Dissonant Heritage in "a Disneyland of the 1920s":

Analyzing the Narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré National Historic Site

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ABSTRACT

Dissonant Heritage in "a Disneyland of the 1920s":
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There is an abundance of literature on the need to contemplate sites of dissonant heritage, and a growing body of literature that is interested in the spatiality of commemoration, or how narratives are told through space. One site where these themes intersect is at Grand Pré National Historic Site, a focal point for Acadian history in Canada, which presents a narrative on the events of the Acadian Deportation. Unfortunately, the narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré is not consistently presented across the multiple components of the site. While the narrative of the Acadian Deportation told at the site of Grand Pré is dark in nature, there is work to be done to ensure that this narrative of dissonant heritage is consistently represented across all aspects of the site.

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Chapter One: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Many heritage sites seek to emphasize positive moments in our history. While this type of heritage is important to recognize, there is an abundance of literature on the need to contemplate sites of darker or more "dissonant heritage" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Sites of dissonant heritage can often encounter challenges for commemoration not faced by sites commemorating more positive aspects of heritage. These challenges include the way heritage is framed at these sites, including how these darker or more difficult narratives are told.

Contributing to this idea of dissonant heritage is a growing body of literature that is interested in the spatiality of commemoration, or how narratives are told through space. One site where this spatiality of commemoration is apparent is at Grand Pré National Historic Site. The village of Grand Pré, located on the Eastern edge of the Annapolis Valley in central Nova Scotia, was once a principal settlement within Acadie. Today, Grand Pré is both a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a Canadian National Historic Site. It is surrounded by extensive dyked farmland, put in place by the Acadians in the late 17th and early 18th century (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). This site is a focal point for Acadian history in Canada, and a large part of the narrative of the site is that of the Acadian Deportation.

The Acadian Deportation or 'Le Grand Dérangement' is considered to be a great tragedy in the history of the Acadian people. These terms, often used interchangeably, reference "many separate forcible removals," of the Acadian people from across the Maritimes, beginning in 1755 and ending in 1762 (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). Ultimately, the expulsion forced "about three quarters of the slightly more than fourteen thousand Acadian men, women and

children then living in the Maritime region" to leave their homes (Johnston &LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). They were transported by ship to various places, including the southern United States and France (Leblanc, 1967). The remaining quarter of the population either went "into hiding or fled to locations they hoped would be safe" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). During this time, many families were torn apart, never to see their loved ones again. The repercussions of the Acadian Deportation were devastating and long lasting.

1.2 Research Questions and Argument

In order to examine the narrative of the Acadian Deportation at the site of Grand Pré, two research questions were developed:

1. What is the narrative of the Acadian Deportation told at the site of Grand Pré?
2. Given that the site of Grand Pré has multiple components, where and how is the narrative commemorated?

In this thesis, I will utilize a spatial narrative approach to argue that, while the narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré is dark in nature, it is not consistently presented across the multiple components of the site (i.e., the film theatre, the museum within the interpretive centre, the guided tours of the grounds, and the museum within the Memorial Church). Additionally, the evidence of dissonant heritage at Grand Pré will reveal that Parks Canada has missed an opportunity to fully interpret this darker narrative for visitors to the site. As a result, this narrative is at times overshadowed by the more positive and celebratory narrative of Acadian culture and perseverance at Grand Pré.

1.3 Organization of Thesis

This thesis is organized into four main parts. First, in Chapter Two, I give historical

context to the narrative of the Acadian Deportation. I provide a brief history of the Acadians, a brief look at the events leading up to and including the Acadian Deportation, and information about the creation of the memorial site of Grand Pré in the 20th century. In Chapter Three, I address relevant scholarly literature relating to this topic, including the role of place in geography, and the geography of memory. I also cover relevant literature in the realm of both Dissonant Heritage, and Dark Tourism. In Chapter Four, Methods, I analyze relevant literature relating to spatial narratives, before outlining my data collection and interpretation methods, as well as challenges encountered. In Chapter Five, I discuss my findings related to the four components of the site of Grand Pré that were analyzed: the film, the museum within the interpretive centre, the guided tours of the grounds, and the museum within the Memorial Church. Finally, I conclude my thesis in Chapter Six.

