision is even more important, for you are keeping a part of this area’s heritage before them. It does not matter that these were small villages. They were important as part of the sacrifice always necessary for progress.”⁵¹

⁴⁷ After their move to Cincinnati, the Ault family once again donated land to that city for recreational purposes; today’s Ault Park in Cincinnati.

⁴⁸ Fran Laflamme. *Lost Villages Now & Then*.

⁴⁹ Accessed July 26, 2015, <http://lostvillages.ca/history/the-museum/log-house/>. The other buildings presently on the museum grounds are: the Zina Hill Barber Shop from Moulinette donated by Bob and Sherry Lyons in 1997, the Ernie McDonald Blacksmith Shop from Cornwall Township donated by the Bob Buiting family in 1998, the Corn Crib also from Cornwall Township donated by Al and Mary Ann Nessith in 1997, the Driveshed from St. David’s Anglican Church in Wales donated by Ron Beaudette in 2001, the Forbes Memorial Reading Room from the community of Newington given to the museum in 2000 as a joint bequest from the residents of Newington and Alan Forbes, the General Store known in Mille Roches as the Manson/Lapierre Store donated by Elsie Lapierre Davis in 1998, the Sandtown Church from the Township of Osnabruck donated by Leitha (Warner) Casselman, and her daughter Betty (Ron) Neville in 2000, the School Section #17 Schoolhouse from the Township of Roxborough donated by the Township of North Stormont, the Moulinette Train Station moved by Moulinette resident Elgin Alguire to his farm south of Avonmore, Ontario and moved back to the museum in 1995, and the Stuart Home, originally in Wales, was relocated to higher ground in 1957 before the flooding and donated in 2004 by Cheryl (Stuart) Griffith, the niece of the late Donald and Wilda Stuart. It was at the kitchen table in the Stuart home that Fran Laflamme suggested forming The Lost Villages Historical Society on February 11, 1977.

⁵⁰ Township Reeves in Eastern Ontario act as the chief officers who preside over the town council.

⁵¹ LVHS Archives, Scrapbook #2, Jessa Sultan, *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, October 11, 1977.

From the founding of the Historical Society in 1977 and its museum in 1992, its executive committee and most of its members have been former villagers. In the early years when funding was at a minimum, these same folks, along with their family members, performed all of the maintenance, catalogued the collection, and greeted visitors at the museum. Over the years, the LVHS has received donations from former residents, a few Canada Council grants and several Trillium Fund grants so that its improved financial prospects now allow it to hire summer students to greet visitors. The museum is popular with area residents and draws tourists from the Cornwall and Seaway Area Tourist Guide. In planning a fortieth anniversary reunion, LVHS president, Jim Brownell, asked former Mille Roches resident, Mary Lynn Alguire, if she would consider putting together a bus tour of the visible remains of the lost villages. Mary Lynn agreed and the annual bus tour was born.⁵²

The shores of the St. Lawrence are replete with the detritus of the Project but these fragments are overgrown with time and half hidden from the untrained eye. This thesis had its genesis in those tours. The significance of these tours is that the tour guides are always former residents with memories of life in the submerged villages. They are familiar with the terrain, and can vividly recall inundation and its effects on themselves, their parents, and grandparents. Typically these tours are sold-out events, with the participants being a mixture of former residents, newcomers to the area, those interested in lost places, historians, and vacationers.⁵³ When I first read Maggie Wheeler's history/mystery novel, *A Violent End*, I became fascinated with the story of the submerged villages. I took my first bus tour through the Lost Villages in 2001 (the first of many in the past fifteen years) and was captivated by the resourcefulness shown by the volunteer members in developing the historical society, museum, and bus tours. Through these tours, I became friends with tour guide, Mary Lynn Alguire, and, in fact, together we organized our own tour through the physical remains of the villages on July 27, 2010 specifically for incorporation in this thesis. Our audience was a church group from Winchester, Ontario in the Township of North Dundas. We also invited a number of former villagers to join us so that the tour participants would hear the story of the Lost Villages first hand. Our bus tour, which is discussed at length in Chapter Five, draws from the knowledge gained from extensive research and situates it within the lived experiences of the residents.

The history/mystery bus tours conducted jointly by Mary Lynn Alguire and author, Maggie Wheeler; the Lost Villages Historical Society bus tours guided by Mary Lynn Alguire and

⁵² Rosemary O'Flaherty Field Notes; conversations with Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

⁵³ Rosemary O'Flaherty Field Notes

Jim Brownell; and my own tour with Mary Lynn have all been primary sources of information for this thesis. At each stop on the tour, former villagers related stories otherwise not found in the textual sources. This oral information was augmented by the Lost Villages Historical Society archive of the 123 audio tapes of interviews with former residents.

To understand the long term effects of the Project, it is necessary to look ‘beyond the flooding’⁵⁴ and beyond the immediate and personal effects of the industrialization of the St. Lawrence River by exploring the process of change and environmental fall-out. It is equally important to investigate the personal, community, and environmental legacies that resulted from this industrialization and uncover how these have come to be represented in individual and collective memory.

While a large canon of Seaway literature exists, only a small subset of historians has addressed the specific issues that surrounded the dislocation of people. Many of the mainstream Seaway histories were written in the 1950s and early 1960s and pertain to the politics of construction, usually with a chapter that summarizes the dislocation of people. One such was Lionel Chevrier who, as the Member of Parliament for Stormont, resigned his seat in 1953 to become the first president of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority. As a result, he was the ‘man-in-the-know’ at the time and provides some interesting first hand insights and anecdotes. In all, Chevrier devoted eleven pages to the subject of dislocations. As a long-time advocate of the Power Project, his opinions are typical of high modernism and are aimed at heradling the great engineering feats of the Project’s ‘men of vision.’⁵⁵ Chevrier’s treatment of the Mohawk community at Kahnawake is rather disturbing. He maintained that most of the community approved of the Power Project while only a handful opposed it either “to make some money out of the seaway”⁵⁶ or capture “big headlines in the Montreal newspapers which gave the impression that the problems at Caughnawaga were much bigger than they really were [and that] the Indians were just having a lot of fun at the expense of the seaway.”⁵⁷

⁵⁴ This expression is adapted from the title *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, eds., (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003).

⁵⁵ Chevrier, who had long been a proponent of an all-Canadian Seaway, credited Canada’s plan as the single factor that finally led to congressional approval of the Project but, in his enthusiasm for Canada’s role, he failed to mention Canada’s obstructionist tactics toward the Seaway in 1914, 1922, and again in the late 1930s. For an in-depth discussion of Canada’s obduracy during these periods see Daniel Macfarlane, *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2014).

⁵⁶ Lionel Chevrier, *The St. Lawrence Seaway* (Toronto, The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1959), 104.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 105; Caughnawaga was the anglicized version of Kahnawake much in use in the mid-twentieth century.

For American historian Carleton Mabee, the battle for the Seaway's approval and its construction were momentous. Mabee is foundational for any study of the Power Project insofar as he provided the background that led to the final approval by Congress. Rather than adopting a high modernist perspective, Mabee's book, *The Seaway Story*, published in 1961, adopted an attitude of resignation that the Project was inevitable given the measure of the times. His approach interprets more than a century of events leading to the completion of the Power Project from a humanist perspective, examining the main players, at a time when micro-histories generated less interest than they would do later in the twentieth century.⁵⁸ In his chapter, "Moving People Out of the Way," Mabee gave a much more balanced assessment than Chevrier of the dislocations, taking note of the problems faced by the residents in negotiation with Hydro and PANSY, their protests, and their ultimate acquiescence to the two utilities. That chapter was the starting point for my thesis. His intimate connection with the Seaway included sailing its length in a freighter, a research strategy that would be repeated by another Seaway historian, Daniel Macfarlane, some fifty years later.

Canadian historian Joy Parr has also contributed greatly to my understanding of what transpired in the Seaway Valley in the 1950s. In her 2009 book, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday: 1953-2003*, Parr tackles the effects of megaprojects on small, rural communities. In speaking of Iroquois, Ontario she highlights Hydro's lack of consultation with the community when planning the new town. This led to a fracture in identity as any political voice on the part of the locals was pre-empted by the more authoritarian voice of the utility. She describes Iroquois' move north as an 'embodied dislocation' attributable to the absence of sensual stimuli from the river which had been an intimate part of village life. Parr looked specifically at the central role the river played in the lives of the Seaway communities. She described the known soundscape as "a muted roar and then, suddenly, silence. Neither words nor pictures do justice to the sound of the Long Sault rapids, a sound that was an intimate part of the inhabitants' lives."⁵⁹ Whereas Joy Parr's work on the Lost Villages focused specifically on Iroquois, my thesis considers the experience at Iroquois in the wider context of the dislocations on either side of the river.

⁵⁸ Carleton Mabee, *The Seaway Story* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1961), 151; Within the framework of Canadian historiography, his arguments for the Power Project have the flavour of the Laurentian Thesis centred upon the fabled find of high-grade ore in Labrador in the late 1940s just as the Lake Superior ores in the Mesabi Range of Minnesota began to deplete. Mabee considered the find "a dramatic turning point in the Seaway story [and] a boon to the Seaway cause."

⁵⁹ Joy Parr, "Movement and Sound: A Walking Village Remade: Iroquois and the St. Lawrence Seaway," in *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953-2003* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009).

In 2014 Canadian historian Daniel Macfarlane's *Negotiating a River: Canada, the US, and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* brought fresh perspective to the subject touching on histories of nationalism, environmentalism, and technology absent from the earlier works. Macfarlane's interpretation of the Power Project goes beyond the prevailing view of it as a U.S.-led project.⁶⁰ He turns his attention instead to the political wrangling, manipulation, and bargaining that led to Canada abandoning the idea of an all-Canadian seaway in favour of an agreement with the United States. In Macfarlane's words, he sought "a middle ground between the continentalist and critical nationalist traditions in the Canadian historiography on the northern North American relationship."⁶¹

Beyond the politics of the Project, Macfarlane also examines the social and environmental impacts of mega-projects. He saw it as an exercise that intended to harness the natural environment for the common good with little thought expended upon possible, deleterious side-effects.⁶² He ties together environmental concerns with Canadian foreign policy by introducing the concept of cultural conceptions of nature, water, and technology which is both complicated and simplified by cross-border relationships whereby cultural affinities can converge but also diverge.⁶³ In doing so, Macfarlane gave considerably more voice to the dislocation of people than had his predecessors. His book addresses the environmental impact of the flooding and the sociological effects of re-engineering communities. In the idiom of progress and modernization, he invokes Mabee's analogy that Hydro "was both the umpire and the pitcher [and] virtually wrote the league rules too."⁶⁴

This thesis will explore some of the same historical terrain as Dr. Macfarlane did in his book, *Negotiating a River*. Macfarlane looked at environmental, hydroelectric, and technological issues within a framework of the diplomatic relationship between Canada and the U.S. My thesis interrogates the memories of the dislocated residents to uncover the impact that the Project and inundation had on them at the time, and the ways in which these memories have been remembered, commemorated, and transmitted to posterity. *Damming the Remains* builds upon Dr. Macfarlane's last two chapters by probing the specific details of protest and ecological transformation in both Ontario and New York. It also looks at land usage, economic indicators and the sociology of community prior to the flooding for a broader understanding of what was lost. I will examine the social and environmental changes occasioned by the Power Project as

⁶⁰ Graeme Wynn, foreword to *Negotiating a River: Canada, the U.S., and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* by Daniel Macfarlane (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2014), xvi; Macfarlane, 9-10.

⁶¹ Macfarlane, 10.

⁶² *Ibid.*, 220, 224, 230.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 11.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 148; Mabee, 206.

they impacted the Seaway Valley in the 1950s as well as the long term repercussions. Where Mabee's work is a linear history of the project, Macfarlane's fills in the delicate political negotiations without which there would be no Seaway. My contribution is to focus specifically on the people moved, its impact on them at the time, and the ways in which this has been remembered and commemorated.

Similar to his conclusion in *Negotiating a River*, I also argue that in terms of the forced movement of people and damage to the river and landscape, the approach, methodology, and attitude of the power companies and the governments left a great deal to be desired. The use of scientific expertise, with little input from those affected, lies at the very heart of the Seaway story, and speaks directly to its calamitous effects on both the residents and the landscape. As American environmental historian William Cronon has said, however, we are inextricably part and parcel of nature. Humans cannot live in, or with, nature without changing it but nature constantly changes itself and it is only by working with nature that we can come to know and understand it.⁶⁵ George Altmeyer saw this tension as straddling the doctrines of utilization and selfishness. The exploitation of natural resources inherent in the first doctrine is in contention with the limitations of abundance that constrain the second. Inevitably, the utilization of nature and unselfishness must co-exist.⁶⁶ My research builds upon Macfarlane's by examining the distinctions in attitude toward the Project among generations that historian Joy Parr also found apparent when she said, "among the most traumatized were the older and the most water-wise men of the village"⁶⁷ corroborating what former villager Jane Craig said during a 2008 interview, "No one spoke about the move. The first house was moved in 1955 and even then people only whispered that it was exciting."⁶⁸

Because patterns of settlement, social relationships, and familiarity with the land predated the introduction of the utilities and the state into the equation along the Seaway, excising these left the state with an imperfect map.⁶⁹ As Scott posited, when the state attempts to map a social territory, it is either always already in flux or major segments of it are invisible from the state's gaze so that the map reflects only the state's peripheral understanding of the

⁶⁵ William Cronon, *Changes in the Land: Indians, Colonists, and the Ecology of New England* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1983), 3.

⁶⁶ George Altmeyer, "Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914," in *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*, eds. Gaffield, Chad and Pam Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark Ltd., 1995), 96-118.

⁶⁷ Parr, 89; Tina Loo came to a similar conclusion in her study of the disappearance of Africville in Halifax, much of which mirrors the relocation of people in the Seaway Valley where she observed that the oldest members of the community were the most vociferous in opposing relocation. Tina Loo, "Africville and the Dynamics of State Power in Postwar Canada," *Acadiensis* 32/2 (Summer/Autumn 2010), 41.

⁶⁸ Jane Craig. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, December 11, 2008.

⁶⁹ Scott, *Seeing Like a State*, 94; James Murton, *Creating a Modern Countryside: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).

terrain without reference to social considerations. The efficacy of a mega-project depends, as Scott saw it, to a large extent upon the co-operation of those who lose their homes but “entrenched societal behavior frequently does not capitulate to the dominant order but instead continues to survive underground.”⁷⁰

I am greatly indebted to the work of Canadian environmental historian Tina Loo, who examined the resettlement of people in British Columbia. Her work helped me understand the era of dam-building as “a particular moment in global history.”⁷¹ These were, as she put it, “people in the way.”⁷²

My research is based on extensive archival and newspaper research, oral history interviews, visual evidence, and participant observation on the part of the Lost Villages Historical Society. I consulted a number of public archives in Canada and the United States including: Library and Archives Canada, the Archives of Ontario, the International Joint Commission, the Corporate Records Office of Ontario Power Generation, the St. Lawrence University Archives in Canton, New York, the New York State Archives, the Louisville Town Museum Archives, and the Private Collection of the late Dalton Foster, Wilson Hill Island, New York. Within their containers and docket, I found, not only Hydro and PASNY’s version of events but, more importantly, from the correspondence and reports I was reading, their attitudes toward the people they were removing. As can happen, the information I located did not always match my pre-conceived opinion that the two utilities had been rather heartless. In fact, particularly in the case of Hydro, there had actually been considerable effort to accommodate the wishes of residents.

My research also led me to the The Lost Villages Historical Society which has collected scrapbooks, photographs, and audio interviews with former residents which proved invaluable to this thesis. Although these interviews document the subjective memories of those relocated, there was something very satisfying in finding corroboration of what was uncovered in the textual archives. Locating people to interview in New York State proved to be much more difficult since, other than Claire Puccia Parham’s oral history of those who worked on the Power

⁷⁰ Scott: *Seeing like a State*, 94-95.

⁷¹ Tina Loo, “An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia River,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 92/3 (September 2011): 401; Similar to the people on the Seaway, the residents of the Arrow Lakes lost 25,000 acres of cultivated land to the flooding along with fourteen communities, displacing 2,000 people, without input to the process.

⁷² Tina Loo, “People in the Way: Modernity, Environment, and Society on the Arrow Lakes,” *BC Studies* 142/143 (Summer 2004): 162. But see also Tina Loo, “Africville and the Dynamics of State Power in Postwar Canada,” *Acadiensis* Vol. 32/2 (Summer/Autumn 2010): 23-47, where she points out that although relocation destroyed the framework of community in Africville, it induced a regeneration of a vibrant, popular culture. Loo sees Africville as a prime example of James C. Scott’s contention that places can be completely illegible to the state.

Project, almost nothing has been written about the dislocations on the American side. I contacted the *Massena Daily Courier-Observer* to place a classified advertisement requesting anyone whose families had lost home, land, or business to the St. Lawrence Seaway to contact me if they were willing to be interviewed. I then connected with a central North Country agency which also placed the public appeal in the *Ogdensburg Advance-news*, the *Ogdensburg Journal*, and the *Watertown Times*. These efforts generated a few new contacts such as Larry Andress who had lost his home in Louisville Landing to the Seaway, and John, Ann, and Debby Mitchell who had lost their farm in Waddington to the Seaway. These initial interviewees then recommended others for me to interview and allowed me to view their own personal collections of memorabilia from the Seaway days.

In addition, I found it helpful to study the interviews of other authors such as those of Dr. Macfarlane, Maggie Wheeler, Rosemary Rutley, but, specifically Joy Parr's interviews for her book, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1953-2003*, and its accompanying web site as she directs her gaze to the 'survivor' village of Iroquois. Using her work as a template, I applied her methodology and analysis to the other inundated communities by expanding the discussion into other locations to determine whether or not the Iroquois example represented a homogenous experience.

The interviews I conducted between 2008 and 2016 compliment the Lost Villages Historical Society interviews of the 1970s. Some of the people I interviewed were the children of those interviewed in the 1970s. Their stories overlap with those of their parents during the period of their youth, roughly from 1945 to 1958 but the evolution of their memories beyond 1958 provide many added perspectives to the story. Their memories of construction and inundation are from childhood and young adulthood at a time when they would have been less aware of pragmatic concerns. For most, the construction era was exciting but within 20 years that excitement had faded to be replaced by the more sobering thoughts of the emotional price paid by their parents and grandparents, and which they, themselves, are now paying. As they have approached their senior years, this became a driving force to attempt to ensure that the story was not forgotten but, more importantly, to disseminate their version of history as an antidote to the high-modernist tellings of the Seaway Story.

This thesis is organized into five chapters. The first three explore events as they unfolded throughout construction and inundation. Chapter One introduces the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. As construction began, Hydro and PASNY implemented their plans to remove the residents. Distressed that they had not been consulted in planning, the residents protested both individually and collectively. This protest eventually reached the ears of Ontario

Premier Leslie Frost and two successive New York Governors: Thomas Dewey and Averell Harriman. As a result, the compensation options were broadened to include the moving of homes from the former villages to the new towns as well as changes to the designs for the new towns. Chapter Two explores the mechanics of moving whole communities and the further protest that this engendered. In addition to moving homes on the Canadian side, Hydro was responsible for replacing roads, railway lines, schools, churches, fraternity halls, cemeteries and the many cottages located on islands in the river. Chapter Three investigates the considerable changes made to the river and the landscape by the Project. To slow down the current for optimum production of electricity, large outcrops of land were removed from the mainland and the islands and redistributed elsewhere in the river. This not only changed the shoreline but rearranged areas of shallow and deep so that aquatic life was affected. The most drastic change was, of course, the flooding to create Lake St. Lawrence. As the waters rose over the former communities, many former residents can recall small animals and ground fowl scurrying ahead of the water to safety and screeching as they lost their nesting areas and, sometimes, their young. The opening up of the St. Lawrence Seaway, of course, rendered the entire St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system vulnerable to invasive species that multiplied rapidly, decimating many native populations of fish.

The next two chapters turn to the individual and collective memories of these events. Chapter Four tells us what former residents said they lost in oral history interviews. Two sets of interviews are tapped: those conducted by the Lost Villages Historical Society in 1977 and 1978, twenty years after inundation, as well as my own interviews conducted between 2008 and 2016. (See Appendix I, II, and III for details of ethical consent). Those who participated in my own interviews were children or very young adults when they lost their homes, often being children of those interviewed in the 1970s. The final chapter is an on-the-ground tour through what remains of the lost landscape in both Canada and the United States

The photographs form an integral component of my thesis because they provide the context for, as Martha Langford termed it, a 'sustaining conversation' between the voices of former inhabitants and the places that once existed. Without this tangible evidence of the past, it is difficult to visualize what was lost and almost impossible to comprehend the extent of destruction. The voices without the photographs are disembodied. The photographs without the voices are snapshots of any town, anywhere in the 1950s. Only together do they tell the story of lost places and disrupted lives. What I found disturbing are the thousands of images held in private collections that may or may not ever find their way into an archive; photographic evidence of the past that may be irrevocably lost to future researchers.

One of the major contributions this thesis makes to environmental historiography is this combination of photograph and voice that underscores the losses occasioned by personal and community deracination that can accompany the creative destruction of a mega-project. Since the Power Project, the Canadian side of the river has suffered from unsightly mud flats in low water years that attract pestilential weeds and inhibit water traffic. My research on the American side brings to light the issue of the massive movement of earth from one location to another in order to alter the flow and speed of the river, resulting in loss of living space, shoreline erosion, and modified habitats. On a more positive note, the Project gave birth to two protected wildlife preserves, one on each side of the river. My thesis also adds to a wider historiographical conversation on memory, its vagaries, its uses, and how it evolves over time. I was fortunate in being able to tap into the kind of multi-generational interview about which Alexander Freund has written. It broadens the story by taking us from an adult viewpoint to that of the child who matures, changes and evolves in his or her perception of what happened. In so doing, it highlights a major theme to my thesis – that communities, small as they might be, can channel their anger, sorrow, and frustration into positive efforts by which they take back their story, rescue it from the meta-narratives of history, and re-imbue it with their own vernacular version.

This thesis will likely benefit the Lost Villages Historical Society by adding to the growing corpus of literature and media that tell the story of inundation from the residents' perspective. Similarly, in the United States, one of my interviewees, Julie Madlin, has requested a copy of the thesis, once complete, in her capacity as historian for the town of Ogdensburg. Her idea is to share the gist of my thesis on the Ogdensburg History Blog and with her fellow town historians in the North Country. I believe one of the unique contributions this thesis makes is in finally opening a dialogue in the United States on the St. Lawrence dislocations on which history heretofore has been mighty silent.

The dislocation of people and damage to the environment were a function of the high-modernist attitudes of the governments and utilities involved. Their insufficient consultation with the residents engendered protest in both countries that resulted in prolonged resistance to the Power Project. In some cases, this precipitated a reaction of silence that shrouded a profound anger for close to 20 years which was ultimately shattered by the establishment of the Lost Villages Historical Society, its museum, bus tours, and oral interviews. Their long-held resistance had led them to recovering their own stories and history that objected to the technologically sublime description of the Power Project as 'the greatest show on earth.'

The lead-up to the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project took the better part of a century; the end took four days. With the breach of Cofferdam A-1, the water crept forward

slowly engulfing and drastically altering fourteen communities in Canada and the United States. It submerged several of the St. Lawrence islands and created new ones. It rearranged the physical environment along the river and destroyed long-standing habitats. For the former residents, the flooding was the key event in the Seaway story. According to author Rosemary Rutley: "I don't remember feeling remorse or actually seeing the flooding. Maybe deep down inside it did bother me and I really didn't want to watch it."⁷³ Communal identity was fractured and the construction of the new communities could not repair it. Personal identities were deracinated and the constitutive narrative of tranquil, rural life crumbled in the wake of the rising water.⁷⁴ When the former residents watched the water roll across the grass and lap up over the old Number Two Highway and the old U.S. Route 37, it was the last time they would see the land they had called home for the past 200 years.

⁷³ Rosemary Rutley to Sandy Bierworth, *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*, undated.

⁷⁴ Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo, *Steeltown U.S.A.: Work and memory in Youngstown* (Lawrence, Kansas: The University Press of Kansas, 2002), 2.

Chapter One: Power and Protest

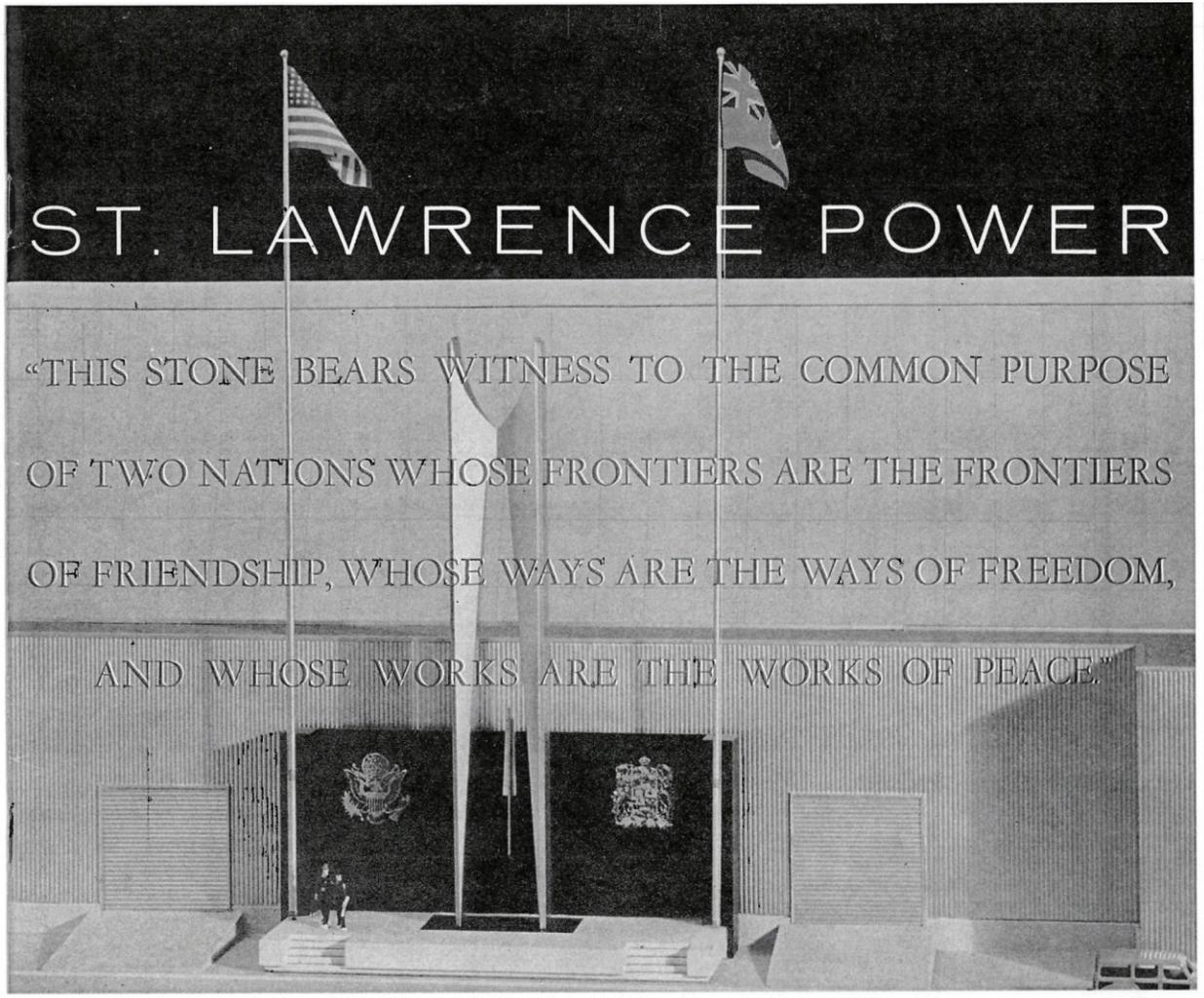


Figure 1.1: International Friendship Monument, at the centre of Robert Moses-Robert H. Saunders Dam, Cornwall, On and Massena, NY. The Monument marks the boundary between Canada and the United States in the middle of the St. Lawrence River. Courtesy International Joint Commission.

Saturday, June 27, 1959 was a lovely, warm summer day. It marked the official end of the Power Project and the opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway. The festivities had started the previous day with Queen Elizabeth II and President Eisenhower dedicating the first lock in the Seaway system at St. Lambert on Montreal's South Shore. The next day, Massena awaited the arrival of the royal yacht, *Brittania*, delayed by fog as it travelled upriver from Montreal. Vice President Nixon welcomed the Queen as she and Prince Philip disembarked at the new Eisenhower lock in Massena. Meanwhile, across the river, the crowd in Cornwall had to wait patiently for a sighting of the Queen until after the dedication ceremonies at the Robert Moses –

Robert H. Saunders Power Dam. Mary Ann Cline-Richer, staying with her aunt in Cornwall (who had lost her home in Mille Roches to the Power Project), recalled the crowds and her own excitement at seeing the Queen.¹

The royal couple were ferried across the river to Cornwall and ushered without delay to the dam located just west of the city. The international dam houses thirty-two turbines for the production of electricity; sixteen on the American side and sixteen on the Canadian side. The American power house marks the south terminal of the dam and the Canadian power house the north terminal. The international boundary between the two countries bisects the dam in the middle where Hydro and PASNY had jointly erected the International Friendship Monument to commemorate the international nature of the construction and the co-operation of two federal governments, one state and one province. The black, marble monument stands sixty feet high, one hundred twenty five feet long and fifty feet deep.² The Queen unveiled the monument to a select audience including: Ontario Premier Leslie M. Frost, U.S. Vice-President Richard M. Nixon, New York Governor Nelson A. Rockefeller, and the chairmen of the two power companies, James S. Duncan of Ontario Hydro and Robert Moses of PASNY. Hidden as it is at the centre of the dam, the Friendship Monument would not see the light of day again for another fifty years. It was a celebration of technology, prosperity, and cooperation. President Eisenhower deemed it a “symbol to the entire world of the achievements possible to democratic nations peacefully working together for the common good.”³

As part of the opening fanfare, Hydro and PASNY commissioned New York composer, Morton Gould, to create a musical score specifically for the occasion, the result of which was ‘The St. Lawrence Suite’ for which Gould received \$3,500. This transaction was not lost upon the former residents given the losses they had endured. In a letter to the *Niagara Falls Evening Review* of February 14, 1959, Joe Swampweed expressed his surprise at Hydro having spent so much to arrange a piece of music and then sarcastically inquired if Hydro could furnish a little money for the ‘opening’ of a new pig pen on his farm. Tongue-in-cheek, he suggested that perhaps Hydro might make “a contribution of \$6.00 for a song which his hired man is composing for his ‘opening’.”⁴

In addition to Gould’s musical contribution, Hydro had also commissioned Toronto artist, Harold Town, to design a mural for the Robert H. Saunders generating station at Cornwall. *The*

¹ Mary Ann Richer. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Rigaud, Quebec, July 19, 2015.

² Jill Chamberlain, Community Relations Manager, Power Authority of the State of New York, Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, December 2, 2008.

³ OPG. “Look what they’ve done to the St. Lawrence” St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation, June 26, 1959.

⁴ OPG. Letter Joe Swampweed to Mr. James Duncan. *Niagara Falls Evening Review*, February 14, 1959.

Toronto Telegram of June 28, 1959 described the painting as “bold and contemptuous of traditional forms [...] There are no beavers fraternizing with eagles, no melancholy Indians or dour pioneers gazing into the vacuous horizon, none of the claptrap frequently used to portray Man on the March. The painting slashes across these conventions with the same audacious vigor and strength that have made this gigantic seaway and power project possible.”⁵ Note the vivid and powerful modernist assumptions. Very obviously, there was a deeply embedded belief that these traditions and conventions should, like the residents, be sacrificed for the sake of progress. Indeed, the Power Project was described as “the realization of a dream that has occupied the thoughts of men for the past four hundred years. If Jacques Cartier, the French explorer, were alive today we venture to say that he would be well pleased with the result.”⁶

The sheer magnitude and positive thrust of the celebrations masked, in any real sense, the loss and hardship wrought upon those who lost their land, homes, and community, the losses subsumed by pageantry. There was no official song to celebrate the loss, no acknowledgement of the beloved homes, graves, schools, and stores, banished forever under the waters of the St. Lawrence. The utilities had organized the celebrations specifically to emblemize the planning and execution of great projects. These ceremonies treated the historical and sociological fact of community ‘execution’ with a silence as obliterating as the flood waters.

This is an international story that crosses U.S.-Canadian lines; an inter-provincial story as it affected both Ontario and Quebec, and a story of the abrogation of long-standing treaties with the Mohawks of Akwesasne and Kahnawake. The story began late in the nineteenth century, heated up considerably throughout the early part of the twentieth, and became a defense imperative for both Canada and the U.S. during World War II. It is a story of political alignments and realignments, big business lobbies, grass-roots social protest, community loss, and environmental change in rewriting the landscape of the St. Lawrence River. This study focuses primarily on the theme of loss and memories of what was lost: identities, homes, and communities sacrificed for the public good.

Due to the binational character of the proposed development on the St. Lawrence, the power companies on either side of the border were required to submit an application to proceed to the International Joint Commission (“IJC”). The 1909 Boundary Waters Treaty had established the IJC to regulate Canadian-U.S. boundary waters which, in turn, drew up navigation laws applicable to both countries. World War I had demonstrated industry’s

⁵ OPG. *Toronto Telegram*, June 28, 1958.

⁶ OPG. “A Triumph” in *Confederation Life Bulletin*, August 1959.

desperate need for additional electrical generating capacity as well as an alternative mode to railway transportation whose capacity had been severely strained during the war. The result was a joint Canadian-U.S. engineering study headed by W.A. Bowden, Chief Engineer of the Department of Railways and Canals in Canada and Colonel William P. Wooten of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers who released the Wooten-Bowden Report which concluded that the navigational capacity and hydroelectric potential of the St. Lawrence River should be broadly developed. This report became the basis of discussion for the next 30 years.⁷

In 1952 Ontario Hydro and the New York Power Authority submitted a joint application to the IJC for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project. The IJC established an independent tribunal to conduct hearings on the application composed of three members each from Canada and the United States. It held hearings to determine whether or not to approve the application to develop the power of the International Rapids area. These hearings occurred first in Toronto, Ontario and Rochester, New York both of which suffered from high water problems which could be adversely affected by the raising of the power pool. A week later the tribunal convened in Ogdensburg, New York on July 24 and the next day in Cornwall.⁸

The thirty-two witnesses who appeared at the Commission hearings in Ogdensburg expressed unanimous support for the Power Project which they believed would benefit twenty-five million customers in New York and New England. The Massena Chamber of Commerce pointed to the growth that Massena had already experienced from its existing small power development. Massena stood to lose one-seventh of its area and one-twelfth of its assessed valuation but its Mayor, Stowell P. Fournia, maintained it would absolutely cooperate if the Project was approved. He emphasized the twelve billion kilowatt hours per day of power going to waste without the Project.⁹ Ogdensburg Mayor, Robert P. McDonald, strongly supported Fournia's views by describing the undeveloped rapids as "almost criminal"¹⁰ while the President of St. Lawrence University, Dr. Eugene Bewkes, called opposition to the power development "an example of small-mindedness unparalleled in American History."¹¹ New York State Senator Paul Graves summed up what he believed to be the consensus of opinion among the people of St.

⁷ William H. Becker, *From the Atlantic to the Great Lakes: A History of the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the St. Lawrence Seaway* (Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of the Pacific, 2005), 9, 11.

⁸ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08121700, *Ogdensburg Journal*, July 24, 1952; 08110400, *Iroquois Post*, July 31, 1952; 08105100 *Morrisburg Leader*, August 1, 1952.

⁹ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08110400, *Iroquois Post*, July 31, 1952.

¹⁰ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08121700, *Ogdensburg Journal*, July 24, 1952

¹¹ *Ibid.*

Lawrence and Franklin counties by stating emphatically that they “are prayerfully hoping that the application will be granted now.”¹²

Representations from the Canadian side of the river were considerably more cautious. Stanley E. Fennell, Q.C., counsel on behalf of the United Counties of Stormont, Dundas, and Glengarry (“SD&G”), stated that SD&G approved the development of the St. Lawrence in principle. “In no sense does it wish to stand in the way of progress; it seeks to be co-operative and on its behalf, I assure you that it will exercise every effort to lend the fullest assistance.”¹³ He then outlined SD&G’s reservations concerning the project and its duty to protect the rights and interests of those who lived in the affected communities. “To the extent that lands will be flooded and damaged, homes destroyed, business terminated and communities washed out [...] these counties must insist that fair and full compensation be given”¹⁴ to the municipalities and their inhabitants.

Fennell asked for the assurance that the project plans provide adequate protection for those that would ultimately reside on the dry side of the dikes containing the reservoir. He requested assistance in the retirement of existing debentures for the areas that would be flooded. He pointed out that the agreements between the federal and provincial governments addressed rehabilitation only for Iroquois and Morrisburg without any mention of the other nine communities to be inundated. In this matter he called for “rehabilitation without discrimination.”¹⁵ In addition, he estimated that the influx of workers for the project would involve a stupendous increase in social services, health services, and public services for which no provision had been made. In the matter of dispute resolution, Fennell pointed out that the Public Works Act stipulated determination by a judge so that “Ontario may, by notice, direct that the dispute be heard by the Ontario Municipal Board, an administrative board appointed by Ontario and holds office at the pleasure of Ontario.”¹⁶ In simplified terms, Fennell explained “the sole appeal in case of dispute or differences in compensation was the same agency that was doing the confiscation namely the Ontario Government. On that basis it might be difficult to secure an independent and fair adjudication in the case of disputed rights.”¹⁷

A six man Morrisburg delegation also testified before the Commission. Like Fennell and the Council of the Corporation of the United Counties of SD&G, this delegation approved an immediate start to the project but spoke to the chief problem facing local municipalities which

¹² Ibid.

¹³ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08105100, *Morrisburg Leader*, August 1, 1952.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ IJC. Docket 68-2-3-3, St. Lawrence Power Application, Exhibit 18, Cornwall Power.

¹⁷ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08105100, *Morrisburg Leader*, August 1, 1952.

was the confusion and lack of information that had been provided to the communities and their citizens as to how they would be treated.¹⁸ Further, the delegation informed the Commission that “compensation on the basis of assessment or current market value selling prices was not fair because this had been a “depressed” area for the past 50 years and had not experienced the same growth as other communities with similar facilities and advantages because of the continual existing handicap that this area would someday be flooded out for the common good of many millions of Canadians and Americans.”¹⁹ As R.H. Armstrong, counsel for the village of Morrisburg said, “The fair market value in Morrisburg is not enough. Property there is not selling for anything like its replacement value.”²⁰ C.M. Crober, also of Morrisburg felt the benefits to be achieved might not compensate for dispossession. As a result of this meeting, the six IJC Commissioners made an immediate tour of those areas along the St. Lawrence on the Canadian side to be affected by the project, favourably impressing municipal officials by this action. As Morrisburg Reeve George E. Beavers put it, “I was surprised by the interest the Commission took in the ‘little man’: how they stopped in the river communities that face flooding under the scheme and how all the commissioners found time to talk to the ordinary citizens.”²¹

Nevertheless, the Morrisburg Seaway Committee called a citizens’ meeting a few days later to invite open discussion of Hydro’s reluctance to reveal its plans for rehabilitation. Don Brown, staff writer for the *Ottawa Evening Citizen* described the gathered crowd as “...fighting mad over the threat of the Hydro expropriating their properties as a forerunner to building of the immense power dam at the Long Sault Rapids and they didn’t pull any punches.”²² Brown assessed the mood of the meeting as having a David and Goliath atmosphere where “The little man [...] loaded his slingshot [...] with a barrage of words which, if gauged on forcefulness alone, should be enough to fell the mighty Hydro with a single blow.”²³ Arguments ranged from replacement value to compensation for inconvenience, the impossibility of payment for sentimental loss, financial hardship for those entrepreneurs whose businesses would be disrupted or closed but, above all, Hydro’s failure to reveal its plans for the new towns and locations.²⁴

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08112900, *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*, July 26, 1952.

²¹ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08105100, *Morrisburg Leader*, August 1, 1952.

²² IJC .Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08100400, Don Brown, *The Ottawa Evening Citizen*, August 6, 1952.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid.

Reservations concerning the Project notwithstanding, the governments and utilities viewed the Project as vital to harnessing natural energy as a means of benefitting both countries as well as the communities involved. In fact, there was a strong argument to be made for this type of rationale when one considers that electricity was an absolute necessity to both industrial and economic expansion. The demand for power in Ontario alone had risen 14% between 1954 and 1955 and in the first five years of the decade the increase had averaged 8.5%.²⁵ In a 1956 News Release, Hydro Chairman, Richard L. Hearn, had stated that these jumps reflected “the province’s unabated progress in virtually all fields of activity.”²⁶ The power companies’ joint application to the IJC patently stated that until the low-cost hydroelectric energy from the St. Lawrence became available, more than 4.5 million commercial and residential customers in New York would not have the full benefit of electrification. PAsNY’s accompanying chart showed a 148% increase in New York’s domestic consumption of electricity in 1948 compared with 1930.²⁷

The ‘technological sublime’ of the Seaway would produce the magic of the much sought after electricity to fuel the exploding economies of Quebec, Ontario and New York State.²⁸ Electricity captured the imagination of both politicians and residents with its endless possibilities and benefits. David Nye described its advent as “the crowning technological glory as it symbolized conquering darkness in both real and metaphorical ways.”²⁹ The romance of lighting the night generated awe for the mystical force of hydroelectricity and as H.V. Nelles pointed out there was something almost supernatural about the ugly and mundane turbines and high tension cables that transfigured rivers and water into light and wealth.³⁰

The Canadian engineers favoured a two stage plan that would develop power at both Barnhart and Ogden Islands whereas the Americans preferred one power generating centre at the downstream end of Barnhart Island. The Canadian two stage plan involved a much-reduced horizon of flooding and allowed for an accelerated pace for the development of power. At the same time the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers was also studying the feasibility of developing a deep water route from the Great Lakes across New York State to the Hudson River (the old Erie

²⁵ SLU. *Ontario Hydro News Release #1*, January 4, 1956.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ IJC. Docket 68-2-3: *Canada and United States St. Lawrence Power Application*; Exhibit 7: The Great Lakes Seaway and Power Project, statement of William T. Field representing the Watertown Chamber of Commerce, July 24, 1952.

²⁸ D’Arcy Jenish, *The St. Lawrence Seaway: Fifty Years and Counting* (Manotick, On: Penumbra Press, 2009), 33.

²⁹ David E. Nye, introduction to *American Technological Sublime* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1994), XV.

³⁰ H.V. Nelles, *The Politics of Development, Forest, Mines and Hydro-electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941* (Toronto: MacMillan of Canada, 1974), 47.

Canal route) but the sheer, physical size of the St. Lawrence rendered it preferable to accommodate ocean-going vessels.³¹ Nevertheless, the start of the St. Lawrence construction also instigated renewed interest in a Montreal-New York link via the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain into the Hudson River and a possible subsidiary route from Montreal to Ottawa up the Ottawa River.³²

President Roosevelt had strongly supported the St. Lawrence route not only to generate additional power to augment the war effort but as a protected in-land waterway suitable for ship building. Canada's decision to build an all-Canadian seaway was a catalytic factor for Congress to finally approve Seaway construction. If Canada went it alone, the U.S. would have little control over a strategic waterway partly in its territory, a serious defense consideration.³³

After a half century of almost continual war and depression, the 1950s ushered in an era of precarious peace unsettled by the politics of the Cold War, ruffled by frenetic manufacturing and rampant consumerism that signaled a new era of prosperity. Lionel Chevrier,³⁴ the Canadian Federal Minister of Transport saw the Power Project as essential because the "survival of our civilization now depends above all on our own scientific and technical superiority."³⁵ Just as Canada followed the U.S. lead in foreign policy, Seaway historian Daniel Macfarlane maintained the escalating Cold War contributed to the close co-operation between the two countries in building the Power Project. Their collaboration centred on Roosevelt's idea of a 'fourth seacoast' as a protected inland waterway where the Aluminum Company of America (Alcoa) could build ships and airplanes free from the threat of infiltrating forces.³⁶

One of the arguments of this thesis is that the particular way in which the Project proceeded was a function of the era in which it occurred. As Daniel Macfarlane postulated, "The creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project was a consequence of its Cold War

³¹ Becker, 14; William R. Willoughby, *The St. Lawrence Waterway: a Study in Politics and Diplomacy* (Madison : University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 10-11.

³² IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, Newspapers, Vol. 2.

³³ Becker, 15, 18.

³⁴ Lionel Chevrier (1903-1987) was the Liberal member in the House of Commons for the riding of Stormont, Ontario from 1935 to 1953, holding positions as Parliamentary Assistant to the Minister of Munitions, Minister of Transport, and President of the Privy Council. In 1954; he was appointed the first President of the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority. He was re-elected to the House of Commons in 1957 for the riding of Laurier, Quebec, a position he held until 1964. During that term, he served as Minister of Justice and Attorney General for Canada. From 1957 to 1963, he was the Official Opposition House Leader and Liberal Party House Leader. He resigned from the House of Commons in 1964 to become the Canadian High Commissioner in London. He held that position until 1967 when he was made a Companion of the Order of Canada. (Source: accessed May 19, 2010, http://www.nationmaster.com/encyclopedia/Lionel_Chevrier.html.)

³⁵ *The Globe and Mail*, January 29, 1951.

³⁶ Macfarlane, 17.

context.³⁷ Both Macfarlane and environmental historian, Richard P. Tucker, subscribe to the theory that the mid-twentieth century spate of dam building spoke to competition between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. to further their imperial aspirations.³⁸ Hydro Chairman, James S. Duncan, summarized these ideas in his speech at the opening of the Power Project in September 1958³⁹ by comparing the Soviet Kuibyshev dam project with the St. Lawrence emphasizing that the collaborative effort represented by construction of the Seaway presented a front of North American solidarity to the communist world.⁴⁰ While I do not disagree with the Macfarlane/Tucker thesis, I also argue that the Cold War was only a convenient device that augmented the primary reason for construction, the mid-century love affair with technology as the badge of modernization and national superiority.

This presents a compelling case for the mood of the times in which the Power Project occurred, an era of euphoria at the future-oriented thrust of technological advance. At the outset of Seaway construction, the first president of the newly formed St. Lawrence Seaway Authority, Lionel Chevrier, optimistically forecasted that, as a result of the Power Project, Cornwall would rapidly grow to a city of 100,000 souls.⁴¹

As early as 1954 PASNY Chairman, Robert Moses had anticipated an era of spectacular growth along the St. Lawrence asserting that the Power Project would attract business and investment to the region. The primacy of the project for Moses went beyond any immediate consequences along the St. Lawrence, “Our entire industrial civilization is involved.”⁴² Moses’ optimistic vision of the Seaway’s future adopted a presentist interpretation of events that wholly disregarded the sociology of the disaffected communities⁴³ and President Eisenhower would later endorse this enthusiastic interpretation: “It is above all a magnificent symbol to the entire

³⁷ Macfarlane, 220.

³⁸ Macfarlane, 281; Richard P. Tucker, “Containing Communism by Impounding Rivers: American Strategic Interests and the Global Spread of High Dams in the Early Cold War,” in *Environmental Histories of the Cold War*, eds. J.R. McNeill and Corrina R. Unger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 139.

³⁹ The power portion of the Project officially opened on September 5, 1958 while the navigational aspect of the Project, the St. Lawrence Seaway, officially opened on June 29, 1959.

⁴⁰ IJC. Docket 68-8-1:2, St. Lawrence Power Application, Material Distributed at the Opening of the St. Lawrence Power Project, Luncheon Address by James S. Duncan, Chairman, Ontario Hydro, Official Opening St. Lawrence Power Project, September 5, 1958.

⁴¹ Marin & Marin, 17; Note that Cornwall, Ontario’s population in 1954 was 17,030, its 2015 population is 47,000, nowhere near Chevrier’s prediction.

⁴² SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet, St. Lawrence Power, New York Power Authority, August 10, 1954.

⁴³ Vjayanthi Rao, “The Future in Ruins,” in *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 314.

world of the achievement possible by two democratic nations peacefully working together for the common good.”⁴⁴

New York Governor Thomas E. Dewey assured the citizens of the North Country⁴⁵ that “the future of this area is especially bright.”⁴⁶ The prospect of financial prosperity excited the residents of Massena who anticipated a refreshing economic expansion. In an interview with historian Claire Puccia Parham, Massena resident Frank Wicks recalled “I remember even before the Seaway legislation was passed, my grandmother always talked about all the great things that were going to happen.”⁴⁷ Homes would inevitably be lost but the trade-off was the imminent modernization and ensuing wealth promised by the corporate and government players. After all, from 1954 to 1959 the Seaway was one of the world’s foremost construction projects.

The City of Cornwall and its surrounding villages had also hoped that better economic times would follow in the wake of the Power Project. The beginning of the end came for these communities on June 7, 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court dismissed the private power company appeals against the Federal Power Commission licence for PASNY’s exclusive rights to develop the U.S. share of hydroelectric power on the St. Lawrence which meant the project would go forward in a little less than a month.

Cornwall responded with jubilation as *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder* proclaimed, “SEAWAY CITY CELEBRATES,”⁴⁸ and its citizens spilled into Cornwall’s downtown Pitt Street. Bands playing festive music spontaneously materialized accompanied by the flashing lights and blaring sirens of the city’s fire trucks. Mayor Aaron Horovitz quickly assembled a victory parade. But Cornwall was not in the proposed flood path. Reception of the Power Project in the villages just west of Cornwall was considerably less enthusiastic. Iroquois’ Reeve, Lloyd Davis, told *The Standard Freeholder* “there would be no celebrations to mark the occasion because we aren’t that happy about the news.”⁴⁹ Another comment in the paper was, “Everything we have worked for as a community will be destroyed, and under these circumstances, we do not feel like celebrating and being joyful with clowns and bands.”⁵⁰

⁴⁴ *Watertown Daily Times*, June 6, 1956.

⁴⁵ The North Country is that portion of upstate New York State that lies outside of Adirondack Park. It includes several counties; those most pertinent to the Power Project are St. Lawrence County, Jefferson County, and Franklin County.

⁴⁶ *The Massena Observer*, August 12, 1954, 10.

⁴⁷ Claire Puccia Parham, *The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project: An Oral History of the Greatest Construction Show on Earth* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 292.

⁴⁸ Headline, *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, June 8, 1954.

⁴⁹ *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, August 21, 1954.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

On the American shore *The Massena Observer's* Washington News Bureau phoned the news of the bill's passage to its home office and the newspaper was proud to state it was the first newspaper in the United States 'to hit the streets' with the news of the landmark decision, reporting that newsboys said the papers were selling like 'hot cakes.'⁵¹ Massena celebrated as well with a program staged in front of the town hall. Like Cornwall, it had a parade with the music of local bands mingling with the uproar and clamour of its Fire Department.⁵² Dignitaries from the two towns (Massena and Cornwall) shared a podium and greeted the crowds. A few weeks later when the U.S. Supreme Court delivered its decision against the petition of the Lake Ontario Property Owners and Beach Protective Association, the race was on in earnest, "POWER AUTHORITY GETS GREEN LIGHT."⁵³

The Power Project dominated headlines again on August 10, 1954 for the official ground breaking ceremonies. It was no coincidence that the power companies chose this date precisely 419 years to the day that Jacques Cartier, upon entering the estuary of the river, named it for the saint whose feast day falls on August 10, Saint Lawrence. The organizers held inaugural ceremonies so that officials could be present on both sides of the river. The U.S. events took place at 11:00 a.m. at Polley's Bay and the Canadian at 1:30 p.m. at Maple Grove, marking the eventual south and north terminals of the soon-to-be Robert Moses-Robert H. Saunders Dam. In Massena, the Americans exploded fireworks that "cascaded scores of Stars and Stripes and Canadian Ensigns into the fast-moving water"⁵⁴ of the St. Lawrence while in a Massena field, dynamite blasts indicated the spot where work would begin. A cavalcade of fifty buses carried official guests from Massena to Cornwall. Hydro had built a reviewing stand for the occasion with a poster depicting Uncle Sam and a red-coated Mountie holding a giant powerhouse in their hands with the caption 'Nature's Gift to two Great countries – Another New Source of Power' – Saunders pointed to the top of a flag-pole at one corner of the stand, possibly twenty-five feet from the ground telling the onlookers, "The level of the water will be up to the top of that pole."⁵⁵ The only note marring the occasion was when the reeve of Iroquois, Lloyd Davis, expressed the collective apprehension of those to be displaced regarding inadequate compensation for their properties and asked the dignitaries on the platform to ensure people were treated fairly, "we are all fearful of the future – all of us."⁵⁶

⁵¹ *The Massena Observer*, May 10, 1954.

⁵² *Ibid.*

⁵³ *The Massena Observer*, June 7, 1954.

⁵⁴ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, 08071400, Frank Swanson, Citizen Parliamentary Writer, *Ottawa Citizen*, August 11, 1954.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

Amidst this pageantry, Ontario Premier Leslie M. Frost and New York Governor Dewey along with the CEOs of the two power companies, Robert Moses and Robert H. Saunders, armed with white-handled, silver spades⁵⁷ turned the first sods of earth signaling the start of construction.⁵⁸ As President Eisenhower was unable to attend Prime Minister St. Laurent abstained from the American activities but officiated on the Canadian side along with C.D. Howe, Minister of Trade, Commerce, and Defense Production and, of course, the ubiquitous St. Lawrence Seaway Authority President, Lionel Chevrier. *The Massena Observer* put out an eight-page 'extra' edition to honour the day describing the celebratory events culminating with fireworks.⁵⁹

These were ceremonies celebrating the achievements of the elite relegating the ordinary citizen to participate only in peripheral activities. There was no mention of the impending doom faced by several thousand people. But then these were small, expendable communities, the largest of which were Morrisburg in Ontario with a pre-flooding population of approximately 1,864 and Massena, New York, considerably larger at 14,862.⁶⁰ Socially and politically unimportant, they possessed one invaluable asset, water, and its hydroelectric potential. Their small numbers and low political profile made them easy prey for manipulation by the power authorities and state and provincial governments. The long, depressed value of real estate and the lax and poorly defined laws surrounding land expropriation left the residents vulnerable to the machinations and finagling of industry and government.

The entrance of the Americans meant of course that Cornwall would lose its seaport as the agreement signed by the two countries stipulated that the locks bypassing the Long Sault Rapids would be located on the American side of the river. The Canada-U.S. agreement to situate the canal and locks on the American side of the International Rapids Section had devastating consequences for Cornwall's future. While the facility existed for a deep-sea port, the movement of construction to the other shore left that sea port *de facto* high, dry, and dysfunctional. The issue rankled with Cornwall for many years. In a House of Commons debate in 1959 the Member for Stormont described it as "the assassination of a city"⁶¹ and accused

⁵⁷ *The Massena Observer* described the spades as silver-handled while *the Ottawa Citizen* described them as chromium-plated. *The Massena Observer*, August 10, 1954; *The Ottawa Citizen*, August 11, 1954. The Ontario Power Generation Records Office was unable to confirm one way or the other as the disposition of the spades is unknown.

⁵⁸ OPG. "A Triumph" in *Confederation Life Bulletin*, August 1959.

⁵⁹ *The Massena Observer*, August 10, 1954.

⁶⁰ United States Census Bureau, *Census of Population and Housing, 1950*, Vol. 1. Number of Inhabitants.

⁶¹ IJC. Docket 68-3-V6, St. Lawrence Power Application – Cornwall Island Dredging, House of Commons Debates, Volume 103, Number 26, Second Session, Twenty-fourth Parliament, Official Report, Thursday, February 19, 1959, 1191.

Lionel Chevrier of betraying and destroying the city that was “sold down the river to the United States.”⁶² Moreover, a much larger population would be affected leaving Cornwall’s satellite communities in a state of unease. *The Standard Freeholder* did not publish an ‘Extra’ edition, contrasting its somewhat more conservative mood with Massena’s festive mood but it did provide detailed descriptions of the sod-turning and snippets of the various speeches at the celebratory luncheon following the ceremony.⁶³

Almost immediately after the ground breaking, Premier Frost assured the residents that they would get a fair deal for their properties and encouraged them to consider themselves as partners in a project that would embrace their issues.⁶⁴ Hydro followed suit with its own declaration of intent to treat those affected by its development with fairness and justice. Initially, Hydro Chairman Bob Saunders announced that Hydro would pay market value plus 10 to 15% for inconvenience but market value was hardly fair in an area where property had been considered virtually valueless for a major portion of the preceding half century.⁶⁵ Hydro unveiled three options by which to compensate the residents as a *fait accompli*: a cash settlement of market value plus a percentage for inconvenience with the resident to relocate elsewhere; a replacement home equivalent to the existing home which would be inundated, or receive a lot in one of the new towns and build their own house.⁶⁶

Even before the ground-breaking ceremony, Hydro and PASNY had discussed the optimal way to acquire the land needed for the project. In his quasi-autobiographical book, *The St. Lawrence Seaway*, Lionel Chevrier provided a rather bland definition, “When a Crown company equipped with expropriative powers declares a piece of land is needed for its purposes, and registers a note of expropriation, the land automatically ceases to be the property of the existing landowner. But he does retain the right to compensation and to dispute the amount offered.”⁶⁷ In the Minutes of a special meeting of PASNY held on July 28, 1954, Chairman Moses submitted that, under Canadian law, compensation for property taken by eminent domain was market value plus 10% for the forcible taking; eminent domain being the

⁶² IJC. Docket 68-3-V6, St. Lawrence Power Application – Cornwall Island Dredging, House of Commons Debates, Volume 103, Number 26, Second Session, Twenty-fourth Parliament, Official Report, Thursday, February 19, 1959, 1195.

⁶³ *The Standard Freeholder*, August 10, 1954.

⁶⁴ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet, *Ontario Hydro Newspaper*. August 1954.

⁶⁵ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet, *Ontario Hydro Report on the Acquisition of Lands and Related Matters for the St. Lawrence Power Project*, July 18, 1955; Mabee, 205, 215.

⁶⁶ Parham, Interview with Les Cruickshank, 68.

⁶⁷ Lionel Chevrier, *The St. Lawrence Seaway* (Toronto: The MacMillan Company of Canada Limited, 1959), 102-103.

American terminology for expropriation which is the power of a state to take private property for public use.⁶⁸

The legal advice sought by PASNY on land acquisition opined that, other than in exceptional circumstances, the most efficient way to acquire the needed land was to take fee title to the property taking line. Fee title entails absolute ownership of the land, free from any claims. PASNY did allow, however, for adjacent property owners to have a right-of-way to the water with the provision that any use of property between the property taking line and the water remained subject to PASNY regulation. Fee title permitted PASNY and Hydro, as sole owners, to avoid numerous claims arising out of possible complaints, particularly those related to damage as a result of erosion and fluctuating water levels that negatively affected the shore line.⁶⁹ PASNY had learned from observation that Hydro, besieged by claims due to erosion, eventually abandoned purchasing easements in favour of fee title due to the ambiguous nature of an easement that grants the easement holder permission to use an owner's land but the owner retains title to the land and can revoke the easement at any time. Both power corporations were well aware that, from the outset, the TVA had taken title in fee exclusively, but later, responding to public pressure had conceded to acquiring land with easements that created conflict with the landowners such that the TVA ended up paying twice the original amount for the property. Hydro opted instead to treat each transaction on a case-by-case basis.⁷⁰

PASNY, on the other hand, took fee title exclusively under eminent domain without any bonus for inconvenience as Hydro had promised in Canada. It offered New York residents market value only, without consideration or negotiation. Hydro had considered adopting PASNY's hard line approach but yielded to its particular situation involving a much larger population as well as more complex issues of highway and railway rights-of-way. In addition, Hydro was not anxious to exacerbate the public relations nightmare anticipated as it began to issue expropriation notices.

By comparison, Hydro demonstrated a more compassionate and reasonable attitude towards land expropriation than its U.S. counterpart. Unlike PASNY, a disinclination to purchase

⁶⁸ PASNY, Minutes of Meeting, July 28, 1954.

⁶⁹ PASNY, Minutes of Trustee Meeting, May 26, 1955 and July 18, 1955; SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet, Ontario Hydro Report on the *Acquisition of Lands and Related Matters for the St. Lawrence Power Project*, July 18, 1955.

⁷⁰ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, *Land Acquisition on the American Side for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Projects*, Power Authority of the State of New York, July 18, 1955; Legal Opinion re: Acquisition of Real Property for the St. Lawrence Project, Opinion written by Thomas F. Moore, Jr., General Counsel for the Power Authority of the State of New York, 8-9.

land just to satisfy minimum requirement for the project which would leave owners with no access to public roads and land without buildings unamenable to any type of development – token, useless lands. Hydro recognized the hardship that this project would engender and the disruptive impact on businesses, schools, churches, and the social fabric of these communities.⁷¹

As early as December 1954, Hydro started issuing expropriation notices in Iroquois before making any offers on the properties.⁷² Similarly, in New York some folks were forcibly evicted without having received any compensation or even a formal offer for their property which sent the residents into a tunnel of terror as rumour and misinformation abounded.⁷³ As the power companies began to reveal their plans, it became obvious that they had already prepared a blueprint for future land usage with no prior resident consultation.⁷⁴ Iroquois planner, Dr. Wells Coates, retained to provide alternatives to Hydro's plans, assessed those plans as "carried through in an ivory tower atmosphere of isolation twice removed from any contact with the land or the people."⁷⁵ Representatives from the Seaway Valley demanded a meeting with Premier Frost to complain about Hydro's approach to land acquisition and fear only intensified as Hydro began to unveil its plans for the proposed replacement towns. The mood was intensifying and beginning to assume a slightly militant character.⁷⁶

The residents submitted a report concurrently to Hydro and the Ontario Department of Planning and Development requesting more specific information on relocation and compensation. The gist of the report suggested that, as the project presumably benefited the whole country, the residents should not be called upon to bear any expenses and that compensation should, in fact, be replacement value plus the extra for inconvenience.⁷⁷ Replacement value, costly to the utility, became the watchword for the folks of the Seaway Valley and the bane of Hydro's land and property negotiations. Hydro Chairman Saunders rebuffed this demand stating that Hydro was unable to provide a blanket formula and each case would be dealt with on its own merit.

⁷¹ OPG. Supplementary Report on the Acquisition of Lands and Related Matters for the St. Lawrence Power Project, February 22, 1955.

⁷² Marin & Marin, 31.

⁷³ Mabee, 209.

⁷⁴ *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*, September 14, 1954.

⁷⁵ *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*, August 21, 1954.

⁷⁶ OA RG 19-61-1, Municipal Affairs, Research Branch – Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study, Box 21, file 14-1-5, Minutes of Meetings – St. Lawrence Seaway #1, Joint Submission to Ontario Hydro, August 12-13, 1954.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*

Osnabruck Township's Reeve, Thorold Lane, was particularly incensed that 'Kremlin'⁷⁸ agents might make an initial offer to a farmer for \$30.00 an acre but when faced with resistance quickly upped that offer closer to \$100.00. Lane and the Seaway Valley residents felt it only fair that, as the government was taking land by force, its representatives had a responsibility to make a fair offer at the outset of negotiations.⁷⁹ While there was no official voice in the Seaway Valley to rival that of Hydro, there were certainly numerous individuals who protested Hydro's compensation package. Ontario Power Generation's corporate records reveal the many appeals of both resident and non-resident land-owners. As Seaway historian Daniel Macfarlane has pointed out, Hydro was fortunate in having Harry Hustler as its Director of Property. Hustler struck a balance between fair land deals and the safeguarding of Hydro's interests.⁸⁰ In fact, the Ontario Power Generation Records Office show that Hustler responded to every instance of complaint with an attempt at resolution.

The affected municipalities coordinated their efforts at protest under the chairmanship of Lane, unanimously adopting a resolution demanding replacement value for their houses. They sent the resolution to every member of the Ontario legislature in the fall of 1954 and to every newspaper in the province. The Citizens' Association of Morrisburg organized a mass meeting on November 29, 1954 with two thousand angry respondents who heckled Hydro's Vice Chairman, George H. Challies.⁸¹ As a result, the Ontario Cabinet called for the establishment of information offices with which the local municipalities could consult. Planning experts were made available to them at Hydro's expense to offer advice, staffed with provincial rather than Hydro planners. The St. Lawrence Board of Review opened in January 1955 to hear appeals from property owners unable to reach a consensus with Hydro but, impatient to wait until January for answers, the Association remained adamant in wanting an interview with Frost himself who finally capitulated so that on December 14, the meeting took place with Frost assuring the assembly that they would not suffer financially.⁸² In fact, he assured the delegation of reeves, mayors, and councilors that replacement value would become policy. Reeve Lloyd Davis of Iroquois came away from the meeting feeling "We won a signal victory when we saw

⁷⁸ Within the Cold War context of the 1950s, the word "Kremlin" symbolized the autocratic and 'Russians' the agents of autocracy.

⁷⁹ Mabee, 206.

⁸⁰ Macfarlane, 154, 159, 174. See Macfarlane for a discussion of Harry Hustler's valuable contribution both to Hydro and to the residents.

⁸¹ Marin & Marin, 29; Mabee, 206.

⁸² *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, November 30, 1954; December 15, 1954.

Mr. Frost [...] It shows that we little people are not to be downtrodden.”⁸³ As Mabee said, “The province and Hydro were fumbling toward better relations with the people of the valley.”⁸⁴

The Review Board proved effective in recommending that Hydro slightly increase its payouts and Hydro, anxious not to fan the fires of protest, usually agreed. Of the cases that came before the Review Board, only fourteen were then submitted to the Ontario Municipal Board, a provincial court which, following the lead of the Review Board, also tended to recommend small increases. The number of cases reviewed by either the Review Board or the Ontario Municipal Board remained, however, quite low for fear of retaliation by Hydro and as one of the disaffected reeves said “Look, I can’t go into that ... I am a Property owner ... and they’re a big outfit. I am afraid of reprisal too.”⁸⁵ By carefully following the litigation cases of their neighbours, the residents came to understand that if they hired a lawyer or refused to leave their property at a time critical to the project, they might indeed obtain more compensation from one of the Review Boards. However as most increases in payout were small, the lion’s share of these would go to paying their own legal costs.⁸⁶

Hydro at least, if not the provincial government, was well aware that the St. Lawrence Development Act recognized claims if relocated roadways diverted traffic causing business to suffer. Although it had been successful in abjuring past claims, Hydro feared that this opened another avenue by which residents could seek compensation and therefore Hydro was determined to lobby that any future amendments to the Act should remove the obligation to notify owners of this right.⁸⁷

All of these factors led Hydro to consider that, where feasible, moving houses at no cost to the owner might be a viable alternative, financially more economical for Hydro, and perceived as more equitable by the residents. In fact, Hydro had expropriated not just the 22,000 acres to be flooded, but 37,000 acres of land to provide for quarries, railway and road relocation, as well as the planned recreational facilities. Hydro conducted town hall meetings throughout the Seaway Valley to further elaborate on its plans for relocation and to enable the residents to raise issues of cost, compensation, and Hydro’s often unilateral decisions on moving. Planning for the new towns had a mixed reception of approval, indifference, and anger.

⁸³ IJC. Docket 68-6-2, St. Lawrence Power Application, Vol. 2, 08001700.

⁸⁴ Mabee, 210.

⁸⁵ OA. RG 19-6, File 14.1.10, *Toronto Daily Star*, September 10, 1956.

⁸⁶ Mabee, 207.

⁸⁷ IJC. Docket 68-3-V3, St. Lawrence Power Application, Correspondence 1955, 14404300.

One of the first villages slated to move was Iroquois under much duress believing that Hydro had sold them down the river.⁸⁸ The strength of Iroquois's reaction to Hydro's proposals galvanized Saunders into a visit to the village where, recognizing the atmosphere of protest, he softened Hydro's approach by assuring the residents, "We are not wedded to the proposed location of the new Iroquois."⁸⁹ Morrisburg expressed a similar negative response to the proposed relocation plans maintaining that the Council and Planning Board had acted without sufficient public consultation. A meeting of the Citizens' Association planned "to present a united front and support the desires and rights of the citizens during the transition period and afterwards."⁹⁰ It was the frustration in Iroquois and the efforts of the Morrisburg Citizens' Association that forced Hydro into acceding to some of their demands. The decision to move homes had been, more than any other single factor, instrumental in releasing Hydro from the frustrating and repetitive 'We demand replacement value' which had become the focus of Seaway Valley protest.⁹¹

The actual rehabilitation program began in June, 1955 and was completed by the end of 1957. The folks along the river were of the opinion that, because Hydro was not only eliminating several communities but their entire way of life as well, it should be more rather than less generous to the dislocated. "The extent to which Ontario Hydro fulfilled such a role has been open to dispute in the United Counties ever since the Seaway Valley was so radically altered."⁹²

As Ontario Hydro had insisted that negotiating was to be done on a case-by-case basis, each individual involved in negotiations with the utility experienced the process differently. Similarly, Hydro's agents, with a mandate to treat each case separately, were apprehensive that agreeing to any large compensation demand might jeopardize the agent's relationship with Hydro. As Clive and Frances Marin put it, "... negotiating often deteriorated into a war of nerves. The strong did well; the weak did not."⁹³

The Marins pointed out that, specifically for farmers, a cash buy-out often did not provide enough money to purchase another farm. One such farmer, Stanley McNairn, helped establish the Seaway Valley Agricultural Committee which prepared a position paper for farmers which was blatantly ignored by Hydro. McNairn took his case to the Ontario Municipal Board which granted him an additional \$5,000 for his property, barely covering his legal expenses. McNairn

⁸⁸ *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, August 21, 1954.

⁸⁹ *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, August 26, 1954.

⁹⁰ *The Morrisburg Leader*, September 3, 1954.

⁹¹ Ontario Hydro, *Supplementary Report on the Acquisition of Lands and Related Matters for the St. Lawrence Power Project* (unpublished document).

⁹² Marin & Marin, 43.

⁹³ Marin & Marin, 37.

then approached from a different angle, attempting to buy back the part of his farm that would not be flooded, only to be turned down again as Hydro had, by now, designated it for public park land. By the time of the flooding in 1958 he had reacquired the sum total of only two acres of his original property.⁹⁴

Protest may not have been widespread or terribly visible to those outside of the affected communities, but it did exist. In Iroquois some farmers ordered bulldozers off their land and one elderly lady staved off the land agents with a gun.⁹⁵ Lionel Chevrier recounts the story of an angry farmer who, when faced by the loss of his farm, threatened to blast a Seaway Authority employee to pieces with a shotgun. In another instance, agents had to tabulate the history of each tree in an orchard to settle a dispute about the monetary value of the orchard. Negotiations for orchards were particularly difficult because of the time factor; a fully fruiting orchard cannot immediately be replaced. A newly planted orchard takes up to twenty years to come to fruition. Chevrier's appraisal of events was, of course, hardly objective as witness his assurances that "Hydro took the most elaborate care to make sure everybody was treated fairly and humanely."⁹⁶

Land expropriation in the First Nations community of Kahnawake posed another special case for Chevrier and the Seaway Authority. The proposed 1,262 acres (one-sixth of its total land area) in Kahnawake required for the Seaway represented a significant loss for that community. The reserve was, after all, geographically constrained by treaty and, with a rising population the community desperately needed all of its land.

Land loss had plagued the community for years. Following World War II, a Special Joint Committee of the Senate and the House of Commons was established to amend the Indian Act with an eye to rectifying some of its negative repercussions such as allowing public works to be constructed on reserves without community assent and permitting non-aboriginal people to occupy residences.⁹⁷ These were typical examples of the constant encroachment on Kahnawake's territory. As with the villages in Ontario, little information on expropriation and compensation was forthcoming.⁹⁸ Chief Councilor Joseph Angus Beauvais held a referendum on March 30, 1955 in which the residents voted unanimously against expropriation.⁹⁹ Located

⁹⁴ Marin & Marin, 39.

⁹⁵ Mabee, 204.

⁹⁶ Chevrier, 102, 104.

⁹⁷ Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1705-171.

⁹⁸ Stephanie Phillips, "The Kahnawake Mohawks and the St. Lawrence Seaway," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 2000, 37.

⁹⁹ Laurence Hauptman, *The Iroquois Struggle for Survival: World War II to Red Power* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1996), 137.

as the community is on the south shore of Montreal spelled publicity on the stage of Canada's then largest city. The residents of the reservation, well aware of this advantage, captured headlines in Montreal and, according to Chevrier, created the impression that a containable situation was egregious. As members of the Six Nations, the Iroquois of Kahnawake held their land by treaty with the British Government and argued that since the treaty predated the British North America Act, the Canadian government had no jurisdiction within the reserve.¹⁰⁰ Disregarding the Iroquois argument, Chevrier insisted the Seaway Authority treat the residents of the reserve as it treated all property owners along the river on the basis that as Chevrier said, "If there had been the faintest chance of a court upholding that point of view, we would have been forced to put the seaway on the other side of the river – at an additional cost of many millions."¹⁰¹

The Minister of Transport, George Marler, introduced a bill in 1955 to amend the St. Lawrence Seaway Act to provide for the expropriation of Aboriginal land. The sole purpose of the amendment was to ensure, without a doubt, that the St. Lawrence Seaway Authority had the power to take land as needed at Akwesasne and Kahnawake. Member of Parliament John Hamilton clearly articulated the Progressive Conservative position vis-à-vis the tactics of the Liberal government, "the Seaway Authority has had a callous disregard for the interests of those communities and those areas that are affected by their projects and therefore we should be careful in giving them power regarding the Indians. The Seaway channel could have been placed nearer the centre of the channel and thus the need for expropriation of Caugnawaga¹⁰² Indian lands could have been avoided entirely."¹⁰³ Incensed, John Diefenbaker and the Conservative opposition in Parliament demanded to know whether Parliament had the power to abrogate long-standing treaties with the Aboriginal communities. Conservative protest notwithstanding, Parliament proceeded to do just that for the Seaway – "bill passed."¹⁰⁴

The Louis Diabo affair however halted Chevrier and Parliament in their tracks. Diabo's home and farm were located in a portion of the Mohawk community at Kahnawake that was slated for expropriation. When the Seaway Authority made Diabo an offer on his property and

¹⁰⁰ Chevrier, 105-106.

¹⁰¹ Chevrier, 106.

¹⁰² In the 1950s the reservation at Kahnawake was more commonly known by its anglicized name, Caugnawaga.

¹⁰³ SLU. MSS40 Seaway Box 51, Folder Seaway Mabee Notebook; House of Commons, *Debates*, June 27, 1955, 5306-5312.

¹⁰⁴ SLU. MSS40 Seaway Box 51, Folder Seaway Mabee Notebook; House of Commons, *Debates*, June 27, 1955, 5313.

ordered him to move, Diabo, backed by the Department of Indian Affairs,¹⁰⁵ rejected the offer and refused to move. When dredging for the Beauharnois Canal reached his door step, Diabo's refusal to budge forced construction crews to move their equipment and make a detour around his house. Nevertheless the digging continued, drying up Diabo's well, and leaving him without access to water, a crucial circumstance. Furthermore, the Montreal press obligingly reported that this forced Diabo's sixty-nine year old wife to walk two miles every day to obtain potable water. As a result, the public furore caused Chevrier to capitulate to public pressure personally delivering Diabo a cheque in the amount of \$70,326, a settlement to which Diabo finally agreed.¹⁰⁶ The Seaway Authority, embarrassed by this fiasco, promised it would, in future, give special consideration to Aboriginal groups affected by the Seaway.¹⁰⁷ In her Master's Thesis, Stephanie K. Phillips summarized the Seaway's long-term effect on the community at Kahnawake: "The construction of the Seaway was an attack on the community's land base and resources, its political autonomy, and its way of life. In place of the river and all it represented to Kahnawake – community, self-sufficiency – was a radically altered landscape and the feeling of being confined and ultimately controlled by outside forces."¹⁰⁸

Another successful protest was that of the Sheek Islanders. Located out in the St. Lawrence River across from the villages of Mille Roches and Moulinette. Sheek Island was home to about 250 cottages. These had been built on land leased from the Canadian Department of Transport and the terms of the lease required owners to remove their cottages on demand without any legal right to compensation. The cottagers formed the Sheek Island Cottagers Association and, although the Association admitted to the terms of the lease, it invoked a moral obligation on the part of the government to provide some form of compensation. It appealed to members of Parliament, sent delegations to Ottawa, and steadfastly refused to move. As a result, it secured a promise from Hydro and the Department of Transport that either they would pay compensation or move the cottages.¹⁰⁹ Hydro knew that upon termination of the flooding, certain points of high ground would become islands and

¹⁰⁵ In the 1950s, Indigenous Affairs and Northern Development Canada was officially called Department of Citizenship and Immigration - Indian Affairs Branch, its colloquial name, the Department of Indian Affairs.

¹⁰⁶ *Montreal Gazette*, February 23, 1955; *Montreal Star*, February 24, 1956 and March 22, 1956.

¹⁰⁷ Mabee, 208; *Syracuse Post-Standard*, May 10, 1956, March 22, 1956, June 14, 1956; *Montreal Star*, February 24, 1956, March 22, 1956, June 14, 1956, August 9, 1956; *Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, March 23, 1956.

¹⁰⁸ Phillips, Stephanie K., "*The Kahnawake Mohawks and the St. Lawrence Seaway*" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 2000), 47-48.

¹⁰⁹ Mabee, 209; *Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, December 8, 1956.

responded by allocating two of these, Moulinette Island and Ault Island,¹¹⁰ as cottage sites and skidded most of these cottages across the ice in the winter of 1957.¹¹¹ Eventually, the joint actions of the review boards, the courts, as well as individual and group protest, mellowed Hydro's stance increasingly toward replacement value and improved its attitude in dealing fairly with the Aboriginal reserves but none of this could heal "the ache in the heart of those being forced to leave their homes by the river."¹¹²



Figure 1.2: Skidding cottages from Sheek's Island to Island 17 during the winter of 1957. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

The situation in New York State was similar to that in Canada; protest, on a small scale, virulent at times, but lacking in national recognition. In Lisbon, New York some farmers barred surveyors from their fields. Bulldozers crashed through fences without warning, bowled over trees and tore up fields without property owners' permission, and it was all quite legal. New Yorkers joined their counterparts across the river in referring to the land agents as Russians and the governments and utilities as 'the Kremlin' with respect to their authoritarian methods.¹¹³ The job assigned to the land agents was a difficult one. They dealt often with anger, stubbornness, and sorrow, and were called Russians to their faces. The most difficult issue was to distinguish between legitimate claims and speculators feigning sentiment.

¹¹⁰ These two tracts of land that would remain above water after the flooding were known during construction of the Seaway as Island 17 and Island 1 respectively. Old timers still refer to these two islands by their construction era names.

¹¹¹ Rutley, 123.

¹¹² Mabee, 210.

¹¹³ Mabee, 204, 209.

On the American side of the river, Robert Moses obtained permission from Governor W. Averill Harriman and PASNY to conduct the American side of the project as he saw fit, offering the residents no options whatsoever. He established PASNY's official policy of taking land by eminent domain by borrowing from state highway law, with which he was very familiar having spent years in the construction of New York's many parkways. PASNY offered to pay market value only without any bonus for inconvenience. This was all very simple for Moses who was inured to seizing land for parks, housing, and highways in the process having evicted hundreds of thousands of New York people.¹¹⁴ He unilaterally authorized the demolition of cottages and homesteads causing a furious public backlash to the extent that the complaints reached President Eisenhower's ears who then requested the U.S. Federal Power Commission to investigate. Moses, furious at this attempt to besmirch PASNY, responded with the typical Moses lack of *savoir-faire* that any such plaintiffs were necessarily land speculators looking to denigrate PASNY.¹¹⁵ Those who appealed to the courts quickly learned that the courts, recognizing the national import of the Seaway and in full support of Moses, usually accepted that the prices offered by PASNY were sufficiently high.¹¹⁶

With the successful passage of the amended St. Lawrence Development Act on September 8, 1955 that all land be acquired by expropriation, in a letter to the Superintendent of Public Works in New York, Moses blasted John D. VanKennen, chairman of the St. Lawrence County Democratic Committee, for criticizing the Public Works Bureau of Rights of Way and Claims who had requested PASNY refrain from taking fee title to his farm. Moses stated that VanKennen "has had the effrontery to demand that we take only an easement so that he could have his property back together with millions of yards of material placed at Authority expense."¹¹⁷

On the very day of the ground breaking, Moses had set the parameters for PASNY's actions and behaviours during the coming years of construction. He recognized that expropriation, flooding, and dislocation would create hardship for many and that some allowance should be made for this and, echoing Chevrier's words, he maintained that PASNY intended to treat them in a decent and humane fashion. He immediately followed this by pointing out that the dislocations and other local problems that might arise were for the cause of

¹¹⁴ Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1974), 7.

¹¹⁵ PASNY, *Land Acquisition on the American Side for the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Projects*, July 18, 1955, 1; OPG. SLPP, Bin 11-9-189, Box 7 of 67, File St. Lawrence Official, Sep-Oct 1954, Moses to Jerome K. Kuykendall, U.S. Federal Power Commission.

¹¹⁶ Mabee, 210.

¹¹⁷ PASNY, Minutes of Meeting, September 8, 1955.

a great benefit to the nation and, by extension, to the North Country of New York. Moses imposed upon the residents the responsibility for the extent of impact stating arbitrarily that it would be measured by their ability to willingly accept inconvenience to themselves and cooperate by making some sacrifices for the greater good. Moses repeated his 1927 advice regarding the Long Island parks and parkways, "Some people must be hurt by progress but that is unavoidable. You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs."¹¹⁸ Moses' words are indicative of an inability to appreciate the negative effects of loss such that this lack of understanding would continue to colour PASNY's relationship with the disaffected residents.

He emphasized that only a relatively small number of owners would lose their property but that it was essential that PASNY take sufficient land at the outset to satisfy the maximum requirements of the project in such a way that would preclude future disputes or claims. He then unveiled another part of his master plan for the area which was to create facilities of permanent value to replace those destroyed revealing his intention to supersede the former cottage frontages on the river with public parks and beaches.¹¹⁹

Moses admitted that appropriation of the entire river front prevented the community's enjoyment of that resource, including in his assessment the many camp and cottage sites and the few permanent residences. He found it 'regrettable' that the project curtailed historical privileges on the river but was adamant that neither existing nor planned private construction could be permitted below the taking lines.¹²⁰ He was careful in this regard to limit PASNY's expenditures stipulating that it would not assume the normal operating expenses of the local communities but would underwrite some share of the cost of new construction, a new sewage disposal plant, and provide a new water intake in the Massena works to deliver water to Alcoa and Massena. In addition, PASNY would reconstruct roads disrupted by the flooding, chiefly Route 37 to Canada including a new bridge across the Grasse River.¹²¹

In the minutes of a PASNY meeting held October 17, 1955, PASNY targeted the Wilson Hill area as the answer to relocations. After the flooding, this tract of high land would become an island to which it planned to relocate displaced home and cottage owners, retaining the few houses already located there, and building a causeway to the new island. This proposed development of Wilson Hill could accommodate about 200 relocated cottages. The cottage

¹¹⁸ Caro, 275.

¹¹⁹ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet/Brochure, St. Lawrence Power, NYPA, August 10, 1954, 1, 44-45.

¹²⁰ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet/Brochure, St. Lawrence Power: Housing, Highways and related matters, New York State Power Authority, December 1954, 4.

¹²¹ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet/Brochure, St. Lawrence Reforestation, Parks and "Recreation, Power Authority of the State of New York, December 1955.

owners would be offered a twenty year lease on their houses plus a small plot of land but all access to the river would be governed by leases and permits issued by PASNY. The ownership of each house would vest in the owner but the land was to remain firmly in PASNY's possession and under its control for the protection of the Power Project works. If an existing owner refused the move but the owner's building was worth moving, it would be offered to another owner whose home was not worth moving because of either location or condition. In the case of a home that it was not economically feasible to move, PASNY was to supply a lot on which the owner could build a new home. At this point in 1955 PASNY said it would make the arrangement for the relocation of the cottages.¹²²

By 1956 the situation changed. Few cottage owners had agreed to relocate to Wilson Hill and at least one existing owner in the area had objected to PASNY's appropriation of the entire area and had taken the utility to court. With only forty-two of the expected two hundred cottagers agreeing to the move to Wilson Hill, PASNY rethought the situation. From a financial perspective the entire Wilson Hill project involved an expensive installation for water supply and sewage designed to protect the health of the tenants and the operation of the Power Project works. Ultimately the Courts dismissed the action brought against PASNY and the Wilson Hill area was subdivided into the two hundred plots and the project went forward on a much reduced basis; PASNY providing the infrastructure with the cottagers now responsible for all relocation costs.

Unlike the protest on the Canadian side, the Wilson Hill development appears to be the sole instance in New York that forced PASNY to modify its plans substantially. Eventually PASNY sold some of the unnecessarily expropriated land back to its original owners. Although some houses and buildings were moved on the American side, the majority of these relocations were arranged privately. While PASNY did grant some property owners rights-of-way to the water, it severely restricted any use of the land along the shore line. PASNY intimated that at some point many who had lost waterfront property would have the option of reacquiring it, "but a half century later there are very few instances of this taking place."¹²³

As Ann-Laura Stoler has pointed out, disregard for sparsely populated areas frequently renders them only peripherally visible to the historical record and fails to recognize the ruination of their land and communities.¹²⁴ The early dismissal of the Seaway residents' profound loss encapsulates the community ruination and underscores their lack of agency in negotiating with

¹²² PASNY, Minutes of a Meeting, October 17, 1955; November 10, 1955; December 19, 1956.

¹²³ Macfarlane, 163-164.

¹²⁴ Ann Laura Stoler, introduction to *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 1.

their colonizers. Could it have been different? Unlikely, given the socio-political conditions of the 1950s. In a study of the St. Lawrence Valley relocation and the future prosperity of the region, University of Toronto sociologists affirmed the dominant progress view of the time. It was a disorienting experience for those who lived through the relocation, the disembodied relocation creating anomie amongst the residents arising from the social instability consequent upon the breakdown of community.¹²⁵ The contemporary corporate-government complex gave little consideration to issues of exclusion and marginalization.¹²⁶ The Power Project rearranged space and shattered the social constructs of the Seaway such that, for the most part, these communities simply disappeared from the map. Without a knowledgeable person to guide the way, the footprint that remains of the old Front is largely invisible to the neophyte and it is this invisibility that Steven High maintains “embodies the break with the past.”¹²⁷

Ontario Hydro did nevertheless provide many conveniences in the new towns heretofore unknown in the villages: full electricity, indoor plumbing, new basements, a sewer system, and landscaping. During 1955 Hydro built a project office, staff house, field soils laboratory and a completely equipped hospital for Project workers. Hydro underwrote the cost of moving the Old Number Two Highway and the Canadian National Railway tracks to the north of the area to be flooded. It replaced the former main street business thoroughfares with small strip malls, one for each of the new towns. Where Moulinette had an arena in the old village, it was given one in Long Sault. Ingleside was not so lucky. Not having had an arena in any of its four predecessor villages precluded having one in the new town. It was, however, graced with a set of clay tennis courts because one of the feeder villages, Wales, had previously had such courts, bearing in mind this was something that Hydro was reluctant to do as it considered rebuilding the tennis courts in the new town an extravagant luxury.¹²⁸

The narratives and memories of the residents, to a certain extent, created a community of interest due to their being collectively threatened. Ambivalent about standing in the way of progress, at the same time, they did not want to abandon their homes. The villagers became alienated from their existing communities as they watched them being dismantled, destroyed, and burned. As discussed in Chapter Five, years later, when the Lost Villages Museum conducted oral interviews with many of the former villagers, the bitterness surfaced. The project

¹²⁵ Macfarlane, 168-169.

¹²⁶ Avery Gordon, introduction to *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination*, by Avery Gordon (Minneapolis, London: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xviii.

¹²⁷ Steven High, “Beyond Aesthetics: Visibility and Invisibility in the Aftermath of Deindustrialization,” *International Labour and Working Class History*, 84 (Fall 2013), 140.

¹²⁸ OPG. SLPP Series; Branch Ontario Hydro Corporation; Bin 15-2-041, Box 68 of 68; File Supplementary Report on Property Acquisitions, St. Lawrence River Power Project, January 2, 1957.

equated private interest with personal feeling that must yield to the technological ascendancy of a great public undertaking. As the personal no longer existed as a consideration, it seemed to disappear but survived beneath the surface to re-emerge decades later.

The Power Project was situated in a socio-political context of hubris and high expectations for the future which substantially failed to materialize leaving the residents feeling unvalued. The corporate and government invasion of the Seaway territory obscured the vernacular voice in dismantling their communities.¹²⁹ Their self-delegated authority became paramount so that, largely, they dismissed local concerns as subordinate to the greater good. As Steven High put it, “One’s social location does matter.”¹³⁰

The residents of the Seaway Valley had no material political voice; there was no cohesive, effective lobby on their behalf. Conflict or lack thereof clearly delineated the roles of displacing governments and industrialists vis-à-vis the subaltern communities which were eminently expendable.¹³¹ Power and agency were very one-sided and, consequently, construction destroyed homes, gardens, orchards, farms, livelihoods, and families. Birth, in a sense, created death. According to Hydro, all was fair in love and war, or flood, as the case may be, but these were all semantics, the move transformed the demographic dynamics of the former communities. The residents of the six separate villages and three hamlets in Canada would be transitioned over to the two artificially incarnated towns.

On the American side of the river, Louisville Landing disappeared without the establishment of a replacement community. Moses’ authoritarian attitude ultimately disempowered the American residents and, for the most part, robbed them of voice throughout the Power Project which so radically destroyed both social and physical communities. The concept of *pro bono publicus* reigned such that it became fitting and acceptable for private and personal interests to be subordinated to the common good. Fundamentally, residents on both sides of the border were stripped of advocacy and their sense of agency destroyed, the personal ultimately sacrificed to the public. “At the end of 1955, it appears at last that the best known mass migration of Canadians since the expulsion of the Acadians, stands a good chance

¹²⁹ Ariella Azoulay, “When a Demolished House Becomes a Public Square,” in *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 210-211.

¹³⁰ Steven High, “Beyond Aesthetics,” 147.

¹³¹ Howard Gillette, Jr. “The Wages of Disinvestment: How Money and Politics Aided the Decline of Camden, New Jersey, in *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization*, eds. Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2003), 146.

of satisfying most of the people directly affected. And that's the best that anyone associated with it had hoped for in a program upsetting so completely the lives of so many people."¹³²

Shortly before the fiftieth anniversary of inundation in 2008, the two generating stations had the International Friendship Monument refurbished in anticipation of replicating the 1959 dedication. Because of the monument's location at the heart of the dam, and the delicacy of making security arrangements for two separate countries, PASNY had concerns as to whether it would be able to conduct an event at the monument that it felt was imperative to commemorating the international dimension which had made the project so special.



Figure 1.3: The Robert Moses – Robert H. Saunders Dam. Left: The American Power House, Right: The Canadian Power House. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty July 19, 2008.

The security details for the two countries were willing to listen, however, and on June 24, 2008, the American and Canadian employees of the two generating stations met at the International Boundary in the middle of the dam to rededicate the monument. Flying the flags of Canada, the United States, Ontario and New York, the gathered employees of the generating stations sang both national anthems followed by a ribbon cutting ceremony presided over by the senior executive officers of PASNY and Ontario Power Generation. Jill Chamberlain, Community Relations Manager at PASNY reported that it was a very moving ceremony that generated a lot of emotion, particularly in light of the heightened security considerations as a

¹³² OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22. Container B443893, File 14.1.10, Hydro Electric Power Commission – St. Lawrence: *The Globe & Mail*, December 23, 1955.

result of the events of September 11, 2001.¹³³ This was a political and power utility celebration; the public was not invited.



Figure 1.4: The International Friendship Monument is the black area rectangle with the tall white column located in the centre of the photograph. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 8, 2015.

¹³³ Jill Chamberlain, Community Relations Manager, Power Authority of the State of New York, Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, December 2, 2008.

Chapter Two: The Heart of the Matter

With 1956 being Ontario Hydro's golden jubilee of operations, it took the opportunity to dazzle visitors to Toronto's Canadian National Exhibition ("CNE") that summer with its 'Yesterday and Today' display. The Hydro building on the CNE grounds showcased an electrically-operated 'before-and-after' map showing the river and surrounding terrain before construction had started in 1954 alongside a scale model of the St. Lawrence River complete with replicas of the powerhouse, dams, locks, and canals. It used the concepts of a 'Magic Mirror' and 'Tunnel of Contrasts' to feature a miniature modern Ontario town juxtaposed with the same town fifty years earlier. The turn-of-the-century town was a rural one located on the banks of a river with a water-operated mill, school, court-room, meandering highway and one-track railway with an old-time steam locomotive.¹

The same town fifty years later depicted a modernized landscape as a result of damming the river for a hydroelectric project. A double track had replaced the one-track railway line, the highway had been straightened, and a modern transformer station demonstrated how it 'stepped down' power for industry, home, and office. To demonstrate Hydro's impact on modern living, the lights in the auditorium dimmed periodically to allow the lights of the two representative towns to illuminate, those of the modern community completely outshining the dim glow from the lamps of its older counterpart.² It was all very reminiscent of Adam Beck's 1912 Hydro Circus,³ a label that the Seaway folks soon applied to the series of Hydro-sponsored meetings held throughout the valley to disseminate the gloomy news of upcoming expropriations and the often less than acceptable compensation offered.

¹ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection 40, Box. 69, Seaway-Ontario Hydro 1956 Press Releases: Hydro News Release, Number 47, Nov 23, 1956: 40.69.1.

² Ibid.

³ Beck was one of the first proponents of publicly owned electricity companies that he advocated with the slogan "Power at Cost." He succeeded in having Ontario Premier James Pliny Whitney establish a municipally owned hydroelectric system, funded by the provincial government. (See p. 57 of this chapter for the history of Whitney and Holy Trinity Anglican Church.) In 1906 Whitney appointed Beck as the first chairman of the Hydro-Electric Power Commission of Ontario. His Hydro Circus was a horse-drawn caravan that travelled to rural communities touting the modern convenience of electrical appliances. Beck himself was often the speaker for the Hydro Circus engaging the crowd with his song, "Oh! What a Difference Since the Hydro Came." He became something of a folk hero and when King George V knighted him in 1914 for his development of electricity and transmission lines, his exalted status in the rural regions was complete. (Sources: H. V. Nelles, "BECK, Sir ADAM," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 15, (University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003). Accessed January 12, 2016, http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/beck_adam_15E.html; Pierre Berton, *Niagara: A History of the Falls* (Canada: Anchor Canada, a division of Random House of Canada Limited, 1992), 308-309).

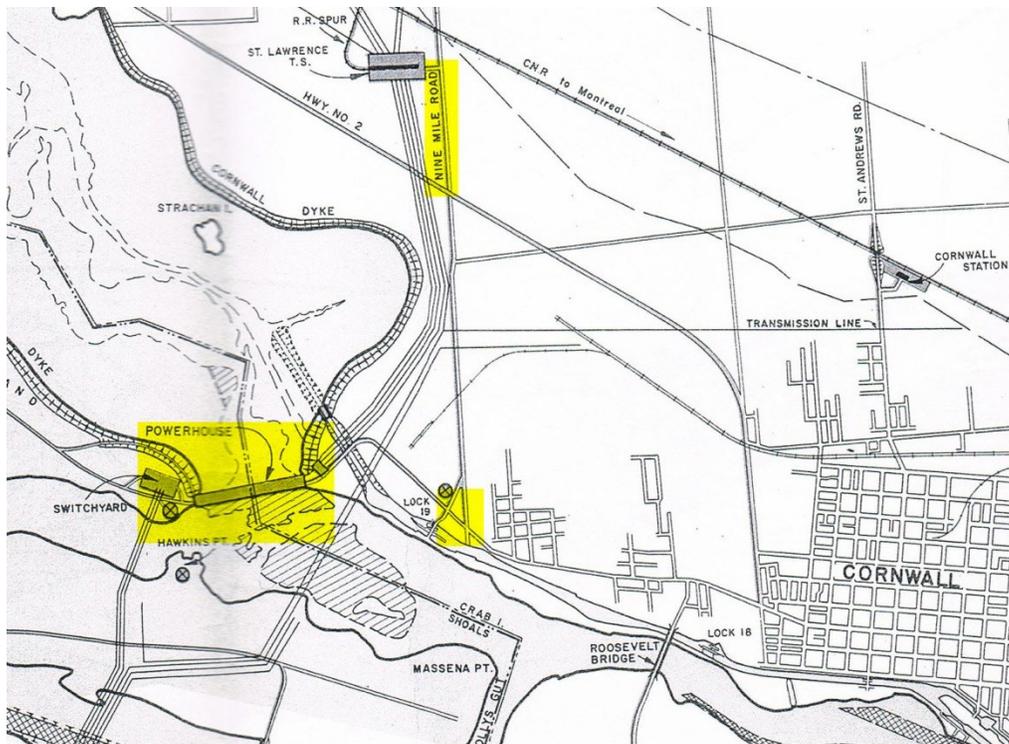


Figure 2.1: Map shows the relationship between Nine Mile Road and the site of the coffer dam indicated as Powerhouse. The small highlighted section to the right of the coffer dam is the intersection of Nine Mile Road and Highway Two. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

The Hydro exposition at the CNE served to increase the number of tourists visiting Eastern Ontario to view the construction spectacle first hand. From its inception, the Power Project, in addition to generating considerable tourist traffic, provided local entertainment for many of the residents. Encouraged by this positive publicity, Hydro instituted free coach tours that ferried visitors from Nine Mile Road and Highway Two in Cornwall to the cofferdam situated at the foot of the rising powerhouse and main dam. Staffed by Hydro employees uniformly attired, the thirty minute tours ran every half hour daily including weekends and holidays. In the first ten months of 1956, 300,000 people had visited the project site and another 107,500 had been on the guest coaches.⁴

By 1957, Hydro opened a new and larger Information Centre with a main lookout and several subsidiary lookouts at strategic locations, one of which trained its sights on the empty river bed where the Long Sault Rapids had once flowed. Hydro equipped the lookouts with public telescopes, billboard-sized maps of planned construction and principal structures,

⁴ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection 40, Box. 69, Seaway-Ontario Hydro 1956 Press Releases: Hydro News Release, Number 47, November 23, 1956: 40.69.1.

schematics of the new towns and the proposed new Ontario-St. Lawrence Parks System. The tours in that summer of 1957 averaged 1,200 people per day with 33,000 visitors in the month of July alone. By Inundation Day, close to 1.5 million visitors had passed through the portals of Hydro's show, among them a number of VIPs including Governor General Vincent Massey, Prime Minister Diefenbaker, former President Harry Truman, the Prime Ministers of Ghana and Rhodesia as well as Prince Bernhard of the Netherlands.⁵ In addition, Hydro issued invitations to the members of the Ontario legislature, the provincial deputy ministers, and members of the Parliamentary Press Gallery to attend what became known as the 'Members Tour' on October 30 and 31, 1957. This was an overnight event with transportation, lodging, and dining all at Hydro's expense.⁶

As construction began, the American side of the river had remained considerably more tranquil at the behest of PASNY Chairman, Robert Moses. Mass coverage and prying tourist eyes contained the potential to derail his single-minded plans for construction. In an article in the *Massena Observer*, Moses requested that in the interest of Project progression, it would be preferable for the affected communities to dissuade tourists from coming to the region for the time being. He softened the tourist trade blow by promising that once construction was well under way, provision would be made for limited viewing access to the site. True to his word, later in the year Moses held a briefing session wherein he announced that overlooks for tourists would be completed within a year along with illustrative brochures and audio tapes that explained the work being viewed at particular sites.⁷

Tours of the Power Project got underway in September 1955 on the American side of the river. These were sponsored by a variety of institutions in concert with PASNY for fifty national business editors from the nation's leading publications to acquaint them with the potential, not only of the Power Project, but of the entire North Country as well.⁸ The next month, Jacob K. Javits, Attorney General for the U.S. visited the site at the same time as the State historian Dr. Albert B. Cory who wanted to meet with local representatives in the interest of establishing a museum at the development site expecting that thousands of tourists would eventually visit the seaway and power installations.⁹ Cory's prophecy proved right as even Moses and St. Lawrence Seaway Development Chairman, Louis B. Castle, began to personally

⁵ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection 40, Box. 69, Ontario Hydro News Release #37, April 13, 1957; Ontario Hydro News Release #62, August 8, 1957; Marin & Marin, 19.