Chapter Two: Historical Context

Before turning to the particulars of dissonant heritage at Grand Pré National Historic Site, I want to provide some important historical context. First, I will give a brief history of the Acadians and the geopolitical environment in Acadie from 1604 to 1755. Next, I will discuss the events that unfolded immediately before, during, and after the Acadian Deportation, and finally, I will discuss the creation of the memorial site of Grand Pré.

2.1. A Brief History of the Acadians

For the first European settlers, the French, the land that now encompasses the Canadian Maritime Provinces, the Gaspé region of Quebec, and parts of southern Maine in the United States, was referred to as Acadie.[1] It is important to note that this settler geography was superimposed on a pre-existing Indigenous geography. The Indigenous Mi'kmaw peoples were here long before the Europeans arrived and, long before this land became known as Acadie, it was known as Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral lands of the Mi'kmaq. The Indigenous peoples far outnumbered Europeans in Mi'kma'ki far into the 18th century, and the unceded and ancestral territory of the Mi'kmaq is still recognized today.

From 1604 to the late 1680's, attempts were made by Europeans to establish settlements primarily in the area of Acadie that would eventually become known as Nova Scotia (Griffiths, 1992). The attempts to settle were mostly made by the French, but some ventures were made by the English and the Scottish (Griffiths, 1992), who were the first to apply the name Nova Scotia to this land. In the early 17th century, however, this area was of "minor economic and social"

[1] From 1632 to 1763, this land was commonly referred to as 'Acadia' in maps and in international treaties (Griffiths, 1992).

significance to both the English and the French (Griffiths, 1992, p. 7). Between 1604 and 1680 there was a "slow and bitter struggle" to establish a colony in the area, with the pressure to settle coming from the need for fish, and the growing demand for furs in both England and France (Griffiths, 1992, p. 3; Griffiths, 2005).

Figure 1: Acadia and New England in the 17th Century
Image Credit: (Map 3: Acadia and New England in the 17th Century. In Griffiths, N. E. S. (2005) *From Migrant to Acadian: A North American Border People, 1604 - 1755*. Montréal, QC: McGill-Queen's University Press, p. 46)

In 1604, France made the first attempt at a permanent settlement in the land they would call Acadie, with the king putting Pierre du Gast, Sieur de Monts, in charge of the expedition. He recruited 120 men for the expedition and his companions included Samuel de Champlain, sieur de Poutrincourt, and his son Jean de Biencourt (Jobb, 2005). Upon arrival in Acadie in the summer of 1604, de Monts decided it would be best to set up camp on the island known today as Dochet Island, in what became known as the St. Croix River. This island is situated on the border of what is today the state of Maine and the province of New Brunswick. They chose this site because islands were easier to defend from outside attacks (Griffiths, 2005). The selection of an

island ended up being a disastrous choice for the French, however. They were not prepared for the harsh winters of North America, and they quickly ran out of wood to burn, game to hunt and other food supplies. Many of the men succumbed to scurvy, and many others died from exposure to the elements (Jobb, 2005). The spring of 1605 saw the French move their settlement across the Bay of Fundy to the more sheltered mainland of what is now Nova Scotia, rebuilding on the site that became known as Port Royal. It was named for the French king, who had granted de Monts a monopoly on the fur trade (Griffiths, 2005). Port Royal, which is currently known as Annapolis Royal, is situated at the head of what would become known as the Annapolis Basin. Upon their arrival on the mainland in 1605, the French quickly established a friendship with the Indigenous peoples in the area. This proved to be a key element to their eventual successful settlement, as the Mi'kmaw peoples "friendship, trade, and willingness to permit settlement were crucial to the early years of the colony" (Kennedy, 2014, p. 67). In 1607 de Monts monopoly on the fur trade was revoked, in response to "rising prices and the lobbying of rival traders," and the settlement at Port Royal was all but abandoned (Jobb, 2005, p. 34).