⁶ OPG. SLPP Series, Bin 11-9-188, Box 6 of 67, file St. Lawrence Members Tours – 1957.

⁷ *The Massena Observer*, October 13, 1955; OPG. SLPP Series, Bin 11-9-188, Box 6 of 67, file St. Lawrence Members Tours – 1957.

⁸ *The Massena Observer*, September 22, 1955, 1.

⁹ *Ibid.*, October 6, 1955, 1.

provide guided tours for some of the more elite visitors such as officials from the International Joint Commission and a host of other government officials from Canada and the U.S.¹⁰

Planning for the rehabilitation of the affected communities began long before the first house ever moved and in some cases, before Congress had even ratified the Wiley-Dondero Act. In fact, the CNR had already completed the grading for the new rail bed and had begun construction on a new switching yard without any negotiation with municipal authorities in Cornwall and before receiving any formal approval.¹¹

This chapter examines the plans proposed by Hydro and PASNY for the new communities and explores how the residents received them in what appeared to be a pre-planned future, with little consultation. Confident in the future they were building, the utilities viewed their modern, planned communities as looking forward to a new golden age with “industrial expansion on an unprecedented scale, spurred by knowledge that the deep-draught vessels will aid transportation and make electric power available at rates which are the lowest in the world.”¹² The predictions of the utility companies failed to materialize. On May 2, 2015, *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder* reported that fifty-seven years after the fact, Ontario NDP leader, Andrea Horvath, and Ontario’s Progressive Conservative interim leader, Jim Wilson stated that electricity costs in Ontario “already the highest on the continent – will continue to climb.”¹³ At the Power Project’s inception in 1954, however, the *Standard Freeholder* saw it differently, when it published its outline of the Power Project’s salient features entitled “*The Dream of a Century Soon to Come True*” whereby although 1,500 homes, industries, and business places would be affected by the flooding, the economic benefit to the region would be unparalleled.¹⁴ While the dislocation of people and disruption of habitat would be the most noticeable changes wrought by the Power Project in the Seaway Valley, it also affected a host of other institutions and social organizations.

As the major employer in Iroquois, Caldwell Linen Mills planned to keep all the employees working after the new site was constructed. It managed to reach an agreement with

¹⁰ *The Massena Observer*, October 10, 1955.

¹¹ OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22, Container B443893, File 14.1.7, Canadian National Railway, St. Lawrence Seaway.

¹² OA. RG 19-61-1, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21, Container B443892, File 14.1, St. Lawrence Seaway General; Booklet: Power From the St. Lawrence, September 5, 1958 jointly issued by the Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario and the Power Authority of the State of New York, 35.

¹³ Greg Peerenboom, *The Cornwall Standard Freeholder*, May 2, 2015, 1.

¹⁴ OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22, Container B443893, File 14.1.9, Enquiries, St. Lawrence Seaway: *The Daily Standard-Freeholder*, Seaway Digest, A summary of St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project: Recent Developments, “*The Dream of a Century Soon to Come True*” October 1954, Vol. 1, No. 4.

Hydro to rebuild the mill north of the new village site with every modern convenience and fifty to sixty per cent larger than its previous quarters. The settlement with Caldwell also involved thirty-one homes owned by the company in Old Iroquois. *The Toronto Globe and Mail* reported that Hydro planned to use the settlement on the thirty-one housing units to establish a formula that could be used to negotiate the many individual deals that would have to be made with the residents to be displaced.¹⁵

Across the river, Alcoa was, without a doubt, Massena's employment life line. Early on, it had secured PASNY's cooperation and promise that the Power Project would provide it with an abundance of cheap power. By 1958 however, Alcoa was hard-put to retain market share in the aluminum business against its aggressive competitors, Kaiser Permanente and Reynolds. As demand for aluminum products declined and costs soared, Alcoa faced a dismal economic outlook.¹⁶

As with all other aspects of the Power Project, New York felt the impact on business and industry to a much lesser degree, farming being the main occupation lost on the south side of the river. St. Lawrence County saw 250 to 300 farm families moved to make way for the Seaway. The New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets, although not anxious to lose prime farm land, understood that many farmers were not in a financial position to purchase elsewhere and anticipated a shift in occupation from farm work to the more lucrative jobs on the Project itself.¹⁷

"You can't put a price tag on history or buy memories at so much a yard"¹⁸ was how many of the old St. Lawrence families expressed their feelings to Ottawa Evening Citizen reporter Reginald Hardy. In mid-1954 the *Toronto Globe and Mail* reported strong currents of anxiety and restlessness among the Seaway Valley residents. This was particularly true among farmers. The arbitrary way in which land was being expropriated and the lack of consultation with residents vis-à-vis relocation was a festering sore. Despite their gnawing unrest and unhappiness with the whole situation, Hydro was inadvertently aided by a few naturally occurring phenomenon.¹⁹

Eastern Ontario had been and continued to be economically depressed resulting in the younger generation moving to more prosperous areas. Given the paucity of a young labour force, the older farmers were inclined to retire and accept monetary compensation. In addition,

¹⁵ Marin & Marin, 30; OPG. SLPP Series, *Toronto Globe and Mail*, October 26, 1954 and November 26, 1954.

¹⁶ Parham, 121-122.

¹⁷ *The Massena Observer*, March 31, 1955.

¹⁸ *The Ottawa Evening Citizen*, August 11, 1954

¹⁹ *Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 27, 1954.

dairy farming in Eastern Ontario was undergoing a troubling phase which accelerated the desire on the part of the farmers for monetary compensation. The farmers and residents were trapped in a painful dilemma; the practical need for money yet the strong ties to their cherished homes and communities. The New York farmers did not fare any better and as Assistant Commissioner for the New York State Department of Agriculture and Markets, James G. Lyons said that, while it would be nice to help the farmers out, basically "it's something they will have to solve themselves."²⁰

In Canada, many of the homes had been in the families for generations dating back to the United Empire Loyalist original deed-holders. A case in point was the Carman family, Lutherans who had left the Mohawk Valley and come to Canada as United Empire Loyalists during the American Revolution. At the end of the war they received grants of land along the St. Lawrence where they established a community. The Carmans had developed their land grants extensively and, like many old families, were fiercely proud of their accomplishments. In Aultsville, the Browns, Bakers and Schwerdfegers had been settled for six generations. These families had powerful historical and emotional ties to their homes and communities. Despite their need for monetary compensation, the residents kept returning to the unanswered question: how, indeed, do you put a price tag on history?²¹

In addition to the disruption of commerce and employment, the residents grappled with private loss as well such as their churches and cemeteries. Moving and demolishing churches, like the destruction and movement of homes, tended to be intensely personal making the residents less amenable to state dictates. For the small size of the communities in Canada, quite surprisingly the villages collectively boasted twenty-four churches and nine schools. The count on the American side of the river was considerably smaller giving PASNY one less headache with which to contend.

The residents felt it quite keenly and even more so when they failed to convince Hydro to salvage some of their places of worship. Like the general stores, the local church, as a site of social gathering, symbolized their communal life serving as a nexus for community. Many of these buildings, including their parsonages, rectories, and organs, dated back to the previous century and a few even beyond so that many of the structures required major repair and renovation and would likely not have withstood the journey to a new location. In an era of declining church attendance, Hydro was reluctant to undertake this precarious task. It was successful in convincing several congregations to combine, particularly since the six existing

²⁰ *The Massena Observer*, March 31, 1955, 1.

²¹ *Toronto Globe and Mail*, July 27, 1954; *The Ottawa Evening Citizen*, August 11, 1954

villages and three hamlets were to be transitioned to two self-contained towns. Hydro replaced the twenty-four churches in question with fourteen new ones and obligingly agreed to salvage a few of the more precious stained glass windows which it reinstalled in the new buildings

In a letter of April 29, 1957 addressed to Hydro Chairman James Duncan, James Morrison protested vehemently the razing of the United Church in Iroquois describing himself as angry and heartsick over the last service held in the church on April twenty-first as Hydro had ordered it closed. Yet, it would seem that Harry Hustler, Hydro's Director of Property, did in fact, confer with the congregation and the minister, Reverend Dangerfield, and they agreed to the razing of the church with the proviso that the organ be removed and a new church erected.²² In the final analysis, only two of the churches received special consideration.

A wooden structure built by United Empire Loyalists in 1837, Christ Anglican Church was moved during the Power Project to Upper Canada Village. Secularization of the church in 1957 removed the denominational 'Anglican' from the name.²³ Likely one of the most photographed of the buildings moved for the Seaway, according to Maggie Wheeler, former residents still recall the mournful tolling of its bell as it laboured along the highway to Morrisburg.²⁴



Figure 2.2: Christ Anglican Church moving from Moulinette to Upper Canada Village, Circa 1957. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

²² OPG. Letter James Morrison to James Duncan, Chairman, Ontario Hydro, April 29, 1957.

²³ Marin & Marin, 294.

²⁴ Maggie Wheeler, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, October 27, 2015.

The second church with an unusual Seaway history is Holy Trinity Anglican Church located in Riverside Heights, another of Hydro's engineered communities. Originally a wooden structure erected in 1792, it was rebuilt in stone in 1902 in an area known as 'The Churches',²⁵ between Aultsville and Morrisburg located at the intersection of Old Highway Number Two and Church Road. Unwilling to leave their church behind, its members engaged Entwistle Construction of Cornwall which numbered every stone and every beam in the church, dismantled it, and rebuilt it in its present location. James Pliny Whitney, sixth Premier of Ontario from 1905 to 1914 was buried in the family plot in Holy Trinity cemetery flooded at inundation in July 1958. When Holy Trinity Anglican Church was dismantled at the time of the Seaway and moved to Riverside Heights, Ontario, Whitney's gravestone was moved to the cemetery's new location in Riverside Heights but his remains were left in the family plot in the old cemetery, now under the water of Lake St. Lawrence. The two corner stones on the church tell the story.²⁶



Figure 2.3: Holy Trinity Anglican Church in its new location at Riverside Heights. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 13, 2010.

A third church for which its congregation fought long and hard was St. David's Anglican Church in the village of Wales. The small rise of land on which the church stood would remain above water, a fact well known before the flooding. The villagers petitioned Hydro to leave the church in tact as a memorial but Hydro feared an empty building on an island isolated in the lake might present a safety risk. Reduced to rubble during demolition, Jim Brownell maintains

²⁵ Jim Brownell, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, January 12, 2016.

²⁶ Jim Brownell, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, January 12, 2016; accessed March 22, 2015, <http://holytrinityanglican.ca/>.

that those who have rowed over to the island report that the three types of brick which had been used in the construction of St. David's still remain upon the ground while one-third of the drive sheds that had existed behind the church have been moved to the Lost Villages Museum site. According to Brownell, that Hydro refused to leave the church in tact continues to rankle with the former residents.²⁷



Figure 2.4: St. David's Anglican Church Wales, Ontario. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 22, 2015.



Figure 2.5: One-third of drive shed behind St. David's Church in its present location at the Lost Villages Museum. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 22, 2015.



Figure 2.6: This photo taken from the old Wales road which once led into the village of Wales. It is now the main thoroughfare in the St. Lawrence Union Valley Cemetery. The island directly across the water is a former high point in the Village of Wales and the exact location of St. David's Anglican Church. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty; May 31, 2010.

²⁷ Lost Villages Bus Tour, Tour Guide, Jim Brownell, September 16, 2012.

On the American side of the river, the Louisville Landing Free Union Church was the only non-residential building moved. Built in 1852, it stood in the way of Seaway development, as did all of Louisville Landing. The church members accepted PASNY's offer of \$19,650.00 for the land containing the church, its community hall, and its cemetery but retained possession of the building for which they made private moving arrangements to the Browning Road in Massena. PASNY did however, at its own expense, disinter the 350 graves in the church's adjacent cemetery positioning them in the new location in a layout almost identical to that of the Louisville Landing Cemetery.²⁸

If resolving the relocation of places of worship proved highly personal, the disposition of eighteen Canadian and six American cemeteries threatened sacred, private space. Some of these cemeteries were denominational, attached to particular churches, some non-denominational and owned by the municipalities, still others were located on private property where families had buried their dead for generations. Whereas Hydro had upwards of 5,000 graves to consider, PASNY's share amounted to a little less than a thousand. Deciding whether or not to disinter the dead was a deeply personal decision and, to their credit, Hydro and PASNY approached this sensitive undertaking respectfully.

Prior to the removal of any remains, PASNY contacted the next-of-kin for permission, a process that took over a year to complete. In some cases, it was unable to locate next-of-kin while in others, some remains occupied unmarked graves. As a result of these difficulties, PASNY stipulated that an undertaker be present at every disinterment and reburial. The exercise began in September 1957 with the last body removed on October 31 – Halloween, a rather macabre coincidence. It relocated 490 bodies from four cemeteries; one private cemetery on the St. Lawrence River Road was relocated to Waddington at the family's request, and one abandoned cemetery, the Nicol Wright Cemetery, where the oldest headstone dated to 1812 and the most recent, 1840. The fifty-six unknown graves were the last to be moved and PASNY honoured each with a small marker.²⁹

²⁸ *The Massena Observer*, July 31, 1979, 9.

²⁹ Louisville Museum Archives. Karlene Bandy, *Removal and Relocation of Cemeteries in the Town of Louisville, N.Y. along the St. Lawrence River Road*, undated.

The following four images illustrate the phases of disinterment and reburial.

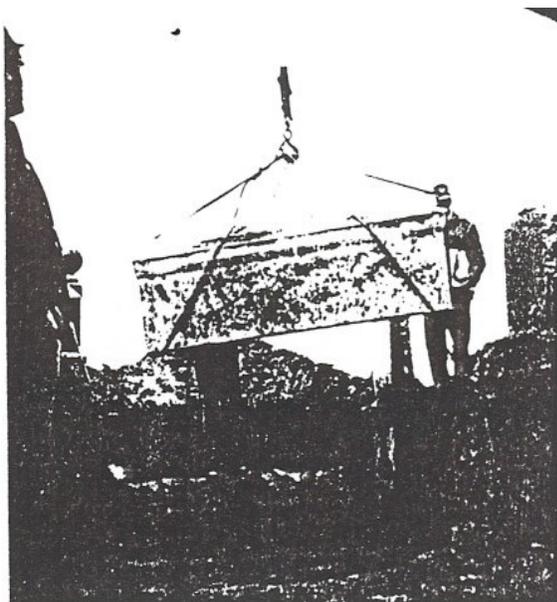


Figure 2.7: Vault being raised from the former Louisville Landing Cemetery. Karlene Bandy, Relocation of Louisville Cemeteries, Sep and Oct 1957.

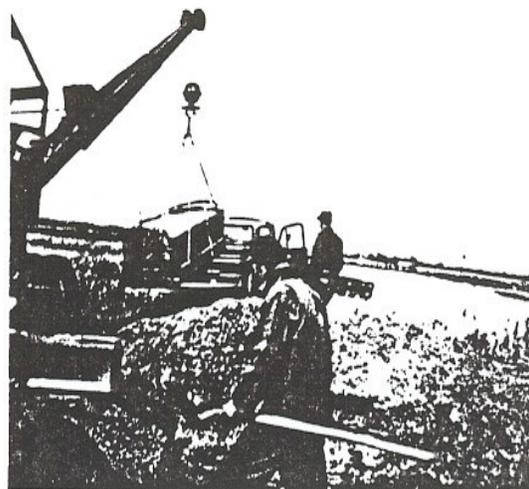


Figure 2.8: Vault being moved to a truck for transport to the new location. Karlene Bandy, Relocation of Louisville Cemeteries, Sep and Oct 1957.

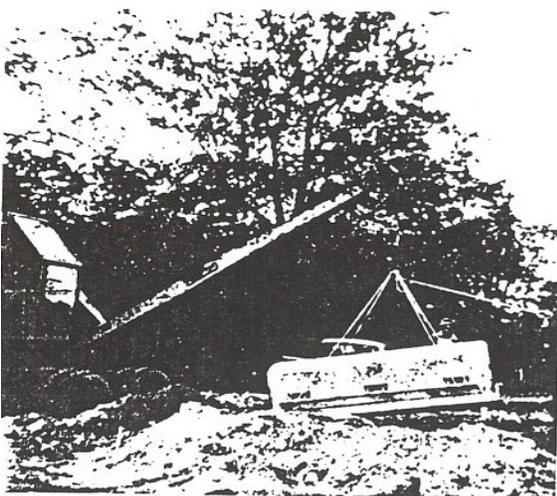


Figure 2.9: Vault being lowered into the ground in new location. Karlene Bandy, Relocation of Louisville Cemeteries, Sep and Oct 1957.



Figure 2.10: The small markers designate the 56 unknown graves. Karlene Bandy, Relocation of Louisville Cemeteries, Sep and Oct 1957.

When the issue of cemeteries first came to the forefront of planning, the original estimate provided for Canada was in the order of 30,000 graves, more dead than living, a seemingly midnight horror story. Hydro breathed a sincere sigh of relief when these numbers proved to be greatly inflated. As with PASNY, Hydro endeavoured to contact next-of-kin, a herculean task to say the least, considering there were over 5,000 known graves and 2,560 headstones, many so badly decayed they were indecipherable and cemetery records were incomplete.

Former resident David Hill recollected that his father, Vernon Hill, was responsible for collecting a list of graves by family that were in the cemetery behind the Moulinette United Church. Vernon Hill created the list on the back of an old calendar. “I remember going out with my father one night as he and the church custodian tried to verify the graves. My father would read out the number of a plot and the custodian had a long sharp pole that he would push into the ground to see if the pole would actually come up against a casket or rough box. It was a kind of eerie experience.”³⁰ The larger task that Mr. Hill faced however was sending out letters to all the plot holders requesting that they inform him by a certain date what the family's wishes were in terms of the graves as Hydro would reinter the bodies only when specifically asked to do so by the relatives of the deceased.³¹

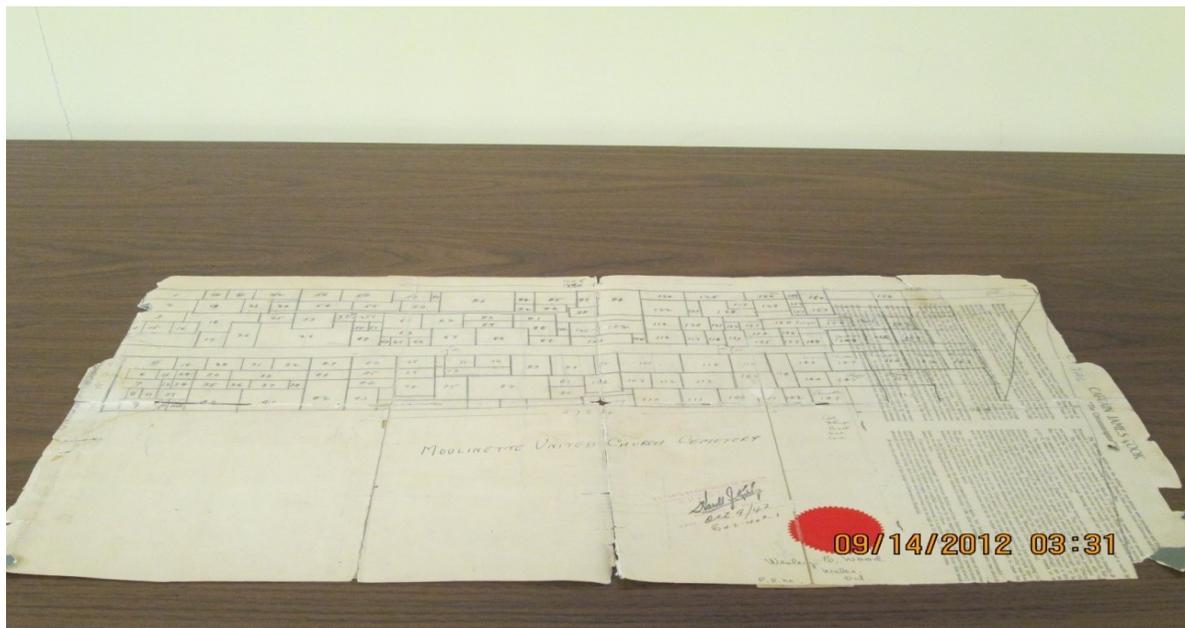


Figure 2.11: Vernon Hill's schematic of the cemetery plots in Moulinette Cemetery. Courtesy David Hill.

³⁰ David Hill, Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, November 13, 2015; David Hill, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, February 7, 2016.

³¹ Ibid.



Figure 2.12: Moving Moulinette Anglican Cemetery monuments. Courtesy Lyle Van Allen.

Considering the delicacy of the situation, Hydro made every effort to handle this situation with diplomacy. Each tombstone, including those indecipherable and those lying in fragments was identified with a disc imprinted with a cemetery tag code and a tombstone number. So, for example, the thirty-second grave marker tagged at Aultsville carried a disc with the code AU32; the ninety-third grave at Maple Grove bore the tag MG93. Once the identification labels were in place, Hydro proceeded to photograph every single tombstone with its marker whether whole or in some state of disassembly.³² These discs are still clearly visible fifty-eight years later on all the tombstones moved at Maple Grove Cemetery and the St. Lawrence Valley Union Cemetery.

³² OPG. SLPP Series, Bin 11-24-490, Box 6; Bin 20-6-118, Box 4-5, Items 1-6, Bins 20-6-119, Box 6-7, Items 7-10.



Figure 2.13: Disc MG93 still clearly visible on a tombstone at the Maple Grove Cemetery, Cornwall, Ontario. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 6, 2016.

Hydro offered two options: disinterment and reburial or move only the headstone, leaving the remains behind. To remove remains from the region altogether required extensive paper work, the lion's share of the cost to be borne by the family with Hydro contributing an allowance for the reinterment only. Hydro mandated that a priest or minister be present for each disinterment for which they received a stipend of \$25.00 per day. Hydro spread a pad of gravel over all graves not slated for removal to prevent water erosion in the wake of the flooding. The final count of bodies moved was 2,000 but all headstones were moved either to the St. Lawrence Valley Union Cemetery³³ in Ingleside or to the cruciform Pioneer Memorial at Upper Canada Village.³⁴

³³ The cemetery was established in 1957 as a result of the Power Project in conjunction with the governments of Canada and the United States. The cemetery recently changed its name to the St. Lawrence Valley Cemetery abstracting the "Union" from the name due to complaints and some poor publicity that this was a "unionized" cemetery. In fact the "Union" derived from the cemetery being a union of fourteen predecessor cemeteries and the fact that it was open to all denominations.

³⁴ Marin & Marin, 42-43.

Two cemeteries, one each in Morrisburg and Iroquois, remained in place but were elevated by adding eight feet of soil to the terrain. The communities agreed to the combination of fourteen cemeteries in the St. Lawrence Valley Union Cemetery and Hydro finally undertook to relocate the St. John's Lutheran Cemetery when the congregation of Holy Trinity Anglican Church undertook the removal of the church to Riverside Heights.

The cemetery at Maple Grove presented a special set of circumstances. Maple Grove, just west of Cornwall, was the site for the new Moses-Saunders dam and therefore in order for construction to begin, the people of the hamlet had to move immediately. In addition, as this particular site would be excavated rather than flooded all 317 graves had to be moved so that Hydro moved this cemetery in its entirety to its new location on the New Number Two Highway at the west end of Cornwall. Clive and Frances Marin tell the story of the shock the cemetery workers received when they uncovered a German lead coffin fitted with a latticed window from which the face of a delicate, old woman peeped out at them.³⁵

The various community churches objected to the indignity of subjecting the deceased to an array of machinery likely to damage caskets in the process and insisted that all removals be done solely with shovels. The sheer size of the task precluded Hydro's compliance with this request. If losing one's home and community depressed the residents, the mood did not improve by treating them to the sight of the procession of hearses with their grisly cargo as remembered by Yvonne Fleming, a native of Mille Roches.³⁶

During a presentation on the Lost Villages at a Cornwall seniors' residence, author Maggie Wheeler recounted a story from one elderly gentleman who had worked on the canal boats and said "when they moved the cemetery, they put sandbag walls around it so no one could see the open graves. However, when the canal boats came through the lock at Maple Grove, you could see over the walls when standing on the deck. He said it was a good thing most other people couldn't see the scene as the work went on."³⁷ Maple Grove was, of course, the first cemetery that Hydro moved and that experience spurred Hydro to make every attempt to spare the residents from these disturbing circumstances. Going forward, it began to cordon off some of the cemeteries with green canvas walls, a sample of which survives in Ontario Power Generation's Records Office; not a sombre, funereal green but a cheerful, bright emerald green. It was an elegiac experience to view the canvas swatch hidden away for many years in a

³⁵ Ibid.; Maggie Wheeler, *Brother of Sleep*, (Burnstown, Ontario: Burnstown Publishing House, 2013),135.

³⁶ Maggie Wheeler Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, April 7, 2015.

³⁷ Ibid.

Toronto container, knowing what it purported. For those who had lost a loved one in the not too distant past it was, as some folks have expressed it, like burying your loved one all over again.³⁸

And so it was that the residents put one foot in front of the other to engage with a future that was out of their hands and in fact had already been decided for them. Long before the Seaway was an international done deal, engineers on both sides of the border had pinpointed what and who would disappear. As early as 1953, Hydro admitted that it would be “our biggest moving job in our history.”³⁹ In the U.S., the death of Louisville Landing had been a foregone conclusion. Blackie’s Tavern was a favoured watering hole at the Landing and it was here that PAsNY and Hydro had collaborated on the 1954 agreement as to the funds that each side should allocate for rehabilitation: \$65 million in Canada, \$13 million in the U.S. Despite its significance to the project, Blackie’s went, along with Louisville Landing, to the bottom of Lake St. Lawrence.⁴⁰

Both sides of the river existed in a perpetual state of unease, confusion and a dearth of information as to what was to become of their lives and property. In Canada while some raised their voices against the Project, the majority opinion seemed to support the canalization of the St. Lawrence for deep water ships as manifesting an unqualified faith in the future. Fear of speaking out and a profound sense of intimidation pervaded the Seaway communities given the size and strength of Hydro and PAsNY.⁴¹ Stanley R. Frost with the Morrisburg Office of the Ontario Department of Planning mused that “I find myself in sympathy with persons who will be displaced in their desire to retain a place on the river. What with flooding, large parks, highways, etc., etc., the assessment of this township is going to take a beating.”⁴²

Both PAsNY and Hydro conducted their public relations campaigns in an atmosphere that suggested community harmony and support for the progressive ideals of the Project that skirted the realities of the deep-seated feelings of anxiety for anticipated losses. In view of the enormity of the project and the speed of construction, it is difficult to reconcile the utilities’ propaganda machinery with the toll it was taking on individuals and communities. One Hydro

³⁸ Wheeler, *Brother of Sleep*, 135.

³⁹ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Box 51, Folder Seaway Mabee Notebook; House of Commons, Debates, Ottawa, May 1954.

⁴⁰ Dalton Foster. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, October 28, 2014.

⁴¹ OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22. Container B443893, File 14.1.9, Enquiries, St. Lawrence Seaway: *The Daily Standard Freeholder, Seaway Digest, A Summary of St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project; Recent Developments*, Vol. 1, No. 3.

⁴² OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22. Container B443893, File 14.1.6, Morrisburg Office. J.J. Wingfelder. Letter from Stanley R. Frost, Morrisburg Office of Ontario Department of Planning to A.E.K. Bunnell, Department of Planning & Development, July 16, 1955.

news release maintained "...the living conditions for hundreds of people on both sides of the border are being affected. Folks are being transplanted into newly-created communities, and there is scarcely any disruption of their normal pattern of living."⁴³ One can surmise from this that Hydro was attempting to convince itself that its actions had few consequences.

The demolition and relocation of communities began in 1955 with the first house transported on August 2, 1955 from old to new Iroquois. The moment of truth had arrived. The philosopher, Walter Benjamin, stylized such moments as ones of profane illumination that occur at that liminal moment between past and future where the past is encountered only as the ghostly presence of what has started to become invisible. Benjamin's point was to demonstrate the fragility of the social order when the solid disappears. Tim Edensor used this theory to develop his thesis of the three lineaments of power: the authority to make waste, decide what is no longer of use, and disseminate ideas about what ought to be over and done with, and these lineaments all vested in the corporate and government sponsors of the Power Project. As homes were moved and the landscape razed, the residents dutifully succumbed to the wishes of the paternalistic authorities who had decided unilaterally that their former homes and communities should enter the realm of the invisible.⁴⁴

Hydro did not appear to see the paradox as they removed trees, buildings and all other impediments to the flow of water and power. Indeed it went so far as to categorically state that the geography of the area would undergo a metamorphosis making new history along the International Rapids Section of the river in the interest of new electrical energy that would benefit New York State and Ontario. The elites making this new history did not include any previous micro histories. When the seventy dwellings in Iroquois had been moved and all its trees cut down, it looked rather bare and desolate and as one onlooker commented, "Almost every day another house goes back the road to the new community leaving another gap."⁴⁵ The gap did not inhere in the landscape alone but in the psychological and sociological complexion of those dislocated.

Only about seven or eight years old at the time, Don Paice and his cousin, Peter Gorman, remember their anger when the Project surveyors first appeared on Steen Island and

⁴³ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Box 69. Seaway – Ontario Hydro 1957 Press Releases: Ontario. Ontario Hydro News Release #11, February 8, 1957.

⁴⁴ Benjamin 1973; Tim Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics and Materiality* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2005), 101, 105, 152; Avery Gordon, *Ghostly Matters: haunting and the sociological imagination* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xii, 205.

⁴⁵ OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22. Container B443893, File 14.1.10, Hydro Electric Power Commission – St. Lawrence: *The Globe & Mail*, December 23, 1955.

began setting up red markers. Their feeling was how dare these strangers trespass on their summer island and as soon as the men left, set about tearing down all the markers. Don and Peter said they played at this game several times until the Ontario Provincial Police paid a call on their parents threatening that if the children did this again, they would press charges.⁴⁶

Alan Daye's father did not get enough money for his house in Mille Roches to pay for the material to build a new one. In Alan's words "we all felt we'd been hosed."⁴⁷ Alan said Hydro's attitude was 'take it or get nothing and swim to shore.' He described Hydro as "a bit brutish, you didn't have a choice."⁴⁸ What really incensed the Daye family was the red 'no trespassing' signed nailed to one of the family's trees; his father tore it down and kept it as a reminder for fifty years, and upon his death, Alan kept it until the summer of 2015 at which time he donated it to the Lost Villages Museum for preservation. Allan spoke of the beautiful spruce trees that had surrounded his home, all of which were stripped away before the family moved from Mille Roches to a bungalow on the Cornwall Centre Road. His last memory of his home in Mille Roches was his father's arms caressing the wonderful black soil they were leaving behind.⁴⁹



Figure 2.14: Alan Daye holds the sign his father ripped down the day that Hydro nailed it to a tree on his property. Father and son kept the sign for fifty plus years until Alan donated it to the Lost Villages Museum in the summer of 2015. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 24, 2015.

⁴⁶ Don Paice and Peter Gorman, Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Ault Island, Ontario, October 2, 2015.

⁴⁷ Alan Daye. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, September 24, 2015.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

It was not the only sign that offended those soon to be displaced. Hydro, in fact, affixed a numbered plaque to every single structure, in every single community that was slated for either removal or demolition. “The Hydro negotiators had to go from door to door [and] either buy them out or negotiate to move them. Everything that could possibly float in any of those places, you know, like a stick of wood or anything that would float, had to be removed completely, so that whenever the flooding went through, there wasn’t going to be a mess of stuff. And the basements had to be filled in.”⁵⁰



Figure 2.15: The much-disliked Hydro number plate. SL represents St. Lawrence Project followed by the individual number of the structure to be moved or demolished. Located at the Lost Villages Museum, Long Sault, ON. Photograph: Rosemary O’Flaherty, September 24, 2015.



Figure 2.16: Note the Hydro number plate “SL 292” on Zina Hill’s barber shop in the village of Moulinette.⁵¹ The barber shop is now located on the grounds of the Lost Villages - without the Hydro numberplate.⁵² Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

⁵⁰ LVHS Archives. Interview with Douglas F. Johnston, January 29, 1978.

⁵¹ The barber shop building was purchased by Harold Fickes, former deputy-reeve for the Township of Cornwall at the time of the Power Project for the sum of \$10.00 and moved to his farm site just north of Moulinette on the second concession. He first used this building as a chicken coop, then as a storage shed for his farm hand-tools. When it was acquired by the Lost Villages Historical society in 1997, it was being used as a dog house for the St. Bernard owned by Bob and Sherry Lyons who, by 1997, were the

Those interviewed in 1977 and 1978 expressed mixed feelings with respect to the imminent expropriations. Those who did not own property felt less concerned with the Project than their propertied neighbours. Others who had already left the area felt rather indifferent toward the dislocations with the proviso as Doug Johnston put it, “Had I still been there and forced out, it would have been a different thing from my already having left.”⁵³ Many mused that, in retrospect, it was a different era in which people were less likely to object than they would have had it occurred in later years.⁵⁴ Some were virulently opposed to the Project. Harriet Donnelly succinctly summed up her feelings with four simple words, “No, I hated it.”⁵⁵

Sadness at the loss of their homes and separation from the river were by far the most common responses when asked if it hurt to see their background taken away. The Donnellys said “We had everything before we came back here. We didn’t gain anything by coming back here. [...] We lost a lot. We lost the river. [...] Where we lived it was ... we had a beautiful view of the river.”⁵⁶ Beatrice Black said it was a difficult time and everyone was naturally worried but, being young at the time, she accepted it, “Oh, it was sad [...] There was something sad about the whole thing. You’d see people coming, and didn’t want to move. It wasn’t much fun, I’ll tell you. [...] Anyway we lived through it.”⁵⁷ Keitha Raymond from Sheek’s Island maintained that the entire process actually made her ill. “They came snooping around. [...] Then the last year they cut our fences, cut our trees. Burned the trees, oh it was awful. If we had to do it again, I don’t know what I’d do. I think I’d let them carry me out. I liked it there. It was beautiful.”⁵⁸ Lena McLaren was a little more sanguine about the Project. “Sometimes I wonder if it’s really been as wonderful as they thought it would be. Mind you I enjoy living in Ingleside. I enjoy conveniences although we don’t have that many more than we had out at the farm. The roads were just as open as they are now so sometimes I wonder if it was all as necessary because I’m not exactly sure what it has done for the economy, whether the expense, all totaled, all around was warranted for the outcome of the whole thing. But as the saying goes ‘that’s progress’.”⁵⁹

The move to the new communities nevertheless invoked a sense of isolation and up-rootedness so profound that the children in the village of Iroquois worried after their relocation to

owners of the Fickes Farm and kindly donated the building to the Lost Villages Historical Society. (Source: David Hill, Email to Rosemary O’Flaherty, January 13, 2016.

⁵² David Hill. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, November 13, 2015.

⁵³ LVHS Archives. Interview with Douglas F. Johnston, January 29, 1978.

⁵⁴ LVHS Archives. Interview with Shirley Wells, January 23, 1978.

⁵⁵ LVHS Archives. Interview with Allan and Harriet Donnelly, March 10, 1978.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ LVHS Archives. Interview with Beatrice Black, January 23, 1978.

⁵⁸ LVHS Archives. Interview with George and Keitha Raymond, January 24, 1978.

⁵⁹ LVHS Archives. Interview with Lena McLaren, March 15, 1978.

the new town site for Iroquois that Santa would not find them come December 25. In an attempt to combat this negative publicity, Hydro erected a large, beautifully decorated Christmas tree to provide a warmer and more home-like atmosphere in the new town but the incident provided stark evidence that the Project had trampled upon family traditions and practices.⁶⁰ A friend of author Frances Marin who grew up in Iroquois in the 1950s recalls that there was always one in the shopping centre of the new town courtesy of the Lions Club. She remembers the first winter in the new town as very snowy, with the children disappearing behind, and walking on top, of the snowbanks made by the snow plough. She speculates that Hydro may have put up the first tree in the mall and the Lions Club continued the tradition.⁶¹

When Hydro received complaints and desperate pleas for redress, it did make efforts to respond. For example, Mrs. Mabel C. Oliver wrote to Hydro Chairman James Duncan that, although Hydro had responded to her complaint, Hydro inspector Bill Grace, “wants to put us on the road with nothing – we are poor and need what we have for to make a living.”⁶² Hydro responded by sending Mrs. Oliver a less acerbic agent with whom she finally was able to negotiate. Similarly Mr. Garnet D. Cook who owned a small garage in Mille Roches contacted Ontario Premier Frost to the effect that his garage was situated on rented land and, while entitled to compensation for the loss of his business, he had received none and “I am now in a position, due to the loss of business [...] that I am both destitute and desperate. My whole business has been taken away, after thirteen years of struggle, and I am told that nothing can be done for me.”⁶³

These letters clearly demonstrate the hardships suffered by the residents as a direct result of the Power Project. Fortunately for Mr. Cook, Harry Hustler, Hydro’s Director of Property, took a specific interest in the case which he brought to the attention of Hydro’s Chief Engineer, Dr. O. Holden, suggesting that there was a “moral obligation existing to Mr. Cook and to others similarly affected”⁶⁴ with the happy result that Mr. Cook finally received compensation. It begs the question however as to how negotiations fared for those unable to articulate their demands with the proficiency of Mr. Cook.

⁶⁰ OA. RG 19-6, Municipal Affairs, Research-Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 22. Container B443893, File 14.1.10, Hydro Electric Power Commission – St. Lawrence: The Globe & Mail, December 23, 1955.

⁶¹ Frances Marin, Email to Rosemary O’Flaherty, February 16, 2016.

⁶² OPG. Letter Mrs. Mabel C. Oliver to Mr. Duncan, Chairman, April 2, 1957.

⁶³ OPG. Letter Garnet D. Cook to The Premier Leslie Frost, July 25, 1956.

⁶⁴ OPG. Letter H. Hustler, Director of Property to Dr. O. Holden, Chief Engineer, Ontario Hydro, October 1, 1956.

The Mohawk Nation at St. Regis voiced its concern that it wished to remain as an intact community. To this end it filed a \$34 million dollar lawsuit against the State of New York claiming that Barnhart Island, the principal site of power development belonged to the Reservation as well as the river bed and any power intrinsic in the water. The Mohawks objected strenuously to the extension of the Massena arterial highway through the St. Regis Reserve, threatening to blockade it with fire arms if necessary, as it would bifurcate the Reservation. Straddling the U.S.-Canadian border, the Reserve was a target of both PASNY and Hydro. Litigation continued well into the twenty-first century when, finally, a settlement with Ontario Power Generation compensated the Reservation to the tune of \$45 million on June 14, 2008 just 16 days shy of the fiftieth anniversary of inundation. The settlement covered many of the islands lost to the Reserve during the Project and saw the restoration of several surviving islands confiscated by the utility 'at the time of the Seaway.'⁶⁵

The small communities along the St. Lawrence had become the site of much noisy activity; the screech of power shovels and hammers, the twenty-four hour a day rumbling of heavy trucks, the clamour of the tourist influx, not to mention the throngs of workers that crowded into these small places. Lyle Van Allen praised the Project for creating employment and wealth but also noted it was a time of chaos and noted that after everything was razed to the ground, the landscape was reduced to just a pile of rubble, "I've never been in a war zone but imagine this is just what it would look like."⁶⁶ Jane Craig and Allan Rafuse echoed Van Allen's words. Craig described it as "life in a construction zone"⁶⁷ while Rafuse talked of the trucks without mufflers that rumbled through the villages 23 hours a day.⁶⁸ "There was dirt, dust, and noise; constant mud and dirt."⁶⁹ Adding to these disruptions was the ever-present media, trespassing Hydro agents, and neighbours protesting against what they considered inadequate compensation. Nevertheless, the residents coped and, as author Maggie Wheeler said, "Do the ordinary while you wait for the unthinkable. Keep life going in the face of death."⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 29, 2008.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, interview with Lyle Van Allen, 2006.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, interview with Jane Craig and Allan Rafuse, 2006.

⁶⁸ Rafuse is not exaggerating. The construction vehicles operated 23 hours a day with only one hour of down time for maintenance.

⁶⁹ *The Ottawa Citizen*, June 29, 2008, interview with Allan Rafuse, 2006.

⁷⁰ Maggie Wheeler, *A Violent End* (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 2001), 149.



Figure 2.17: Iroquois, Ontario during demolition in preparation for the flooding. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

The relationship among Hydro, PASNY, and the residents waxed and waned. Whereas PASNY promised originally to move buildings, it eventually discarded the idea largely from lack of interest on the part of the residents. Hydro, however, weary from the ‘replacement value’ campaign finally added moving dwellings to its compensation options engaging William Hartshorne of New Jersey and his gargantuan equipment. The old adage ‘truth is stranger than fiction’ applied – ‘heart shorn’ might well have described the occupants of the roughly 530 homes he was about to relocate.

As Daniel Macfarlane posited, the house-moving process was “a major draw for the national media as well as for locals and tourists.”⁷¹ As one U.S. resident described it “On the weekends we used to go over the border to Iroquois and watch them move the houses.”⁷² It was a thrill to old and young alike to see houses on the giant mover trundling down the road to their new location. It was less thrilling when, once in the new location, the view through the same old window was entirely different, familiar neighbours no longer next door and, of course, no river. Throughout the process of relocation Hydro provided ‘stopover homes’ to accommodate home owners while Hydro mounted their homes on new foundations and worked to hook up water and electricity.

⁷¹ Macfarlane, 155

⁷² Parham, 308.

The strip malls that replaced the former village general stores were equally disconcerting; the latter had functioned as primary social congregating spaces whereas the former were functional, lacking the warmth and character of the general stores. The 'Stove Pipe League' that had graced a corner of the general stores was a thing of the past. The malls did not lend themselves to sitting around the stove with a game of checkers or watching what was sometimes the only communal television.⁷³

The members of the Cornwall and District Planning Board had approved the plans for New Town 2 (Long Sault) in early August 1955 largely without the input of the people moving there from Moulinette, Mille Roches, and Maple Grove; Osnabruck Town Council approved the plans for New Town 1 (Ingleside) and allowed the residents much more influence in shaping their new community.⁷⁴ The last house moved on December 5, 1957 and, at the end of the day, New Jersey house mover William J. Hartshorne and his twelve employees transported a total of approximately 530 houses at a per capita cost of between \$3,000 and \$11,000.⁷⁵

Nothing had adequately prepared either Cornwall or Massena to accommodate the army of incoming workers. Fortunately both PASNY and Hydro stepped up to the plate in this regard. During the Roosevelt years, hopes of building the Seaway had engendered plans to build temporary quarters for workers as well as a hospital and additional schools. As a federal initiative, once congress enacted the legislation, the U.S. government delegated all such plans to the authority of PASNY directing it to coordinate with city planners. Ultimately PASNY built 133 houses for the engineers and some workers but otherwise relied on local real estate agents to broker accommodation. Massena, in conjunction with PASNY, responded to the housing shortfall with a series of temporary trailer parks designed to meet the immediate need but with an eye to quick and efficient dissolution at the end of the project.⁷⁶

⁷³ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978; LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977.

⁷⁴ Macfarlane, 156; The predecessor villages for Ingleside were Wales, Dickinson's Landing, Santa Cruz, Woodlands, Farran's Point, and Aultsville.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Parham, 166; Mackesey, 21; Hydro, a little ahead of the game had set up a 'Pilot' camp in January 1954 for workers at Maple Grove, the primary construction site. The camp held twelve painted aluminum buildings, six sleeping cabins, each of which could house eight men, a combination cookhouse and dining room, wash room facilities, a soil and gravel testing laboratory, office space, a warehouse and a sleeping tent, all winterized. In addition, Hydro established an additional staff house and a thirty-bed hospital to treat workers injured in the course of the Project. Curiously, 57 years after Project completion, most of the spoil area near the dam in what used to be Maple Grove has spontaneously reforested with plant and tree colonization excepting the area where the hospital once stood. Nothing but scrub grows within its confines and one can still view through the scrub and lichen the macadamized surfaces of former entrances to the hospital.

Cornwall fared even less well than Massena. Unwilling to construct housing that would be abandoned after completion so that, other than the Hydro efforts to address the situation, workers were left to find what they could. This situation led to animosity between natives of the area and workers as well as sky-rocketing rental prices that ham-strung workers and impacted residents whose rental rates rose precipitously.

A particularly poignant chapter in the destruction of community was the infamous 'Aultsville Burn'⁷⁷ conducted in January and February 1958. Unlike its sister villages with their wooden and clapboard construction, the concentrated clay soil of Aultsville gave rise to a brickyard and pottery works so that many of the homes were constructed of brick⁷⁸ some of which became the subject of a number of combustion tests to provide insight to the conditions which prevail inside a burning building but, in addition to brick, the burn included structures made of alternate material with different points of flammability to widen the scope of the tests. A secondary and, perhaps in hindsight, auxiliary benefit of the burn was to provide statistical information for the betterment of smoke detectors, the results of which prompted changes to the National Building Code for Fire Prevention. This was a joint enterprise between the National Research Council liaising with the British Joint Fire Research Organization, Federal Civil Defence Authorities, the Ontario Fire Marshall, and Ontario Hydro along with observers from the American side. The National Film Board agreed to film each fire from which filmmaker Donald Brittain produced a twenty minute documentary and later, a series of eight shorter films entitled *The St. Lawrence Burns*. The subjects selected were six family dwellings, a two-storey school, and the community hall formerly occupied by the Masonic and Oddfellows lodges. The burns investigated methods of surviving fire; the mechanics of how fire spreads from one location to another by the process of radiant heat and the effects of various types of ventilation. They also conducted noise testing to determine at what level the crackling of fire awakens people.⁷⁹

On the eve of the fiftieth anniversary of the flooding, *Toronto Star* staff reporter, Leslie Scrivener, interviewed former residents of Aultsville to gauge their reactions to the burn, some of whom had made the journey back to Aultsville from the new towns to watch the fires while others stayed away finding the situation too distressing. Aultsville's volunteer fire chief

⁷⁷ Locals remember it as the Aultsville Burn, outside of the area and officially, it is referred to as the St. Lawrence Burns.

⁷⁸ Rutley, 19.

⁷⁹ *The Daily Standard-Freeholder* Special Edition, Saturday, June 28, 1958; *The Toronto Star*, Leslie Scrivener, June 29, 2008; G.W. Shorter, "St. Lawrence Burns: General Report." NRC Publications Archive (NPARC), 150, (1959); James A. Milke, "History of Smoke Detection: A Profile of How the Technology and Role of Smoke Detection Has Changed." A report formulated for: Siemens Industry, Inc (2011): 15.

witnessed the firing of his own home. “It was devastating.”⁸⁰ George Hickey, who had taught High School in Aultsville, told the reporter he could not bear to observe the burns saying “It was too painful. I had known these people all my life. I had played in some of those homes as a youngster.”⁸¹

One former resident of Aultsville, having relocated to Toronto, expressed his dismay when, casually turning on the six o’clock news in early 1958, he was treated to media coverage of how the Seaway Project was contributing to scientific understanding by pinpointing the nature of a burn and how its properties would improve fire detection. He stared in horror at the televised image and saw, not a scientific experiment or a new mode for safety improvement, but his own home, the place of his childhood engulfed in flames. “It was a dramatic spectacle, and lingers in memory 50 years later.”⁸² Although only Aultsville was designated for an official burn, some burning occurred in most of the villages as pictured below.



Figure 2.18: The burning of the Lockmaster’s House in Farran’s Point, circa 1957. Courtesy of the Lost Villages Historical Society.

⁸⁰ *The Toronto Star*, Ernest Gillard to Leslie Scrivener, June 29, 2008.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, George Hickey to Leslie Scrivener.

⁸² *Ibid.*, Leslie Scrivener.



*Figure 2.19: The burning of a house in Moulinette, circa 1957.⁸³
Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.*

The Canadians struggled with moving houses and new town plans, many of which would not resolve for another twenty years. Before moving anyone to the new towns, Hydro had the responsibility of installing sewage and water pumping stations, treatment plants, carving out and paving roadways and sidewalks, installing street lighting and drainage ditches. Sewage and water would continue to plague both Hydro and the residents for many years. Morrisburg suffered poorly installed sub-standard piping only settling with Hydro in 1972 and eventually had to hire a Boston company to augment the poor performance of Hydro's original installations. Iroquois experienced a host of similar problems and it was not until 1975 that Hydro agreed to pay just over half a million dollars to discharge its liability.⁸⁴

⁸³ In an email of June 27, 2016, Maggie Wheeler pointed out to me that, although this photograph has been stamped with the date Jan 20, 1958, Christ Anglican Church is clearly visible in the right of the image. Christ Anglican Church was moved to Upper Canada Village in 1957 (see p. 59 of this chapter) and all moving had been completed by the end of 1957.

⁸⁴ *Iroquois Post*, December 10, 1975; Marin & Marin, 33.