Meanwhile, the English attempted settlements in Acadie in 1612, and the Scottish in 1628 (Griffiths, 1992). Neither attempt was successful, with the Scottish leaving in 1632. That same year, due to the ever-changing geopolitical climate, the French once again decided that settlement in Acadie would be advantageous and sent an expedition with 300 settlers. This was different from their previous forays because this time they brought with them women and children. In 1632, a successful settlement at Port Royal became a reality. Once again, their friendship with the Mi'kmaw peoples proved to be of vital importance for the French. Membertou, a Mi'kmaw band chief or sagamo, was an important figure who welcomed the French settlers. Membertou also embraced Catholicism, helping to strengthen the ties between

the Acadians and the Indigenous peoples. As ties of friendship between the two nations grew, some French settlers went on to marry Indigenous women, resulting in Métis families. These families were important in helping to foster a positive relationship between the two peoples (Kennedy, 2014). The settlement at Port Royal quickly became the seat of power within Acadie and remained of strategic importance to both the English and the French for over one hundred years.[2]

For the first half of the 17th century, Acadie existed more as a "trading post" than as a colony of France (Jobb, 2005, p. 41). Between 1660 and 1680, the population began to grow and thrive. This growth was due in part to the fact that large families were common, and children lived into adulthood in Acadie (Griffiths, 1992). Nearing the end of the 1680's, it is estimated that there were approximately 1,000 inhabitants of European descent living in Acadie (Clark, 1968). The population was mainly French speaking, and Catholic. From 1680 to 1755, an "unusual French subculture" emerged in Acadie – unusual for the time, in that the people were democratic, industrious, cooperative, and prosperous; the independent community of the Acadians had formed (Bleakney, 2004, p. 3). By 1755, a thriving Acadian culture, and a strong Acadian identity could be found in Acadie, due in part to their ability to reclaim the land they lived on from the sea.

2.1.1 Reclaiming the Land from the Sea

Around 1680, families began to migrate from Port Royal in search of new land (Jobb, 2005). Several of the settlers from Port Royal decided to move to the Minas-Grand-Pré region, which would become the "largest and most prosperous settlement" within Acadie (Jobb, 2005, p.

[2] The capital city of Halifax, in what would become Nova Scotia, was not established by the British until 1749.

44). Upon their arrival in Grand Pré, which translates as 'the Great Meadow', the Acadians undertook an enormous challenge in attempting to dyke the area. They succeeded, but it was a steep learning curve due to the nature of the tides in this area. Grand Pré is a 3,000-acre rectangular piece of land, exposed to the sea on two sides but protected from the sea on one side by Long Island (Bleakney, 2004). Most early settlers had come over from the Poitou, Vendée and Saint Onge regions of France, and each region had unique farming experience. In Poitou, there were freshwater marshes, and in Vendée and Saint Onge, salty seacoast marshes were common. The creation of seawater evaporation ponds was common in the latter two regions and was initially experimented with in the Acadian settlement of Port Royal. The combined farming experience of the initial settlers from France allowed for experiments with large-scale aboiteau and dyke-wall construction (Bleakney, 2004).

The Acadians can be viewed as unique North American pioneers, in the sense that they perfected methods to reclaim the land from the sea, using dyking technology and a system of aboiteaux. On the shores of the Minas Basin, the Acadians converted "thousands of acres of salt-soaked seagrass meadows into rich, arable farmland" (Bleakney, 2004, p. 5). In the Minas Basin, which is connected to the Bay of Fundy by a narrow channel, the tides rush in for six hours every day, rising at an average of 2.44 metres (8 feet) per hour. The tides "sweep across miles of intertidal flats… finally flooding across thousands of acres of grassy tidal meadows" (Bleakney, 2004, p. 5). Over the next six hours, the water returns to the sea. In the Bay of Fundy, over 160 billion tonnes of water move in and out of the bay, every day, twice a day ("World's Highest Tides", 2016). The amount of water is astonishing; it adds up to more than the combined flow of all the freshwater rivers and streams on Earth ("World's Highest Tides", 2016). The Bay of Fundy's unique shape "amplifies the tides", which can reach heights

of 16 m (56 feet) – the height of a 5-storey building ("World's Highest Tides", 2016). These are the highest recorded tides on Earth.

The key to the Acadians' success in this challenging environment was the European dyking spade that they used. The spade was unique because it was designed to be a cutting tool as opposed to a digging tool, so that it could slice through the roots of the dykeland marshy grasses: "the blade is one piece of metal, usually 11 inches (27.9 cm) long and 4.5 inches (11.5 cm) at the cutting edge" (Bleakney, 2004, p. 41). They were designed this way, with a short cutting end, in order to cut through the sods efficiently and not get stuck in the soil. The spades traditionally had a wooden shaft and handle, and the entire tool was made to be strong, but also as light as possible to "minimize the effort involved in the rapid in and out and right-angle repositioning of the spade as the sods were cut" (Bleakney, 2004, p. 35). Once the sods were cut, dyke walls and sluice boxes were assembled using the cut sods and wood. Time was of the essence in Grand Pré. With the tides coming and going every twelve hours, the Acadians had to move swiftly in order to build their dyke walls, making teamwork essential. With a great deal of community effort, the Acadians were able to erect many miles of dyke walls, eventually reclaiming the 'Great Meadow', or the land of Grand Pré, from the sea.

2.1.2 Economics in Acadie

Many aspects of both the natural and geopolitical environment dictated how the economy in Acadie would develop. As Kennedy (2014) notes, soil fertility, access to natural resources, as well as who currently controlled Acadie (Britain or France), and various trade opportunities, were all factors. The excellent quality of the soil in Acadie provided a good return on crops planted, which included wheat, oats, peas, flax, and hay; orchards and gardens also provided

fresh fruit and vegetables (Kennedy, 2014). As Griffiths (1992, p. 25) notes, “fishing and agriculture formed the basis of the Acadian economy”. Yet, while the Acadians usually had plenty, there is still debate over the standard of living enjoyed by all Acadians.

Kennedy (2014) delves into the question of relative prosperity within Acadian society, which could be measured in terms of the abundance of resources and reliance on trade. While most families were able to feed their members, many relied on trade for basic items such as grain, as they were not able to cultivate enough for subsistence. Most farmers, especially in smaller households, “invested heavily in livestock, and relied on selling surplus animals” (Kennedy, 2014, p. 124). Kennedy suggests that a “rural elite” emerged over time, mostly from early settlers to Acadie (2014, p. 124). This elite group controlled the land most suitable for farming, creating large farms, from which they generated surplus goods for market, and on which they constructed larger, stronger and more comfortable homes (Kennedy, 2014). All of these factors, combined with their “numerous contacts with merchants and political figures” gave the rural elite an upper hand, and ultimately more opportunity to flourish (Kennedy, 2014, p. 125).

Living in Acadie, the Acadians were far from urban centres in Europe and the Thirteen Colonies. As a result, they relied on trade outside of Acadie for items that they may have needed, including metal and other manufactured goods (Kennedy, 2014). As Griffiths notes “although trade was not strictly necessary for the survival of the Acadians, it supplied the metal goods, guns, and ammunition vital in Acadian life” (1992, p. 27). The Acadians did not always trade solely with French trading companies, which often charged high prices, could not always be counted on to produce the goods Acadians required to meet their needs, and had no interest in Acadian crops (Griffiths, 1992). Instead, the Acadians would often trade with the New England

colonies, which supplied them with important manufactured goods in exchange for their surplus crops. In the early years of settlement in Acadie, the Acadians also traded frequently with the Mi'kmaw peoples, with whom they shared an amiable relationship. While the Acadians were clearly entrepreneurs, seizing opportunities to improve their situation, they were also exceptionally hard workers, and experts in teamwork and communication, as proved by the construction of their dyke walls. As Kennedy notes, Acadie was not "a peasant paradise but a place that required hard work and cooperation" (2014, p. 125).