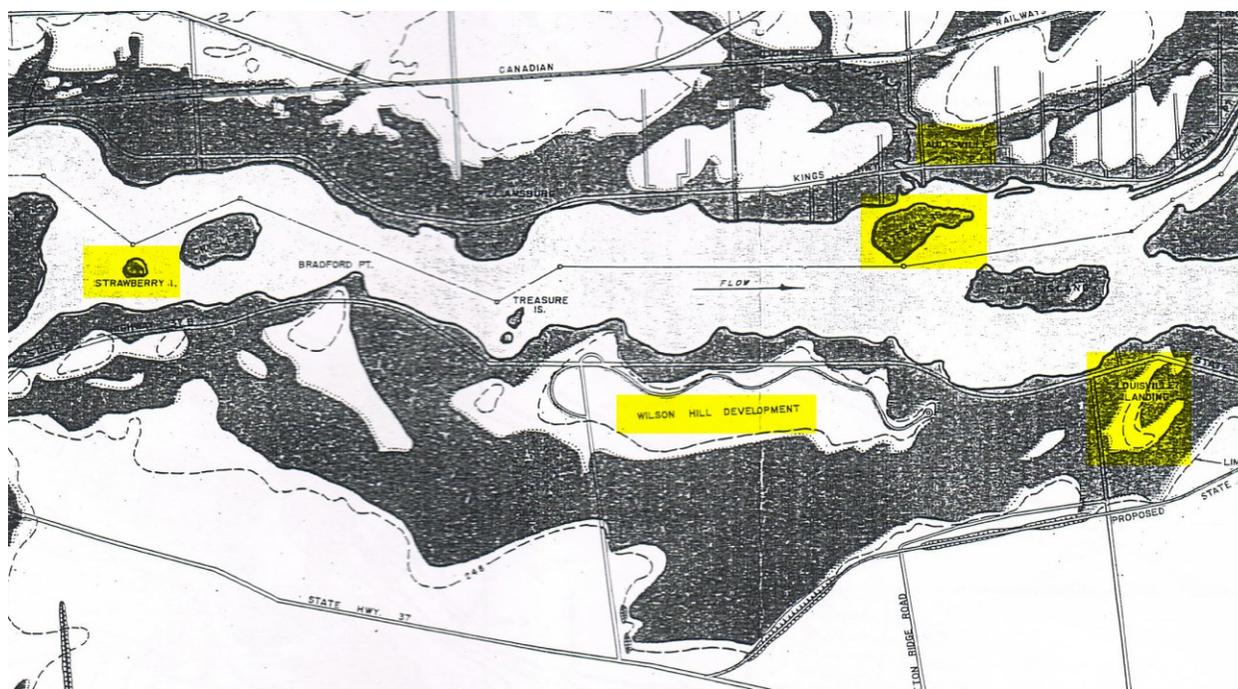


Figure 2.20: Highlighted areas: Top right Aultsville, Ontario. Beneath Aultsville is Steen Island. Bottom right Louisville Landing. Centre Wilson Hill Island. Middle left is Strawberry Island. Map Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

The American struggle presented a wholly divergent set of circumstances. Louisville Landing and the river-front road in Waddington disappeared completely and the majority of those displaced, being farmers, had nowhere to go. The compensation received was insufficient to match contemporary purchase prices for a farm elsewhere. Many of these farms had long familial histories. Edgar Casaw wanted to continue working his 84 acres but perceived any replacement purchase as “out of sight.”⁸⁵ The Sheet family who operated a grocery store just west of the golf club stood to lose the store as the golf club lay in the path of the Seaway. The family also had two farms: 100 acres near Louisville Landing and 106 acres on Croil Island, both slated for inundation. Their son’s farm would go as well situated as it was in the trajectory of the flooding. Said Mrs. Sheets, “The children all feel bad. They’ve never lived anywhere but around here. They were all born on Croil Island.”⁸⁶ Two elderly sisters, Nellie and Pauline Lawrence, had 235 acres. “How can we help miss this place. It has always been our home.”⁸⁷ One of the sisters pointed to an island out on the river, “That’s Strawberry Island. Isn’t it pretty? We expect that will be flooded too.”⁸⁸

⁸⁵ *Watertown Times*, August 6, 1954.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

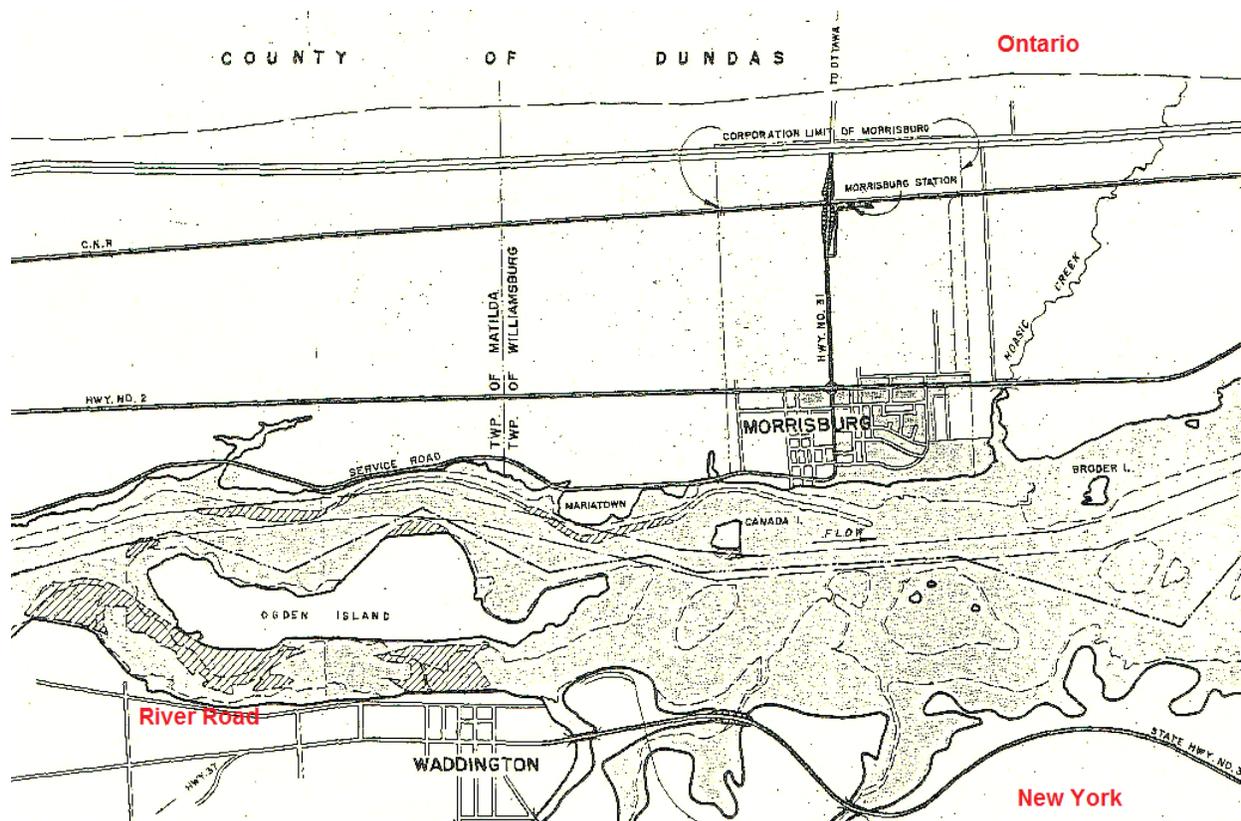


Figure 2.21: Note the location of River Road in Waddington, partially submerged at inundation. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

As of this writing, John Mitchell of Hammond, New York is the last living person who lost his farm to the Project just west of Waddington on the River Road at what is today the narrowest point in the St. Lawrence Seaway. His dairy farm was only four hundred feet from the river, one hundred and fifty of which was a beautiful, white sand beach. He and his wife, Ann, described life before the Seaway as a much simpler time recalling that such luxuries as television and radio had just arrived in the area prior to inundation. Demolition by fire was not unique on the Canadian side of the river as Ann remembered the Cattle Feed Store in Waddington and a number of other buildings being burned. Both still feel strongly about the horse-trading tactics of PASNY when its agent, McCluskey, arrived to negotiate a price for the land as he was offering the same price whether it was good farm land or swamp. The Mitchells refused the first offer forcing PASNY to raise the price by \$10,000.00 which they felt was still not a suitable price for their land.⁸⁹

⁸⁹ John, Ann, and Debby Mitchell, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Hammond, New York, November 4, 2015.

To add insult to injury, PAsNY sent a tug to their dock to begin surveying for the Project which remained all summer and John was seconded by the utility to take measurements three times a day of the speed and depth of the water and report the information to the Seaway office in Detroit. This was not the first time that John and his neighbours had to do duty on the river. For many years it had been their responsibility to keep this narrow portion of the channel free of ice in the winter for the old fourteen foot waterway that predated the St. Lawrence Seaway. Unlike many farmers who were unable to replace the lost land, the Mitchells were able to relocate their dairy farm to Hammond, New York, but have never forgotten this dark chapter in their lives, the stories of which so affected their daughter, Debby, that she continues to pursue research on the effects of the Project in New York.⁹⁰

Drawing on her parents' memory, Debby prepared a map for me of exactly how River Road in Waddington looked prior to its disappearance. In her own research, Debby has stumbled upon some local landmarks destroyed to make way for the flooding. One such was the Ogden Mansion on Ogden Island famous in the area as a former stop on the Underground Railway.



Figure 2.22: The Ogden Mansion located on Ogden Island, New York. The Mansion and its causeway to mainland New York were demolished to make way for the St. Lawrence Seaway. Courtesy John, Ann, and Debby Mitchell, Hammond, New York.

⁹⁰ John, Anne, and Debbie Mitchell, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Hammond, New York, November 4, 2015.

Moses and PASNY had slated the Wilson Hill area to absorb the displaced but little interest developed for this location. It allowed only for camps, a wholly unsatisfactory solution for the farmers. In addition, PASNY's Wilson Hill offering was a twenty year rental scheme that spelled impermanence along with the proviso that a stipulated yardage of shoreline would remain under PASNY's discretion. As the plan foundered, the argument evolved into a raging fight by those who already possessed water-front property wanting to retain those rights. Front and centre in this showdown was Daniel Cuglar who quickly became the focus of Moses' ire.

Cuglar argued on behalf of the water-front property owners along the river in New York who felt they were not being given sufficient opportunity for input to the process and strenuously objected to PASNY commandeering the first several hundred feet of shoreline. The blueprint for Wilson Hill relocations sandwiched strips of land facing the river only large enough for summer camps. Permanent residents like Cuglar objected to losing their homes and property which it was not possible to recreate on the planned small plots. A lively correspondence developed between Cuglar and Moses in *The Massena Observer* wherein Moses finally accused Cuglar and his followers of engaging in land speculation without regard for the good of the project or other residents.

In response, Daniel Cuglar, president of the St. Lawrence Landowners Association, stated that the populace in general was willing to cooperate with the Project and while no-one opposed relocation per se there were not enough choice spots so that those who must move would much rather buy land where they preferred. He answered Moses' concern regarding land speculation by saying that the residents were not accustomed to dividing "spoils like a pack of wolves"⁹¹ and challenged PASNY to establish any such precedent.⁹² In 1957 Cuglar, along with four other land owners⁹³ initiated likely what became the most celebrated Seaway development court action against PASNY but was unsuccessful in bringing the utility to heel. The Supreme Court of the State of New York issued its opinion that "The court therefore determines the appropriations herein examined were for uses public and not private; that hence no justiciable issues exist [...]. Insofar as these complaints raise any constitutional questions, they are insufficient. The only limitation upon the exercise of the power of eminent domain is that the use must be public, compensation must be made, and due process observed. [...] Subject to these constitutional limitations, the State may take property at will. [...] The court therefore concludes

⁹¹ *The Massena Observer*, February 7, 1955, 1; June 5, 1958, 1

⁹² *Ibid.*

⁹³ The four other land owners were: Violet W. Wareing, Everett R. Whalen, Abraham Becker, Violet I. Stewart. See citation following for Daniel R. Cuglar et Al. v Power Authority of the State of New York et Al.

there are no justiciable issues raised by the complaints in these five actions, and accordingly, defendants' motion to dismiss is, in each instance, granted, without costs."⁹⁴

In a news release just before the flooding, Hydro congratulated itself on its thoughtful and futuristic rehabilitation program which it contended had established "modern, carefully-planned communities at key points along the new shore line."⁹⁵ PASNY outshone Hydro in praise for the completed project stating that the modernization of resident communities along the river would have a most stimulating effect on the St. Lawrence Valley in both New York and Ontario and that the residents could look forward to unprecedented industrial expansion. It spoke in the language of high modernism "Now two nations are holding hands across the great river to dip into its resources for power. [...] the St. Lawrence has been harnessed to the uses of man. The waters which barred Cartier's progress up the St. Lawrence now bear the yoke of the inexorable progress of man."⁹⁶

The power portion of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project effectively terminated with the blowing of Cofferdam A-1 on Inundation Day, July 1, 1958 and brought a climax to the tourist trade. The evening before a severe and, fittingly, electrical thunder storm deluged the Cornwall and Massena areas finally clearing for a spectacular view of a full moon eerily illuminating the last glimpse of life as it had been. Retribution, many residents thought, for the damage and destruction. Although Hydro had constructed eight ramps up to the top of the dike, rainfall from the previous evening left many of the more than 55,000 folks sliding in the mud.⁹⁷

The previous day, the *Cornwall Standard-Freeholder* had promised an explosion sending debris and water thirty feet⁹⁸ into the air followed by a wall of water cascading down the riverbed. At 8.01 a.m. thirty tons of dynamite tore two mighty one-hundred foot gashes in Cofferdam A-1. As a precaution, Police evacuated those within a two mile radius of the dam and halted traffic on the New Number Two Highway. Those who had stayed on the ground felt the seismic jolt. The blast disappointed the avid watchers up on the dike who saw what appeared to be only a puff of smoke. The next day a chastened *Standard-Freeholder* dubbed the detonation

⁹⁴ Accessed May 9, 2015,

http://ny.findacase.com/research/wfrmDocViewer.aspx/xq/fac.19570214_0040688.NY.htm/gx; Daniel R. Cuglar et Al. v. Power Authority of the State of New York et Al. (02/14/57); Supreme Court of New York, Special Term, St. Lawrence County; Paul D. Graves, J.

⁹⁵ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection 40, Box. 69, Seaway-Ontario Hydro 1956 Press Releases: Hydro News Release, Number 18, June 6, 1958.

⁹⁶ AO. RG19-61-1. Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21, Container B443892, File 14.1 St. Lawrence Seaway, General. Power from the St. Lawrence, September 5, 1958, jointly issued by the HEPCo and the PASNY, p. 36.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Ontario Hydro News Release #24, July 26, 1958.

⁹⁸ Hydro predicted a crest of twenty feet.

“An Unspectacular Whisper.”⁹⁹ When one contemplates the term demolition with respect to the Power Project, it was truly a destruction of the social and physical world in which the residents had felt a sense of safety and acceptance and, moreover, it was a demolition, not just of physical space, but of a way of life.

The Massena Observer went all out in its reporting “This is it! The day of the big flood! It’s a new Massena. It’s a new St. Lawrence!”¹⁰⁰ On the U.S. side of the river, loud speakers carried a countdown to blast. Airborne groups of four foot balloons hovered over the spots in the cofferdam about to be pulverized while PASNY staff exploded aerial rockets at intervals leading up to the final blast. Three-hundred distinguished guests occupied the observation deck of the new power house on the Canadian side from which comfortable position they could view the explosion.¹⁰¹



Figure 2.23: “An Unspectacular Whisper” – the final blast to demolish Cofferdam A-1 through which the water of the St. Lawrence River slowly trickled for four days submerging forever the Communities in the International Rapids Section of the St. Lawrence River, July 1, 1958. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

⁹⁹ OA. RG 19-61, Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File 14.1 St. Lawrence Seaway, General, p. 32.; *The Cornwall Standard-Freeholder*, June 30, 1958; July 1, 1958.

¹⁰⁰ *The Massena Observer*, June 30, 1958

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*, 1, 8.

The *Massena Observer* reported that there would be many vantage points from which to view the demolition along Highway 37-B but as the cofferdam was much closer to the Canadian shore, Robert Moses took out an almost full page advertisement in conjunction with a smaller one from Hydro inviting the American public to come across to the Cornwall dike.¹⁰²

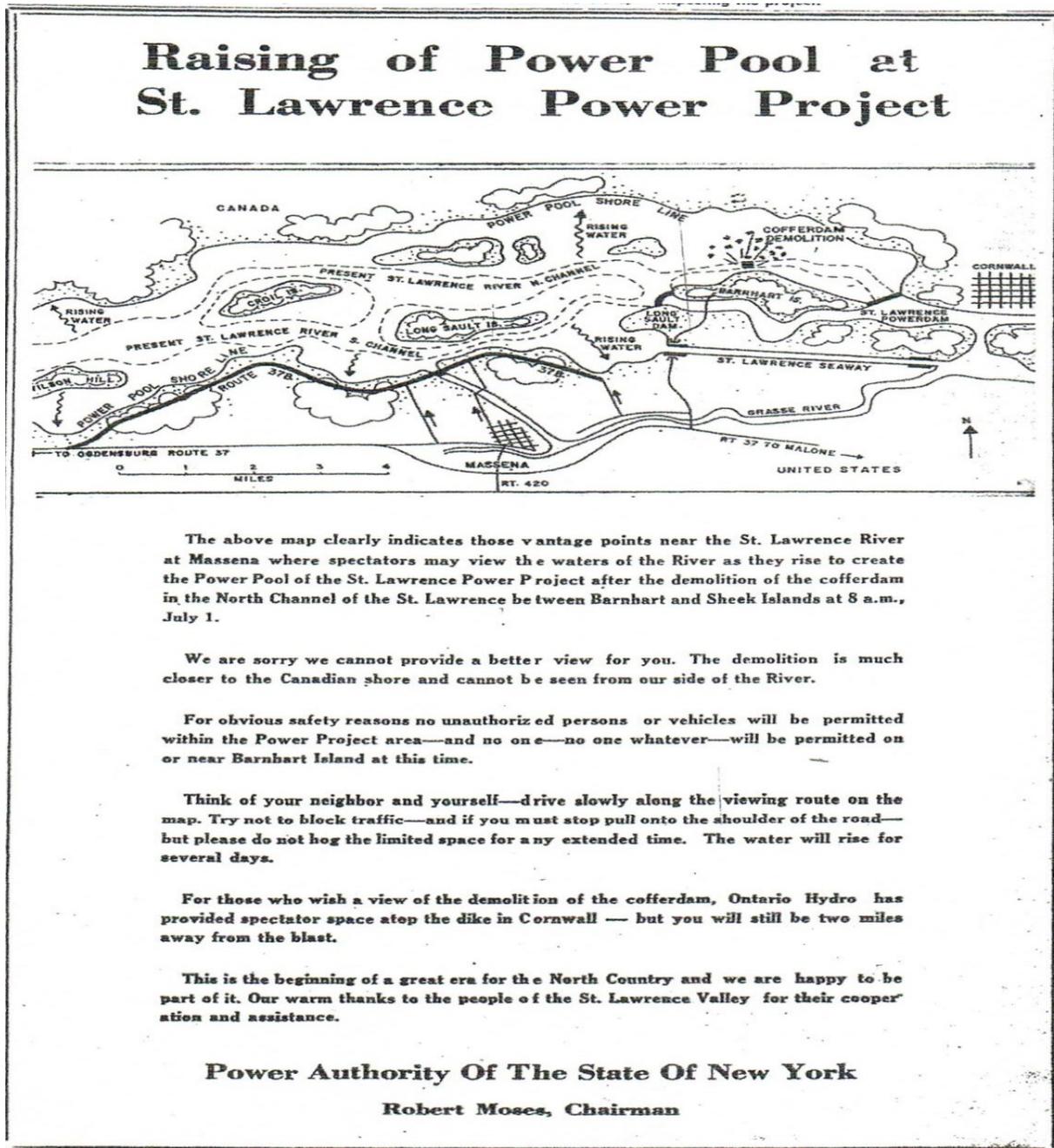


Figure 2.24 The *Massena Observer*, June 30, 1958, p. 1.

¹⁰² The *Massena Observer*, June 30, 1958, 1, 5.



Figure 2.25: After the blast: background shows crowds on the dike and ramps holding back the water of Lake St. Lawrence. Centre left shows the closure gates on the former Cornwall Canal. The last ship went through these gates just before midnight on June 30, 1958 at which time the gates were closed forever. Foreground shows what remains of the Old Number Two Highway that now ends at the foot of the dike. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.

For many residents, the final blow came as the Project wound up with politicians and the elite captains of industry organizing complex completion celebrations that almost entirely divested the former residents of what had once been their homes. The power portion of the Project officially opened on September 5, 1958 when the Premier of Ontario, Leslie M. Frost, and the Governor of New York, W. Averell Harriman, jointly threw the switch to start the generators in the two powerhouses.¹⁰³ The two power companies hosted gala events for which Hydro issued invitations to Cabinet member and the Legislature. Note that although ‘no ladies’ were invited to the opening ceremonies both Duncan and Premier Frost did, in the end, bring their wives. This exclusion speaks to anti-feminist perspectives but also reveals the overarching hierarchical sentiments. One of the striking disparities of the Power Project and a permeating theme from beginning to end is the self-congratulatory tone accorded to ‘important dignitaries’ with little consideration for the residents whose lives had been completely disrupted. A few

¹⁰³ The switch-throwing was ceremonial and symbolic only. In fact the generators had been fired up as soon as the water came up in the previous July.

kilometers away, the residents, aware of these events in which they were not included, buried the past and got on with their lives.

Chapter Three: Losing Place, Space, and Landscape

Shortly after the flooding in 1958, the *Ogdensburg Advance – News* published an article to the effect that it had “heard on good authority,”¹ that there was a subterranean leak in the newly formed Lake St. Lawrence. The article postulated that such a leak could conceivably drain the reservoir, effectively preventing the power houses from producing electricity.² In fact, at the start of construction, the Seaway engineers had discovered that the intended placement of the Snell Lock, just east of Massena, rested directly on a geological fault line so that the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers relocated the proposed lock to ensure it was completely to one side of the fault.³

The Saint Lawrence River Valley, along with the Champlain and Ottawa Valleys, is a seismically active zone known as the Saint Lawrence Rift System which had been the cause of a 1944 earthquake in Cornwall and Massena that had measured 5.8 on the Moment Magnitude Scale.⁴ The fault still existed at the bottom of the lake and the newspaper reported that “Apparently the matter has been kept very hush hush by the Power Authority and Ontario Hydro. They evidently feel that they would be criticized for building the lake over a geologic fault which might drain it.”⁵ PASNY chairman, Robert Moses, sent a furious reply to the Editor on behalf of the utilities accusing him of having ‘approached unconsciousness’ in the matter, of printing ‘balderdash’, and of being irresponsible and sensational. He categorically denied there was any truth to the story and that water levels on the lake were determined by the outflow from the Great Lakes and regulated by the Iroquois Dam under pre-project conditions as set out by the International Joint Commission (“IJC”).⁶

Ostensibly, Moses spoke truthfully, but the issue of water levels on the lake and river had plagued, and would continue to plague, shore-line communities for many years bringing, in the wake of level fluctuations, a host of problems: health hazards, shoreline erosion, flooding, water contaminants, mud flats, and prolific weed growth. Only a few months after the Project had begun, PASNY had received complaints about damages to shorefront properties due to high water in Lake Ontario. At this stage of the water-level battle, PASNY was less concerned

¹ *The Ogdensburg Advance – News*, November 2, 1958, 11.

² *Ibid.*

³ Claire Puccia Parham, *The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project: An Oral History of the Greatest Construction Show on Earth* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 2009), 177-178.

⁴ P.S. Kumarapeli and V.A. Saul, “The St. Lawrence Valley System: A North American Equivalent of The East African Rift Valley System,” *Canadian Journal of Earth Sciences* 3 (1966): 639.

⁵ *The Ogdensburg Advance – News*, November 2, 1958, 11.

⁶ IJC. Docket 68-3-V8, St. Lawrence Power Application Correspondence, 1958. Robert Moses to Franklin R. Little, Editor, Northern New York Publishing Co., Inc., Ogdensburg, New York, November 3, 1958.

with the environmental fall-out from erratic water levels and more concerned with who was going to be responsible for paying damages.⁷

By March of 1955 the IJC had taken the situation under advisement with broad and conflicting objectives. The St. Lawrence River, in comparison with other rivers, has an unusually swift and stable flow which made it an excellent candidate to harness for electrical power. Its maximum flow is only twice its minimum whereas, for example, the Ottawa River's maximum is twelve times its minimum and, at an extreme, the Columbia River's maximum is thirty-three times its minimum.⁸ This stable flow of the St. Lawrence meant an equally stable output of electricity.

The least amount of outflow from Lake Ontario had to be sufficient to produce maximum power at the generating stations. At the same time, the greatest flow from Lake Ontario had to be kept as low as possible to restrict the extent of channel excavations. In balancing these requirements, water regulation also needed to free property owners on the shores of the lake and river from the high levels of the past. Added to this melange, was the special case of Montreal much further downstream and only 57 metres (187 feet) above sea level. Any change in flow could not be permitted to reduce the water level in Montreal Harbour below the minimum requirements to keep it functioning. Simultaneously flow levels had to account for the potential danger of flooding the city during ice break-up each spring. After studying all of these situations and their probable impacts, the IJC concluded that the optimum levels should be between 243 and 248 feet above sea level.⁹

Robert Moses and his supporters were not pleased with this outcome viewing these levels as insufficient to maximize power output at the dam. Moses had, for several years, accused the Ontario Landowners Association of attempting to block the Project with whatever means it could. Moses denied that the power companies were responsible for high water along the shores of Lake Ontario maintaining they regulated the level pursuant to the IJC's stipulations. He viewed the Association as positioning itself to lay the ground work for future law suits.¹⁰ The Editor and Publisher of the *Watertown Daily Times* agreed with Moses' perspective

⁷ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 862509, Accession 91-123, Bin 11-10-191, Box 9 of 67. James F. Evans, Director of State Parks to Robert Moses, Chairman, PASNY, November 12, 1954.

⁸ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91-123, Bin 11-19-183, Box 2 of 67, File 010 January–June 1958; May 27, 1958.

⁹ OPG. International Joint Commission Press Release, March 16, 1955; Ontario Power Generation Corporate Records Office. L.B. Pearson, Secretary of State for External Affairs to Leslie M. Frost, Premier of the Province of Ontario, April 21, 1955.

¹⁰ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91-123, Bin 11-19-183, Box 1 of 67. Robert Moses, Chairman, Power Authority of the State of New York to Hon. Len Jordon, Chairman, U.S. Section, IJC, February 17, 1955.

and denigrated complainants as irresponsible in building 'shacks' on the shore during low water periods. He intimated that the Ontario Water Commission had suggested these levels to the IJC fearing legal and political retaliation from property owners along the lake and river. As for the special considerations concerning Montreal, he wrote to Moses that "Maybe if you open up the gates and flood a few of those Canadians out down around Montreal, you can get action on this need for maintaining a fair amount of water in the river and lake."¹¹

As late as 1962, the City of Cornwall continued to experience low water levels below the dam and extraordinarily high levels above it, creating a hazard for small river craft. The low levels below the dam in the old fourteen-foot Cornwall Canal, which was entirely within the city limits, was creating health-endangering pollution problems. Whereas the IJC had stipulated a flow of 500 cubic-feet-per-second ("cfs"), the actual flow in the canal was almost half at 250-300 cfs.¹² Because of this sluggish flow, the canal became stagnant and a breeding ground for bacteria and pollutants exuding an unpleasant odour and restricting recreational uses.¹³

After inundation, yet another water-level related issue came to the forefront. The IJC had received complaints from river-front property owners that the raising of the head pond had caused damage to locally owned wells. These complaints were passed on to Hydro for consideration. Correspondence between Hydro's Director of Property and its Chairman appear to downplay the seriousness of the issue and minimize Hydro's responsibility. Harry Hustler wrote Chairman Duncan that most of these problems had resolved within a few months at some slight cost to Hydro and that while the problem could be attributed "at least in part"¹⁴ to the flooding, it was unlikely as many other factors could potentially be causative.¹⁵

Another classic example is the havoc wreaked upon the St. Regis Mohawks where there were severe repercussions on land and water resources as a result of the Project which impacted negatively on the livelihood of the St. Regis Band. In 1978, a full twenty years after inundation the Band, comprised of about 4,500 members, submitted a position paper to the IJC contending that, since the flooding, the river had undergone significant ecological degradation that prejudiced their livelihood. It addressed contemporary concerns with respect to increases in

¹¹ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91.123, Bin 11-10-191, Box 9 of 67. John B. Johnson, Editor and Publisher of the *Watertown Daily Times* to Robert Moses, Chairman, PASNY, July 24, 1959.

¹² IJC. Docket 68-3-V7, St. Lawrence Power Application Correspondence, 1957. M.A. Boyer, City Clerk, City of Cornwall to D.G. Chance, Secretary, International Joint Commission, June 4, 1962.

¹³ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91.123, Bin 11-19-183, Box 18 of 6. City of Cornwall to Department of Transport, August 11, 1959.

¹⁴ OPG. SLPP Series, Acquisition 860925, Accession 91.123, Bin 11-10-190, Box 8 of 67. Harry Hustler, Director of Property to James S. Duncan, Chairman, Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario, September 24, 1959.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

water levels as a result of the project which had contributed to slope erosion, island drowning, marshland flooding, weed growth, the redistribution of pollutants, the decimation of the fish population, and a deterioration in water quality.¹⁶ Harvesting the St. Lawrence's fish constituted a major portion of the community's economy.

Increase in water levels had also destabilized the slopes of the shore resulting in considerable land loss and tended to submerge small islands contributing to the further loss of the already scarce land resources at St. Regis.¹⁷ Higher water levels eroded reed beds causing marshes to recede along with their blue stem grasses, the primary forage for the Band's cattle. They also created unexpected variations in ice formation that destroyed the feeding grounds of the muskrat, the trapping of which formed a major industry for the community.¹⁸

The rise in water level resulted in prolific weed growth that began to hinder water travel as well as serve as a trap for pollutants that increased bacteria levels. As water levels and flow increased, the associated turbulence stirred up sedimentary pollutants destroying spawning grounds. Simple pleasures such as swimming were no longer possible due to the mixture of weeds and contaminants which also contributed to a shortage of drinking water. If the polluted waters were not sufficient to decimate the fish population, the equation was completed by the series of physical barriers on the river: canals, locks, and dams were not conducive to the lifecycle of the fish in the river.¹⁹ As the position paper contended "Most of these fish are either killed or so badly injured by the turbine blades that they die shortly after their ejection from the power-houses. [...] Further, the rotting organic material constitutes a nuisance for the residents of St. Regis, fouling their shores with assaults on the eye, nose and health."²⁰

¹⁶ IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application – General Correspondence Vol. 19, 3-5, 7-8, 11-12, June 26, 1978; International Joint Commission Docket 68-5-6, St. Lawrence Power Application, General Memoranda 1955, A Report to the International Joint Commission of the St. Regis Band Regarding Impacts from the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development, March 1982.

¹⁷ The St. Regis Mohawk Reservation (Akwesasne) is approximately 49 square miles with a population of 3,288 according to the 2010 Census. The reserve straddles Ontario and Quebec in Canada and New York State in the United States where it lies within the geographical boundaries of Franklin County in New York State.

¹⁸ IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application – General Correspondence Vol. 19, 3-6, June 26, 1978; International Joint Commission Docket 68-5-6, St. Lawrence Power Application, General Memoranda 1955, A Report to the International Joint Commission of the St. Regis Band Regarding Impacts from the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development, March 1982.

¹⁹ IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application – General Correspondence Vol. 19, 8, 11, June 26, 1978; International Joint Commission Docket 68-5-6, St. Lawrence Power Application, General Memoranda 1955, A Report to the International Joint Commission of the St. Regis Band Regarding Impacts from the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development, March 1982.

²⁰ IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application – General Correspondence Vol. 19, 12, June 26, 1978; International Joint Commission Docket 68-5-6, St. Lawrence Power Application, General Memoranda 1955, A Report to the International Joint Commission of the St. Regis Band Regarding Impacts from the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Development, March 1982.

A case in point was the American eels that migrate to the ocean to spawn, swim back up the river where they spend most of their life span in the fresh water of the St. Lawrence and the Great Lakes, and then return to the ocean to die. At the time the generating station was built, racks were vertically mounted at the upstream side of the dam to exclude debris but the racks did nothing to exclude the eels. The Moses-Saunders dam blocked the flow of the eels completely on the upward journey; a lucky few ocean-bound eels found themselves hurtling down the spillway; the majority met instant death in the grind of the dam's turbines, a vivid memory for the former residents. Interviewee Mary Lynn Alguire related a tale of the unpleasant sight of the river below the dam running red with the bloody, chopped-up carcasses of the river eels, polluting the air with a vile aroma as they rotted in the water.²¹

In 1965 the Ontario Water Resources Commission conducted an investigation to properly ascertain the problem of dead eels that washed up along the banks of the river as far east as Charlottenburg Township in Lancaster, Ontario. The problem of the decomposing carcasses had been reported to the Commission by local residents who found the situation quite objectionable. The Commission acknowledged that the dead eels would have been less likely to collect along the river bank had the aquatic vegetation as a result of the Project not been so prevalent and made a recommendation that Hydro examine the feasibility of deterring eels from entering the dams by means of electrical or other devices. There is no mention in the report of the effect this would have on the migratory phases of the eels' lifecycle.²² Despite having made these recommendations in September, by November no action appears to have been taken so that the Council of the Corporation of the City of Cornwall adopted a resolution which stated that, as a result of going through the turbines at the powerhouse, the dead fish were a nuisance and a possible health hazard. This was sent to the IJC with a request that the Commission take steps to rectify the situation.²³ It would be many years however before the situation was even partially resolved.

In response to public outrage, Hydro finally installed an eel ladder in 1974, sixteen years after the dam's inception which has facilitated the swim up to the Great Lakes but, unfortunately, the eels continue to suffer a forty percent mortality rate as they head out to the open sea. Hydro Quebec followed suit with a similar ladder at the Beauharnois dam but not until 1994, 36 years after inundation.

²¹ Rosemary O'Flaherty Field Notes; conversation with Mary Lynn Alguire, December 26, 2012.

²² IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application, 07361300, Ontario Water Resources Commission Report "Complaint concerning Dead Eels in the St. Lawrence River," September 14, 1965.

²³ IJC. Docket 68-3-1-1, St. Lawrence Power Application, 0734000, A. Terrance, Assistant to the City Clerk, City of Cornwall to International Joint Commission, Ottawa, Ontario, November 2, 1965.

The eels however, were not the only aquatic victims of the Power Project. As early as 1955, the Ontario Department of Lands and Forests had requested a comprehensive inquiry into the possible effects of the Power Project on the spawning, life cycles, and most suitable environment for the aquatic species resident in the river and, by extension, in the Great Lakes. In fact, the Federal Fisheries Act required that all damming plans include consideration of the habitat that would continue to maintain healthy levels of native species.²⁴ Hydro had largely ignored the Act in the interest of bringing the Project in on time and within budget so that fishways were not its priority.

As a result, dredging for channel improvements, the drowning of the rapids, and changes in water flow and level continued to modify habitat significantly to the detriment of various species.²⁵ Dredging for channel improvements as well as the construction and destruction of dams and cofferdams had increased turbulence in the river altering the traditional patterns of feeding and spawning. Emptying and then submerging the Long Sault Rapids entirely removed the habitat for some species of fish.²⁶ Sturgeon, for example, became an endangered species partly as a result of over-fishing, but also as a result of losing spawning grounds to the Power Project.²⁷

In addition to negatively transforming habitats, extensive widening of the river to create the power pool meant a much reduced rate of flow changing the marine chemistry that supported the subaqueous vegetation. This was further exacerbated after inundation by toxins that remained at the bottom of the lake. This is clearly visible in John Earle's DVD that showcases scuba divers able to access the corridors and basement rooms of the defunct Provincial Paper Mill filled with an assortment of debris in the submerged Mille Roches. As Daniel Macfarlane has also pointed out, many of the underground gas tanks from former gas stations in the villages had not been removed prior to the flooding.²⁸ There is more reassurance as to the disposition of these tanks on the American side. This was one of the projects on which interviewee, Bob Breen, worked during the Power Project. Bob described the process for me. The workers first pumped out any residue remaining in the tanks and then washed them out

²⁴ OPG. SLPP Series Accession 91.123, December 4, 7, 1955.

²⁵ The Ottawa Citizen, November 3, 1998; Daniel Macfarlane, *Negotiating a River: Canada, the U.S., and the Creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway* (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2014), 200-201.

²⁶ Macfarlane, 201.

²⁷ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Massena, New York, March 10, 2016.

²⁸ Ibid.; John Earle and Frank Burelle, *Treasures of the Lost Villages*, DVD, June 5, 2008; Macfarlane, 202.

with a disinfecting solution. The tanks were then filled with a slurry of pea gravel and liquid concrete before being sealed.²⁹

Upon inundation, the aquatic environment on the St. Lawrence suffered yet another setback, the creation of mudflats. Because the regulation of flow and water level has plagued the Seaway system throughout its fifty-eight year history, in low water seasons this results in vast expanses of flat, muddy areas along the shoreline that preclude a suitable environment for shallow-water fish and ground fowl. Areas such as the Chrysler Monument near Upper Canada Village, the shoreline in front of Long Sault, and the site of the former village of Aultsville are particularly susceptible. The aquatic dwellers in these areas are robbed of their habitat in low water years presenting problems of unsightly, muddy no-man's lands burgeoning with pestilent weeds and the carcasses of dead fish and fowl.³⁰

If construction negatively affected the aquatic life on the river, the opening of the Seaway to an increased traffic flow of ocean-going vessels further tainted not only the river, but the entire Great Lakes system. The ballast tanks on a ship are filled and discharged as needed to maintain trim, stability, and draft. Typically, the material within the tanks is a mixture of dirt and rocks, but mainly water which is the primary culprit in poisoning bodies of water as it contains micro-organisms and a variety of species from the many ports-of-call from whence a ship takes on ballast.³¹ Consequently filling the tanks in a European or Asian port and discharging them in the St. Lawrence allows foreign species into the river that are not compatible with the indigenous aquatic life.

Environmental journalist Jeff Alexander enumerated the severe damage done to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence System, not only by the Seaway, but by the numerous projects undertaken by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers and the Bureau of Reclamation in the upper Great Lakes. He affirmed the already well-known fact that ocean-going vessels sailing up the St. Lawrence introduced alien species to the river, a situation exacerbated by the insistence, on the part of the Corps, to widen the Welland Canal. Formerly a barrier between the St. Lawrence/Lake Ontario and the Upper Great Lakes, the widening of the Welland allowed the alien species and the polluted waters of the lower system to flow into the upper system.³²

²⁹ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

³⁰ OPG. SLPP Series, Bin 11-19-183, Box 1 of 67, File 010 January to June 1957; Letter Challies to Duncan, April 9, 1957; Minutes of SLPP Foreshore Improvement, Department of Planning and Hydro, April 2, 1957.

³¹ Jeff Alexander, *Pandora's Locks: The Opening of the Great Lakes – St. Lawrence Seaway* (East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University Press, 2009), 403.

³² Alexander, 21, 23-24, 27, 29.

In this manner, the round gobies, sea lamprey, and alewife invaded the river and found their way into the Great Lakes, decimating populations of lake trout, salmon, and sturgeon, to name only a few. Likely the most lethal of the invaders were the zebra and quagga mussels. First discovered in the lakes in 1988, the zebra mussels reproduced exponentially. They clog drains and water intakes to the tune of several million dollars each year, eliminate indigenous mussels and foul the river's ecosystem.³³ John Earle's underwater DVD *Submerged* near the Lost Villages in Ontario underscored the point as the zebra mussels cover every surface beneath the water.³⁴ In the 1950s however, the idea of ships as purveyors of environmental disaster did not register with the Seaway architects. As Alexander understood it, "The engineers who designed the Seaway did not set out to plunge the lakes into ecological chaos. Theirs was an error of omission not commission."³⁵

Redistribution of land mass in and around the river, however, was quite deliberate. The point of this rearrangement was to restrict the flow of the river. On the mainland, for example, the Project literally sliced off a portion of John Van Kennan's farm at Sparrowhawk Point and moved the earth out into the river along with both ends of Ogden Island and the entire north side of Galop Island. Some of the earth moved was used to fill in the gap between Galop Island the islands east of it so that, together, they now formed one big island which served to slow down the pace of the current. As a result, the water became more shallow in the stretch between Ogdensburg and Massena causing a decrease in the Walleye population which, because they see better in the dark, prefer to swim in deep water, avoiding shallow, muddy water.³⁶

Because PASNY was altering the shoreline, it had agreed to protect it from erosion with rip-rap, but just east of Sparrowhawk Point at Toussaint where the utility had cut off land to move into the river, the shore was not visible from the road and the utility neglected the rip-rap here. As a result, the area suffered terrible erosion sometimes losing as much as one to one-and-a-half feet per year. Bob Breen could recall a concrete slab left over from the project up on the edge of one of the shoreline cliffs that disappeared entirely to erosion within two years. Despite complaints from the river side homeowners, PASNY has yet to rip-rap this area. In the meantime, bankswallows have moved in and made the cliffs their home. Since then, the

³³ Ibid., introduction, XV, XIX.

³⁴ John Earle, *Submerged*, DVD, November 15, 2011.

³⁵ Alexander, introduction, XIX.

³⁶ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

Audubon Society became involved arguing to PASNY against the homeowners that it should refrain from rip-rapping the area now as it would destroy the habitat for the bank swallows.³⁷



Figure 3.1: View of the cliffs between Red Mills and Waddington, New York that have yet to be rip-rapped. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 3.2: Rip-rapped shoreline in interviewee Julie Madlin's back yard, Red Mills, New York. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 1, 2016.

³⁷ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Ogdensburg, New York, April 16, 2016; Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

By the time of inundation the two shores of the river belonged wholly to the power companies both of which had extensive plans to develop them as recreational areas. The redevelopment of the waterfront had been on Hydro's agenda as part of the overall project. It had set up the St. Lawrence Development Corporation in 1955 specifically with that objective in mind appointing George Challies, former Vice-Chairman of Hydro, as its inaugural chairman. Essentially the plans of Hydro and PASNY expropriated the waterfronts for their grandiose schemes severing contact between the river and what had been historically a riverine population.

Toward the end of the project PASNY Chairman, Robert Moses, summarized his personal view of the landscape about to become riverscape, "One of the compelling reasons why I agreed to head the Power Authority was the opportunity to do something in connection with the parks system in the North Country."³⁸ As New York City's Park Commissioner and Chairman of the New York State Council of Parks, Moses' experience in redeveloping derelict land for recreation was legendary. He clearly however disregarded the perspectives of the communities to be impacted. This paternalistic attitude was enhanced by the time frame within which it occurred. As Tina Loo has postulated "This was a time when environments undergoing transformation were celebrated; a particular moment in the environmental history of North America conveyed by an aesthetic that American historian David Nye has labelled the 'technological sublime'."³⁹

Robert Moses was a curious mixture of paternalism and altruism, using his authority to cite the benefits of converting the landscape to riverscape to legitimize his actions. Such paternalism was one of the hallmarks of the Seaway Project. A graduate of Yale, Oxford, and Columbia universities, even in his youth he impressed his colleagues with his intense desire for a prominent role in public service where he envisioned his role as helping "the under privileged, the lower classes, the people ground down by forces beyond their control."⁴⁰ On one occasion at Yale during an argument, he had no qualms of conscience in beating up and knocking down a colleague who, being the much smaller man, was no match for him. This was a scenario that Moses would repeat metaphorically many times during his career in expropriating land. A

³⁸ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Box 52, Folder Seaway Mabee Notebooks, Notes for Power & Impact on Valley Chapter; *Ogdensburg Journal*, November 16, 1957.

³⁹ Tina M. Loo, "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* Special Issue on Canada (October 2007): 900.

⁴⁰ Robert A. Caro, *The Power Broker: Robert Moses and the Fall of New York* (New York: Vintage Books, A Division of Random House, 1974), 45-46.

moment later he had congratulated this colleague who had had the courage to take on a much larger opponent.⁴¹ It seems the analogy ends here however.

Moses was not congratulatory toward the protest raised in the small communities along the river. Robert Moses' plans to rehabilitate the shores of the St. Lawrence tended toward their beautification: "The scars created by grading for the dikes and by material stock piles [...] will be healed by planting [...] the Authority will provide roadways, parking spaces, overlooks, paths, picnic areas and sanitary facilities."⁴² This attitude would be echoed a half-century later by Tim Edensor who viewed the uses of ruined places as a smoothing over of space and, more recently, in Tina Loo's contention that "Transforming nature did not mean sacrificing aesthetics."⁴³

To this end, PASNY stored topsoil removed during the project and, upon its completion, re-spread it in preparation for planting. PASNY reforested dykes, spoil areas, and the verges of the relocated Highway 37. It built new beaches for Massena, Lisbon, and Waddington where it also created a waterfront park and established the St. Lawrence State Park spanning 1,600 acres on the mainland, and 1,100 acres at Hawkins Point on Barnhart Island, site of the U.S. terminal of the dam, which it graced with overlooks to view "the striking and awesome beauties of these structures."⁴⁴

⁴¹ Caro, 45-46.

⁴² SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection, Vol. 66, Booklet, St. Lawrence Power, New York Power Authority, August 10, 1954.

⁴³ Tina M. Loo, "High Modernism, Conflict, and the Nature of Change in Canada: A Look at Seeing Like a State," *The Canadian Historical Review* Volume 97, Issue 1 (March 2016): 40; Tim Edensor, *Industrial Ruins: Spaces, Aesthetics and Materiality* (Oxford, New York: Berg, 2005), 172.

⁴⁴ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File 14.1 St. Lawrence Seaway. General Booklet: Power From the St. Lawrence, September 5, 1958, jointly issued by HEPCO and PASNY, 27-28.



Figure 3.3: Entrance to Robert Moses State Park, Massena, New York built on land cleared of residents during the Power Project. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 26, 2015.



Figure 3.4: Beach in the Robert Moses State Park, Massena, New York, built on land cleared of residents during the Power Project. Photo: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 26, 2015.

As Moses expressed it, “The beauty of the St. Lawrence River and its benefits beyond commerce, industry, and utilities must be preserved.”⁴⁵ As the driving force behind the rehabilitation of the affected area, Moses was anxious to protect against eyesores, shacks, billboards, and other scenic detractors. He insisted that any industry choosing to locate by the river must honour his environmental lead so as not to engage in any water or air pollution and avoid residual damage and disadvantage to the communities and residents. To ensure there would be no disfigurements to what he called “one of the great streams of the world,”⁴⁶ PASNY purchased easements of one thousand feet on either side of the new Barnhart Island approach road.⁴⁷ Support for Moses’ artificial parks and beaches was not however unanimous.



Figure 3.5: The Barnhart Island approach road where it tunnels under the Dwight D. Eisenhower Lock in Massena, New York. Note the grassy verges on either side marking the thousand foot easements. Photograph: Rosemary O’Flaherty, July 26, 2015.

The Lake Ontario Land Development and Beach Protection Association mentioned in Chapter One was one of two groups that had gone to court in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the Project prior to the ratification of Wiley Dondero Act in 1954. Later that year its President, Norman Atterby, expressed his organization’s strong disapproval of Moses’ plans. “Your past record of developing the beautiful beaches around New York City for public use is splendid. For sixty years the Canadian-United States shores of Lake Ontario have had sand beaches that would equal or possibly surpass the projects you have created until a Canadian

⁴⁵ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission: The Ottawa Journal Dec 6, 1955.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

[sic] built obstruction in the St. Lawrence River resulted in the inundation of these hundreds of miles of lake shore recreational facilities.”⁴⁸ Atterby’s letter speaks directly to the irony of artificial construction of simulated beauty while simultaneously destroying natural beauty wholesale.

Like its U.S. counterpart, Hydro turned the new waterfront into a manicured chain of parks, beaches, camp sites and hiking trails. The Canadian plan proposed to transform the twenty-five mile stretch from Cornwall west to Morrisburg with a parkway “befitting the majesty of the Power Project and the grandeur of the St. Lawrence River.”⁴⁹ After the flooding, high points of land would become stranded as islands and the St. Lawrence Development Commission planned the Long Sault Parkway, named to commemorate the drowned rapids, by connecting eleven of the new islands. The flooding had submerged or reduced in size many low-lying islands and, conversely, created new ones from high points of land once part of the mainland. A progress report issued by the Commission in early 1956 stated that the parkway would be constructed some time that year ‘in the dry’. This continues to be a favourite memory of many former residents who recall the bridges and roads of the parkway sitting high, dry, and forlorn above farmers’ fields and orchard slopes awaiting the water that would bring them to life.⁵⁰ Eight years of age at the time, former Mille Roches resident, Mary Lynn Alguire remembers being puzzled by bridges with no water beneath them and roads that went nowhere while the adults in her life were unable to explain satisfactorily this strange phenomenon.⁵¹

Further west, the Commission undertook the redevelopment of Crysler’s Farm Battlefield Memorial Park as the original site would be lost to the rising water. The Battlefield Memorial was one of a trio of themes as the focus for the new St. Lawrence Parks System; the other two being Upper Canada Village (“UCV”) which became the recipient of some of the more historic buildings in the soon-to-be-drowned villages and the Pioneer Memorial situated just outside the main gates of UCV. The Pioneer Memorial, built as a cruciform, incorporated headstones from village cemeteries where the remains had not been disinterred. The Department of Lands and Forests, Reforestation Branch undertook to plant portions of this park area with evergreens and

⁴⁸ OPG. SLPP Series, Accession 860925, Acquisition 91.123, Bin 11-9-189, Box 7 of 67. Letter Norman Atterby, President, Lake Ontario Land Development and Beach Protection Association, Inc. to Mr. Robert Moses, The Power Authority of the State of New York, November 23, 1954.

⁴⁹ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File 14.1 St. Lawrence Seaway. General Booklet: Power From the St. Lawrence, September 5, 1958, jointly issued by HEPCO and PASNY, p. 28.

⁵⁰ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File 14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission. The Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission was incorporated in March 1955. Progress Report No. 2 dated January 27, 1956, 2-3.

⁵¹ Rosemary O’Flaherty Field Notes; conversation with Mary Lynn Alguire, December 26, 2012.

the hardwoods which originally flourished in the district and which it felt made such a beautiful display in the autumn, e.g., maple, oak, birch, ash, hickory, beech, walnut and butternut.⁵² Esthetics appear to have superseded all else.

The final phase of the parks scheme extended well beyond the flood zone to Brown's Bay Park, eleven miles west of Brockville with a fine, sandy beach and a splendid view of the St. Lawrence and the islands. Its nineteen acres were too small for the crush of visitors attracted to the site, so that the Commission made plans to acquire the additional land by purchase or, once again, expropriation if necessary, of two adjoining farms. Challies advertised in the soon-to-be-flooded communities for loyalist antiques among their possessions that might be donated to the St. Lawrence Museum (eventually to be named Upper Canada Village) which was to be the show piece of the entire St. Lawrence Parks development. One of Challies' objectives was "to preserve the beauty of the St. Lawrence as it is now" and to that end, he commissioned artist Frank Panabaker to paint the Long Sault Rapids before their slated disappearance, one painting looked up-stream while the other looked down-stream on the basis that, as Challies said, "This project is a great thing, but we don't want the next generation not to know the river the way God made it."⁵³ A vain hope as the Project irreversibly altered the river and landscape despite this contrived preservation in art.

An Interim Progress Report from the Commission covering the period June 1 to October 31, 1955, stated that in addition to Panabaker, other prominent Ontario artists would paint the Rapide Plat and Galops Rapids, located between Morrisburg and Cardinal, which would also cease to exist upon inundation.⁵⁴ The two shores therefore became oases of planned and engineered beauty; a new playground for the uninitiated; a violation for the former residents.

According to Tina Loo, the construction of wilderness parks and the melange of conservation laws, rather than celebrating nature, constitute a violent assault that seek to exclusively control rural and Aboriginal land. The arbitrary expropriation of land and resources, fostered by elitism, ignored social discomfiture and minimized any conflict by concentrating on privileged benefits. In so doing, it bypassed the vernacular uses and visions of the landscape and discounted personal experience. Loo has investigated despoiling occasioned by flooding in

⁵² OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission. Progress Report No. 2 dated January 27, 1956, 4-5.

⁵³ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission. Progress Report No. 2 dated January 27, 1956, 5-6; *The Globe and Mail*, November 9, 1955, 10.

⁵⁴ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission. Interim Progress Report, June 1 to October 31, 1955, 3.

terms of the confluence of the various flows that obliterate space, habitat, and community such as water, energy, capital, and political power.⁵⁵ The imperialistic attitude of the government and corporate sponsors viewed the dislocations as an unfortunate but necessary by-product of productive investment and believed that, in any case, the project could only benefit the backward, non-progressive communities along the river. The sponsors reordered boundaries to suit industry and spatialized the territory in a manner that disregarded existing land use and relationships and organized Seaway space according to their own understanding of technological modernity. In so doing, they ignored subaltern perspectives that precluded these from having a place in the metanarratives of history. Having reallocated space to serve their needs, they then imposed upon it rules and regulations that rendered the residents as outsiders, strangers, or 'other' in what had once been their private living space. In Seaway terms, the residents and their environment became the human and ecological spillways, the overflow that must be released to protect the dam from damage. They were the unneeded water diverted around the dam and wasted into the downstream pool.

That being said, there were some instances where the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission and the New York State Department of Conservation did partner with the residents. As part of the redevelopment along the shore of the river, the latter agreed to dike the low-lying shores of Wilson Hill Island as a protected area for the nesting and feeding of fish and fowl.⁵⁶ This initiative became part of the mandate of the Wilson Hill Island Association formed on July 9, 1960 to represent the residents of the new island community. Wilson Hill Island is classified as an 'impoundment' island created as a result of flooding which, prior to inundation, was a small, hilly area along the shore of the St. Lawrence. The Association continues to steward wild life within the preserve and monitor water levels on the river.⁵⁷ In addition to the New York State Department of Conservation, the federal Fish and Wildlife Service, PANSY, and the Ontario-St. Lawrence Development Commission encouraged the participation of local organizations such as fish and game clubs.

In Canada the Commission established an Advisory Committee comprised of a biologist from the Department of Lands and Forests and representatives from the Canadian Wildlife Services. One of the Committee's initiatives was to set aside a goose sanctuary in the area that had been the north end of Aultsville. The idea was to create a sanctuary for the propagation and protection of geese, ducks, and other fish and fowl, and a place to rest and feed during the

⁵⁵ Tina Loo, "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007): 898, 900, 904.

⁵⁶ Macfarlane, 204.

⁵⁷ "Wilson Hill Association," accessed March 21, 2016, <http://www.wilsonhillassoc.com/history>.

spring and fall migrations. The sanctuary was also promoted by local citizens such as Raymond Casselmen on Ault Island, a rump of the former Aultsville created by the flooding. Commission Chairman, George Challies had been a former vice-chairman of Hydro and, having maintained a cordial relationship with his previous employer, Challies obtained the blessing of Hydro to suitably mark the area as a goose sanctuary and post 'No Trespassing' signs.⁵⁸

The sanctuary attracted the attention of the federal government as well as the international organization 'Ducks Unlimited' both of which asked if it was possible to control the water level within the sanctuary during the hatching season. Water levels, as we have seen, were an on-going sore point for the utilities but Hydro acquiesced to the Commission's proposal to build three small dikes to regulate level and flow within the sanctuary since it was a small and self-contained area far north of the main body of the power pool. In addition, the Commission's plans to dike the area provided the added benefit of a protected fishing and boating area sealed off from the lake.⁵⁹

The sanctuary proved to have a long and enduring life span. Having established the sanctuary in 1961, the Ontario-St. Lawrence Parks Commission and its successor, St. Lawrence Parks, in conjunction with the Ministry of Natural Resources, vastly expanded the mandate of the original goose sanctuary which is known today as the Upper Canada Migratory Bird Sanctuary. Made up of 9,000 hectares of land, it provides wildlife habitats for a variety of mammals, rodents, waterfowl and over 200 species of birds. It includes an interpretive centre, eight kilometres of hiking/biking trails kept open in winter for cross-country skiing and snow-shoeing with outdoor learning programs available for school groups from May to October.⁶⁰ Local residents eventually formed a volunteer organization, 'Friends of the Sanctuary', that works in concert with the parent organizations to develop programs, manage resources, raise funds, and, through hands-on volunteer efforts, keep the sanctuary open year-round.⁶¹

The location of the sanctuary however has another, less positive, history. Part of it rests on the farm owned by interviewee Gordon Summers' grandfather and included both his grandfather's home and the house in which Gordon lived with his parents. Over the objection of Mr. Summers, the property was expropriated and both houses moved to Long Sault but when

⁵⁸ OPG. SLPP Series, Accession 91.123, Bin 11-10-192, Box 10. Geo. H. Challies to Otto Holden, Chief Engineer, Hydro Electric Power Commission of Ontario, July 15, 1959.

⁵⁹ Ontario Power Generation Corporate Records Office. SLPP Series. Accession 91.123, Bin 11-10-192, Box 10. Geo. H. Challies to Otto Holden, December 11, 1959; Otto Holden to G.H. Challies, December 17, 1959.

⁶⁰ "Camping & Beaches: Bird Sanctuary," accessed March 6, 2016, <http://www.stlawrenceparks.com/bird-sanctuary/>.

⁶¹ "The Friends of the Sanctuary," accessed March 6, 2016, <http://www.friendsofthesanctuary.org/index.html>.

the flooding was complete, this particular parcel of land had remained above the water. That his family farm was unnecessarily expropriated still upsets Gordon.⁶²

Like Gordon Summers, Stan and Laura Wells said that although they would have lost some land, they would still have preferred to stay on the farm and just move the house to the back of the property which remained above the flood line. As a matter of fact, Laura pointed out that in low water years she can still walk out to the foundation of her former home. The Wells viewed their expropriation as a consequence of greed in that the Parks Commission paid Hydro a great deal of money to obtain this land for parks. As Stan Wells explained it, "They wouldn't have had to move out the house as far as from here to that house across the road. Well, now they've got the camping grounds there."⁶³ When asked how she felt about being unable to go back home, Laura replied that life was never the same in the new towns because "you had too many ties there you know."⁶⁴ What these and the following stories show was that the pre-eminent need for hydro-electric power eclipsed the function of place in personal and community identity and speaks to issues of state authority. As Tina Loo and Meg Stanley saw it:

"Historians have come to understand the spurt of dam building during this period as a manifestation of an ideology characteristic of a particular moment in global history – what the anthropologist James C. Scott calls 'high modernism' which was characterized by a belief in the power of state-sponsored megaprojects – big projects informed by scientific expertise and rational planning – to deliver social benefit on a broad scale. According to Scott, reconfiguring society for the better began with a nearly limitless ambition to transform nature to suit man's purposes. Indeed the desire to transform the biophysical world."⁶⁵

The Power Project submerged the landscape along the river to create the electricity synonymous with wealth. The destruction foregrounded the construction and, as time and perspective increasingly emphasized the loss of disappeared space, the yearning for some connectedness with the past increased. The time-space compression established a new space wherein the former residents reassumed an agency over their history that they had forfeited in the 1950s. Identity became equated with lost place and the sacralization of that place confirmed

⁶² Gordon and Alana Summers. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, November 11, 2015.

⁶³ LVHS Archives. Stan and Laura Wells, Long Sault, December 19, 1977.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Tina Loo and Meg Stanley, "An Environmental History of Progress: Damming the Peace and Columbia River," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92/3 (September 2011), 401.

its importance and hence, strengthened their sense of attachment to the disappeared landscape.⁶⁶

Mrs. McLellan, who had lived in Mille Roches for thirty-five years, clearly articulated this pre-eminence of place: "it's quite something to move the old home like that and have to pull up roots."⁶⁷ She said that the very day after she had moved, Hydro had demolished all the out buildings on the property and cut all the trees in their back yard and concluded "it gave you kind of a cold feeling."⁶⁸ When asked if the McLellans had been satisfied with the price they received for their home, Mrs. McLellan admitted, "It was more than the value of the house, but it wasn't more than the upheaval of your home [...] we would have never moved otherwise."⁶⁹

Keitha and George Raymond described similar feelings for their farm on Sheek Island. Keitha recalled hearing the boom down at Maple Grove the day they first broke the sod for the Project (August 10, 1954). She said she sat down and cried because she did not think it could really happen and then "it just went from bad to worse. They came snooping around. They were there an awful lot at our place. They expropriated us. Then the last year they cut our fences, cut our trees [...] burned the trees. Oh, it was awful. I liked it there. It was beautiful."⁷⁰

Although the Raymonds were permanent residents on Sheek Island, apparently cottagers felt the same way about losing the island to the Project. Jean Beattie described growing up with the sound of the ships' fog horns. She maintained that she felt badly about the way the Project was handled, "almost like somebody come in here, in your own back yard and saying, well that's it [...] I almost fantasized that I would wake up tomorrow and it will all be gone. That it was just a bad dream."⁷¹ She pointed out that with the kind of power vested in Hydro it felt like an army coming in and changing the face of the land. "It broke many hearts. A lot of people are very sad about it. Our cottage on Island 17 was much bigger and nicer but the atmosphere we loved so much is no longer there."⁷²

Just as Jean Beattie missed the sound of the fog horns, Laura Snetsinger missed the advantage of her home in Dickinson's Landing being right beside the river. She also missed having the old highway as the main street running through the village. Many of the former

⁶⁶ Kay J. Anderson, "The Idea of Chinatown: The Power of Place and Institutional Practice in the Making of a Racial Category," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 77/4 (December 1987), 580-598, 583, 587, 594.

⁶⁷ LVHS Archives. Mr. and Mrs. A. McLellan, interviewed by Pam Robertson. Cornwall, Ontario, December 12, 1977.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ LVHS Archives. George and Keitha Raymond. Interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, January 24, 1978.

⁷¹ LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas). Interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977.

⁷² Ibid.

residents expressed this same sentiment that the Old Number Two Highway acted as the heart of village life.⁷³ As Lena McLaren put it, “We were right on the highway and the roads were just as open as they are now [...] sometimes I wonder if it was all as necessary [...] whether the expense all totalled, all around was warranted for the outcome of the whole thing.”⁷⁴

American anthropologist Setha M. Low has postulated that, rather than solely experiential, space/place is a symbolic relationship with a multidimensional character which has geographic and ideological overtones and, where there is loss or destruction, the idea of place supersedes location so that the bond with the idea becomes paramount. Low posited that the meanings associated with place become layered through time with previous meanings overshadowed by the memory of the meaning, giving rise to an imagined place in the effort to maintain continuity. Although the sense of place attachment has been disrupted physically, the memory persists. The materiality of place becomes less significant than its symbolic representation and the attachments so created become more immediate than any located place.⁷⁵

In his work on the historical geography of space and time, David Harvey pointed out that the materiality that underlies space and time is in constant flux. He drew upon deindustrialization where the physical disintegration of the landscape symbolizes the destruction of a way of life, viewing it as a process of creative destruction. He theorizes that new and modified versions of the landscape entail a radical change that he calls time-space compression; the catalyst for new social dynamics. As the compression intensifies, Harvey noted a scrambling to retain pieces of place that maintain some relationship with former incarnations.⁷⁶

Many of the people interviewed fixated upon the loss of the village trees. Their clear-cut left the villages looking desolate and forlorn prior to inundation and seemed to symbolize for them the desecration of space. Lena McLaren described coming back to Woodlands for a service in the old church one snowy December evening after the hamlet had been mostly razed. “It was a very dark night. There were absolutely no landmarks at all. It gave one a very strange feeling. The trees were all gone.”⁷⁷ Lawrence Andress described the destruction in Louisville

⁷³ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977; LVHS Archives. Lena McLaren. Interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, March 15, 1978.

⁷⁴ LVHS Archives. Lena McLaren. Interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, March 15, 1978.

⁷⁵ Setha M. Low, “Symbolic Ties that Bind,” in *Place Attachment*, eds. Irwin Altman and Setha M. Low (New York: Plenum Press, 1992).

⁷⁶ David Harvey, “Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination,” *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80/3 (September 1990).

⁷⁷ LVHS Archives. Lena McLaren. Interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, March 15, 1978.

Landing and the landscape just before flooding as there being “not a stick standing with all the cellars pushed in.”⁷⁸ A favoured tale that the residents like to relate is of the huge maple in Moulinette just south of the Lion Hotel that was something in the order of five hundred years old according to the ring count; it stood one hundred feet high and ten feet in diameter.⁷⁹ Lena McLaren said that it was taken down within half an hour and done up in cordwood. “It really was, I think, sad.”⁸⁰ Lyle Van Allen estimated that over the course of the Project almost 3,600 acres of timber were levelled and close to 11,000 trees cut down along fence lines.⁸¹

In May 1952 the Ontario government passed the St. Lawrence Development Act which outlined the procedures for handling the area affected by the power project. All sides agreed that these relocations provided an excellent opportunity to demonstrate the benefits of wise community planning, meaning modern. Re-routing the river, altering its depth, and regulating water levels constituted an exercise in land and riverscape engineering, with the coincident movement of people, the counterpart in social engineering. It was a perpetuation of the imperialistic mentality on the one hand and of colonial mentality on the part of the residents on the other.⁸²

⁷⁸ Lawrence Andress, Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Massena, New York, March 10, 2016.

⁷⁹ Lyle Van Allen. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Williamsburg, Ontario, February 17, 2016.

⁸⁰ LVHS Archives. Lena McLaren. Interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, March 15, 1978.

⁸¹ Lyle Van Allen. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Williamsburg, Ontario, February 17, 2016.

⁸² James Murton, *Creating a Modern Landscape: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007).



*Figure 3.6: The five hundred year old elm tree, Moulinette, Ontario, circa-1957.
Courtesy Ontario Power Generation*

Nevertheless, as Tina Loo has pointed out, “The social and environmental damage inflicted by high modernism in the second half of the twentieth century paved the way for the embrace of the local in the twenty-first century.”⁸³ She argues that James C. Scott’s synoptic view of high modernism ignores the multiple perspectives with which capitalism engages. Loo is optimistic that a broader vision and better planning by the state that accommodates human diversity in meaningful ways could produce a better result in terms of megaprojects.⁸⁴ Unfortunately, the “unequal amounts of power”⁸⁵ between the Project’s corporate sponsors and those displaced left only places of defamiliarization. The constructed environment on the river is a foreign place to its former inhabitants bearing no resemblance to the pre-inundation landscape. Occupying the convivial space that had been home, farm, or village, these enormous structures obliterated all previous presence on the river making the past unrecognizable. The Seaway story more closely resembled James Murton’s idea that the state seeks to blend technology with nature to mutually benefit society and the environment with the instrumentalist view that nature’s utility lies with its potential to meet societal demand.⁸⁶

H.V. Nelles maintained that the interventionist state typically reserves to itself proprietary control over natural resources and technological change to provide a fertile environment for the growth of business which, in turn, cooperates with the state to garner government approval for projects of resource development.⁸⁷ Business interests thus compliment and extend paternalistic governmental promotion of territorial occupation that assumes authority over land and people.⁸⁸ American sociologist Sharon Zukin pointed out that it is these very market forces that, by changing the economic landscape, consequently, also transform the physical landscape and the sense of identity contingent upon the social relationships with that landscape in a process of “social, cultural, and political product of creative destruction.”⁸⁹

Ian McKay interpreted this as effectively abstracting nature from the picture while encouraging an instrumentalist view of it dedicated to the satisfaction of politically-induced and industry-dominated consumer needs. The upshot of this strengthened the power of the state by

⁸³ Tina Loo, “High Modernism, Conflict, and the Nature of Change in Canada: A Look at Seeing Like a State,” *The Canadian Historical Review* 97/ 1 (March 2016): 53.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.* 53, 55.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* 55.

⁸⁶ James Murton, *Creating a Modern Landscape: Liberalism and Land Resettlement in British Columbia* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 156.

⁸⁷ Margaret Prang, review of *The Politics of Development: Forest, Mines and Hydro-Electric Power in Ontario, 1849-1941*, by H. V. Nelles, *American Historical Review* 81 (1976): 223.

⁸⁸ George Altmeyer, “Three Ideas of Nature in Canada, 1893-1914,” in *Consuming Canada: Readings in Environmental History*, eds. Chad Gaffield and Pam Gaffield (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1995), 96-118.

⁸⁹ Sharon Zukin, *Landscapes of Power: from Detroit to Disney* (University of California Press, 1991), 5.

influencing public perceptions to align them more closely with its own objectives.⁹⁰ Symbolically, the Seaway Valley became the birth place of North American post-war technology and the icon of international cooperation. The technological sublime swallowed the small-town, semi-rural identity pre-empting local sensibilities and, on this cross of the fabulous and the marvelous, sacrificed previous personal history.

In retrospect the Power Project was a well-intentioned attempt to reconfigure space, place, land, and people within a 1950-style framework that offered those who embraced it the advantages associated with modern science and technology. Its sponsors were thoroughly convinced that by manipulating the environment, they could marry technology to nature with great benefit to two nations. Writing in 1964, Leo Marx interrogated the political hierarchy that directed technological advancement and its interface with the environment pitting the military-industrial complex of the United States against that of the former Soviet Union. It was an early effort at querying the popular misconception of the omnipotence of technology just as America started to emerge from the galloping hubris of the 1950s that had characterized American technological thought following World War II.⁹¹ The political articulation by the two super powers of the twentieth century emanating from, as Tina Loo termed it “the overblown rhetoric of the time”⁹² had substituted conceptions of technology as a raging, out-of-control beast with the idea that specific, political choices gave rise to the beneficial end products of technology.

⁹⁰ Ian McKay, "The Liberal Order Framework: A Prospectus for a Reconnaissance of Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review* 81/3 (September 2000), 617-645.

⁹¹ Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (London, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), 74, 114, 158-159, 168, 187, 192.

⁹² Tina Loo, "Disturbing the Peace: Environmental Change and the Scales of Justice on a Northern River," *Environmental History* 12 (October 2007), 899.

Chapter Four: The Lost Places

Memories of life before inundation are now inseparable from subsequent memories of the construction, modernization, and relocation that followed demonstrating what geographer Toby Butler described as “an affective bond between people and place”¹ that is ever-changing, and is more “complex than rigid conceptions of national or local identity.”² The social relationships of any place are informed by the trajectory of those relationships such that “the identity of a ‘place’ is always a becoming rather than a being.”³ The remembered places became hybridizations that speak to Doreen Massey’s notion of a “progressive sense of place.”⁴ The oral interviews conducted over the past fifty-eight years broaden the scope of this exercise by tapping into personal memory revealing how people felt at the time and how those feelings have evolved since then. In this chapter I argue that memories of the submerged places on the St. Lawrence represent a collage of places refracted through a disparate and sometimes discordant present. The interviews show that the former residents remember an undifferentiated time before inundation. Decades of lived memory and local stories are conflated into a single time that has become flattened by the changes their communities underwent. The initial framework for this interrogation of memory employs that of historical geographer Felix Driver and historian Raphael Samuel which has proven helpful in this analysis: “What is a place? How do places get formed, and how do people become attached to (and detached from) them?”⁵ Beyond these foundational questions, this thesis also probes how and why people remember these places and who it is that is remembering.

The Lost Villages Historical Society (“LVHS”) and, later its Museum, allowed those displaced in Ontario to reconnect with a lost way of life. Immediately upon its establishment in 1977, Fran Laflamme and the executive of the LVHS embarked on an oral history project to record the stories of former residents. They composed the questions they felt would best elicit vivid memories of the past and the Society members proceeded to conduct the interviews. The list of questions sought information about local employers, businesses, stores, village amusements, schools, social and religious life, family, and fondest memories. Three of the most

¹ Toby Butler, “Memoryscape: How Audio Walks Can Deepen Our Sense of Place by Integrating Art, Oral History and Cultural Geography,” *Geography Compass* 1/3 (2007): 366.

² *Ibid.*, 367.

³ Doreen Massey, “Places and their Pasts,” *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995): 186.

⁴ Doreen Massey, “Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place,” in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, eds. John Bird, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson and Lisa Tickner (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), 65.

⁵ Felix Driver and Raphael Samuel. “Rethinking the Idea of Place,” *History Workshop Journal*. 39 (Spring 1995): vi.

interesting questions asked those displaced what the long term legacy has been: (1) “Do you have vivid memories of the time of the Seaway and how did you feel about it? (2) Would you say it was a good thing that the Hydro did and the government allowed them to do or, in your opinion, could it have been avoided? (3) Have your children ever felt the loss or have they ever discussed any of this background with you?”⁶

The LVHS quickly built an archive of 123 audio interviews to create a record of what had been lost, how it happened, and the meaning people had ascribed to the loss both at the time and then again twenty years later. To raise funds for this project, the LVHS sold a limited edition set of plates, one for each village and a seventh, showing the Long Sault Rapids and Cornwall Canal. LVHS president Jim Brownell’s late brother, John, drew the historical sketches for reproduction on the plates. Jim reports that these plates are now coming back to the Museum on the secondary market furnishing more money to support its work. In addition, the LVHS received a Canada Council grant which allowed for transcription of the audio tapes.⁷ As Jim recalls, “This was the first project of the historical society. Those who worked on this project for the LVHS initially approached the seniors from the old towns, and then they branched out to interview couples with young families.”⁸ As far as Jim can remember, children were not interviewed at that time (late 1970s); however the children who grew up and lived through construction, relocation, and inundation (1954 to 1958) are now the adults and seniors in the new towns and have been the subjects of my own interviews over the past eight years. Akin to what Alexander Freund saw as one of the benefits of a multi-generational approach to interviewing, their interpretations of events on the Seaway in the 1950s bear a striking resemblance to those of their parents and grandparents.⁹ This LVHS project dealt with the communities that had been relocated to Long Sault, Ingleside, and immediate vicinity¹⁰ and did not include the survivor towns of Iroquois and Morrisburg.

Joy and sadness mingle in the interviews as individuals recall their lost childhood and youth in the riverside villages. For the young, the Power Project was an exciting time. As David Hill, formerly of Moulinette said, “The big moving machines and the excavations provided fascinating entertainment. So many exciting things were going on. Everyone talked about it at

⁶ LVHS Archives. Excerpted from transcriptions of the 123 audio interviews conducted by the LVHS in 1977 and 1978.

⁷ Jim Brownell, Email to Rosemary O’Flaherty, January 18, 2016.

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Alexander Freund, “A Canadian Family Talks About Oma’s Life in Nazi Germany: Three-Generational Interviews and Communicative Memory,” *Oral History Forum D’Histoire Orale*, Special Issue: Remembering Family, Analyzing Home: Oral History and the Family 29 (2009): 3.

¹⁰ Jim Brownell, Email to Rosemary O’Flaherty, January 18, 2016.

Church and it was a big topic in my grandfather's barber shop."¹¹ David recalled the novelty of having indoor plumbing in the new towns. In Moulinette, as he remembered it, most residents had running water only in the kitchen sink and most still used an outhouse.¹² The Power Project was the technological show piece of the 1950s and gave the residents a sense of embracing the modernity of the post-war era and being "on-lookers in one of the most important engineering schemes of the 1950s."¹³ While the Project infused the villages with a certain vitality, saying good-bye to their homes instilled a deep sense of loss in the interviewees.

Jim Millard's father had obtained employment on the Project so he saw it as his family's salvation and, being young at the time, described it as an adventure.¹⁴ Jack Fetterly believed ninety-nine percent of the people were satisfied while his wife, Ruth, said she "would never want to go through it again but wouldn't have missed it."¹⁵ Lyle Van Allen praised it for creating employment and wealth but also remembered it as "a time of chaos, particularly for housewives. There was mud, dust, dirt, and stones everywhere; it was impossible to keep the house clean. I've never been in a war zone but imagine this is just what it would look like."¹⁶ Jane Craig and Allan Rafuse echoed Van Allen's words; Craig described it as "life in a construction zone"¹⁷ while Rafuse remembered the trucks without mufflers that rumbled through the villages 23 hours a day.¹⁸

Studies of other inundated communities have revealed similar dissonant and contested memories and attachments. In his study of the damming of the Cascade River, resulting in the widening and deepening of Lake Minnewanka in Alberta, Matthew Evenden noted the ways in which subsequent recreational development of the area complicated public remembering where photographic displays and signage on site express nostalgia without acknowledging government and corporate responsibility. Lake Minnewanka, like the Lost Villages in Ontario, has become a popular scuba diving site for those interested in the ghostly underwater remains

¹¹ David Hill, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, November 13, 2015.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Clive Marin and Frances Marin, *Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 1945-1978* (Belleville, Ontario: Mika Publishing Company, 1982), 20.

¹⁴ David Jones Productions. *A River Lost: The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. KAV Productions Video & Multimedia, interview with Jim Millard, 2006.

¹⁵ Ibid., interview with Jack and Ruth Fetterly, 2006.

¹⁶ Lyle Van Allen, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Williamsburg, On, February 10, 2016.

¹⁷ David Jones Productions, interview with Jane Craig and Allan Rafuse, 2006.

¹⁸ Rafuse is not exaggerating. The construction vehicles operated 23 hours a day with only one hour of down time for maintenance.

of Minnewanka Landing.¹⁹ British geographer David Pinder interpreted this fascination with the ghostly as an excavation of the past that gives substance to vanished people and places where vacillating memories “redefine the relationship between place-identity and self-identity.”²⁰

In addition to the LVHS collection of interviews, I have conducted eighteen formal interviews in Canada and another ten in the U.S. The oral interviews that have been conducted in New York are mainly attributable to historian Claire Puccia Parham who sought to map the memories of the Project workers, many of whom had come to the North Country specifically for that reason but had no previous knowledge of life in Franklin and St. Lawrence counties. The only community on the U.S. shore lost in its entirety was Louisville Landing, the single American ‘Lost Village.’ Locating those displaced from this village has been a daunting task but I was able to locate at least one person from Louisville Landing who had lost his home to the Seaway.

These interviews led to a plethora of emails, phone calls, and informal chats with people who had lost their homes and land to the Seaway. Particularly helpful were the monthly LVHS meetings, its annual Christmas luncheons, and Annual General Meetings where I was fortunate to listen to, and absorb, the round-table discussions of life in the former villages. On summer afternoons while I conducted research in the LVHS Museum’s Forbes Memorial Reading Room, previous inhabitants would drift in and sit around the central table swapping stories from pre-inundation days which proved to be another valuable source of information. The LVHS bus tours added a further oral dimension to my research as tour guides Mary Lynn Alguire and Jim Brownell had grown up in Mille Roches and Moulinette respectively and needed no notes to narrate the four-hour tours.

I also relied on information obtained from the oral interviews of other authors such as Claire Puccia-Parham, Carleton Mabee, Daniel Macfarlane, Rosemary Rutley, and Maggie Wheeler. Several multi-media productions contributed greatly to the oral bank of information. On Joy Parr’s web site *Lost scapes: Visiting Old Iroquois* we simultaneously see the homes and hear the voices, stories, and memories of many of those who were moved from old to new Iroquois.²¹ The CBC’s documentary *St. Lawrence Seaway: Let the flooding begin* filmed on August 15, 1954 provides insight to the residents’ fears and expectations just as the Power

¹⁹ Matthew Evenden, “Immersed: Landscaping the Past at Lake Minnewanka,” in *Placing Memory and Remembering Place in Canada*, eds. James Opp and John C. Walsh (Vancouver, Toronto: UBC Press, 2010), 249.

²⁰ David Pinder, “Ghostly Footsteps: Voices, Memories and Walks in the City,” *Cultural Geographies* 8.1 (2001): 8, 15.

²¹ Joy Parr and Jon van der Veen, *Lost scapes: Visiting Old Iroquois*; accessed May 31, 2016, http://megaprojects.uwo.ca/iroquois/OldIroquois_content.html.

Project was about to begin²² while David Jones' DVD, *A River Lost: The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway* showcases a wealth of interviews with people from the lost communities and, in particular, Iroquois and Morrisburg, reminiscing about the towns as they were prior to the flooding.²³

The voices of the former inhabitants heard in this chapter are accompanied by images. Without the voices, however, the images on the following pages would communicate little more than a collection of small towns in the 1950s anywhere in North America. The words of the interviewees provide the specific context for the photographs so that the stories that follow should be read in conjunction with the photographs to grasp, as Heather McNabb put it, "the minutiae that makes history come alive."²⁴ As art historian Joan M. Schwartz has argued, photographs and text (in this case, the voices) compliment each other and work in tandem to overcome a wholly one-sided perspective.²⁵ The interchange and flow between image and voice creates the 'sustaining conversation' of which Martha Langford has written and opens a space in which dialogue with the past can foster memories that coalesce into a coherent meaning.²⁶

Some of the photographs are iconic such as the bathing beach on Sheek's Island symbolizing summer entertainment. Others freeze the villages at moments in time redolent with nostalgia for the past. The LVHS has collected thousands of images from a variety of sources and continues to encourage photographic deposits at the Museum. In addition to various public and private sources of memorial material and, perhaps more intriguing, are the personal archives that exist in attics and basements. Not catalogued anywhere, these were not in evidence in the early years of my research but as I developed relationships with the former residents, gradually they opened their personal archives. David Hill shared with me the documents and maps his father kept from Project days when he was responsible for cataloguing information from the United Church cemetery in Moulinette before its removal. Annie Runions treated me to her 35 mm slide show of old Maple Grove and Alan Daye walked me through the artifacts he and his father had collected before the flooding. In the U.S., the Mitchell family, Bob Breen, Julie Madlin, Larry Address, and Barb Douglass provided me with stories, artifacts, maps

²² CBC Digital Archives. *St. Lawrence Seaway: Let the flooding begin*, August 15, 1954; accessed May 31, 2016, <http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1826349772>.

²³ David Jones Productions. *A River Lost: The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. (KAV Productions Video & Multimedia: 2006).

²⁴ Heather McNabb, "Visions of Canada: Photographs and History in a Museum, 1921-1967" (PhD diss., Concordia University, 2015), 8.

²⁵ Joan M. Schwartz "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies" *Journal of Historical Geography* 22/1 (Jan 1996): 36.

²⁶ Martha Langford, *Suspended Conversations: The Afterlife of Memory in Photographic Albums* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2008), 5.

and photographs of the landscape as it was changed by the Power Project. The late Dalton Foster of Wilson Hill Island had a wonderful archive of pictures, newspaper clippings, and source documents from PASNY. These personal ‘finds’ were, as Katrina Srigley and Stacey Zembrzycki have said, a democratization of the archive for this research project.²⁷

In the intervening decades since inundation, there has been a sedimentation process, not only in the river, but in memory as well. Its silting up over time has blurred the character of the disappeared communities in a welter of recollections, not at one particular moment in time, but as a composite of social and communal relationships that view the loss in the 1950s through a wide-angled lens that captures the flavour of life in these places long before the coming of the Seaway. Two unifying symbols that all interviewees identified were the St. Lawrence River and the Canadian National Railway’s ‘Moccasin’ train, both of which linked most of the villages and towns.

The river had provided food and employment. As Larry Andress said, “the river fed us as kids.”²⁸ The families in Louisville Landing tended to be large and folks did whatever they could to earn money. Families took what they needed to eat and sold the rest. Before the Project, Sturgeon were plentiful in the river, some measuring eight feet in length and weighing up to two-hundred pounds. These large fish were the currency with which the locals paid bills. Many were sold in the Lake Champlain and Finger Lakes regions to feed the tourists although most were sold further downstate.²⁹

The river was also the village’s main source of entertainment. As Larry said, “it was our toy. We were never bored as there was always something on the river to occupy us.”³⁰ Very few of the children in the village had a bicycle but almost all had a boat. He recalled the 1937 Chevy Coup to which the local youth attached a plough that they would push and drag over the river ice to clear a place for winter sports often adding ropes to the car so they could pull skis and toboggans. In addition, they had Skeet’s Beach at the Landing; a lovely, natural beach that predated the Project’s artificial but well-manicured beaches.³¹

The St. Lawrence River afforded a living to some of the Seaway Valley inhabitants although few of these river-related occupations provided wide-spread employment. Each of the locks along the river had a lock master but all of the locks, except Iroquois, disappeared to the American side of the river upon completion of the Seaway. There was seasonal employment for

²⁷ Katrina Srigley and Stacey Zembrzycki, “Introduction,” *Oral History Forum D’Histoire Orale*, Special Issue: Remembering Family, Analyzing Home: Oral History and the Family 29 (2009): 13

²⁸ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.

²⁹ *Ibid.*

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ *Ibid.*

young men as deckhands on the lakers and canallers but these also disappeared as the international shipping lanes of the new Seaway were moved further out into the river and away from the coastal communities destroying the fabled ship-to-shore camaraderie of pre-Seaway days.³² In addition, small, but important industries like commercial fishing and ice-cutting were drastically reduced by the changes in the river's aquatic life and rate of flow.

Other river-related occupations prior to the Power Project were the several ferry crossings between Ontario and New York which employed local people on a seasonal basis. In the summer months, there was a ferry crossing between Morrisburg, Ontario and Waddington, New York, with a stop at Broder Island just off-shore from Morrisburg which Lyle Van Allen described as a favourite meeting place for Canadians and Americans.³³ There were two ferry services across the two mile expanse of river to Louisville Landing, New York: one at Farran's Point and another at Aultsville. The Aultsville ferry had begun as a horse-powered affair, transitioned later to carry cars. "There were two or three scows pulled by motorboats in Canada and another three run from the American side. On Sunday cars lined up 1.5 miles [...] same at night coming back. Lots of Americans came over and there were lots of bootleggers passing through to get liquor in Quebec."³⁴



Figure 4.1: Nelson Road (aka Aultsville Road) ends at the government dock, centre-left. The small building to the right of the dock is the government freight warehouse/customs house. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

³² David Jones Productions. *A River Lost: The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. KAV Productions Video & Multimedia, interview with Alan Rafuse, 2006.

³³ Lyle Van Allen, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Williamsburg, Ontario, February 10 2016

³⁴ LVHS Archives. Frank Jarvis, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 15, 1977.

Until 1937 the government had maintained a dock and warehouse in Aultsville which also served as a customs house. This small port was important to the local merchants as the side-wheeler, *Britannic*, made port with packaged freight well into the twentieth century. When the government abandoned Aultsville as a port-of-call, the dock became a favoured swimming spot. Don Paice tells how Minerva Ault (better known as Aunt Min) and her husband Donald (Pappy) Ault renovated the little custom house, making it their home.³⁵ Recalling the long defunct warehouse serves to keep alive the memory of Aultsville as having once been a thriving port as well as a spot of convivial gatherings.



Figure 4.2: Mille Roches Power House, Mille Roches, Ontario, circa 1954. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Prior to the Project there had been a number of small generating stations along the river, supplying limited electricity to the villages, that employed a few people.³⁶ Niagara Mohawk had owned power rights on Barnhart Island at the south terminal of what would become the new dam, as well as on Long Sault Island and it was not planning to go away silently any time soon. It sued PASNY on behalf of the 4.5 acres expropriated on the two islands to the tune of \$14.5

³⁵ Don Paice, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Ault Island, Ontario, October 2, 2015.

³⁶ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

million. PASNY Chairman Robert Moses reacted strongly, “This is an outrageous, absurd, unconscionable claim and we must resist it with no holds barred by the use of every resource available.”³⁷ The U.S. District Court found in favour of PASNY on the basis that the federal treaties relating to the alienation of Indigenous lands were “found to present no bar to the exercise of eminent domain [...] there is no adequate reason why the taking by defendants of the land in dispute should not be confirmed.”³⁸ Between 1954 and 1958 Hydro closed all the small power houses between Cornwall and Cardinal as they would be replaced by the new generating station at the Moses-Saunders dam, translating into a loss of employment to those who had relied upon them for income.³⁹ Among those lost was the power sub-station at Maple Grove, the site of the new power house.

Ken Runions’ father had been the superintendent at the Maple Grove sub-station so that the Runions family occupied one of the four or five brick houses belonging to Hydro.⁴⁰ Ernie’s Hotel was located just east of Maple Grove right near the Hydro houses up and around the corner, better known as Dead Man’s curve, and was known as “a big spot to go and drink.”⁴¹ For a long time Ernie’s did not have running water but only an outside well and pump and, “As young people at our Hydro house we looked forward to the Saturday night bath as this would be the time that Ernie and family would come to our house to use the bath and shower. He always had a treat with him for us.”⁴² But then, “the Seaway and Power Project made all this history. Gone ... but not forgotten.”⁴³ Such memories demonstrate the close-knit and familial nature of the communities in the years before the Project.⁴⁴ This speaks to memories that long predate the coming of the Seaway conjuring up images of a past history that the interviewees perceived as having been abrogated by the Power Project.

³⁷ OPG. SLPP Series, Bin 11-10-91, Box 9 of 67, File Power Authority of the State of New York.

³⁸ 164 F. Supp. 107 (1958). TUSCARORA NATION OF INDIANS, also known as Tuscarora Indian Nation, Plaintiff, v. POWER AUTHORITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK, Robert Moses, and Superintendent of Public Works of The State of New York, John W. Johnson, Defendants. Civ. A. 7844. United States District Court W. D. New York. June 24, 1958, accessed April 24, 2016, <http://law.justia.com/cases/federal/district-courts/FSupp/164/107/1457106/>.

³⁹ Rosemary Rutley, *Voices from the Lost Villages* (Maxville, Ontario: Casa Maria Publications, 1998), 101, 112-113, 121-122.

⁴⁰ Rutley, 115; LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977.

⁴¹ LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978; Ken Runions to Rosemary Rutley in Rutley, 119; LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977.

⁴² Ken Runions to Rosemary Rutley in Rutley, 119.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Ibid.



Figure 4.3: Ernie's Hotel, Maple Grove, Ontario, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

By the end of World War II, the automotive industry was booming and tourism expanded. With the river as a recreational resource and being a stone's throw from the metropolitan areas of Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto, the villages became a reasonably popular tourist draw. Not only were they a convenient and picturesque picnic stop for through-traffic between Montreal and Toronto, they were an attractive vacation destination offering boating, water sports, and fishing at a reasonable price. Catering to the tourist trade, garages and service stations flourished along the Front. There were several in Mille Roches, one at either end of Moulinette and even tiny Farran's Point had at least one service station. Aultsville had several including Sanford Wells' Ford dealership, the name of the dealership surviving to the present day.

The three small hamlets of Maple Grove, Woodlands, and Santa Cruz, all being ribbon settlements along the Old Number Two Highway, took advantage of their strategic location right beside the river and on the main Montreal-Toronto thoroughfare. Service stations, snack bars,

ice-cream stands, and a healthy tourist-cabin industry developed.⁴⁵ Rosemary Rutley had spent much of her childhood in Woodlands and described the Camp-belle Cottages that were particularly popular with American tourists. “Ernest ‘Ern’ Campbell owned ‘Camp-Belle Cottages’, a row of white, riverside cabins and a booth where he sold ice cream and soft drinks.”⁴⁶ Frank Stillson owned the Stillson Cottages that catered to government employees coming in from Ottawa. Further west Ern’s brother, Cyril, had yet another cluster of cottages.⁴⁷ Rosemary maintained “The memory of the strip of Highway that was Woodlands will always be imprinted in my spirit.”⁴⁸ She speculated that after moving to the new towns, many of its former residents likely longed “to hear, just once more, the sound of their beloved river lapping against the shores of the land that was their true home. And no doubt they asked themselves over and over again if the move was worth it all.”⁴⁹

The two summer spots by the river favoured by the villagers were Farran Park and Sheek Island. Farran Park, located right beside Lock 22, was a popular spot for boating and fishing and the villagers enjoyed watching the boats lock through at Farran’s Point on a Sunday afternoon.⁵⁰ Harriet Donnelly, who lived just east of Farran’s Park, recalled the small pavilion in the park where they used to dance. “Oh yes, it was lovely, just lovely there. In the summer there was a booth where they sold ice cream and soft drinks. And on Sunday afternoon, most everybody went to the park. And the kids love it. [...] In the evenings the young folks would have dancing and there would be someone with some kind of music there.”⁵¹

Beatrice Black remembered Sheek Island more nostalgically, “It was real nice, of course we didn’t have crowds like you have today. We’ve got some nice spots here but you can’t get near the water, the river. I bet you’ve heard of the park on Sheek’s Island. There used to be big crowds there. Not today. It’s completely changed! It’s completely different, different, from the best to the worst.”⁵² This underscores a difference in perspective between what the villagers had enjoyed before the Power Project and how the coming of the Seaway changed it. There is a

⁴⁵ LVHS Archives. Katie Mullin, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Long Sault, Ontario, March 9, 1978.; Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978; Sally Marcellus, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977; Mrs. Addie Markell (formerly Hickey, nee Cramer), April 17, 1978.; Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977; Ken Runions to Rosemary Rutley, in Rutley, 116.

⁴⁶ Rutley, 51.

⁴⁷ Rutley, 51-53.

⁴⁸ Rutley, 55.

⁴⁹ Rutley, 55.

⁵⁰ LVHS Archives. Shirley Wells, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

⁵¹ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

⁵² LVHS Archives. Beatrice Black, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

sense of nostalgia for what had been but there is also a hint of yearning for lost youth that may have had little to do with the Project.

The pleasure of summering on Sheek's Island is a common theme in the interviews. About twelve families had lived permanently on the Island with about 60 summer cottages.⁵³ One of the few full-time residents was Wilfred Raymond, a self-sufficient farmer with cows for milk, beef and butter, pigs for pork; a large garden, an apple orchard, wild berry bushes, and a maple sugar bush so they did not suffer any shortages during the Depression. His wife, Ruby, related a humorous story about rationing during the Second World War when inspectors came to their house searching for sugar and maple syrup. Mr. Raymond hid the maple syrup by lifting the sod from an area in the bush, hiding the syrup in the hole and replacing the sod."⁵⁴

The Interviewer asked Jean Beattie if there was a class distinction on the Island and if it was considered a status symbol to have a cottage there to which Jean replied "Oh, Yes, very much so, very much so [...] the big status thing was to have a cottage on the head of Sheek Island." When asked if the people at the head of the island were mostly professional people, Jean answered, "Yes, yes, yes, yes, the minister from St. John's Church, the doctors and most people who thought they were something were at the head. The foot was more forest. It was an island that was very high out of the water. You had to go way down an embankment. The cottages were almost on a cliff type of thing. They had to build steps down the embankment for us to get to the river. Very picturesque, with the water. Yes, you betcha."⁵⁵

⁵³ LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977; Ruby Raymond, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde and Sylvia Ashby, December 9, 1977.

⁵⁴ LVHS Archives. Ruby Raymond, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde and Sylvia Ashby, December 9, 1977.

⁵⁵ LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977.

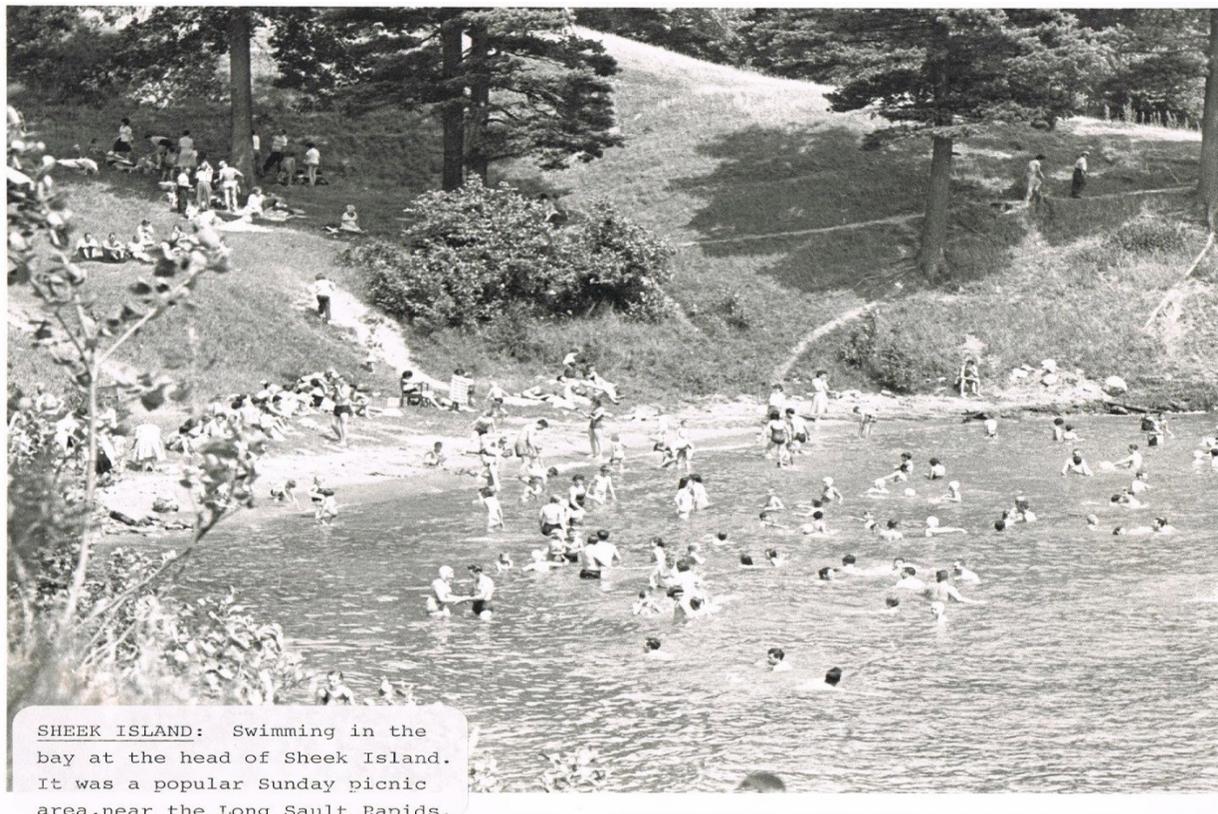


Figure 4.4 Sheek Island beach. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Although Sheek Island was shared by different classes of people, they seemed to coexist. What is missing from the narrative are the memories of the professional class on the island of which Jean Beattie spoke. Who were these people and why were they not interviewed? Was the exclusion deliberate? Jean Beattie believed that those who “had more years on the ground”⁵⁶ or whose family cottages had been handed down over the years received the choicest spots on Island 17 (Moulinette Island), which along with Island 1 (Ault Island), were Hydro’s replacement site for the cottages on Sheek and Steen Islands.⁵⁷ This appears to be a contested opinion however. Percy Johnston had run a general store-cum-boarding house in Mille Roches. We have previously encountered both his son, interviewee, Doug Johnston, and his daughter, the LVHS Tour Bus Guide, Mary Lynn Alguire. Mary Lynn is adamant that her father was neither a rich man nor a professional and his cottage on Sheek Island was not hereditary. Nevertheless, the Johnston cottage was one of those skidded across

⁵⁶ LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

the ice by Hydro in the winter of 1957.⁵⁸ This is a good example of what Katrina Srigley and Stacey Zembrzycki call “exploring the conflicts of interpretation that can occur when working with oral sources.”⁵⁹

Like the river, the Moccasin was another unifying symbol throughout the villages. This local train, operated first by the Grand Trunk and later by the CNR, ran daily except Sundays between Montreal and Brockville for 103 years.⁶⁰ At a time when few secondary schools existed in the villages, students rode the Moccasin morning and night to attend classes in Cornwall. Bess Whiteside recalled the high school children from Moulinette “used to go down in the morning around 7:30 or 8:00 o’clock on the Moccasin and came back on the train at night. Lots of times it would be 9 o’clock at night before the children got home.”⁶¹



Figure 4.5: The Moccasin heading west out of Mille Roches Station, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

⁵⁸ Field Notes. Rosemary O’Flaherty. Conversations with Mary Lynn Alguire July 27, 2010.

⁵⁹ Srigley and Zembrzycki, 9.

⁶⁰ Maurice J. Lafontaine, *The Railways of Cornwall (Ontario, Canada) Before Y2K* (Cornwall, On: Maurice J. Lafontaine, 2000), 85; The nickname ‘Moccasin’ is surrounded by a bit of local folklore. Apparently the residents of Kahnawake coming upriver to raft timber and those at Akwesasne returning home after a rafting trip frequently used the train to reach their respective destinations. Legend has it that they removed their moccasins to dry out by the train heaters and, hence, the name.

⁶¹ LVHS Archives. Bess Whiteside interviewed by Pam Robertson, Long Sault, Ontario, March 7, 1978.

Doug Johnston's memories coincide with the Cornwall/Massena earthquake of 1944.