2.1.3 The Geopolitical Environment

Between the arrival of de Monts' company in 1604 and the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Acadie changed hands many times between the British and the French. A travelling companion of de Monts on that first expedition in 1604, Poutrincourt, managed to renew interest in colonizing the area in 1610. However, with the British establishment of Jamestown, Virginia in 1607, the French now had company in Acadie. Captain Samuel Argall, a raider, sailed from Jamestown in 1613 and plundered the settlement of Port Royal before burning it to the ground (Jobb, 2005). After this destruction, two young French colonists began to rebuild. They were Jean de Biencourt, Poutrincourt's son, and Charles de Saint-Étienne de La Tour. After Biencourt died in 1623, La Tour also built a fort and settled in at Cape Sable, near the southern end of what is now Nova Scotia. In 1621 the Scottish were granted a charter to the land of Acadia from James I and, under the direction of William Alexander (later known as the Earl of Stirling), they attempted settlement in Acadie (Griffiths, 2005). They claimed the land as Nova Scotia and began building at the abandoned site of Port Royal in 1628; however, that winter they struggled with the harsh climate. Meanwhile, war had broken out between the British and the French in

1627 and, when it ended in 1632, the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye ceded the land claimed by the Scottish back to the French. That was the year that the French managed to erect a permanent settlement in Acadie, at Port Royal. The community grew and branched out to surrounding areas over the next 20 years. In 1654, the British attacked the French from Massachusetts and, again, Acadie found itself under British rule (Jobb, 2005). War broke out again between the British and French in 1666, and Acadie was then handed back to the French. Port Royal was re-established as the capital in the 1680's but war resumed in 1689, and Acadie was once again subject to British rule. In 1697 Acadie was returned to France once more, but would fall to the British again in 1710. The land had changed hands for the last time.

The signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, which finally and formally surrendered Port Royal and all of Acadie to England, was a defining moment for the Acadians (Jobb, 2005). At this point in time, Acadie was renamed by the British. For years the British had referred to all of Acadie, in various treaties, as Nova Scotia (Griffiths, 2005). Now, one smaller geographic area was renamed Nova Scotia. Its borders were the Bay of Fundy to the west, the Atlantic Ocean to the south and east, and the Northumberland and Cabot Straits respectively, to the north. In 1713, after the Treaty of Utrecht was signed, the French began to establish a fortress and town at Louisbourg, located in the northeastern part of Nova Scotia, in the area known today as Cape Breton Island. French emissaries "toured the colony in 1714 and convinced a few hundred families in the Annapolis Royal, Minas and Cobequid areas to emigrate in exchange for land and free provisions" (Jobb, 2005, p. 64). The Acadians could have packed up and departed for Louisbourg, France, or other French colonies, with relative ease. However, most Acadians decided to remain in their established settlements within Acadie. They had worked long and hard to make Acadie their home and they were not able to easily uproot their families and leave the

land they called home. Additionally, the Acadians had seen Acadie change hands many times in the previous century. At times they were under British rule one year, and under French rule the next. Due to this constant uncertainty, perhaps they saw no need to immediately flee British rule.

In the 18th century, oaths of fidelity to one's monarch were commonplace (Jobb, 2005). Such oaths were required in order to own land and to claim the rights of a citizen in most European countries. These oaths were also important for the ruling class, especially in a territory like Acadie, where the inhabitants may be apt to turn on you, siding with rebels or their former rulers in times of war (Jobb, 2005). The matter of an oath of fidelity amongst the Acadians first arose in 1714, when George I became King of England. Since most Acadians had decided to stay put after the Treaty of Utrecht, the British at Port Royal insisted on a signed oath from the head of each Acadian family and they were shocked when the Acadians began to try to negotiate the terms of the oath (Jobb, 2005). The Acadians promised that they would remain neutral and proposed an oath where they would not take up arms against England or France. This was not at all what the British had in mind for their new subjects.