"The only time I rode the Moccasin to go to school in the morning was the year of the earthquake. Classes had to be staggered in order to get all the students to school and still leave parts of the school where the men could work at it. So we started class at 8 and went through without any recess or lunch hour to whatever time it was that another section of students would come [...] and this is how they were able to keep the school going without closing down completely to fix it up after the earthquake."⁶²

It provided one of the main means of transport village-to-village prior to the wide diffusion of the automobile.⁶³ The train picked up and delivered milk, cargo, and mail at the various whistle stops between its two terminals. Commerce, however, was not its only function as it was used for family outings and shopping trips but, mostly, it was the central organizing event of the village day. Rosemary Rutley remembers that, "Families would leave their supper tables and run to the Railway Station each evening to watch the old Moccasin come in."⁶⁴ Allan and Harriet Donnelly from Farran's Point recalled that everyone gathered at the post office in the station to get the evening mail. She called it "the big 'do' in Farran's Point."⁶⁵

At an LVHS meeting in November of 2015, Alan Daye related how the present day Moccasin Railway Club invited some residents from St. Regis⁶⁶ to share their memories of the Moccasin. They began by good-naturedly saying that they should have guessed that a 'bunch of white men' would never be able to pronounce the name of the train properly ... 'Mogg-asin' not 'Mock-asin.' It has become a point of honour amongst the Club members now to use the 'Moggasin' pronunciation and, after Alan shared this at the Lost Villages Historical Society meeting, its members have also begun using 'Moggasin.'⁶⁷ This is a sign of the changing times and attitudes toward indigenous people. Early settlers had incorporated First Nations words into their vocabulary, anglicizing them in the process. In researching this project, for example, most pre-1970 literature anglicizes the village of Kahnawake as Caugnawaga. As the Mohawk Nation has increasingly taken possession of its mother tongue, it has begun to demand, and has received, more correct pronunciations from its settler neighbours.

⁶² LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

⁶³ Lafontaine, 85.

⁶⁴ Rutley, 87.

⁶⁵ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978

⁶⁶ The St. Regis Reserve is not on the GTR/CNR railway line but it is located directly across from Cornwall. Folks from St. Regis boarded the train in Cornwall and rode up to Brockville to raft timber down to Montreal then re-boarded in Montreal for the trip back to Cornwall.

⁶⁷ Alan Daye to the Lost Villages Historical Society Meeting, November 11, 2015.

At this same meeting of the LVHS, Graeme Roy, the curator at the Railway Museum of Eastern Ontario related a rather elegiac story associated with the Moccasin's last run on August 9, 1958 when "the magnificent train made her final run, her steam whistle cutting the silence of the Lost Villages already under water."⁶⁸ Each evening when the train made its last trip up to Brockville, it was customary as the train departed each stop for the Station Master to call ahead to the next with the words, 'Permission to close for the night.' On the night of its final run, one Station Master altered that familiar hand-off with 'Permission to close forever.'⁶⁹ Alan ended by saying that the sound of the Moccasin's whistle will always remain in memory.⁷⁰

The places along the St. Lawrence lie thirty to sixty feet under the water and the people who once lived there have vanished but what did these places look like and who were the people that called it home? Where did they work, go to school, and worship? Where did they play and socialize? What was life like before inundation? To answer these questions, we will hear the voices of the former residents describing life in the villages accompanied by images that will capture life before inundation as remembered years later.

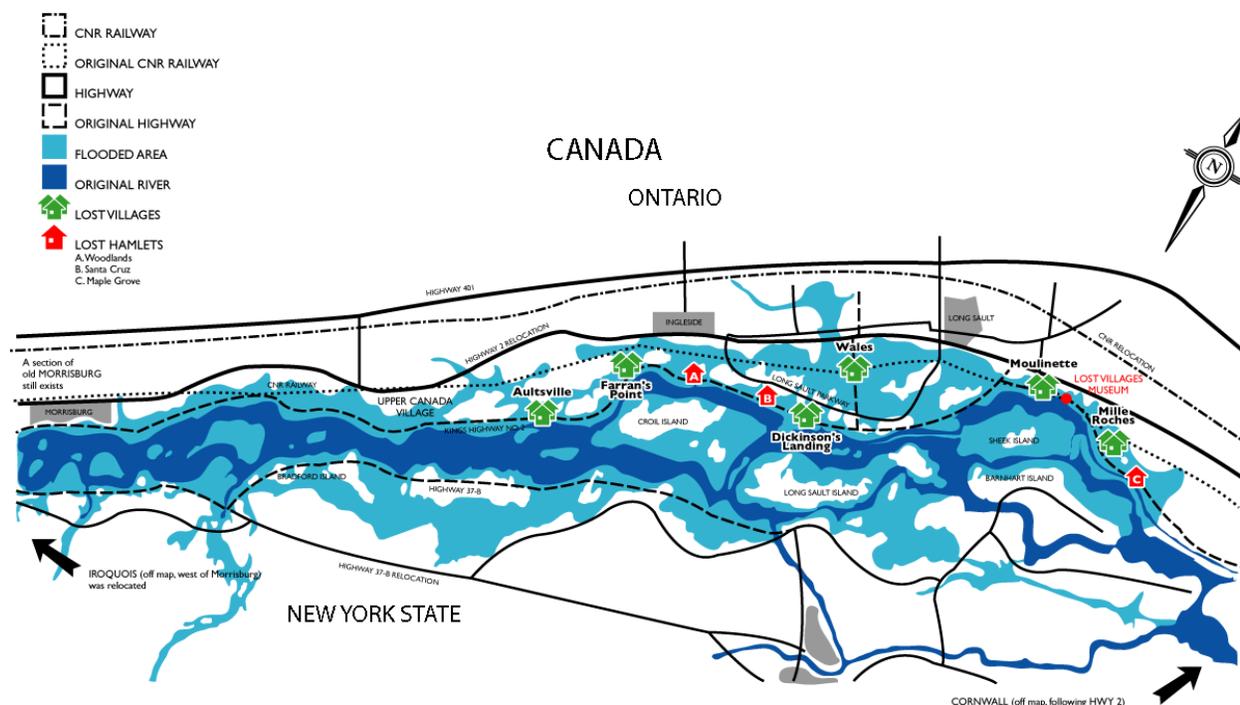


Figure 4.6: Map of Canadian villages and towns. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

⁶⁸ Rutley, 90.

⁶⁹ Graeme Roy to the Lost Villages Historical Society Meeting, November 11, 2015.

⁷⁰ Alan Daye to the Lost Villages Historical Society Meeting, November 11, 2015.

Most of the settlements on the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence were founded by United Empire Loyalists who arrived during and shortly after the American Revolution. Sir John Johnson was responsible for raising the two battalions that formed the King's Royal Regiment of New York ("Royal Yorkers") whose soldiers played a seminal role in establishing these river front communities.⁷¹ Maple Grove's first resident was Jeremiah French, a lieutenant in the Royal Yorkers who had emigrated from Vermont in 1784 after his property had been confiscated for supporting the British.⁷² Farran's Point and Aultsville were also Loyalist villages named for their founding families, the descendants of soldiers disbanded from the Royal Yorkers, who had carved living space out of the surrounding forest.⁷³

Further west, the Loyalists established the small village of West Williamsburg renamed Morrisburg in 1851 to honour James Morris, first Postmaster General of the United Province of Canada. Iroquois, the most westerly of the communities, took the name of its earliest inhabitants. Iroquois Point was a small, wooded ridge on the edge of the St. Lawrence where members of the Iroquois Confederacy had camped for hundreds of years prior to the coming of the Loyalist pioneers in 1784.⁷⁴

Both Moulinette and Mille Roches had French roots that predated the coming of the Loyalists, attesting to the long presence of the French along the river. Dickinson's Landing was originally called the Hoople Settlement for its first two Loyalist settlers, Henry and John Hoople but it had also known a previous incarnation dating back to 1669 as a trading post founded by the French explorer, René-Robert Cavelier, the Sieur de La Salle.⁷⁵ The hamlet of Santa Cruz undoubtedly has the most exotic provenance of the Canadian villages with its Spanish-sounding name. Apparently the name derives from Portuguese fisherman who may have used it as a camp site long before the Loyalists arrived.⁷⁶ The front of the counties that border the St. Lawrence then was largely ethnically homogenous. The majority were of Loyalist stock with a faint streak from the era of the French explorers. Nothing remains of the fabled Portuguese while any indigenous influence was confined to the community at St. Regis in the nineteenth century.

⁷¹ Rutley, introduction, ix.

⁷² Rutley, 113.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, 18-19.

⁷⁴ "The Lost Villages Historical Society – Iroquois," accessed April 24, 2016, <http://lostvillages.ca/history/the-lost-villages/iroquois/>; accessed June 12, 2016; "The Lost Villages Historical Society – Morrisburg," accessed June 12, 2016, <http://lostvillages.ca/history/the-lost-villages/morrisburg/>.

⁷⁵ Rutley, 57; Katherine Hale, "Historic Village by the Long Sault," in *Lights on the St. Lawrence*, ed. Jean L. Gogo (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1958), 144.

⁷⁶ "The Lost Villages Historical Society – Santa Cruz," accessed June 12, 2016, <http://lostvillages.ca/history/the-lost-villages/santa-cruz/>.

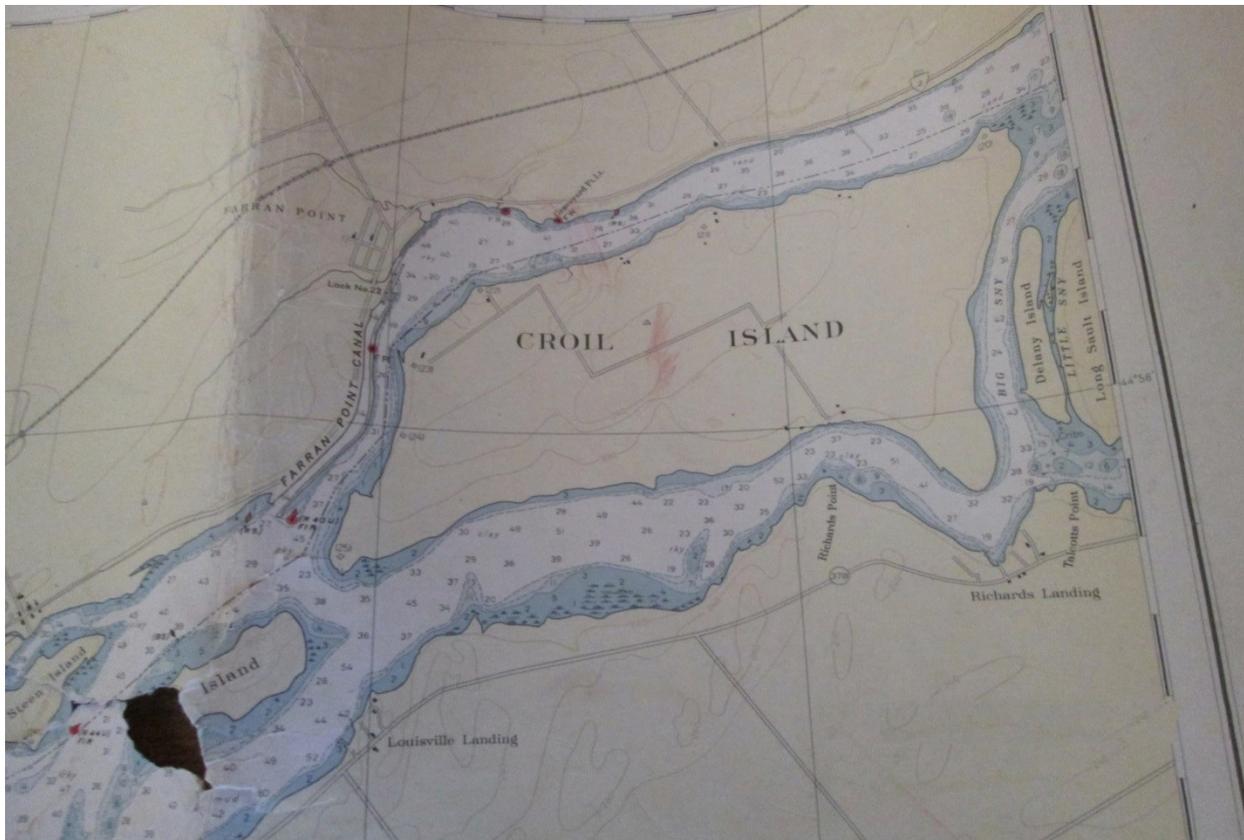
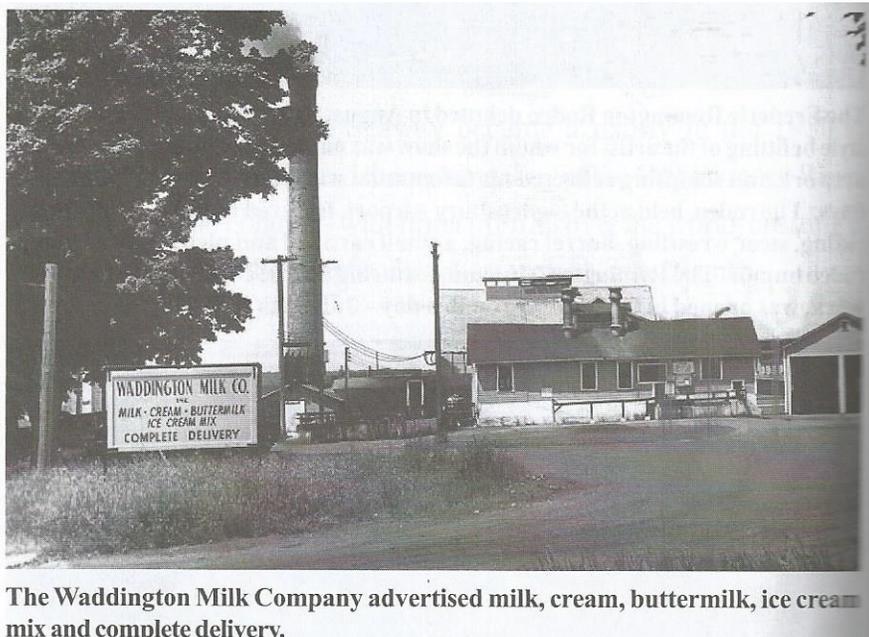


Figure 4.7: Croil Island, centre; Louisville Landing, bottom left, both located in New York. Note Farran's Point, centre-left, above Croil Island. Map: Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, U.S. Lake Survey, 1953. Courtesy Lawrence Andress, Massena, New York.

In the U.S., Louisville Landing had been settled for two-hundred years, originally as a farming community. Typically these were two-hundred acre dairy farms that shipped milk to the Waddington Condensed Milk Company and summered cattle on the American Croil Island which was much reduced by the flooding in 1958. At one time Croil had been home to berry farmers and orchards but these had been abandoned before World War II making it a plentiful source of food for the locals who continued to pick the berries and fruit that abounded. Apparently people still row over to the island and walk the decrepit remains of the island roads to obtain the fruit.⁷⁷ By the 1950s, although farming was still a viable occupation, many of the farmers supplemented their income with quasi-commercial fishing or employment at the Aluminum Company of America ("Alcoa") in Massena. Those who lived within the village limits, were either employed in one of the general stores or hotels but most also earned their living at

⁷⁷ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.

Alcoa. Larry Andress pointed out that a lucrative side line for many in the community was renting camps to summer tourists.⁷⁸



The Waddington Milk Company advertised milk, cream, buttermilk, ice cream mix and complete delivery.

Figure 4.8: Robert J. LaRue, St. Lawrence County Almanac Volume 4 Photo Edition (Syracuse, N.Y.: Peerless Press Inc., 2000)

One of the anomalies that exists between the Canadian and American experience is that there is no U.S. equivalent to the Lost Villages Historical Society. The disappearance of Louisville Landing, the expropriation of private property, and the relocation of homes, businesses, and camps remains officially unacknowledged in New York State. This is not to say that the memory of loss has either diminished or been any less potent than in Canada. Memory and the grief process have persisted at a more personal level attested to by the U.S. interviews in this and other chapters. Anniversary celebrations in the U.S. are not geared to the dislocated but devoted to praise of the engineering feats and the economic benefits of electricity and shipping.

In 2008 and 2009, to mark the fiftieth anniversaries of inundation and the opening of the Seaway, PAsNY and the St. Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation (“SLSDC”) hosted a series of events amidst much fanfare at both PAsNY’s Hawkins Point Visitors Centre and SLSDC’s Dwight D. Eisenhower Lock/Visitor Centre. Thousands attended both events and lined the streets of Massena for a Seaway parade. But, as with the opening festivities in 1958 and 1959, these were celebrations of accomplishments and focused on dignitaries. The displaced

⁷⁸ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.

merited only five words buried on Page 11 of the SLSDC's special fiftieth anniversary issue of its publication, *Seaway Compass*, "the relocation of 9,000 people."⁷⁹ Those who had worked on construction of the Power Project received at least some recognition as New York historian, Claire Puccia Parham, was invited to give lectures to standing-room-only audiences on her book, *The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project – An oral history of the greatest construction show on earth*.⁸⁰

On June 3, 2016, the SLSDC held a memorial service at its Visitor Centre next to the Dwight D. Eisenhower Lock for those who had lost their lives during construction of the Power Project. This began as the initiative of Mrs. Bonnie Pearson and her four sisters who had lost their father, David Hana, at the age of thirty-seven to an accident on the Project site. While it commenced with the introduction of dignitaries, the lion's share of the afternoon was devoted to the families of the deceased. Each received a commemorative plaque in honour of their loved one and each received a small, souvenir chunk taken from the Eisenhower Lock wall as did anyone present who had worked on the Power Project. It was a very moving experience to witness the emotion in the room for those who had died more than half a century ago but, at long last, the 'little person' had received some recognition on the U.S. side.⁸¹

Non-recognition, however, does not dim memories. A fine example is the Mitchell family in Hammond, New York who had kept family photographs from pre-Seaway days, as well as clippings from Seaway-era newspapers. John and Ann Mitchell laid them out on a table for me and superimposed the clippings on the family photographs to pinpoint precisely where the project had impinged on their farm. Using his finger nail rather than metrical instruments, John was able to measure their land lost to the Seaway in Waddington. The old community was so vivid in their minds that Debby Mitchell drew from memory a detailed map of the entire stretch of shore line where they had lived.⁸²

Across the river, Lyle Van Allen accomplished a similar feat of recollection. After volunteering with Lyle at a number of LVHS projects, he agreed to be interviewed and produced the fifty albums of photographs he has amassed over the years. These albums document virtually every aspect of life as it was, particularly in Morrisburg, but with a more than healthy dose of images from Iroquois and the other villages. What is remarkable about both the Mitchell

⁷⁹ U.S. Department of Transportation. Saint Lawrence Seaway Development Corporation. *Seaway Compass: Special 50th Anniversary Issue* (Summer 2009), 11.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 7.

⁸¹ Field Notes. Rosemary O'Flaherty. Dwight D. Eisenhower Lock, Massena, New York, June 3, 2016.

⁸² John, Anne, and Debby Mitchell, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Hammond, New York, November 4, 2015.

and Van Allen collections is the lack of captions or explanatory text; they do not need them; they identified each photograph without hesitation and were able to provide a story for each image.⁸³

Unfortunately, for posterity and future research, the future disposition of these collections is dubious. Their descendants may someday donate these to an archive but, sadly, they will be shorn of the context which their owners provided. I consider myself privileged to have been able to view these personal archives while listening to the memories that surround them. To that end, the next section of this chapter attempts to rectify the separation between image and context by allowing the former residents to tell their stories juxtaposed with the images that best articulate the voices.



*Figure 4.9: Aerial view of Mille Roches, circa 1950s
Note the Arena top centre, Percy Johnston's racing track next to the Arena and the Provincial Paper Mill to the right. The silver bridge, bottom left, led to Old Mille Roches. It was floated downstream at the time of inundation and now rests in the Lachine Rapids in Montreal.
Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.*

We will begin by having a look at what a few of these small villages looked like before their disappearance. Mille Roches was the largest of the inundated villages in Ontario with a 1954 population of 874. As Doug Johnston described it, "Mille Roches covered a lot of area because it wasn't like Cornwall where houses are built on forty foot lots. None of the houses were really what you would say crowded together. So the village itself covered quite an area

⁸³ Lyle Van Allen, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Williamsburg, On, February 10, 2016.

even though there weren't that many people."⁸⁴ Its closest neighbour, Moulinette, was much smaller and, whereas Mille Roches was home to the largest employer along the Front, the Provincial Paper Mill, quite prominent at centre-right of the above photograph, Moulinette was, by comparison, residential and non-industrial. As Bess Whiteside described it, Moulinette was "not very big with just one street and just one general store."⁸⁵



Figure 4.10: Moulinette, Ontario. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Dickinson's Landing and Wales had always had a close relationship. With the coming of the Grand Trunk Railway, a small settlement grew haphazardly beside the tracks one mile north of the Landing known as Dickinson's Landing Station. In 1860 Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, later Edward VII, arrived from Montreal after having inaugurated the city's Victoria Bridge, in the hope of shooting the Longue Sault Rapids.⁸⁶ Charmed by the village, he asked why it did not have its own name and shortly thereafter the village applied for its own post office and requested the village be named 'Wales' after the Prince.⁸⁷ Wales was the only inland village to be flooded in 1958 as a casualty of the river backing up into Hoople's Creek. Once not more than a country stream providing a playground for children, the flooding overflowed its banks for a mile to the north creating Hoople's Bay. The extent of the flooding is obvious when looking first at Hoople's Creek in the 1950s and then seeing its greatly extended boundaries on a present-day map.

⁸⁴ LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

⁸⁵ LVHS Archives. Bess Whiteside interviewed by Pam Robertson, Long Sault, Ontario, March 7, 1978.

⁸⁶ The original spelling was Longue Sault later shortened to Long Sault.

⁸⁷ Rutley, 72.



Figure 4.11: Dickinson's Landing, Ontario, circa 1955. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Association.

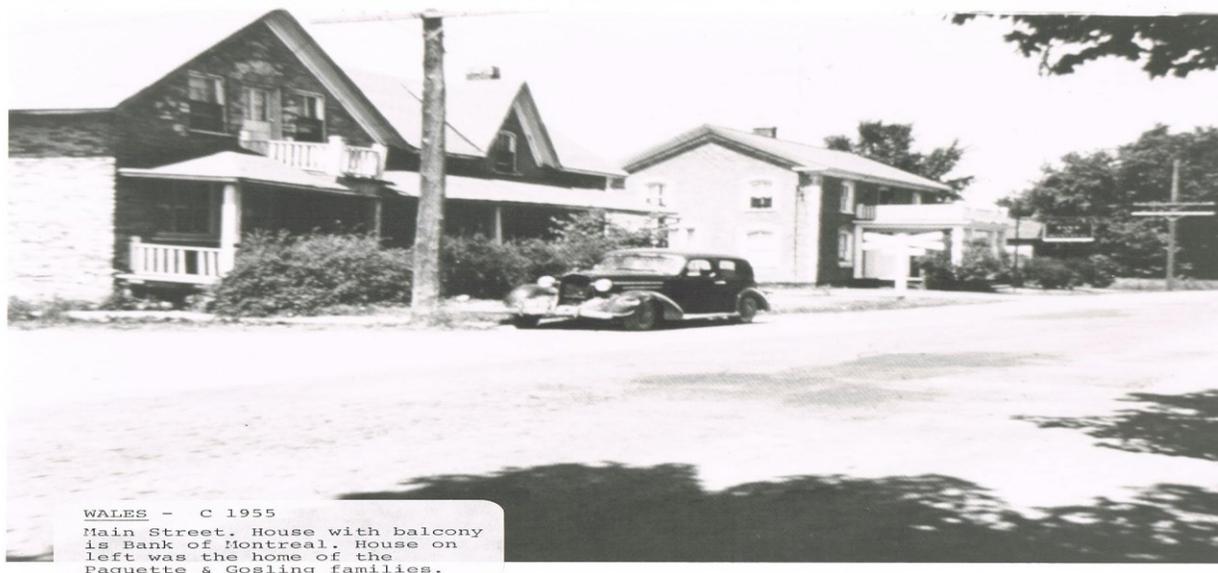


Figure 4.12: Wales, Ontario, circa 1955. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.



Figure 4.13: Hoople's Creek in centre of the image before the flooding, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

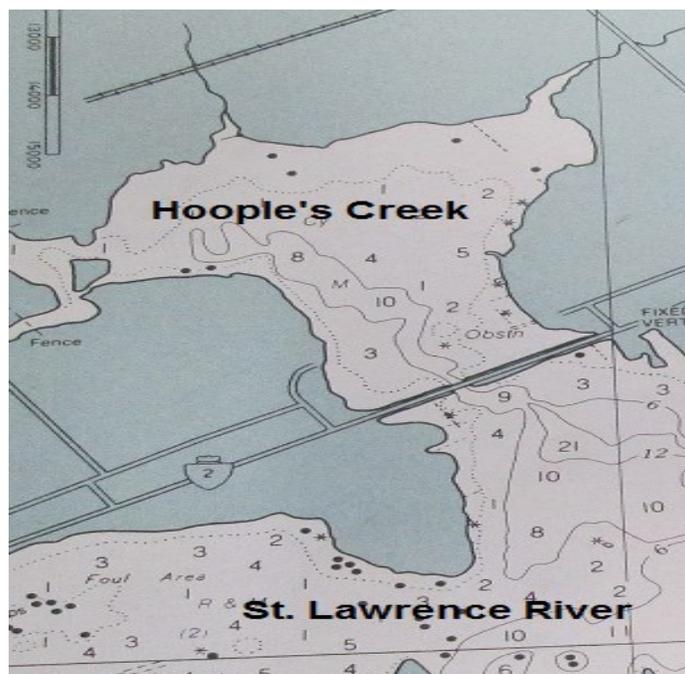


Figure 4.14: Hoople's Bay, post-inundation⁸⁸

⁸⁸ *The Nautical Seaway Trail: Chartbook and Waterfront Guide to New York State's Great Lakes-St. Lawrence River Region*. Coastal Access Research by Black River St. Lawrence Resource Conservation and Development Council, Watertown, New York. Text & Graphics by Seaway Trail, Inc., Sackets Harbor, New York. First Edition. (Hammond, N.Y.: Blue Heron Enterprises, 1991).



Figure 4.15: Farran's Point, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society

Farran's Point was one of the smaller villages with a population of 184 just prior to inundation. As former resident Beatrice Black said: "You'd go through it and hardly look. It was just one street – well, one main street but back through, there were houses back through, but there wasn't many. But it was small and everyone was friendly...like I say, one big family."⁸⁹

As we have seen, while there was some work in riverine occupations, other employment included small businesses, farm work and, increasingly after World War II, the automotive and tourist industries, but mostly the residents worked in the textile mills. The major employer in the area was the Provincial Paper Mill located in the heart of Mille Roches. Opened in 1904 as the Cornwall Paper Company, it was later acquired by Provincial Abitibi and renamed first, The St. Lawrence Paper Mills, and eventually the Provincial Paper Company. At one time it had close to nine-hundred employees but, in anticipation of losing its plant to the Seaway, it had closed two years before construction began, moving to Provincial Abitibi's existing Thorold, Ontario plant.⁹⁰ According to Doug Johnston, following the demise of the local paper mill, many of its former employees sought work in the nearby mills in Cornwall: Howard Smith, Canada Cottons, and

⁸⁹ LVHS Archives. Beatrice Black, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

⁹⁰ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977; Rutley, 107; John Burtiak, Loris Gasparotto, Alun Hughes. *Thorold Heritage Walks: The Welland Canal Walk*. Thorold, Ontario: Thorold Heritage Walks Committee, July 2007; accessed January 19, 2016, <http://thoroldmurals.com/Welland%20Canal%20Walk%20Brochure.pdf>.

Courtaulds.⁹¹ Jean Beattie described the paper mill as a great big thing, an old stone building, reiterating Doug's point that its closure forced many residents to scramble for alternative sources of income on the eve of being uprooted from their homes.



*Figure 4.16: Provincial Paper Mill, Mille Roches, Ontario, circa 1952
Courtesy Lost Village Historical Society.*

Further upriver, the Caldwell Linen Mills in Iroquois and Canada Starch in Cardinal were the mainstay of employment for Iroquois and Morrisburg. Shirley Carnegie estimated that the Caldwell Linen Mills had five hundred employees at one time bringing prosperity to Iroquois prior to the Seaway. She proudly described it as the 'home of the golden thread' and maintained that it was one of the better places to work with the best paid jobs and few layoffs.⁹²

The Caldwell Linen Mills began life in 1907 as the Dundas Linen Mills⁹³ in an abandoned shoe factory employing about seventy people. Robert Caldwell opened a second mill in 1923,

⁹¹ LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

⁹² David Jones Productions. *A River Lost: The Story of the St. Lawrence Seaway*. KAV Productions Video & Multimedia, interview with Shirley Carnegie, 2006.

⁹³ Legend has it that Irish immigrant, Robert Caldwell, got on a train in Bracebridge, Ontario in the pouring rain saying that whenever it stopped raining, he would get off the train and build a mill; the rain stopped in Iroquois. It is more likely he chose Iroquois because of its beside the country's largest waterway, the

Caldwell Linen Mills, specializing in the manufacture of towels. In 1956, Hydro bought the land on which the mill resided for \$1,092,878, leaving the Caldwell Mills with its machinery and equipment and Caldwell built a new mill within the town limits of new Iroquois.⁹⁴



*Figure 4.17: The Caldwell Linen Mills, Iroquois, Ontario in its first home, an old shoe factory
Courtesy Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry Historical Society.*

Enumerating the lost businesses and employers seemed to be a strategy used by the interviewees to convey to their listeners the scale of their losses. It also spoke to the interconnectedness of the people in the communities and revealed the ambience of the small, semi-rural towns that gave way to the modern, pre-planned towns to which they were relocated. They compressed time in recollecting not only the businesses lost to the Seaway but a host of businesses that had existed at one time or another, sometimes even before their own lifetime. This articulates a sense of being separated from their own history and a desire to transmit to future generations what had once been there whether or not they had personally experienced it.

Interviewees such as Laura Snetsinger and Doug Johnston employed these techniques in part to convey a more complete picture of the villages as they were but also to confirm their

Grand Trunk/Canadian National railway line, and within a two-hundred and fifty mile radius of Montreal, Ottawa, and Toronto.

⁹⁴ *Iroquois History: Year of Celebrations: Village of Iroquois 140th Anniversary, New Iroquois 40th Anniversary, 1857-1997*, Souvenir Book, (1997), 88-91; Just prior to its demise in the early years of the twenty-first century Caldwell's ownership went to C.S. Brooks Corporation and came under the marketing trade names of Fieldcrest Cannon Inc.

own memories. Laura Snetsinger recalled her father's barber shop and pool room in Mille Roches as well as a post office, restaurant, hardware store, feed mill, chicken hatchery, and the Bennett & Messecar Company, a chemistry laboratory established in 1890 that manufactured chemicals, wholesale drugs, and cheese factory supplies.⁹⁵ Doug Johnston added Jimmy McGillvray's butcher shop, Manson Warner's tinsmith shop, service stations and garages and a casket maker.⁹⁶ Doug noted that Ev Bush operated a restaurant and a taxi business in the community, as there was no bus transportation and only two trains per day, adding that "A lot of people had cars of course, but there were an awful lot of people that didn't have cars. So they had to travel by taxi – it would be similar to riding a bus today."⁹⁷ Mary Ann Cline-Richer recounted the story of one taxi driver in the village who operated with the slogan 'We charge a bear minimum.' Apparently, he kept a muzzled bear in the back seat of his taxi.⁹⁸ Alan Daye did not recall the bear but definitely recalled the slogan.⁹⁹ This story is perhaps not as far-fetched as it seems as another interviewee, Laura Ostler, mentioned that some of the local 'travelers', had a little bear along with monkeys.¹⁰⁰

All of the villages on the Canadian side had general stores during the half century before the flooding best described by Katie Mullin from Moulinette as, "the place where people bought kerosene for their lamps and coal oil stoves, bread, but not so much milk because everybody at the village at that time had a cow. [...] You could get pretty nearly everything there. Well, not dress-up clothes, but you could get men's work clothes, work shoes, groceries and the post office was in there too at that time."¹⁰¹ Aultsville, for example, had a number of general stores that those interviewed invariably identified by the names of their owners, suggesting the nature of a personal relationship with the store owners rather than seeing them as strictly business affairs. For example, Aultsville had Kerr's, Simser's, Stata's, Hagerman's, Art Dafoe's, and Charlie Ault's large, main store.¹⁰² Like Katie Mullin, Sally Marcellus pointed out however that "If

⁹⁵ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

⁹⁶ LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Mary Ann Cline-Richer, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Rigaud, Quebec, July 18, 2015. To date, I have not been able to corroborate this story.

⁹⁹ Alan Daye, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, September 27, 2015.

¹⁰⁰ LVHS Archives. Laura Ostler, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, January 3, 1978; to date, I have not been able to track down what was meant by the term 'Turks'.

¹⁰¹ LVHS Archives. Katie Mullin, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Long Sault, Ontario, March 9, 1978.

¹⁰² LVHS Archives. Sally Marcellus, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977; LVHS Archives. Mrs. Addie Markell (formerly Hickey, nee Cramer), April 17, 1978.

you wanted a new dress, you either bought the material and made it or you ordered it from the Eaton's catalogue."¹⁰³

Some of the villages had unique attractions such as the Lion Hotel in Moulinette operated by Doug and Bess Whiteside who described it as "just a small village inn. Something on the style of an English pub."¹⁰⁴ Bell Telephone and Hydro workers had boarded at the Lion Hotel when they were in the area. In a conversation with Jane Craig (née Whiteside), Doug and Bess' daughter, she explained the paradox of the Lion Hotel as possibly the only structure along the Front, slated for demolition, that received a permit from Hydro to expand during the construction of the Seaway as it served as a residence for the Project construction workers.¹⁰⁵ This last was an important point as it underscored the fact that Hydro's schedule for demolition could be tweaked to suit Hydro's convenience.

Laura Snetsinger who had lived in Dickinson's Landing, as well as Mille Roches, recalled economic activity at the Landing during and before her own lifetime. She is speaking here to the coming of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1855, well before her time, that effectively ended the village's dominance on the river:

"In my life time just the cheese factory and the grocery store. At one time there were three motels or hotels, three dressmakers and a furniture maker who also made the coffins for Long Sault [sic]¹⁰⁶ and Mille Roches. There was a blacksmith and a tannery. It was quite a busy place before my time because it was the stopping place for all the boats coming down the river. They couldn't get through the Long Sault Rapids so all boat craft stopped at Dickinson's Landing."¹⁰⁷

Similarly residents from Farran's Point enumerated the industries and businesses that had flourished there in the years before the Project which included two saw mills, two grist mills, two grinding mills, and a flour mill. Allan and Harriet Donnelly recalled its two general stores, two shoe shops and a hat shop. Allan maintained that while the hat shop never amounted to much, the shoe shops were unusual in that they made shoes from scratch. They also remembered a

¹⁰³ LVHS Archives. Sally Marcellus, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977.

¹⁰⁴ LVHS Archives. Bess Whiteside interviewed by Pam Robertson, Long Sault, Ontario, March 7, 1978.

¹⁰⁵ Rosemary O'Flaherty, Field Notes. Conversation with Jane Craig, September 25, 2015.

¹⁰⁶ There was no village named Long Sault in the pre-inundation days. As she is pairing it up with Mille Roches, Mrs. Snetsinger may have confused the new town with one of the former villages. In this case, likely Moulinette since Mille Roches and Moulinette were the predecessor villages to Long Sault.

¹⁰⁷ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

blacksmith shop, a livery stable, and a marble shop where Charlie Stubbs made and engraved tomb stones.¹⁰⁸



Figure 4.18: Aultsville, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Aultsville was home to three sawmills, two tinsmith shops, two barber shops, a dress-making shop, a tailor shop, a butcher shop, a millinery shop, two large granaries, a drive shed or livery stable, a blacksmith shop and a wheelwright.¹⁰⁹ In addition to these stores and employers, Frank Jarvis, who lived in Aultsville from his birth in 1910 until the Seaway came through, added that there were a number of specialty shops such as a butcher, a milliner, two large granaries and a Bank of Montreal.¹¹⁰ Despite the wide variety of establishments that existed at one time or another over a century, Shirley Wells said there were not many jobs available locally so that many took the bus in to Cornwall to work at the Courtaulds Cotton Mill.¹¹¹ The industrial north end of Aultsville had an egg-grading station, the United Farmers Co-operative, and a fairly large cheese factory. Originally the factory employed only two people but

¹⁰⁸ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978; LVHS Archives. Sally Marcellus, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977.

¹⁰⁹ LVHS Archives. Mrs. Addie Markell (formerly Hickey, nee Cramer), April 17, 1978.

¹¹⁰ LVHS Archives. Sally Marcellus, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977; LVHS Archives. Frank Jarvis, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, December 15, 1977; Marshall Edwards, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Morrisburg, Ontario, April 7, 1978.

¹¹¹ LVHS Archives. Shirley Wells, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

later employed about 14 people after it was sold to Borden's in 1946 or 1947 "at a time when Borden's was buying up several factories all of which were amalgamated into the one in Aultsville."¹¹²

Laura Snetsinger described a similar end to her father's cheese factory. She appeared very distressed throughout this part of the interview, less by the Project, and more by the destruction of his business at the hands of large corporations and the Milk Board. She estimated that between 1920 and 1938 there were roughly ten cheese factories in the area producing twenty cheeses a day collectively weighing ninety-two to ninety-five pounds of cheese until:

"Borden's Milk and Kraft came in and started buying up the milk and putting up the cheese. [...] they would offer maybe a cent or two more a pound for the milk [...] finally they just took the milk away from the factories and the factories closed up. The last year my dad operated he only made one cheese a day. He just could not get the milk. It's still hard for cheese factories to get milk yet. I don't know why, when farmers are pouring their milk down the drain. Well, it's the Milk Board. The Milk Board won't let them have it. They just give them a certain quota and they can't buy any more. The Milk Board has really sewn things up."¹¹³

The loss of her father's business appears to have superseded, in her mind, the losses occasioned by the Power Project. Perhaps this is because that loss was deeply personal, shared only by other cheese factory operators; the Project losses, by comparison, affected all of the riverfront people.

The interviews reveal a great deal about small town social and community life in the 1950s, much of which centred on churches, service clubs, and voluntarism. There were socials and dances held in all seasons, quilting bees, card parties, and roller skating.¹¹⁴ The interviewees' memories of social gatherings are redolent with the loss of the sacred spaces of family, friendship, and fraternity. Their reminiscences ranged over the course of their lifetimes from childhood to adulthood and came to an abrupt halt in 1958 when, as Naomi Stata saw it "You see the Seaway took that."¹¹⁵

As might be expected, the villagers celebrated Christmas and the New Year with verve and panache. Rose Dunlop recalled the many Christmas concerts and dances at New Year's

¹¹² LVHS Archives. Marshall Edwards, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Morrisburg, Ontario, April 7, 1978.

¹¹³ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

¹¹⁴ LVHS Archives. Jean Beattie (nee Douglas), interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Cornwall, Ontario, December 11, 1977; Marshall Edwards, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Morrisburg, Ontario, April 7, 1978.

¹¹⁵ LVHS Archives. Naomi Stata, interviewed by Glenda Rutley and Cecil Empey, undated.

while Stan and Laura Wells remembered the sleigh rides and plays during the festive season.¹¹⁶ Allan and Harriet Donnelly spoke of the camaraderie between the two churches at Farran's Point suggesting there was little animosity among the various Christian denominations, "At Christmas time they'd have little Christmas concerts in the Presbyterian Church and then at New Year's the same crowd would go down to the Catholic Church which was just east of the village and they'd put on a play there for New Year's."¹¹⁷

Memories of Christmas often lingered in a childhood that long predated removal by the Power Project and dwelt on the magic perspective of Christmas through a child's eyes. Laura Snetsinger fondly remembered visiting her grandparents in Bonville¹¹⁸ and "... that was a real experience when you come to think about it. My father would rent a sleigh and horses. We'd go all huddled up in buffalo robes. So that was really an exciting time because I can always remember coming home and the cold and the stars were so pretty and bright. [...] It really is something nice to remember."¹¹⁹

Winter activities included ice-skating, tobogganing, snow-shoeing, and playing hockey.¹²⁰ As Katie Mullin remembered it, "We had skis but we didn't have the kind you go out and buy for money today. We used barrel staves – put leather straps on them – you could go just as good – lots of fun. During the depression everyone made their own entertainment."¹²¹ Katie is thinking back to her youth during the Depression rather than the time immediately preceding relocation as well as recalling a time when affluence was at a low ebb, rendering the villagers self-sufficient in providing entertainment.

Memories of hockey matches spoke both to inter-village rivalry and togetherness. As Mrs. McLellan recalled there was "usually quite a rival [sic] between the two teams. Oh my! We'd have to stand in two feet of snow in an open air rink with just a board fence around to watch the hockey. Oh that was a big sport. We'd yell so much we'd never get cold, you know."¹²² Harvey Fickes' memories also surrounded the inter-village rivalry tempered by the warm fellowship. "They played for the fun of it. By gollies, you'd be surprised, on cold nights, storming, the crowd we'd have around that rink! They'd come there in sleigh loads to watch the

¹¹⁶ LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977; LVHS Archives. Stan and Laura Wells, Long Sault, December 19, 1977.

¹¹⁷ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹¹⁸ Bonville is located 14.8 kilometres directly north of Cornwall, Ontario; LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

¹¹⁹ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

¹²⁰ LVHS Archives. Stan and Laura Wells, Long Sault, December 19, 1977.

¹²¹ LVHS Archives. Katie Mullin, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Long Sault, Ontario, March 9, 1978.

¹²² LVHS Archives. Mr. and Mrs. A. McLellan, interviewed by Pam Robertson. Cornwall, Ontario, December 12, 1977.

games. We wouldn't wear the padding that they wear today. You'd have your hockey socks on. [...] Half of us played bare handed – didn't wear hockey gloves. We played rough in them days, too. ”¹²³

Laura Snetsinger maintained that hockey was less of an organized sport and more of a spontaneous event. “We made our own rinks usually on the creek [Hoople's Creek] or on the river. And of course we played shinny on the highway all the time. Usually the goal tender had a snow shovel for a goal stick and, if you were lucky, you had a hockey stick, sometimes you played with a broom. If you lost the puck you played with a ball and if you didn't have a ball you always had what the horses left behind, it was frozen on the road there. ”¹²⁴

Not all of the villagers' entertainments were active and those that were not reveal a passivity illustrative of their arm chair interest in the comings and goings of their communities. For example, on summer evenings the villagers flocked in to Cornwall or Morrisburg to do their shopping and, as Lyle Van Allen said, “you had to get there early to get a good parking spot. Part of the fun was sitting in the car on the street and watching the people go by, visiting with friends and neighbours and catching up on the local news. ”¹²⁵

Another good source of news was what was known locally as ‘The Stove Pipe League’ usually located in a corner of the general stores. Allan Donnelly belonged to the League and remembers playing a lot of checkers in the stores and, later, watching hockey games once television came to the Front.¹²⁶ Rose Dunlop recalled how “The men used to get in the stores around the fire – the stove - and they'd get there in the summertime, or wintertime. [...] Election Day was the fighting day of the year. They'd be there, and they'd get so mad they would put their fist right up in the other man's face, you know. ”¹²⁷

Their descriptions of village life centred around the simple rather than the momentous. For example, other than Rose Dunlop's brief mention of Election Day, there is almost no mention of politics either local or national. Even references to the Depression or World War II are made in the context of personal experience and not related to the broader perspective of the country or the international community. Throughout the interviews, there is not a single reference to Cold War politics or the anti-communist sentiment of the early 1950s.

Most of the interviewees viewed material possessions as a measure of their affluence and almost all tracked this in terms of modernization such as who had the first telephone, first

¹²³ LVHS Archives. Harvey Fickes, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, December 1977.

¹²⁴ LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

¹²⁵ Lyle Van Allen, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Williamsburg, Ontario, February 10, 17, 2016.

¹²⁶ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹²⁷ LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977.

television, or first car. Many of these conveniences had become available to the villagers only in the post-World War II era. One can extrapolate from their responses about affluence that they are remembering, not only the 1950s, but their childhood and young adulthood. A clear pattern emerges that they did not recall having access to many modern conveniences until just shortly before inundation. The interviewees recalled that most had electricity but that indoor plumbing was not common excepting those “who had lots of money and could afford it.”¹²⁸

Allan and Harriet Donnelly had a telephone in Farran’s Point “but it was in the [...] last few years.”¹²⁹ Rose Dunlop said “No we never had no telephone till about the second war but added that “there was a couple of phones from Dickinson’s Landing to Wales.”¹³⁰ This is a good example of blending time frames. Mrs. Dunlop may be linking together some combination of the two World Wars and the Depression.

The Donnellys had one of the first televisions “probably got it around 1956. We were about the second people in the village to have a television set.”¹³¹ Laura Snetsinger remembered the first radio in the village. “It was one of the old battery types, run off a car battery. My next door neighbour [...] got the first one in the village [...] and used to invite us over at Christmas to listen to Santa Claus.”¹³² Her brother also had one of the first radios. “He traded my mother’s Victrola with all her records for a small radio. Well the volume was so poor that you had to get almost on top of it to hear anything that was going on. Needless to say my mother was not pleased.”¹³³

Laura Snetsinger said that the doctor had the first car and “my dad had the second car. It was one of the first ones out anyway where the lamps for the head lamps you had to get out and light them.”¹³⁴ Rose Dunlop stated:

“We didn’t have no cars. We had a horse and buggy. The farthest we went was Morrisburg and Cornwall. We always drove to Cornwall at New Year’s for dinner. We’d get up early in the morning, and we’d all get in the cutter. I thought it was wonderful. It was just before Christmas and the street lights were all lit. It was the first time I’d ever saw street lights ‘cause we’d never had street lights in Dickinson’s Landing.”¹³⁵

¹²⁸ LVHS Archives. Beatrice Black, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

¹²⁹ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹³⁰ LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977

¹³¹ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹³² LVHS Archives. Harold and Laura Snetsinger (nee Windle), Long Sault, Ontario, December 20, 1977.

¹³³ Ibid.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977

Mrs. Dunlop may be condensing time periods here as her statements hint that she is remembering her childhood although the horse, buggy, and sleigh apparently were still in use until the early 1950s. Lyle Van Allen, for example, remembered the vendor, Bert Casselman, and his horse, Paul, going door-to-door until just before the Seaway, and Iroquois' milk man, Howard Keeler and his horse, Blondie.¹³⁶

Such memories of youth led the interviewers to inquire about their school days. Most of the villages had at least one elementary school. In early years there were few high schools and those who did go on to High School had to take a provincial bus or the Moccasin into Cornwall. As Addie Markell said, "students from the country would board in the village until the school buses got started. People were poor ... they hadn't the money to go away to school. [...] We had four or five that went through for ministers, and there were lawyers and doctors. Edgar Rainie was a lawyer and he was the Attorney-General in Toronto there, the time the farmers were in power."¹³⁷ When asked 'was it all men that went ahead?' Mrs. Markell replied "yes, girls were not encouraged to further their education."¹³⁸ David Hill expanded on this, "My mother worked in the Provincial Paper Mill but upon her engagement to my father during the war, the Superintendent informed her she could no longer work there; employment was open to single women only."¹³⁹ David pointed out however, that women played a major leadership role in the churches through the Ladies' Aid Societies and the CGIT ("Canadian Girls in Training") but he maintained that, although they did a lot of hard work for the churches, there were no women on any on the church councils.¹⁴⁰ Doug Johnston had attended high school at the Cornwall Collegiate Vocational School and when asked if post-secondary education was mostly for the rich Doug answered "I think so. People became professional people all right and just how they got the urge, or the finances to carry through, I don't know."¹⁴¹

The villages were less well served in the area of health care often having to go to Cornwall or Morrisburg to see a physician. "Dr. Brown was there over 50 years. He'd stay all

¹³⁶ Lyle Van Allen, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Williamsburg, Ontario, February 7, 14, 2016.

¹³⁷ LVHS Archives. Mrs. Addie Markell (formerly Hickey, nee Cramer), April 17, 1978. William Edgar Raney was born in Aultsville in 1859. He served as the Attorney General of Ontario from 1919 to 1923 for the United Farmers of Ontario Party. In 1925 he assumed the leadership of the Progressives as the UFO MLAs became known until 1927 when he resigned his seat in the legislature to accept an appointment to the Supreme Court of Ontario until his death in 1933. Source: Robert Bothwell, *A Short History of Ontario*, (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers Ltd., 1986), 126.

¹³⁸ LVHS Archives. Shirley Wells, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, January 23, 1978.

¹³⁹ David Hill, interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, November 13, 2015.

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

¹⁴¹ LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

night if you were sick. If you had a heart attack or anything else, he'd never leave."¹⁴² Katie Mullin said there were no doctors in Moulinette but that doctors made house calls and there was a doctor from Mille Roches by the name of Messecar and old Dr. Feader from Dickinson's landing and later there was Doctor Moody from Wales. "No dentists. You would have to go to Cornwall."¹⁴³

Many of those interviewed recalled the Depression either as children or young adults and, without exception, seemed to accept shortages with equanimity. Harriet Donnelly said "you were careful but you got through it. There weren't any luxuries."¹⁴⁴ They did not recall terrible deprivation during the Depression which they attributed to their own self-sufficiency with farm and garden. Almost all revealed the closeness of community when they spoke of sharing with those less fortunate.¹⁴⁵ As Lena McLaren put it "Well I think the Depression was a tremendous experience. I wouldn't want anyone to have to go through one."¹⁴⁶

Harvey Fickes remembered the neighbourliness and closeness that brought people together during the Depression:

"It was altogether different then, a neighbour was a neighbour. He was looked at like a neighbour and treated like a neighbour, and if he was in trouble there was always help. Nobody ever thought of money when we come to sawing wood or anything. They always turned in to help. And I remember one of the neighbours getting sick down there before his spring work, and he went into the hospital for a bad operation and of course, in them days you didn't get out of the hospital as quick as you do nowadays – and he was most of the summer before he got home - but his crops went in, his milk went to the factory, his pigs were looked after and sold at the right time. Each farmer took a week looking after his as well as their own. Back that time it was expected of them. Now what would you do today if that happened? If you couldn't hire somebody, you'd have to have a sale. You couldn't get people to do that now without paying them. But in them days, that was being neighbourly."¹⁴⁷

On the U.S. side, Lawrence (Larry) Andress was born in Louisville Landing and lived there with his mother and brother¹⁴⁸ until the flooding in 1958. The Andress family had both a home and camp on their property with the house only one-hundred feet from the river. At the

¹⁴² LVHS Archives. Douglas F. Johnston, interviewed by Pam Robertson, Cornwall, Ontario, January 29, 1978.

¹⁴³ LVHS Archives. Katie Mullin, interviewed by Glenda Eden, Long Sault, Ontario, March 9, 1978.

¹⁴⁴ LVHS Archives. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹⁴⁵ LVHS Archives. Rose Dunlop, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, Ingleside, Ontario, December 9, 1977

¹⁴⁶ LVHS Archives. Lena McLaren, interviewed by Cathy Lalonde, Ingleside, Ontario, March 15, 1978.

¹⁴⁷ LVHS Archives. Harvey Fickes, interviewed by Glenda Rutley, December 1977.

¹⁴⁸ Larry Andress' father passed away when Larry was nine years of age.

time of the Seaway they were forced to sell both structures as well as their land, although Larry subsequently bought the house back and relocated it, at his own expense, to its present site on Maple Street in Massena. According to Larry, that fact that PASNY refused to underwrite the cost of home removals in New York generated vociferous protest and anger which involved hundreds of individuals who were so angry at losing their land arbitrarily that they erected barricades around their property and pointed shot guns at the State Police. Some families had been in these homes for more than a hundred years and watched as everything was either bulldozed, burned, or moved.¹⁴⁹

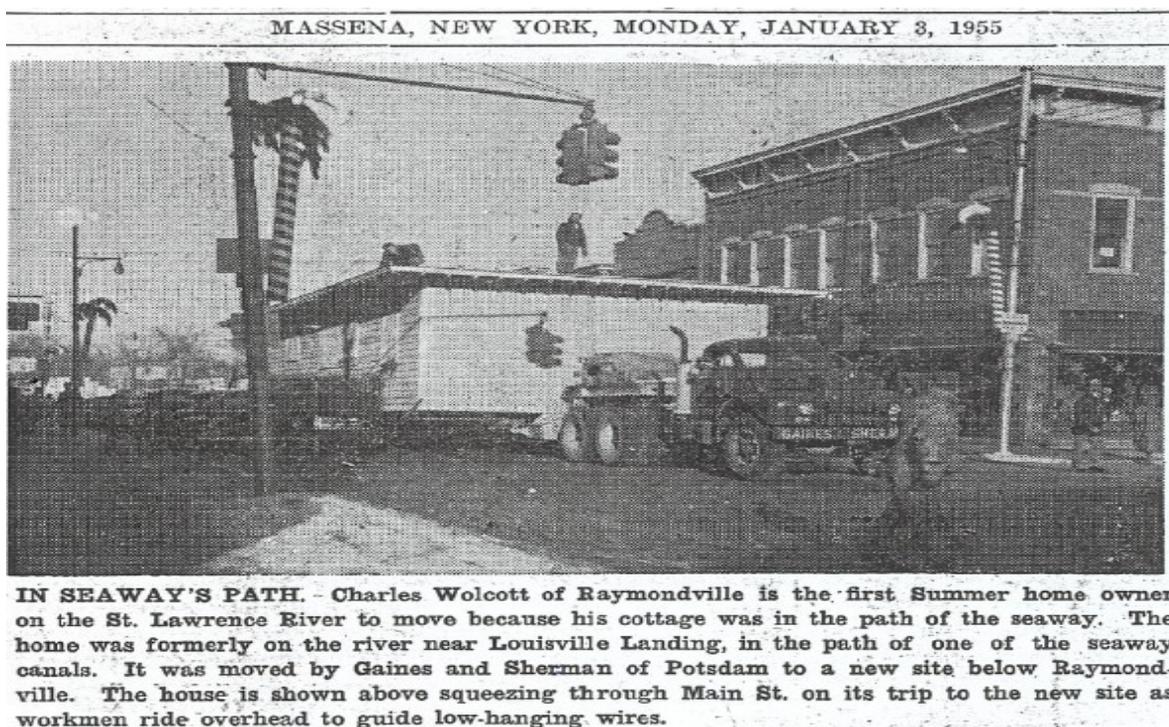


Figure 4.19: Camp being moved from Louisville Landing. The Massena Observer, p. 1, January 3, 1955.

Parts of Massena and Waddington also disappeared under the flood waters and, in the course of field research, I have stumbled upon a few individuals who had lost land along the river in Massena but were patently reluctant to speak with me. The only common vein I could detect was an underlying and thinly veiled anger with, or fear of, PASNY by expressing to me, off the record¹⁵⁰ that, in the twenty-first century, PASNY continues to own the first fifty feet of shoreline along the river.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.

¹⁵⁰ 'Off the record' means they did not wish to actively participate in this project, be named, or quoted.

¹⁵¹ Rosemary O'Flaherty, Field Notes, July 26, 2012.

When Julie and Patrick Madlin purchased their camp in Red Mills, they knew about the fifty foot rule which was really eighty five feet when measured from the high water line. To add insult to injury, they were responsible for the taxes on this parcel of land because they enjoyed a 'view of the river'. Because this corridor belonged to PASNY, it was available for public usage. The Madlins and other shoreline property owners had to accept that campers, barbeque gatherings, and all manner of water-related activity could take place between their home and river frontage. PASNY at one point stated that they were going to create a recreational trail between these homes and the river. The negotiations to own this contested space outright took the Madlins the better part of ten years in bureaucratic dealings with Federal Energy Regulatory Commission (FERC) which mediated all contact with PASNY. Later when the Madlins built their home, they adhered to the fifty foot rule (even though they now owned the land) because all the other camps around them were still set back at least fifty feet.¹⁵²

As we have seen, a ferry operated regularly between the Landing and Aultsville, Ontario which were only two miles apart, setting the two villages up as popular smuggling sites during prohibition. Blackie's Tavern and Hotel became the local hub for bootleggers. Blackie's had been the location where Hydro and PASNY determined the compensation each utility would provide for the relocations. Unfortunately, just as the Tavern met an untimely end with the Project, so did Blackie, as he disappeared and was never found. During the project, Blackie's had supplied rooms for many of the American Seaway engineers as did the five-storey MacEwen Hotel located across the street. The village also boasted two stores, Steinbarger's and Cumming's, both of which disappeared when the community was submerged.¹⁵³

¹⁵² Julie Madlin. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Ogdensburg, New York, April 16, 2016.

¹⁵³ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.



Figure 4.20: Louisville Landing, New York bottom right; Aultsville, Ontario, top left. Map: Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, U.S. Lake Survey, 1953. Courtesy Lawrence Andress, Massena, New York.

Louisville Landing's claim to fame, still recalled in today's towns of Louisville¹⁵⁴ and Massena, was the many years that the illustrator, Norman Rockwell, summered at the Landing in a three-room cabin beside the St. Lawrence belonging to his wife's family. Larry recalled that the villagers would surreptitiously watch him as he painted and, in fact, some of his illustrations included the MacEwen Hotel as well as Larry's Aunt Jessie.¹⁵⁵ Corry A. Kanzenberg, former curator of the Norman Rockwell Museum in Stockbridge, Massachusetts told the *Watertown Daily Times* that the Landing inspired Rockwell with an appreciation for small-town life that blossomed into numerous bucolic covers for the *Saturday Evening Post*.¹⁵⁶

One of his illustrations particularly resonates with the region. *Escape Artist* tells the story of Rockwell who, while out for a stroll one day, spied a young girl, Elizabeth, painting a landscape and walked over for a look. Elizabeth recognized the famous illustrator and, embarrassed at having her work seen by him, "high-tailed it out of there."¹⁵⁷ Sorry for startling her, Rockwell asked Elizabeth's father for permission to paint her for the *Saturday Evening*

¹⁵⁴ The Town of Louisville, New York is a separate entity from Louisville Landing. It existed before the flooding and continues to exist.

¹⁵⁵ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016.

¹⁵⁶ Brian Hayden, "Norman Rockwell drew inspiration from Louisville," *Watertown Daily Times*, February 5, 2012.

¹⁵⁷ Robert Berridge "Escape Artist," *The Saturday Evening Post*, March/April 2012.

Post. Elizabeth, however, was too bashful to comply. Ten years later in southern California he painted his fiancée's neighbor and cousin as the shy artist from Louisville Landing.¹⁵⁸



Figure 4.21: Norman Rockwell, *Escape Artist*. Rosemary, from southern California, painted as the shy, young artist, Elizabeth, from Louisville Landing, New York.

The foregoing interviews depict life along the Seaway prior to inundation; where they worked and played, how they lived. The interviews reveal communities that were small, closely-knit, and not terribly affluent. The majority recognize that their former communities would not have remained as they were.¹⁵⁹ As recounted in this chapter, memories of canal boats, the Moccasin, Ernie's Hotel, the taxi bear, hockey matches, and all the richness of village life took on meaning after inundation. Many of the stories told are nostalgic in tone as they lament what was lost. Essentially, these stories illustrate Doreen Massey's concept of the progression of place. Construction era memories supplant those of World War II, which supersede those of the Depression, and so on. The place moves forward through time, punctuated by the events of the twentieth century, until the places they last remembered and which have disappeared go beyond the places they knew and become new places: "a place beyond a place"¹⁶⁰ which will have their own history and their own memories.

¹⁵⁸ "This story is dedicated to Elizabeth, the original inspiration for "Escape Artist," [...]. She very graciously shared her memories of Rockwell with me a couple of decades ago. Elizabeth passed away in July of 2010 at the age of 101." Robert Berridge, "Escape Artist," *The Saturday Evening Post*, March/April 2012.

¹⁵⁹ Strangleman, Rhodes and Linkon. "Crumbling Cultures," 18; Jefferson Cowie and Joseph Heathcott, *Beyond the Ruins: The Meanings of Deindustrialization* (Ithaca: ILR Press, 2003), 14.

¹⁶⁰ Doreen Massey, "Places and Their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* Issue 39 (Spring 1995): 182-183.

Chapter Five: Tracing the Past

In 2001, my late husband, Fred Boyko, and I purchased a small bookstore in Alexandria, Ontario. Shortly thereafter, Fred mentioned a local author for whom he thought we should host a signing. Busy with work, I paid no attention until one day, when he had an appointment, I was left to babysit the store and picked up a book lying on the front counter. I idly scanned the back cover and immediately felt an adrenalin rush. It was THAT story ... the one Miss Fink read to us in the fourth grade ... the one I had hoped to write a paper on in my undergraduate years, but never did.¹ The book was Maggie Wheeler's history/mystery novel, *A Violent End*, a fictional but historically accurate account of the inundation. Maggie came to the store for a book signing two weeks later along with Jim Brownell, President of the Lost Villages Historical Society ("LVHS") from whom I learned about the LVHS bus tours.

Between 2001 and 2009, Fred and I took the tour every summer through the ruins of the Lost Villages and, in the process, we became friends with the tour guide, Mary Lynn Alguire, formerly of Mille Roches. She began taking me for private tours in her Jeep Cherokee, pointing out the many ruins which, for the sake of brevity, were excluded from the official bus tours as these were already four hour events.

By 2009, Mary Lynn and I had devised a plan to have a tour specifically for this thesis. Together we conducted a bus tour in the summer of 2010 that wound along the river on the Canadian shore to view first-hand the shards of the by-gone communities. The tour participants were a church group from Winchester, Ontario as well as a number of former residents who contextualized the tour in a way that, as an outsider, I was unable to do. Mary Lynn narrated the tour with her first-hand knowledge and Blythe Watson kindly agreed to drive the bus. My role consisted of posing the questions I felt were pertinent to the project. (See Appendix III) The tour that follows is based mainly, but not exclusively, on that 2010 tour. It is augmented by the many tours Mary Lynn conducted between 1998 and 2011, those led by Jim Brownell since 2012, as well as Maggie Wheeler's history/mystery tours. Each of these tours inevitably contains snippets of information missing from others. Stories are included and excluded tour-to-tour according to the composition of passengers, many of whom contribute anecdotes of their own. To fully flesh out the remains of the flooded landscape, I have included many of my own explorations as well

¹ This was for an Ontario History Course at the University of Toronto. The assignment was to create a profile of any town in Ontario post-Confederation solely from newspaper accounts. I had remembered the story from the fourth grade but the only place name I could recall was Iroquois. Checking with Library and Archives Canada, it had only a single edition in its collection from the defunct Iroquois Chieftain. Had Cornwall occurred to me, the paper might have been written, but then, it is being written now.

as those of some of the former villagers. Typically on these tours, participants board the bus at the LVHS Museum in Long Sault, the bus then tracks eastward to the former village of Maple Grove, just west of Cornwall, where the tour begins ending four hours later in Iroquois, the most westerly of the impacted villages.

The sites we visited are the detritus from the Power Project, the ruins, if you will, of the former communities along the Canadian side of the St. Lawrence. These ruins speak to past lives eclipsed by powerful elites. They intersect and combine with each other forming a mosaic that presents an alternative to the master historical narratives of the Power Project. Ann Laura Stoler has defined the process of ruination as a composite of the word, *ruin*, both as a noun and as a violent verb, where ruination carries within its meaning histories of degraded people and places still in a state of becoming and reconfiguration.²

Stoler established that the active nature of ruination is on-going in its capacity to wreak disaster, demoralize, and perpetuate “sites that animate both despair and new possibilities.”³ Looking at the violent connotation of the verb, Stoler emphasized Nadia Abu El-Haj’s contention that ruins are an active result predicated upon some form of political, social, or industrial reformulation.⁴ While the material remains of the past are not the primary focus of Stoler’s argument, she contended that history must, nevertheless, reconcile “what people are left with”⁵ to fully comprehend the ambivalent struggle of those who encounter ruination.

The gist of her writing moves away from mourning and melancholy in favour of exposing the damage inflicted on people and places by imperialistic pursuits. Moreover, she reminds us that ruination does not end with some definable event but perseveres in its aftermath. She paid particular attention to less visible ruinations.⁶ To understand how construction destroyed landscape and community along the St. Lawrence requires investigating how the populace traversed the period of upheaval, what they brought with them into their subsequent lives, and how that resonates with them in the present. As Stoler argued, “Resentment is an active, critical force in the present. It does not demand that “the event be undone.” It is about the possibility of naming injuries for what they are, a demand that the conditions of constraint and injury be reckoned with and acknowledged.”⁷

² Ann Laura Stoler, *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 7, 9-10.

³ *Ibid.*, 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 9.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 9-10, 13.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 29.

The land and river scapes colonized by the Project are filled with reminders of what happened there. Roads go nowhere or end abruptly. Transmission towers, dams, and canals tell a story of the ascendancy of capitalist modernization over peoples' lives. It is however a situation that engenders multiple responses. A casual conversation with a coworker revealed he had camped many times on the St. Lawrence unaware of the previous social and ecological ruination. Author Maggie Wheeler has told me that, in the many presentations she has made on the Power Project in Eastern Ontario she is always surprised by the number of folks in the audience whose response to her lecture is: "Cornwall has a dam??"⁸ This suggests that, as memories of the 1950s recede, nearby citizens have forgotten, or, in the case of new comers, perhaps never knew the losses endured along the river.

It is for this reason that local author, Rosemary Rutley, maintained that she wrote the book *Voices from the Lost Villages* to "preserve the essence of life in these communities so that the work of the pioneers who built them will not have been entirely in vain. Voices remain unfettered to reveal a part of history not to be revisited."⁹ As another resident put it, "They took a lot away from us, the Seaway did. They took away our River."¹⁰ These are what Stoler called the "imperial formations"¹¹ that continue to inform the lives of the residents in the present and which must be accounted for in any dialogue on ruins so that as historian Steven High has said previous space is not "shorn of context."¹² So, let the tours begin.

The bus left the LVHS Museum grounds at 1:00 p.m. on the afternoon of Saturday, July 27, 2010 and the first stop was beside the now disused fourteen foot Cornwall canal in what used to be the hamlet of Maple Grove. Its strategic importance lay in its location slated to become the site of the monolithic Robert Moses-Robert H. Saunders dam stretching across the river from Cornwall to Massena.¹³ Maple Grove had been no more than a cluster of buildings along a strip of highway yet vestiges of it survived inundation. Today's Second Street in Cornwall is the re-christened Old Number Two Highway, once the main thoroughfare through all the communities along the Front and the principal road between Montreal and Toronto prior to the construction of Highway 401 in the 1960s. Running parallel to this stretch of Second Street is the now peacefully undisturbed and disused fourteen foot Cornwall Canal, its locking

⁸ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 10, 2012.

⁹ Rutley, introduction, xiv.

¹⁰ Ibid., 48. Allan and Harriet Donnelly, interviewed by Sylvia Ashby, Ingleside, Ontario, March 10, 1978.

¹¹ Stoler, 10.

¹² Steven High, "Beyond Aesthetics: Visibility and Invisibility in the Aftermath of Deindustrialization," *International Labor and Working-Class History* 84 (Fall 2013): 25.

¹³ The industry nickname for the Moses-Saunders dam is 'Big Mo' while the dam at Beauharnois, QC is called 'Big Beau.'

mechanisms still clearly visible. The canal ends at the closed shipping gates set into the dike. The last ship traversed the Cornwall Canal on June 30, 1958 and then the gates were closed forever.¹⁴



Figure 5.1: Images of the now defunct 14 foot Cornwall Canal which has been transitioned to recreational use. Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 31, 2010.



Figure 5.2: The lock gates still open during the Project. They closed permanently on June 30, 1958; their breach would cause flooding as far east as Montreal's West Island. The entire area at the top of the picture above the lock gates was flooded in 1958 and now forms part of Lake St. Lawrence. Courtesy Ontario Power Generation.



Figure 5.3: The lock gates as they look in 2016. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, June 1, 2016.

¹⁴ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

At the extreme west end of Second Street, the old road continues until it ends in the dike that holds back Lake St. Lawrence, a symbol of how the Power Project terminated the life of Maple Grove with an impenetrable wall of technological hubris. A second portion of the Old Number Two heaves off to the right as a bicycle path next to which one can discern the paved area that was once the Hydro Hospital, project office, workers' barracks and canteen.¹⁵



Figure 5.4: Today's Second Street in Cornwall (Old Number Two Highway) ends at the dike holding back the water of Lake St. Lawrence. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, December 26, 2010.

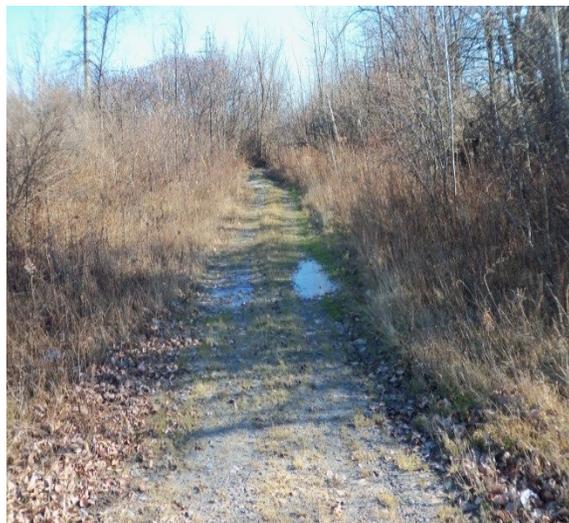


Figure 5.5: Disused roadway that once led to the Hydro Hospital. Maple Grove, ON. Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty, December 26, 2010.

¹⁵ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

The third portion of Second Street curves to the left becoming the entrance to the power house and dam where the bus turned and pulled in to the parking lot of the Moses-Saunders dam, the “big beastie” as Maggie Wheeler calls it.¹⁶ As you may recall, the observation deck and in fact, the entire generating station had been closed to the public in the aftermath of 9/11. Until the completion of Ontario Power Generation’s Interpretive Centre in 2012, the utility made an exception for the LVHS allowing the tour buses onto the grounds for a close-up view of the dam. Cameras clicked but otherwise the crowd was silent staring at the mammoth structure and listening to its quiet but persistent hum, mesmerized by the water pouring over the dam.¹⁷

Leaving the dam, the bus headed north on the eponymous Power Dam Drive to view the last site significant to Maple Grove.¹⁸ On more recent tours, as the bus leaves Maple Grove, Jim Brownell lightens the mood with a humourous quip that has the tour group in stitches, particularly those who were former residents and recall Ernie’s Hotel as a popular drinking spot. Said Brownell, “The trip into Cornwall was a short one; the trip home however could take several hours if Ernie’s Hotel was on the venue.”¹⁹

The last stop in Maple Grove was at the cemetery on the New Number Two Highway. It was the only cemetery moved in its entirety at the time of the Project. Unlike the other cemeteries, Maple Grove would not be flooded. Being the site of the new dam and generating station, the area was excavated so that all of the graves had to be disinterred.



Figure 5.6: The relocated Maple Grove Cemetery in Cornwall, Ontario. Photograph: Rosemary O’Flaherty, June 15, 2016.

¹⁶ Maggie Wheeler, *A Violent End* (Burnstown, Ontario: General Store Publishing House, 2001), 27.

¹⁷ Alguire-O’Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

¹⁸ Alguire-O’Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

¹⁹ LVHS Bus Tour, Guide Jim Brownell, September 24, 2012.

The bus continued west on the New Number Two Highway toward the former Mille Roches. This particular stretch of highway, like many of its stretches, rests upon the former Canadian National Railway/Grand Trunk Railway right-of-way which was relocated further north during the Project to accommodate the flooding. This is a long and lonely stretch of highway with the river on the south side for the most part invisible. All former land expropriated, but unused by Hydro, eventually became parkland and camp grounds under the auspices of Parks Canada.²⁰

Just before arriving at Guindon Park, the site of the former Mille Roches, the bus pulled over to the shoulder and Mary Lynn directed our attention to the small, white frame house sitting at the top of the hill on what remains of the Cornwall Centre Road which once curved down into Mille Roches. It is the only house left standing in a Mille Roches that no longer exists. Broken, crumbled, and colonized by lichen and moss, the old road ends abruptly at the New Number Two Highway but explorers can pick up traces of the road on the far side of the highway by rummaging about in the underbrush; a bit of broken road here, a bit there, stretches of nothing, and then the broken pavement reappears but it does not reach Mille Roches anymore. It peters out at the foot of the dike that holds back the water of Lake St. Lawrence. The remainder of the road and its final destination, Mille Roches, now lie 30 feet below the lake. The forlorn house and overgrown patch of road are all that is left of this former Seaway community. The tour participants gaze at this rather ramshackle dwelling, the only tangible proof that Mille Roches ever existed. Silence reigns on the bus as folks digest the reality of a lone home that once belonged to the Raymond family and a scarred piece of highway that represents what had been an entire community.²¹

²⁰ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

²¹ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.



Figure 5.7: The former Raymond home, the only house left standing in Mille Roches on a now disused portion of the Cornwall Centre Road. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 31, 2010.

Shortly thereafter, the bus turned left onto the Trillium Drive entrance to Guindon Park which juts out into the lake. Looking left Mary Lynn pointed to a sign out in the water a short distance from the dike; a warning to boaters that they are perilously close to the dam but the sign has another meaning for Mary Lynn. It is almost the exact site of the long-gone CNR Mille Roches Station. Turning to her right, Mary Lynn pointed to the smaller bay and identified it as the site of the former Mille Roches Power House, parts of which still exist hidden beneath the lake. It is a popular location for scuba-divers who have traced the structure and John Earle has preserved it for posterity in his underwater footage *Submerged*.²² A little further west along the highway is the site of the former village of Moulinette. The Museum preserves two of Moulinette's buildings at its site: the Zina Hill Barber Shop and the former Moulinette CNR Station.

²² Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.



Figure 5.8: Guindon Park looking east. The warning sign on the dike marks the former Mille Roches CNR Station. Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty June 1, 2016.



Figure 5.9: Zina Hill, in front of his barber, shop at Moulinette, circa 1950s. Photographs: Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.



Figure 5.10: Barber Shop as it looks today at the Lost Villages Museum site.



Figure 5.11: Moulinette Train Station as it existed in the former village of Moulinette. Photographs: Courtesy of the Lost Village Historical Society.



Figure 5.12: Moulinette Train Station today at the Lost Villages Museum site.

We will step outside of the tour for a moment for a one-time exploration in Moulinette due to the unusually low water level on Lake St. Lawrence in the autumn of 2015. Interviewee David Hill, along with his former neighbours, Bill, Sharon, Ken, and Liam Gallinger explored the area around their old homes in Moulinette. They were able to identify landmarks on what had been the Gallinger property and the Vernon Hill property (David's dad). David reported that they found treasures such as a large spike from the old railway track and many red bricks "some definitely from Mrs. Gallinger's house [...] a few farm related hooks and buckles likely from the Gallinger barn [...] and a pattern of concrete-like blocks possibly from the Gallinger barn floor. Sharon found a WONDERFUL relic an actual 'Horse Shoe' - likely from one of the Gallinger horses. [...] It was a great day!!²³

²³ David Hill, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, October 2, 2015.



Figure 5.13: Fifty-eight year old tree stump in Moulinette that surfaced. Courtesy David Hill, October 2, 2015.



Figure 5.14: One of the bricks from Mrs. Gallinger's home in Moulinette. Courtesy David Hill, October 2, 2015.



Figure 5.15: Large pattern of stone blocks, centre-right, possibly part of the Gallinger barn floor. Courtesy David Hill, October 2, 2015.



Figure 5.16: Ken Gallinger holding farm tackle in one hand and a railway spike in the other. Courtesy David Hill, October 2, 2015.

A little further beyond the point where David and his companions made their finds, Mary Lynn pointed to a short stretch of roadway coming up to the New Number Two Highway seemingly from nowhere; with nowhere, of course, being the submerged villages. The

Hartshorne movers had dragged every home moved from Maple Grove, Mille Roches, and Moulinette along this makeshift road to avoid snarling traffic on the highway.²⁴



Figure 5.17: Looking south from Highway Two, this is the makeshift road along which all the houses were moved into the new towns from Maple Grove, Mille Roches, and Moulinette. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, June 1, 2016.

Moulinette is a good example of Hydro's attempt to allocate to the new towns what they had enjoyed in their former communities. Because Robin Cross had owned and operated a marina in Aultsville, Hydro accorded him an unprecedented privilege, land on the south side of the New Number Two Highway on which to build a replacement marina. The Hydro scale models so accurately forecasted the extent of the flooding, that they calculated within inches precisely where the water would stop such that it allowed space for Cross' marina. This is the location of interviewee Katie Mullins' home which was destroyed for the marina although the land here was never flooded. Almost directly across from the Marina is the new Lion Motel which replaced the hotel of the same name in pre-flooding days. Unfortunately, while waiting to obtain a liquor license for the new motel, its owner, Doug Whiteside passed away.²⁵

²⁴ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

²⁵ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.



Figure 5.18: Robin Cross' marina built on Katie Mullins' farm, expropriated by Hydro during the Power Project. Long Sault, ON. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, June 1, 2015.



Figure 5.19: The Lion Hotel, Moulinette, Ontario, circa 1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.



Figure 5.20: Today's Lion Motel located on the eastern outskirts of Long Sault. It is the successor to Doug and Bess Whiteside's Lion Hotel in the former Moulinette. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 5, 2016.

At this point, the Lost Villages tours usually visited the next site of memory; what remains of the village of Wales. In 2012 however, Jim Brownell introduced a new feature; a brief tour of Long Sault known during the construction era as New Town No. Two (Ingleside had been known as New Town No. One). The footprint left by the Power Project on the two new towns resonates with the viewers. Their gaze rests on the rather inauspicious dwellings moved by the Hartshorne Movers along that quickly constructed makeshift road to guarantee their speedy and efficacious removal from behind the taking lines. Hartshorne picked up each home and set it down on a pre-prepared foundation and Hydro hooked up the water and power. Some families were able to move in right away while for others there might be a two or three day delay in which case Hydro accommodated them in a “stop-over” house. Jim Brownell pointed out #33 Bethune Street in Long Sault as one such “stop-over” house which today sits next to #35 Bethune Street formerly located in Maple Grove where it served as Hydro's Project office. These two houses were ‘Hydro Houses’ in which Hydro had provided accommodation for its employees at the substations in the old villages.²⁶

²⁶ LVHS Bus Tour, Guide Jim Brownell, September 24, 2012.



Figure 5.21: #33 Bethune Street, Long Sault, On. A stop-over house during the Power Project. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 5, 2016.



Figure 5.22: #33 Bethune Street as it looked in Maple Grove prior to the flooding. Photograph: Courtesy of the present owner of #33 Bethune Street.



Figure 5.23: #35 Bethune, Long Sault, On, Hydro's Project Office in Maple Grove. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 5, 2016.



Figure 5.24: This Hydro House from Maple Grove seen moving through Mille Roches on its way to Long Sault where it became #35 Bethune as pictured above. Note the double doors on this house; one for the residents and one for the Project Office. When this later became a single-family dwelling in its location in Long Sault, the residents renovated and removed the second door as pictured in the present-day image of the home. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Both Long Sault and Ingleside have a mix of pre-Seaway homes, 1950s bungalows and newer homes. The years have softened the differences among them such that stark contrasts no longer remain. Nevertheless telltale signs exist for the discerning as to which homes are pre-Seaway. The pre-1960 architecture is one clue but the back of many of these homes has a small window signaling that Hydro installed indoor plumbing where none had previously existed.²⁷

As the bus left Long Sault, the participants became silent. They had just witnessed the remnants of former lives and communities with mixed emotions and attitudes. Those who had lived in the villages and experienced inundation reminisced among themselves, partly nostalgically but mostly recalling life as they had known it, laced with remembered humorous incidents and shared memories of eccentric village characters. Non-villagers absorbed this chat that enhanced the picture of life in the villages afforded by these physical traces of the past. For those from away, the submerged villages and ruined landscape appealed to romantic notions of liminal places and yet there was also a furtive sense of shame at enjoying and gawking at another's misfortune. Yet others showed evidence of impatience with a rather ethereal tour centred on disappeared places around which they had difficulty in conjuring up a concrete image.²⁸

British sociologist John Urry has posited that the tourist gaze demands that which is extraordinary and extrinsic to everyday experience and expects the sacred rather than the ornamental.²⁹ The idea of drowned villages as a result of one of the world's greatest engineering feats piques the interest of the tourist who may not have encountered such phenomena previously. The submerged communities continue to engage the tourist because of the mystery that surrounds their hidden nature. This tourist experience fascinates because it is an active rather than a passive process that requires effort to excavate the past and to reflect upon what is no longer visible. As a trip down the memory lane of the 1950s, the Lost Villages have popular appeal and continue to be a tourist attraction although they have been gone for half a century.

The next stop was at the extreme north end of what had once been the village of Wales. On the north side of the highway is a house, the west end of which has one storey which was

²⁷ LVHS Bus Tour, Guide Jim Brownell, September 16, 2012.

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze*, 2nd ed. (London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi: Sage Publications, 2002), 3, 12.

formerly Wales Public School while the east end has two storeys and was the Wales Continuation School (high school). Today, this is the private home of Lise and Paul McNally.³⁰



Figure 5.25: Rear view of the former Wales school as it looks today which clearly shows the one and two story structures. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 6, 2016.

³⁰ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010; Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 6, 2016.



Figure 5.26: Front few of the former Wales school as it looks today; the one-storey structure was the Wales Public School; the two-storey structure was the Wales Continuation School; it is now a private home. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 5, 2016.



Figure 5. 27: The Wales Continuation School as it looked circa-1950s. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.

Just west of the two schools is a short piece of roadway truncated at the New Number Two. This had been the former Wales Road that led into the village from the back part of the county. On the south side, the continuation of the old Wales Road has become the entrance to the St. Lawrence Valley Union Cemetery.³¹



*Figure 5.28: The Wales Road as it ends here at the New Number Two Highway
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 31, 2010.*



Figure 5.29: At the end of the cemetery the Wales Road becomes a maintenance road where it runs into the river. It once continued on to the wooded island in the back ground which is what remains of the village of Wales and is the former site of St. David's Anglican Church. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 31, 2010.

³¹ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010

Following the Old Wales Road to the South end of the cemetery one looks across at a small island several hundred feet out in the river. This is the former site of St. David's Anglican Church. Jim Brownell maintains that the island is replete with the three types of brick that had been used in the construction of St. David's. All that remains today of St. David's is one-third of the drive-shed which formerly stood behind the Church and has been moved to the Lost Villages Museum.³²

As we saw in Moulinette in 2015, the fall of 2012 was also a low water year and Cornwall Free News writer, Don Smith, teamed up with Jim Brownell to capture parts of the old villages that came up as the water dropped. The photograph below depicts landmarks in Wales revealed on October 30, 2012.³³ Some of the landscape underlying Hooples Bay also surfaced that day. Recall that prior to the flooding Hooples Bay had been a mere creek so that most of the bed of the bay had formerly been agricultural land. Note also in the second picture below, that low water often creates problematic mud flats. South Stormont Mayor Bryan McGillis said, "I am sure the low water level is a flashback for many people in our community who were affected and displaced from the lost villages during the Seaway project. Many memories and stories remain in our hearts thanks to all the members of the Lost Villages Historical Society, and the many books that have been written over the years."³⁴



Figure 5.30: Parts of Wales that resurfaced in 2012 taken at the St. Lawrence Valley Cemetery. Photograph: Don Smith, Cornwall Free News.

³² LVHS Bus Tour, Guide Jim Brownell, September 24, 2012.

³³ Don Smith, "Lost Villages Resurface in South Stormont," Cornwall Free News, November 2, 2012, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://cornwallfreenews.com/2012/11/01/lost-villages-resurface-in-south-stormont-by-don-smith/>.

³⁴ Ibid.



Figure 5.31: On October 30, 2012 low water levels at Hooples Bay revealed evidence of a farm lost to the creation of the St. Lawrence Seaway. Photograph: Don Smith, Cornwall Free News.



Figure 5.32: Low water at Hooples Bay creating a mud flat, October 30, 2012. Photograph: Don Smith, Cornwall Free News.

Leaving what was Wales, the bus arrived at Farran Park, today's namesake for the disappeared village. The land along the river had been very high at Farran's Point and it was capped by a popular dance pavilion. Relocated to the Newington Fair Grounds, the pavilion survived. Scuba divers report that the stone steps from the pavilion to Lock 22 at Farran's Point remain beneath the water. All of the submerged locks continue to be in tact with the expected erosion that fifty years bring now crusted over with the invasive zebra mussels.³⁵ The area around Lock 22, including the open air pavilion provided the locus for village entertainment.³⁶



Figure 5.33: The Farran's Point open-air pavilion, top left, in its original location in Farran's Point Park beside Lock 22. Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.



Figure 5.34: The Farran's Point open-air pavilion on the Newington Fair Grounds where it has resided for the last 58 years. Considering its construction in wood and tin, it has weathered the years well. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, June 1, 2015.

³⁵ Rutley, 44.

³⁶ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010

The bus continued westward until just past Ingleside, it turned left at what remains of the Aultsville Road which, like the Wales Road, once led into the village from the country. Little more than a laneway, it harbours a wealth of the ruins of Aultsville. There is a flat-topped rise in the laneway that was the Canadian National Railway's right-of-way, the cement supports that held the railway level-crossing barriers still remain in the bushes on either side of the rise.³⁷ Several yards beyond and to the right of the now-defunct railway crossing, there is an indentation in the thick vegetation, which, when pushed aside, reveals a portion of an old sidewalk and what is left of Station Street. This was the heart of the industrial north end with a lumber yard, an egg-grading station and cheese factory which in later years had been acquired by Borden's, the foundation of which is still visible in the underbrush. Aultsville is a paradise for explorers. Beneath the brambles one can trace the foundations of some of the businesses that had sprung up beside the railroad, the lifeblood of the communities.³⁸



Figure 5.35: Base for the CNR railway crossing guard rail east side of Aultsville Road, Aultsville, ON

Abandoned by the CNR, 1957.

Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 19, 2008.



Figure 5.36: Base for the CNR railway crossing guard rail west side of Aultsville Road, Aultsville, ON

Abandoned by the CNR, 1957.

³⁷ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

³⁸ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.



Figure 5.37: Remains of the foundation of Borden's cheese factory in Aultsville's north end. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, December 26, 2010.

The water covering Aultsville is the most shallow of all the flooded villages and, as we saw in Wales, the water was particularly low in the autumn of 2015, bringing up some of the roads and sidewalks of the old village as well as numerous foundations of previous homes. For this reason, we will take a brief hiatus from the bus tour to engage with an expedition into old Aultsville that I undertook with one of the interviewees, Don Paice. It is both arresting and poignant to see the village first, as it was before the Seaway, and then to view the ruins that, for most of the time, lie beneath the water.

The expedition began at #1 in *Figure 5.38*, the pre-Seaway CNR tracks that crossed the Aultsville/Nelson road at the industrial north end of the village. *Figure 5.39* depicts this area in the 1950s while *Figure 5.40* shows the same scene taken fifty-eight years later. Just south of the tracks, we parked our cars at an indentation in the brush that was once Station Street, home to the CNR Aultsville Station. (See #2 in *Figure 5.38*). Don and I then walked south on the remnant of the old road until we reached #3 in *Figure 5.38* where the road stops at today's bicycle path. Ordinarily this is the post-Seaway shore line; everything south of it is under water. But in 2015 this was not the case. We crossed the bicycle path into the undergrowth and picked our way through the bushes and brambles until we came to #4 in *Figure 5.38* where we picked up the broken remains of the former road and sidewalk. We continued in an easterly direction until the road curved and turned south. At the curve I stared in awe at the foundation of the former J. Dingwall home. All of a sudden, the depth of the loss engendered by the Project

became very real. Someone had lived here and called it home. We continued south until we reached a side street to our left; #5 in *Figure 5.38*.

From the Aultsville/Nelson Road, the entire side street was clearly visible stretching to the east (See *Figure 5.45*) and we could see all of the foundations of the former homes along the street. We turned into the side street and to our immediate left was the foundation of the former home of G. Hagerman in the middle of which was a small, silver object. I asked Don what it could be and he replied, without hesitation, that it was the Hydro hook-up where the power had come in to that home. (#6 in *Figure 5.38* and see *Figure 5.46* for foundation and *Figure 5.47* for Hydro hook-up). We continued along the side street with rock foundations on either side of the road until the second last home once belonging to the Murdock family.³⁹ I was overwhelmed. The cement walkway from the side street to the front door was fully intact and immediately behind the walkway lay the foundation of the house. (#7 in *Figure 5.38*; see *Figure 5.48* for walkway and *Figure 5.49* for foundation of Murdock house). The scene was surreal. Everything was still there; the side street, the foundations, the front walkway, the former Hydro hook-ups, the tree stumps. It packed a powerful punch of what had been lost. I came home that evening looking at everything differently; my electric lights, television, stove, toaster, etc. Were they worth the destruction? Had I benefited from those who had not wanted to lose their homes? Had the Project been justifiable?⁴⁰

As Don and I ducked through the underbrush returning to the intact section of the Aultsville/Nelson road, Ault Island was just across the mudflat to our left. We were to meet his cousin, Peter Gorman, at Don's cottage on the Island which was the successor to the family cottage on the submerged Steen Island. As part of the interview, Don pointed out a site of particular interest. At the bottom of his property bordering the river was a lone apple tree. Don's cottage sat on a remnant of what had been Bill Kirkwood's⁴¹ one-thousand tree apple orchard. This is the sole surviving tree from that orchard.⁴² (See *Figure 5.50*).

³⁹ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, Expedition with Don Paice to the former Aultsville, Ontario, September 28, 2015.

⁴⁰ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, Expedition with Don Paice to the former Aultsville, Ontario, September 28, 2015.

⁴¹ See Bill Kirkwood interviewed by the CBC for its documentary *St. Lawrence Seaway: Let the flooding begin* filmed on August 15, 1954. CBC Digital Archives. *St. Lawrence Seaway: Let the flooding begin*, August 15, 1954; accessed June 121, 2012, <http://www.cbc.ca/player/play/1826349772>.

⁴² Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, Expedition with Don Paice to the former Aultsville, Ontario, September 28, 2015; Don Paice and Peter Gorman, Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Ault Island, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.38: Aultsville, Ontario, circa-1950s. Photo by Robert G. Hollister Courtesy of the Lost Villages Historical Society and The Ottawa Citizen, Saturday Observer, June 28, 2008.



Figure 5.39: #1 in Figure 5.38. The CNR right-of-way as it looked circa-1950s. The black dot down the road is just about where we parked our cars. The road beyond that continues south towards the village of Aultsville. Courtesy Lost Villages Museum.



Figure 5.40: This is the same scene as in Figure 5.39 taken 58 years later. The gravelly area in the forefront of the image is the former CNR right-of-way. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, June 15, 2016.



Figure 5.41: #2 in Figure 5.38. The Aultsville/Nelson Road. At the top of the image is the former CNR right-of-way. The indentation to the left is what remains of Station Street and where we parked our cars before embarking on the expedition. Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.42: The road in this image starts at #2 in Figure 5.38 and ends at #3 in Figure 5.38. This portion of road is just south of Station Street and ends at the bicycle path which is ordinarily the post-Seaway shore line.



Figure 5.43: #4 in Figure 5.387. The remains of the sidewalk on the Aultsville/Nelson Road. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



*Figure 5.44: #4 in Figure 5.38. The remains of the Aultsville/Nelson Road.
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.*



*Figure 5.45: #5 in Figure 5.38. The side street branching east from the Aultsville/Nelson Road.
Note the fifty-eight year old tree stumps toward the top middle-right.
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.*



Figure 5.46: #6 in Figure 5.38. The foundation of the G. Hagerman house on the left of the side street. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.47: #6 in Figure 5.38. Note the small silver connection one-third of the way from the centre-bottom of the image. This was the Hydro hook up for the electricity in the G. Hagerman house. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.48: #7 in Figure 5.38. Remains of the front walk leading from the side street to the foundation of the Murdock house which is the square image of stones in the background. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.49: #7 in Figure 5.39. Close-up of the foundation of the Murdock house. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.



Figure 5.50: This is the sole surviving tree from Bill Kirkwood's one-thousand tree apple orchard. The property where the tree now resides belongs to the Paice family who were assigned this plot of land when their camp was moved from Steen Island. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 28, 2015.

A few years previously I had visited Ault Island with Mary Lynn Alguire who had pointed out the home of Clive and Frances Marin, the authors of *Stormont, Dundas and Glengarry, 1945-1978*. The Marins graciously allowed me to view and photograph their backyard patio – a portion of the Old Number Two Highway, the once-vibrant highway was now a deck from which to enjoy a view of the river.⁴³



*Figure 5.51: A portion of Old Number Two Highway now a patio in the Ault Island backyard of Clive and Frances Marin, authors of *Stormont Dundas and Glengarry 1945-1978*. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 23, 2012.*

⁴³ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, Expedition with Mary Lynn Alguire to Ault Island, Ontario, September 23, 2012.

We will now rejoin the bus tour on its way to Morrisburg which had lost its business district to the Seaway. As the waterfront here has been redeveloped, almost no relics of the past have survived. The significance of Morrisburg to the project is as the home of Upper Canada Village (“UCV”). The bus stopped in the parking lot and the passengers stepped out to get a cool drink and spend a few moments in the Pioneer Memorial outside and to the left of the main gate to the village. Directly in front of the gates is the Dickinson’s Landing lighthouse. Once a functioning lighthouse when the Landing was a busy port-of-call on the river, it was moved here when Dickinson’s Landing was razed for the Project. The entrance to the Village Store is just next to the main gate where a remnant of the A.L. Feader General Store in Wales has managed to live on as the storefront façade. This frontage is all that remains of the Wales store but note the name “A.L. Feader” etched in the front window.⁴⁴ Going into the village was not part of the bus tour for reasons of both time and money. However, we did make another stop just west of the village to tour what had been the Aultsville Train Station prior to inundation.



Figure 5.52: The Light House at Dickinson’s Landing was moved to Upper Canada Village Courtesy Lost Villages Historical Society.



Figure 5.53: The Dickinson’s Landing Lighthouse in its present location at Upper Canada Village. Photograph: Rosemary O’Flaherty, September 16, 2012.

⁴⁴ LVHS Bus Tour, Guide Jim Brownell, September 19, 2012.



Figure 5.54: The front entrance of the A.L. Feeder store has been incorporated into the façade of the Village Store at Upper Canada Village.

Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 16, 2012.



Figure 5.55: Note the name 'A.L. Feeder' etched on the glass window of the Village Store, Upper Canada Village.

Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 16, 2012.



Figure 5.56: The Aultsville Train Station moved to Upper Canada Village. The end of the train s on an original piece of track. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 16, 2012.



Figure 5.57: A Grand Trunk Railway car representing the Moccasin beside the Aultsville Station at Upper Canada Village. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 16, 2012.



Figure 5.58 A representation of The Moccasin, one of the last steam locomotives in service. It made the Montreal-Brockville run for 103 years. "On August 9, 1958 the magnificent train made her final run, her steam whistle cutting the silence of the Lost Villages already under water."⁴⁵ Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 16, 2012.

⁴⁵ Rutley, 90.

Finally, we reached the last community affected by the Power Project, Iroquois, moved in its entirety approximately one mile north of its original location. Much of the old town was not, in fact, flooded and the town was primarily moved to accommodate the excavation for the only Canadian lock in the International Rapids Section of the river. Portions of the town not used for the lock offend the eye as a vast expanse of mud. The old canal is now used for pleasure craft while its locking mechanism is still visible beneath the water. The bus wound up to the top of Iroquois Point past one of the cemeteries raised eight feet and again the passengers piled from the bus for an ice cream at the lock restaurant. We were fortunate that day to watch a ship lock-though.⁴⁶



*Figure 5.59: Part of the former canal wall at Iroquois, Ontario.
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 13, 2010.*



*Figure 5.60: A remnant of the locking mechanism on the former Iroquois canal.
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 13, 2010.*

⁴⁶ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

We were now a good three hours into the four hour tour. The bus left Iroquois and took Highway 401 for a much-accelerated trip eastward back to the LVHS Museum. It made only one detour along the way although without making a stop. At the Ingleside exit, bus driver Blythe Watson headed back down to the New Number Two Highway for access to the Long Sault Parkway, built to connect eleven islands that were highpoints of land, once part of the Canadian mainland, stranded after the flooding. Mary Lynn pointed out the approximate former locations of Santa Cruz, Woodlands, Dickinson's Landing and, of course, the former site of the spectacular Long Sault rapids.⁴⁷

In October of 2012 water levels on the lake were lowered considerably as a precaution against the high winds that were expected to accompany the tail end of hurricane Sandy. As pictured below, Jim Brownell is standing on the old Number Two Highway alongside what had once been the Long Sault rapids. By the next day, the river had once again swallowed the surfaced part of the highway.⁴⁸ A little further along the parkway but still in the area of Dickinson's Landing, Reverend Matthew Brunet is pictured at the location of Elliott's Texaco Station just east of the Landing. A day later the site is gone. As we left the Long Sault Parkway, the bus covered the short distance eastward to end, as it had begun, at the LVHS Museum.⁴⁹

Beneath the water of Lake St. Lawrence, scuba divers swim along the old streets, investigating the foundations of homes and businesses; here an old station wagon left where it was last parked; there a child's abandoned tricycle; everything left exactly where it was on July 1, 1958. It is what Vyjayanthi Rao meant when she said, "Embedded in geography are the visible and invisible remains of the old sites. The remains are always present even when not being used."⁵⁰ These are the landmarks that populate the memory maps of the former inhabitants. These remnants render the lost villages visible, as a place of presence rather than a place of absence.

⁴⁷ Alguire-O'Flaherty Bus Tour, Guide Mary Lynn Alguire, July 27, 2010.

⁴⁸ Don Smith, "Lost Villages Resurface in South Stormont" Cornwall Free News, November 1, 2012, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://cornwallfreenews.com/2012/11/01/lost-villages-resurface-in-south-stormont-by-don-smith/>.

⁴⁹ Don Smith, "Lost Villages Resurface in South Stormont" Cornwall Free News, November 1, 2012, accessed May 5, 2016, <http://cornwallfreenews.com/2012/11/01/lost-villages-resurface-in-south-stormont-by-don-smith/>.

⁵⁰ Vyjayanthi Rao, "The Future in Ruins," in *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, ed. Ann Laura Stoler (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2013), 289, 315.



Figure 5.61: President of the Lost Villages Historical Society, Jim Brownell, stands on Old Highway No. 2 at the site of the Long Sault Rapids, October 30, 2012. Courtesy Jim Brownell.



Figure 5.62: A day later the water level was closer to normal with much less of the old highway visible. October 31, 2012. Courtesy Jim Brownell.



Figure 5.63: Rev. Matthew Brunet standing at the site of Elliott's Texaco Service Station on the easterly outskirts of Dickinson's Landing. The foundation of the garage is in the background. Courtesy Jim Brownell.



Figure 5.64: A day later the water level is much closer to normal. Courtesy Jim Brownell.

There is no counterpart to the LVHS and its museum in the United States nor is there any public bus tour. Therefore, I offer here a composite tour drawn from my own travels across the border over the past eight years. The only people with me on these tours were my two ‘research assistants’, Mary Lynn Alguire and my sister, Patricia O’Flaherty. Initially, knowledge about the remains of the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project appeared to be one of the best-kept secrets on the American side of the river, or so it seemed. Yet every person with whom I was fortunate enough to obtain an interview, and every person that I stopped on the street to ask for directions or advice, and those whose doorbells I rang asking permission to take pictures, knew the story and added to my pool of information.

As soon as we cleared the U.S. Customs, located at the foot of the bridges between Cornwall and Massena, we turned right onto Highway U.S. 37 West, the evidence of the Power Project abounded. Within five minutes we arrived at the turn-off for the Eisenhower Lock Observation Station and the PASNY Interpretive Centre. The terrain is immediately tell-tale. The margins of the rebuilt U.S. 37 (known locally as the ‘arterial highway’) have wide, grassy verges largely devoid of business or habitation. Other than the southern terminal of the Moses-Saunders dam, Barnhart Island is beautifully appointed with magnificent beaches and camp grounds, the artificial creations of Robert Moses, but no-one lives there anymore.⁵¹

Turning onto the approach road to the lock and dam, we took an almost immediate left onto Highway 131. The first stop was at the Harold “Skeets” Carroll Beach, also known as the Massena Town Beach. It was named to memorialize both Harold “Skeets” Carroll and the natural Skeets Beach in the submerged village of Louisville Landing.⁵² Because of his leadership in the village and town of Massena, Harold had received approval to construct a public beach on the banks of the St. Lawrence River, outside of the village “at a beautiful bay bordered by pastureland.”⁵³ The town board named it for him in honor of his contributions to the beach and the town. “This beach was flooded to develop the St. Lawrence Seaway. A new and better-equipped beach was later established several miles up the river.”⁵⁴

⁵¹ Field Notes, Rosemary O’Flaherty, May 8, 2016.

⁵² Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, February 26, 2016; Harold “Skeets” Carroll began teaching mathematics at the Massena High School in 1926. He also coached basketball and football and was director of the Office of Civilian Protection of Massena during World War II, and the director of recreation for the village and town of Massena for many years.

⁵³ Jim Carroll with the help of Peggy Carroll Nolan, Sarah Carroll Moroney and Ellen Carroll Guiney, *We Two, Form A Multitude: Images and Impressions of the Lives of Harold “Skeets” Carroll and Helen Dwyer Carroll of Massena, New York, Descendants and Families, 1930 – 2010. (Draft as of July 9, 2011 Subject to corrections and additions* (Washington, D.C., USA: accessed June 1, 2016, <https://sites.google.com/site/wetwocarrollforever/home>, April 2010.

⁵⁴ Ibid.



Figure 5.65: Harold "Skeets" Carroll is the official name of the Massena Town Beach. The name memorializes the natural Skeets Beach that was submerged along with the village of Louisville Landing. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, April 23, 2016.

A little further down the road is the Massena Intake and power canal built in conjunction with the Power Project to provide water for Massena but largely to keep Alcoa supplied with both water and power. There is a public boat launch across the road from the Intake but, as with U.S. 37, the surrounding landscape, although nicely manicured has no other structures fulfilling Moses' promise that the parkland he created should remain pristine with no unsightly advertising or blemished buildings.⁵⁵

Continuing west from the Intake, a few residential homes dot the road to the left but to the right, or river side of the road, there is nothing but parkland and nature trails sloping up to the top of a long series of dikes that keep the St. Lawrence in check.⁵⁶ The scenery is lovely but empty and a rather poignant reminder to the Canadian viewer that a more extensive use of diking on the north shore of the river might have reduced the amount of flooding.⁵⁷ The clever camouflage of the dikes with greenery contrasts with Cornwall's sole dike, brown, gritty, and uninviting.

⁵⁵ OA. RG 19-61-1 Municipal Affairs Research Branch-Special Studies, St. Lawrence Seaway Study 21. Container B443892, File14.1.3, #1, St. Lawrence Development Commission: The Ottawa Journal Dec 6, 1955.

⁵⁶ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 2014.

⁵⁷ Becker, 14; William R. Willoughby. *The St. Lawrence Waterway: a Study in Politics and Diplomacy*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1961), 10-11

As we come into Massena, evidence of the American losses to the Seaway became evident. On a private jaunt with Mary Lynn Alguire, one of the Canadian tour guides, we stumbled upon the first clue quite by accident. As she sped along Highway 131, a street jutted off to the right and, out of the corner of my eye, I saw a street sign 'Old River Road' and all my hackles went up. I hollered to her to stop and back up. As soon as I saw the sign 'Dead End', I had a fair idea of what we would find at the end of the road as the 'Dead End' sign at the entrance to Old River Road says it all.⁵⁸ We followed the Old River Road until it petered out at a barrier with a crumbling road behind it. Mary Lynn waited in the Jeep while I side-stepped the barrier and found exactly what I had suspected. It was the continuation of the road with patches of asphalt still intact; at one point a very faint white centre line remained from by-gone days. The road ended, as we have seen so often in Canada, by plunging into the St. Lawrence, its continuation visible across the bay.⁵⁹ I stopped some residents along the road who confirmed that this had indeed been the River Road prior to inundation. There was some bitterness in these conversations as they described their attempts to buy back their river front acreage that had been expropriated by PASNY in the 1950s.⁶⁰



Figure 5.66: Old River Road, Massena, New York, formerly called River Road in the days before the Power Project. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September, 2014.

⁵⁸ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, September, 2014.

⁵⁹ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, September, 2014.

⁶⁰ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, September, 2014.



Figure 5.67: Beginning of Old River Road where it heaves off to the right from Highway 131. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 2014.



Figure 5.68: Barrier at the end of Old River Road. Beyond the barrier the road continues (see Figure 5.69) until it plunges into the St. Lawrence River (see Figure 5.70). Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.



*Figure 5.69: The continuation of Old River Road beyond the barrier.
Photographs: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.*



Figure 5.70: Old River Road plunging into the St. Lawrence River.

Merging back onto Highway 131, we went north on Pontoon Bridge Road which becomes Massena's Main Street in town then turned left onto Maple Street arriving at #138 and #140 Maple Street. Larry Andress' mother had moved into Massena when her home in Louisville Landing had been expropriated and bought the house at #140 Maple Street as well as a vacant lot next door that would become #138 Maple Street. Larry, determined to save his family home in Louisville Landing managed to buy the house back from PASNY and, at his own expense, had it moved to the vacant lot at #138 Maple Street.⁶¹

⁶¹ Lawrence Andress. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Cornwall, Ontario, March 10, 2016.



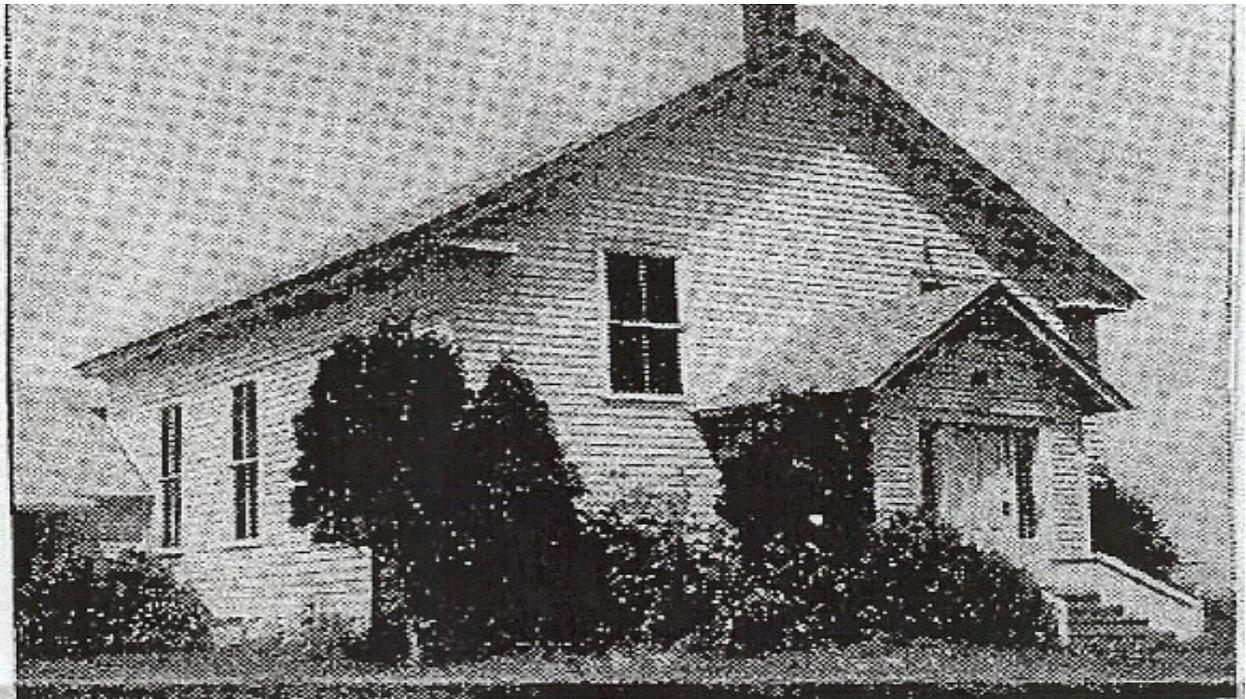
Figure 5.71: #138 Maple Street, Massena, New York. This is Larry Andress' family home moved from Louisville Landing just before inundation. The green house to the left is #140 Maple Street, his mother's home. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, March 10, 2016.

From here we continued north on Maple Street until we rejoined U.S. 37. Just west of Massena we entered the Town of Louisville and travelled north on the Browning Road. At the intersection with Martin cross-road there is a small church with an attached hall. This is the only non-residential structure moved at the time of the Seaway. Today it is a Calvary Apostolic Church while in its original location in Louisville Landing it was known as the Louisville Landing Free Union Church which welcomed members of the Methodist, Episcopal, and Universalist congregations. The church has been in service for 174 years.⁶² Still in the Town of Louisville, we continued north on Browning Road until we reached 131 again and then turned left, heading west once more to the Whalen Road which, according to Larry, had gone right into Louisville Landing that he pointed out to me on a 1953 map.

⁶² The *Massena Observer*, July 26, 1979; Larry Andress, Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, March 10, 2016.



*Figure 5.72: The Calvary Apostolic Church on Browning Road in the town of Louisville, New York, moved from Louisville Landing at the time of the Seaway.
Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.*



*Figure 5.73: The Browning Road Church was previously the Louisville Landing Free Union Church pictured here in its original location in Louisville Landing.
Photograph: Source unknown, June 21, 1941.*



Figure 5.74: Louisville Landing bottom centre-left. The road just to the left of it is the Whalen Road. This area is now under water. Map: Corps of Engineers, U.S. Army, Survey of the Northern and Northwestern Lakes, St. Lawrence River: Richards Landing to Leishman Point, N.Y., Chart No. 12, 1953. Courtesy Larry Andress.

On the north side of 131 Whalen Road becomes the entrance to a very small park of the same name. It may be small but, as with all Moses' parks, it is impeccable. The Whalen Road now ends, as one would expect, in the St. Lawrence River. Standing on the shore however we could pick out two details: a short distance out there is a light coloured streak running east-west. This would be the drowned River Road. A bit beyond the streak is a discoloured area of water indicating a shoal, that is, a parcel of land sitting high in the water: welcome to Louisville Landing. On this particular trip I had my sister with me and we stood there for a long time trying to imagine the Whalen Road intersection with the silver streak and the village just beyond it where Norman Rockwell once enjoyed the sights and sounds of the little village by the river.⁶³

⁶³ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.75: The entrance road to today's Whalen Park once led directly into Louisville Landing. Note the sign 'Benefit of Hydro Power' with no mention of the submerged village. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, April 23, 2016.



Figure 5.76: A remnant of Whalen Road truncated at the St. Lawrence River since 1958. It once led into Louisville Landing. The discoloured water in the centre of the photo is the shoal that was once Louisville Landing. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, April 23, 2016.



Figure 5.77: The silver streak in the middle of the image is the submerged River Road. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.

Meandering further west along Highway 131 brought us to the Wilson Hill Island causeway. I have been across the causeway many times and yet, each time, I am overwhelmed by the scene to the west. I privately refer to this spot as the 'Field of Stumps.' As far as the eye can see, the bay is littered with fifty-eight year old tree stumps and the shore line is marred with the debris that washes ashore from the stumps. The destruction here was enormous. Because this forms part of the Wilson Hill Wildlife Management Area and is located quite far north of the shipping channel, water levels here are always fairly low. It gives one pause, however, to consider what other similar sites lurk beneath Lake St. Lawrence where the water is thirty to sixty feet deep.⁶⁴ At the western tip of the island there were two more victims of the Power Project: a derelict strip of roadway terminating in the river accompanied by a partial sidewalk that now goes nowhere.⁶⁵

⁶⁴ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.

⁶⁵ Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.78: "Field of Stumps" located to the west of the Wilson Hill Island causeway. These stumps have been in the water for fifty-eight years. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.



Figure 5.79: The shoreline at the "Field of Stumps." Evidence of the debris from the razed trees that has washed up on shore. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 10, 2016.

Back across the causeway, we followed 131 west until it ends at U.S. 37 just east of Louisville Road and continued on 37 arriving shortly in the Town of Waddington. At the flashing light in the centre of town, we turned right onto Oak Street and within moments were in downtown Waddington, a fairly short street that ends at St. Lawrence Avenue which runs parallel to the river. Near the bottom of Oak Street on the left hand side of the road is a large white house. Interviewee Bob Breen had described it to us explaining that it was moved from the old Coles Creek Road to avoid inundation. For many years it was Lou Pemberton's bar but today is a private home.⁶⁶

Waddington lost its river's edge road to the Project that resulted in a rather confusing configuration of the homes. The original road and shore front properties were all slated for inundation but the homes across the road on the south side would remain. PANSY constructed the new road, today's St. Lawrence Avenue behind the homes on the south side which now became the north side of St. Lawrence Avenue. Consequently what used to be the front doors of these homes are now the backdoors and face the river and, conversely, what used to be their backdoors are now their front doors facing St. Lawrence Avenue. As discussed in Chapter Four, these waterfront properties are caught in the same dilemma that Julie and Patrick Madlin faced; the first fifty feet of their properties still belongs to PANSY, managed by Federal Energy Regulatory Commission ("FERC"). The folks along the street have not fared as well as the Madlins in maintaining their privacy as FERC has built a bicycle and walking path along the waterfront. It is rather eerie to walk the path and gaze upon the remnants of the sidewalk that once ran on the south side of the now-disappeared road. At one point the walkway from the sidewalk still exists to the back door of one home which was, of course, at one time the front of the house.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

⁶⁷ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016; Field Notes, Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.80: This was at one time Lou Pemberton's Bar moved as a private home before the flooding. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.81: One of the turned-around homes on St. Lawrence Avenue in Waddington, New York. The horizontal sidewalk, bottom left, once bordered the now submerged road. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.

We returned again to U.S. 37 still heading in a westerly direction and just west of Waddington encountered the proverbial, ubiquitous piece of highway plunging into the river. This is actually a former stretch of U.S. 37 prior to its reconstruction further inland at the time of the Power Project. Large sections of the asphalt remain intact, crumbling eventually into the river. There was a strange, concrete configuration just a few feet out in the river that I was unable to fathom. Showing a picture of it to Bob Breen, he recognized it immediately. Bob said that before the flooding there had been a small creek that ran beside the highway. This was a small foot bridge over the creek with only one of its parabolic supports still in place.⁶⁸



Figure 5.82: A portion of the old U.S. 37 that now ends at the St. Lawrence River, Waddington, New York. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.83: An abandoned foot bridge that crossed a small creek beside U.S. 37. Waddington, New York. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, September 24, 2013.

⁶⁸ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

We then came to the small community of Red Mills on the outskirts of Ogdensburg. We turned right into Wallace Point Road, a crescent that winds down to the river and then returns to U.S. 37. It is populated with numerous camps; some new, some rebuilt, many dating back to pre-Seaway days which had been moved in whole or in part. Some of the camps had been moved back from the shore line thirty feet to avoid inundation. Others had been moved from the former islands across from the mainland which were slated to disappear with the flooding. Not all were moved wholesale. Where the move of a camp was not feasible, windows, doors, decks, and part of the previous camps were salvaged and incorporated into newly built camps at the Wallace Point Resort.⁶⁹

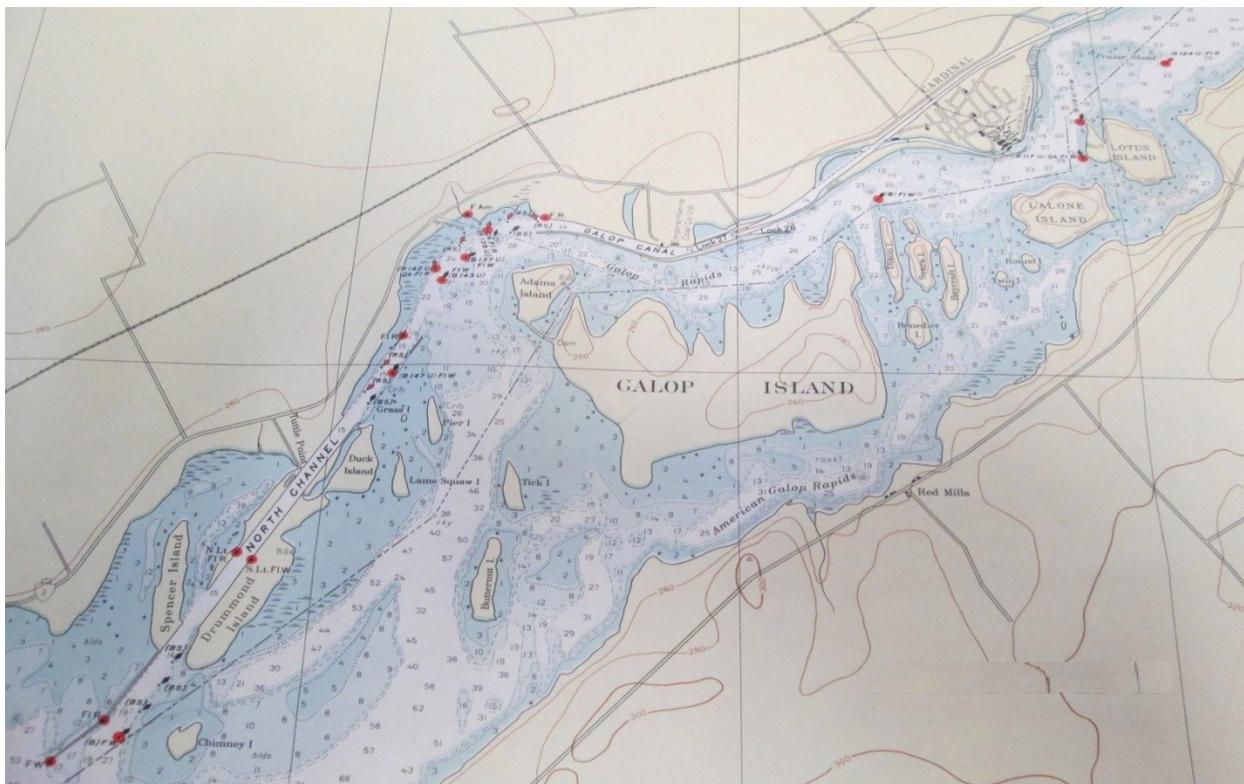


Figure 5.84: Red Mills, the site of the Wallace Point Resort, located bottom-center right across from Galop Island. This map shows the islands from which the camps were moved. Many of these islands were completely submerged; others, like Galop Island, were greatly reconfigured. Note the North Channel of the St. Lawrence Seaway demarcated with red dots. The Galop Rapids, just above Red Mills, remain intact.⁷⁰ Map: Courtesy Bob Breen.

⁶⁹ Field Notes, Rosemary O’Flaherty, conversation with Barbara and Stephen Douglass, camp-owners at the Wallace Point Resort, May 8, 2016.

⁷⁰ The Nautical Seaway Trail: Chartbook and Waterfront Guide to New York State’s Great Lakes – St. Lawrence River Region. Control Access Research by Black River St. Lawrence Resource Conservation and Development Council, Watertown, New York. Text & Graphics by Seaway Trail, Inc., Sackets Harbor, New York, First Edition, Blue Heron Enterprises, 1991. Map: Courtesy Bob Breen.



Figure 5.85: Wallace Point Resort, some camps moved back thirty feet from the river while others were moved from islands slated to disappear; others were dismantled and pieces of them used to rebuild new camps at the resort. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.



Figure 5.86: This is an original, pre-Seaway camp at Wallace Point moved back thirty feet from the river's edge. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 8, 2016.

A few hundred yards west of the Wallace Point Resort is the home of interviewee Julie Madlin and her husband, Patrick. Julie is the town historian for the City of Ogdensburg and, with her keen sense of history, has carefully preserved artifacts from her own property. Her historical research is greatly enhanced by her father, Bob Breen, also an interviewee. Bob brings much first-hand knowledge to this story. As a college student in the 1950s, he had part-time and summer jobs on the Power Project.⁷¹

The first artifact Julie produced was a brass marker that she found on her property placed by PASNY all those years ago. She then showed us the high-water surveyors' markers that still remain on the property. As to the low-water markers, her story was quite humorous. From time-to-time PASNY still checks these high and low water markers. At one point, quite incensed, a representative demanded to know why the low water markers were not visible. Julie and Patrick replied, barely able to control their mirth, that the low-water markers were, after all way out in the river and likely had been washed away many years ago.⁷²



Figure 5.87 A boundary line marker from the Power Authority of the State of New York that Julie and Patrick Madlin found on their Red Mills property. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 1, 2016.

⁷¹ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.

⁷² Julie Madlin. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016.



Figure 5.88: High water marker that remains in the Madlins' back yard. PAsNY's surveyors still check it from time to time. Photograph: Rosemary O'Flaherty, May 1, 2016.

The last point of interest as we head south from Red Mills into Ogdensburg is the Morning Star Homes Inc. business which has just recently closed its doors for business. James and Margaret Sandburg built "Morning Star Mobile Village"⁷³ in 1958. The business had its inception at the time of the Power Project as a mobile home community located six miles east of Ogdensburg to serve as temporary quarters for Seaway construction workers, many of whom arrived in mobile homes of various sizes. During construction, many of the Seaway and Corps of Engineers workers commuted to and from work each day using the dock on the Sandburg's well-developed waterfront which also included a sandy area for swimming, and beach activities.⁷⁴ As the tourist business blossomed and trailers became increasingly larger, the

⁷³ Mike Sandburg, Email to Rosemary O'Flaherty, July 3, 2016. According to Mike Sandburg, the son of James and Margaret, his parents adopted the name "Morning Star" as a tribute to the Blessed Virgin Mary who is often referred to by this name.

⁷⁴ Ibid. Mike recalls that his mother had dreams of creating a "Boatel" on this waterfront, a plan that never actually materialized. James Sandburg, was the Business Officer, or Chief Steward at the nearby St. Lawrence State Hospital and while the development of Morning Star was a sideline for him and Margaret, it took up their entire lives outside of James' duties at the State Hospital until his retirement in 1968.

owners were excited by the possibilities of mobile homes providing comfortable and affordable housing and became further involved in the industry making it the “largest -- and longest lived -- mobile and modular home dealership in New York State.”⁷⁵ Morning Star Mobile Village, as built by James and Margaret Sandburg, continues to survive today as a permanent residential community hosting a number of mobile and modular homes.⁷⁶



Figure 5.89: The Morning Star Homes Sales Office in Ogdensburg, New York as it looks in 2016. Photograph: Rosemary O’Flaherty, May 8, 2016.

⁷⁵ Accessed July 2, 2016, <http://www.morningstarhomes.com/DomainNameForSale.php>.

⁷⁶ Bob Breen. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Red Mills, New York, May 1, 2016; accessed July 2, 2016, <http://www.morningstarhomes.com/DomainNameForSale.php>.

Disinterring physical remains from the Power Project, particularly on the American shore, has been a pains-taking eight year project. There are likely many more ruins in the U.S. that I have not uncovered; another story for some future researcher. Sociologist Tim Strangleman has argued that the desire to preserve remains of a past can also be seen in terms of the memorialization of the passing of a place.⁷⁷ “‘Things’, therefore, material objects, mementos of a work life, are important links to memories.”⁷⁸ They materially attest to social relations that once existed and have in some way survived across a period of devastation. They are the tangible links to the remembered past.⁷⁹ They celebrate a way of life and the places where people lived such that the relationship between material artifact, photography, and memory is not simple.⁸⁰ “The visual plays a key role in the practice of remembrance,”⁸¹ and “Outward signs were needed if memories were to be retained and retrieved. Something is not secure enough by hearing, but it is made firm by seeing.”⁸²

Undoubtedly the Museum appeals to the middle-class tourist as an elegiac site of ruin but it also serves to memorialize the long gone towns and keep their memory alive, in a continual attempt to insert a disappeared way of life into the historical future. As Strangleman has pointed out, the driving force behind the creation of institutions such as the Museum is to preserve some part of the physical reality of the past that precludes the past from becoming a ghost. The material remains haunt the former residents yet continue to tether them to the past.

⁷⁷ Tim Strangleman, “‘Smokestack Nostalgia,’ ‘Ruin Porn’ or Working-Class Obituary: The Role and Meaning of Deindustrial Representation,” *International Labour and Working-Class History* 84 (Fall 2013):, 31.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, 33

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, 34

⁸² Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* (London, New York: Verso, 1994), viii.

Conclusion: Resurrecting the Remains

“These turbulent waters will be tamed by engineers and construction men who are about to change the flow pattern the river has followed for centuries [...] And so a mighty river must be tamed and changed in its course to permit man to build installations that will assist in the generation of power.”¹

Hydro News Release, Number 10, Feb. 8, 1957

The R.H. Saunders Generating Station in Cornwall, Ontario and the Franklin D. Roosevelt Generating Station in Massena, New York bookend the Robert Moses-Robert H. Saunders Power Dam with its thirty-two turbines, sixteen in each country. Together the two power houses generate 1,957 megawatts of electricity, some of which Ontario uses but largely for New York, Vermont, and other parts of New England. The first power came on-line on September 5, 1958 and was fully operational when the Seaway opened on June 27, 1959. The St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project came in on time and on budget at a cost of \$470 million (Cdn) but as this thesis has demonstrated it incurred a further cost not measurable in dollars.

Stretching across the river from Cornwall to Massena, the fifty-eight year old dam now looks rather innocuous in its rural setting with very little noticeable activity as the river flows by quietly. Tucked away at the end of Second Street, one can almost forget (and many residents of Cornwall do) that the dam is even there. It is hard to reconcile this bucolic scene with the frenzy of construction activity that radically altered this site. It is even more difficult to imagine the tiny hamlet of Maple Grove that once occupied this place with its century homes, colony of Hydro houses, and Ernie’s Hotel up around Dead Man’s curve. There is a similar sleepy atmosphere at Hawkins Point on the American side.

In one of the earliest interviews I conducted, Jane Craig, who had grown up in the lost village of Moulinette recounted the story of Katie Mullin who had lived on a farm on the northern edge of Moulinette at what is now the present site of the Long Sault marina. Ironically, the Project dispossessed Katie of a home that would never be flooded. An adult at the time of inundation, Katie remained silent and bitter about the dislocation until, against her will, she attended a lecture with Jane just shortly before her death. In the course of the lecture, Katie

¹ SLU. MSS40, Seaway Collection 40, Box. 69, Seaway-Ontario Hydro 1957 Press Releases: Hydro News Release, Number 10, Feb. 8, 1957: 40.69.4.

intervened to correct a small point of detail inadvertently breaking her long silence with a flood of words that superseded the flood that had drowned out her voice so long ago.²

Maggie Wheeler told a similar story during her 2007 presentation to the Glengarry Historical Society on the effects of the Power Project. She had moved to Long Sault as a little girl in 1967 and was well aware that Long Sault had its genesis in the flooding of 1958 but expressed astonishment that she had grown up and lived in Long Sault for most of her life, and never once heard the adults around her discuss the flood or mention it until the fortieth anniversary celebrations in 1998.³ In Maggie's words "I knew all about the power dam and the seaway story, but never was it discussed either in the schools or even over the backyard fence."⁴ Her lecture had attracted many residents of Stormont, Dundas & Glengarry who had once called the Front home. Larry Welsh and Helen Kennedy nodded knowingly and, during the question period, Larry spoke of the enveloping silence as the only antidote to a situation over which the residents had little control.⁵ The Lost Villages Historical Society's 1977 decision to record the oral history of the former residents seemed to be a major factor in abrogating that silence.⁶ Italian historian Luisa Passerini expressed the simultaneous ability to remember and repress as there being "no 'work of memory' without a corresponding 'work of forgetting'"⁷

Losing the rapids, the river, and the landscape to the flooding may have eclipsed both the individual and collective voice of the residents but, while no doubt painful, this does not necessarily imply they felt completely defeated. The measure of the social and political atmosphere of the 1950s reified corporate/government authority during a time of dramatic modernization and, assuredly, the residents mourned their losses. As I explored the silence more deeply, however, I realized it masked something much deeper: anger about what they had lost. At first, this anger festered in the private lives of those displaced and little was heard in public. Eventually, however, critical questions about the Seaway Project and what was lost as a result began to be heard and, eventually, over twenty years, became so powerful that a counter-narrative took hold in the area. The founding of the Lost Villages Historical Society was perhaps the most visible sign of this shifting story-line. But why did it take so long? Why did people remain silent for so long? In searching for a cause, I began to take a much closer look at the

² Jane Craig. Interviewed by Rosemary O'Flaherty, Long Sault, Ontario, November 2008.

³ Maggie Wheeler. Presentation to the Glengarry Historical Society, November 1, 2007.

⁴ *Montreal Gazette*, July 21, 2001.

⁵ Maggie Wheeler. Presentation to the Glengarry Historical Society, November 1, 2007; Helen Kennedy's family birth name is Welsh; Helen and Larry are siblings.

⁶ Leon Fink, ed., *In Search of the Working Class: Essays in American Labor History and Political Culture* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1994), xx.

⁷ Luisa Passerini, "Part II Interviewing: Introduction," in *The Oral History Reader*, eds., Robert Perks and Alistair Thomson, 2ed (London and New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2006), 212.

protest in the early days of construction. Undoubtedly, the power companies and various levels of government had perceived these communities as expendable given the promised “public” economic and material benefits of the Project. In fact, the citizens of the lost communities had bargained with the utilities to minimize the damage and reduce the upheaval of relocation. As we saw in the first chapter, protest in Ontario had led to the creation of the St. Lawrence Board of Review. It had also caused Hydro to factor in the inconvenience of being displaced to the compensation package and to relocate homes at no financial cost to the homeowners. Hydro’s newly engineered towns provided full electricity, indoor plumbing, a modern sewage disposal system, paved streets, sidewalks, and street lighting. It had built new, concrete foundations to replace the old rock ones on the houses it moved; porches and steps were rebuilt, and properties landscaped. Despite similar protest on the U.S. shore, the New York residents fared less well than their Canadian counterparts. PASNY left the financial burden for relocating homes and camps to the individual and agreed to move only one non-residential structure, the Louisville Landing Free Union Church. This was in keeping with past practice and the law in the United States. Most camp owners had rejected outright PASNY’s attempt to sandwich them all together on Wilson Hill Island. Nevertheless, those who did relocate to Wilson Hill reaped the benefits of PASNY’s improvements to the island’s infrastructure. The American residents had been angry at losing their homes and farms and even angrier at PASNY’s refusal to underwrite the costs of removal. In contrast with Hydro, PASNY did not offer a percentage for inconvenience.

When PASNY’s licence came up for renewal in 2003, the North Country negotiated for further compensation for the land it had lost to the Power Project. One lawyer for St. Lawrence County, Larry Danesha, attempted to quell these negotiations stating: “I don’t think we’re going to get anything more than what we’ve been offered. I think, in a nutshell, a bad deal is better than no deal.”⁸ Essentially, the message communicated by Danesha was to stop wrangling with the utility and accept the offer, however unsatisfactory it might be constituting, once again, a subordination of voice and an acceptance of the political limits imposed upon the residents. These negotiations with PASNY dragged on into 2015 at which time North Country Public Radio’s David Sommerstein reported that, with respect to PASNY, the North Country’s leaders felt “they keep getting run over.”⁹ Sommerstein thought PASNY should compensate the U.S. towns along the river for having the power dam in their back yard for the past sixty years, for the

⁸ Accessed January 30, 2015, <http://www.northcountrypublicradio.org/news/story/27288/20150126/did-the-state-muscle-st-lawrence-co-into-nypa-deal>.

⁹ Accessed January 26, 2015, <http://www.northcountrypublicradio.org/news/story/27288/20150126/did-the-state-muscle-st-lawrence-co-into-nypa-deal>

miles of riverfront seized, and land flooded during the Power Project: “Local people have been bitter ever since.”¹⁰ Massena Town Supervisor, Joseph Gray, added that the Power Project had left Massena, Waddington, and Louisville virtually without shoreline tourist attractions. “Forty-five miles of shoreline is tied up and can’t be used because the Power Authority controls it.”¹¹ Former Massena mayor, James Hidy also spoke strongly, “We need to stand up and fight.”¹² For many, the fight continues.

Earlier in this thesis, we heard author Rosemary Rutley explain that perhaps she had not really wanted to see or hear about the inundation.¹³ Jane Craig remembered that, with the resiliency of youth, she followed her mother’s advice; to let it go and get on with her life. Over the years whenever the subject of the flooding arose, she felt rather irritated with folks who could not release the past. As youth waned, she found herself pondering her past and her childhood, realizing that the signposts of her own history were gone.¹⁴ Jane also revealed that, for many years after the flooding, former residents continued to refer to Ingleside and Long Sault by their construction era names: Town Site #1 and Town Site #2. The new town names remained *verboten* for some until the late 1970s and even then some residents refrained from using the comfortable term ‘home.’¹⁵ This speaks to a prolonged resistance on the part of the residents to accepting the loss of their homes. The establishment of the historical society, the museum, and the bus tours, along with interviewing the elderly, grew out of such resistance and were the first steps taken on the road to recovering their own story. As John Russo and Sherry Lee Linkon have said, “a community’s recovery of a positive memory of itself is the first important step toward reconstructing a sense of place, belonging, and ownership.”¹⁶

The museum site at Long Sault is not a metaphor for the lost villages; it is an actual, albeit unconscious, attempt to recreate the lost landscape as a site of memory to mourn lost community, remember the past, and provide a unifying story for the successor towns. The museum is, as John Bodnar has said, a gathering place where former residents can express their grief, honour the past, and locate enough pieces of the past in which to anchor the

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Rosemary Rutley to Sandy Bierworth, Cornwall Standard-Freeholder, undated.

¹⁴ Jane Craig. Interviewed by Rosemary O’Flaherty, Lost Villages Museum, Long Sault, Ontario, November 2008.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Sherry Lee Linkon and John Russo, *Steeltown, U.S.A.: work and memory in Youngstown* (Lawrence, Kansas: University Press of Kansas, 2002), 218.

present.¹⁷ Since the fortieth anniversary of inundation in 1998, the museum bus tours have consistently attracted a substantial contingent of former residents, many of whom left the area decades earlier. Nearing the end of their lives, they now wanted to see what, if anything, remained of their former communities. They wished to visit home.¹⁸

As of this writing, no equivalent of the historical society and museum has appeared on the American shore. The explanation for this likely rests with the fewer numbers of people dislocated. Whereas in Ontario the Power Project demolished whole villages, the landscape in New York largely consisted of farms and camps with only one village disappearing in its entirety, Louisville Landing, along with the river front roads in Massena and Waddington. This is not to suggest that the Power Project left the Americans unscathed. While doing field work for this project, I chanced upon some of the children-now-adults whose parents had lost homes and property to the Seaway on the Old River Road in Massena, their anger and bitterness is still palpable. According to the former president of the Wilson Hill Island Association, the late Dalton Foster, much bitterness remains toward the Power Authority.¹⁹ Unlike Hydro, PASNY made no concerted effort to relocate the dispossessed of Louisville Landing within a self-contained community so that there is no equivalent state-side to Ingleside and Long Sault for institutionalized remembrance.²⁰

As the residents began to reconnect with their past, a host of other cultural producers were attracted to this story.²¹ A variety of books have memorialized and celebrated these lost places. Maggie Wheeler's four novels brought the ruined landscape and its inhabitants out of the murky past, raised them from their submerged grave, banished obscurity, and gave them vibrant, new life. Their significance lies in redemption and a reclaiming of place identity. Author and artist, Anne-Marie Shields, captured the movement of homes with water colour sketches of

¹⁷ John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1992), 4-5, 8, 13.

¹⁸ As Laura Peers and Alison Brown have said, "Museums begin to see source communities as an important audience and consider how museum representations are perceived by, and affect community members." Laura Peers and Alison K. Brown, "Museums and Source Communities" in Sheila Watson, ed. *Museums and their Communities* (London & New York: Routledge Taylor & Francis Group, 2007), 519. Peter Davis has looked at how rural museums act as an arm of the wider community that speaks to the geography of settlement and viscerally understands how landscape, memories and shared experience integrate community and the representations of the past that best fit the present. Unlike Peter Davis' contention that local communities often become marginalized and lose ownership of the story, the museum led the way for the former communities to reacquire ownership of their stories. Peter Davis, "Place Explorations: Museums, Identity, Community" in *Museums and their Communities*, Sheila Watson, ed. (London, New York: Routledge, 2007), 59, 61, 70.

¹⁹ Interview with Dalton Foster, Wilson Hill Island, Massena, New York, October 29, 2014.

²⁰ Mabee, *Seaway Story*, 209.

²¹ Strangleman, Rhodes, and Lindon, "Crumbling Cultures," 7.

a smattering of the pre-Seaway homes including thumb-nail histories of those chosen for illustration. More recently, another local author, Jennifer Debruin, has produced two works of fiction set in the villages and local historian Rosemary Rutley's *Voices from the Lost Villages*, which synthesized the Museum's collection of interviews, was enthusiastically received by the former residents. All of these books serve as vehicles that perpetuate "cultural continuity rather than rupture."²²

By the fiftieth anniversary of inundation in 2008, the public memory initiatives blossomed anew. Among these is Louis Helbig's spectacular aerial photography where the old streets and building foundations are clearly visible beneath the water while John Earle's film, *Submerged*, provides an underwater perspective. As a scuba-diver, Earle filmed the eerie remains of the villages from beneath the water. The sensuality of the experience underscores in a visceral manner the abandonment, dislocation and decay. The relationship between the former residents in Ontario and the power company has, over the years, mellowed to one of co-operation. Nowhere was this more evident than during the fiftieth anniversary of inundation and power generation in 2008 and the official opening of the St. Lawrence Seaway in 2009. These commemorative ceremonies spoke to the determination of former residents to ensure that their own stories are publicly remembered. One initiative by the Township of South Stormont, in conjunction with the Historical Society, placed a flag on the lawn of every home in Long Sault and Ingleside that had been moved from the villages at the time of the Seaway. Most of the members of the Lost Villages Historical Society and Museum are now senior citizens. One question that I have asked many of them to consider is the future of the Historical Society and Museum. It is a question with which they wrestle. They are encouraged however by the recent surge of interest in their story.²³

Damming the Remains has been a journey through the history and ruins of the memories of the lost Seaway communities. Much has been written about the non-consultation with people affected by mega-projects and, certainly, this was the case along the St. Lawrence. Some scholars such as Carleton Mabee, Daniel Macfarlane, and Clive and Frances Marin have

²² High, "Beyond Aesthetics," 144.

²³ In the past year alone, for example, there have been pedagogical initiatives from one private school and two universities. The Timothy Christian School at Bouck's Hill Ontario, just north of Morrisburg, conducted a school-wide project on the Lost Villages for students from Kindergarten to Grade Eight. In the 2014/2015 school year, four honours history students from Carleton University completed a documentary, *No Road Home*, as a project for a fourth year history course, *Canada: Ideas & Culture*. The twelve minute video explores the relocation of families for the impending inundation. In February 2016, Professor Mason White of the John H. Daniels Faculty of Architecture, Landscape and Design at the University of Toronto brought his graduate students to visit the museum site. The project assigned was to examine the placement of the buildings on the site and suggest ways in which the space could be optimized as well as design a central, administrative pavilion that would blend in with the 1950s architecture.

provided evidence of protest on the St. Lawrence. As examined here, these protests on the Seaway forced the power companies to modify their plans to some extent. While inundation appeared to silence protest, in fact it induced a sense of deep dissatisfaction and mourning that did not go away. Front and centre is the Lost Villages Historical Society and Museum which, as *lieux de mémoire*, became positive sites of recovery that now actively compete with official Seaway histories by finding value in what had been abandoned.

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Appendix I**CERTIFICATION OF ETHICAL ACCEPTABILITY
FOR RESEARCH INVOLVING HUMAN SUBJECTS**

Name of Applicant: Rosemary O'Flaherty
Department: Faculty of Arts and Science \ History
Agency: N/A
Title of Project: Damning the Remains: Traces of the Lost Seaway
Communities

Certification Number: 30004898

Valid From: August 17, 2015 to: August 16, 2016

The members of the University Human Research Ethics Committee have examined the application for a grant to support the above-named project, and consider the experimental procedures, as outlined by the applicant, to be acceptable on ethical grounds for research involving human subjects.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "J. Pfaus".

Dr. James Pfaus, Chair, University Human Research Ethics Committee

Appendix II

INFORMATION AND CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN A RESEARCH STUDY

Study Title: Damming the Remains: Traces of the Lost Seaway Communities

Researcher: Rosemary O’Flaherty

Researcher’s Contact Information:

Rosemary.oflaherty@sympatico.ca

613-525-1011

RR#3 19976 County Road 43, Alexandria, ON K0C 1A0

Oral History Consent Form

Consent to participate in an oral history interview being conducted by Rosemary O’Flaherty for the preparation of a thesis that addresses the socio-economic impact of the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway on those who lived in the riverfront communities of Ontario and New York State. This is to state that I agree to participate in this program of research being conducted under the supervision of Dr. Steven High of the Department of History of Concordia University (tel.: 514 848- 2424 x 2413, email: shigh@alcor.concordia.ca).

PURPOSE: I have been informed that the purpose of the project is to explore the experience of me and my family members during and after the construction of the St. Lawrence Seaway.

PROCEDURES: The interview will be conducted at participants’ homes, at facilities provided by Concordia University or at another appropriate place. Interviewers will record participants’ life stories using video, or audio depending on the preference of the interviewee. Participants can choose to discuss any aspect of their lives and they may refuse to answer any questions. Interviews normally take about 1.5 hours, but participants may take as long as they would like but are free to stop at any time.

RISKS AND BENEFITS: Describing difficult experiences can be upsetting and emotionally stressful. As this project may contribute to a website and may at some time be published, with your permission, your story will be heard.

CONDITIONS OF PARTICIPATION: Please review the following conditions and options with the interviewer. Feel free to ask questions if they appear unclear.

I understand that I am free to withdraw my consent at any time during the interview and discontinue from that point forward. In terms of **identification and reproduction of my interview**, I agree to (please choose one):

Open public access – My identity may be revealed in any publications or presentations that may result from this interview.

I agree to the possible broadcasting and reproduction of sound and images of my interview by any method and in any media by participants of this research project. I consent that my interview, or portions of it, be made available on the internet through web pages and/or on-line databases of the project.

___ I agree that transcripts and/or recordings of my interview will be stored at a local archive for long-term preservation. Your interview may be accessed by researchers and the public by viewing it at the Centre for Oral History and Digital Storytelling and/or at a local Montreal-area archive holding the preservation copy.

OR

___ **Confidential** – My identity will be known only to the interviewer and the thesis supervisor; others will not gain access to my identity unless they gain special permission from me, the interviewee. Once the student project is completed in December 2015, the audio and/or video recording will be destroyed by the student (though a copy of the interview may be given to you).

In cases where family photographs or documents are scanned or photographed:

___ I agree to let the student researcher copy family photographs and documents for use in the student project only.

OR

___ I agree to let the student researcher copy family photographs and documents for use in the thesis and for their archival with the interview recording. I likewise give permission to let future researchers use these images in their publications.

I HAVE CAREFULLY STUDIED THE ABOVE AND UNDERSTAND THIS AGREEMENT.
I FREELY AND VOLUNTARILY AGREE TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

INTERVIEWEE:

NAME (please print)

SIGNATURE

Date and Birthplace (optional)

INTERVIEWER:

NAME (please print)

SIGNATURE

DATE: _____

If at any time you have questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact Eric Reiter, Chair of the Research Ethics Committee, Department of History, Concordia University at 514 848-2424 ext. 2412 or by email at ereiter@alcor.concordia.ca.

Appendix III

Damming the Remains: Traces of the Lost Seaway Communities **Interview Guide**

Life history interviewing is flexible, following the lead of the interviewee whenever possible. The following interview guide therefore only represents a rough approximation of the kinds of questions that will be asked over the course of the interviews conducted. Life history interviewing, however, is broadly chronological, situating the “event” or “moment” of particular research interest into context. The meaning of the St. Lawrence Seaway displacements can best be understood by understanding the “before” and “after” as well as the “during”. Interviewees will be asked to draw on their memories of pre-construction, construction, and post-construction life in the Seaway communities prior to inundation. Photographs, films, and the built environment will therefore act as a “prompt” to remember. Family photo albums and home movies will also be drawn upon should the interviewee wish to share these.

While most interviews will be individual life story interviews, it is expected that there may be group interviews – what we are calling ‘memory workshops’ where former residents will remember together. In these cases, the questions will focus on the community rather than individuals or their families.

PART ONE: INDIVIDUAL LIFE HISTORY

I: Pre-Construction

How far back is the association of you and your family with the Seaway communities?

Can you recall what life was like in your community prior to 1954?

If not, can you recall stories told within your family or by friends and relatives?

When and how were these stories told?

How did you or your family members earn a living during this period?

Was the potential construction of the Seaway spoken about a great deal? By you or family members, in the work place, at school, at social gatherings

Where did you live? What amenities did your home have or not have?

Did race/religion/ethnicity/gender/class play a role in relationships within the community? Was there a big divide between rich and poor in the community?

What do you remember about your childhood home? Who lived in the house?

Can you describe your childhood community to me?

What was it like growing up there? Was it a good place to grow up? Was it safe for children?

Can you describe entertainment and social gatherings in the community? Were there any clubs or associations? What did your family do on weekends? What stores did you go to and when?

What was the relationship of your community with neighbouring communities?

Are there any distinctive sounds or smells that remind you of those times?

Do you recall how you or your family members felt when it was announced that the Seaway and Power Project would go forward? Did you feel happy, sad, fearful? Do you recall how your community responded to the announcement?

III: Construction Era

As construction got under way, in what ways did it affect you, your family, neighbours, and community?

What did the community look like physically during the construction era?

Did it affect your livelihood, that of your family members, relatives, and neighbours?

Did you welcome the project or fear it?

Did you believe it would be a boon to the local economy?

How did you feel as the region's population swelled with construction workers?

Do you recall how Hydro and PASNY's plans for relocation were received?

Was there protest or acquiescence? By you, family members, neighbours?

Were you on a farm, in a village? Did you own or rent?

Can you recall the flooding of the Long Sault Rapids? What were your feelings towards this? How do you feel about this today?

How did you feel when homes, businesses, churches, and schools started to be moved and/or demolished?

Was your family affected by the movement of cemeteries? If you are able, can you describe how this affected your family, relatives, and friends?

Do you recall seeing structures burned and, in particular, do you recall what is known as the "Aultsville Bun?" How did this make you feel?

Once the land was entirely denuded, did you go back to look at it? What feelings did you have about that?

Did you attend inundation day to see the water start to come up? Do you recall seeing the water spreading over the land and the old highway? Do you recall the behaviour of the ground fowl and animals?

How did you respond to inundation? Was it and the former communities discussed among your family, friends, relatives, and neighbours? If so, who discussed it and how was it viewed?

What were your feelings about the new towns and/or your new location?

What did the new towns and/or new location look like?

Were you able to see the river from your new location? If not, how did this affect you?

What was life like in the new towns and/or new location and how did this differ from the pre-construction era?

IV: Post-construction Era

Did you have the same neighbours in the new location?

How did school, church, and social gatherings differ between the old and new locations?

Were you and your family still employed in the same type of work? If not, how did this change?

Was there any difference in how the various generations viewed the project?

Did the new location become home? If not, why not? If so, why and when?

Did you keep any mementoes from the pre-construction and construction eras?

Do you feel the power companies, provincial/state governments and neighbouring communities helped your family through this crisis?

Do you recall how you marked the 10th, 20th, 30th, 40th, and 50th anniversaries of inundation and the opening of the Seaway?

How did the name “Lost Villages” and “Survivor Villages” come to be coined?

Do you recall how the Lost Villages Historical Society and Museum came to be established? Do you belong to the Society? Why?

As the population who can recall the former communities first-hand ages, what do you think will be the future of the Society and Museum?

How do you feel the Society and Museum are received by new comers to your community who have no first-hand knowledge of the former communities or inundation?

Do you feel the story of those displaced by the Seaway has an audience outside the immediate area?

Did you read Rosemary Rutley’s book? Clive and Frances Marin’s book? Maggie Wheeler’s book? Anne Marie Shields’ book? Have you purchased any of the books and films available at the Museum and Interpretive Centres?

Did you attend Janet Irwin’s play in 2008?

Did you participate in Celebration 50? Whether or not you participated, what did you think of the celebrations?

When Upper Canada Village was first conceived with buildings moved from the former villages, how do you feel this was received by you and those around you?

Did you visit it? Were you proud of it? Did it bring back memories? Do you still visit it from time to time?

Have you ever visited the Iroquois or Eisenhower locks? Have you ever visited either the OPG or PASNY interpretive centres and, if so, what is your opinion of them and their treatment of the displaced persons?

What does it mean to be from one of the submerged communities? Does it mean the same thing today as it did 50 years ago?

How have your thoughts, memories, and opinions evolved over the past 50 years?

Have they changed and, if so, when did they start to change?

Would you like to add anything else?

PART TWO: COMMUNITY MAPPING AND FAMILY PHOTO ALBUMS

Mapping the Neighbourhood

Using a map or a blank piece paper, can you describe your former community for me? Who lived where? Where were the stores? Parks? Schools? Churches?

Tell me a story about each place. How did those living outside your community view it? Was it considered rich/poor? Was it associated with a particular ethnic group? Why? In your community, were you considered better off or worse off than your neighbours? With whom did you mix most easily?

Family Photograph Album

Ask the interviewee if you can go through the family photograph album and record the subsequent stories attached. Pay particularly close attention to the photographic representation of the old communities and any signs of displacement. Is there a change in tone in the photographs that follow? When do these albums come out? What would you most like others outside of your community to know about your experiences? Have your views changed over time? Is there anything that you would like to add?

Note: we will be asking interviewees if we might scan photographs and if they have any textual materials in their possession that they would agree to be scanned.