In 1717 a new British governor was appointed in Nova Scotia, Colonel Richard Philipps. A career military officer, Philipps sought to create a stable government in Nova Scotia and established a system of military rule where the governor and an appointed council of garrison officers and local English merchants were in charge. The Acadians remained wary of the British officials, but went about their business as usual – settling where they liked, and dyking new marshland as needed (Jobb, 2005). Philipps noted the lack of Acadian adherence to the new rules, and requested an additional 600 soldiers from the Lords of Trade. These soldiers were never sent but an alternative strategy emerged. As Jobb notes, "In an effort to impose some order on this chaos, the British relied on elders within the Acadian communities to act as go-

betweens," which in turn led to a rough formation of an Acadian representative government (2005, p. 65). Governor Philipps selected six representatives from the Annapolis Royal area in 1720 (Jobb, 2005). At first, they were appointed, but eventually the Acadians began to hold annual elections to choose 24 deputies to represent their interests to the British. Their main role was to deal with the British government's "incessant demands for an oath of allegiance to the British Crown" (Jobb, 2005, p. 66). The British and the French, at the time of the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, had not considered the Acadians "significant enough to have a policy," because after all, "they were colonists, not colonials" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 260). Acadian policy at the time was rooted in the Acadians' sense of community and in the circumstances of their daily lives (Griffiths, 2005). They placed their own needs first, as inhabitants of this land, and determined that they would not be "negotiable assets to be moved about as pawns for the purposes of a distant empire" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 261). A distinct Acadian identity, separate from the influences of Europe, was clearly unthinkable to both Britain and France; yet, however unthinkable, an Acadian identity had emerged (Griffiths, 2005).

Governor Philipps returned to England in 1722. In his absence, Lieutenant Governor Major Lawrence Armstrong convinced the Acadians to take a modified oath in 1726 (Jobb, 2005). This oath exempted the Acadians from bearing arms against the enemies of the British. Yet, upon the death of George I in 1727, Armstrong "demanded that the Acadians take a new, unqualified oath of allegiance to the new monarch, George II" (Jobb, 2005, p. 67). Once again, the Acadians demanded an exemption from bearing arms. Philipps returned in 1729 and managed to convince roughly 800 Acadian head of households to sign an unconditional oath. However, according to Jobb, there is "convincing evidence" that Philipps gave the Acadians a verbal assurance that they would not have to bear arms (2005, p. 69). The Acadians were now

under the impression that they were neutral. In reporting to his superiors, the Lords of Trade, Philipps made no mention of this verbal agreement. After 1730, the Acadians were often referred to as 'The Neutral French' by the British governors living and working in Acadie, but there was no official record or recognition that they were in fact neutral in the eyes of the British. Jobb sums it up best when he remarks, "Philipps misled his superiors and sowed the seeds of disaster" (2005, p. 69).

The terms of the oath sworn to Governor Philipps were of little consequence, so long as things were quiet in the colony. Things were peaceful and quiet for quite some time, as the Acadian "Golden Age" of growth and prosperity reached its peak in the late 1740's (Jobb, 2005, p. 70). It is estimated that the population grew from approximately "2,500 inhabitants in 1714, to over 14,000 in 1752, and there were similar increases in the amount of land cultivated and the numbers of livestock" (Kennedy, 2014, p. 72). Unfortunately for the Acadians, this period of peace and quiet was short lived. The Acadians were aware of the storm brewing on the horizon between the two empires: the British and the French. However, the leaders within the Acadian community "tried, as much as possible, to remain on the edges of the struggle, concerned with immediate problems of the region rather than with broader international matters", which unfortunately meant that the Acadians were unprepared for what would eventually unfold (Griffiths, 2005, p. 438). Dark days were coming. The Deportation of the Acadian people from their homeland would begin in 1755.

2.2 The Acadian Deportation 1755-1762

The Acadian Deportation or 'Le Grand Dérangement' is considered to be a great tragedy in the history of the Acadian people. These terms, often used interchangeably, reference "many

separate forcible removals," of the Acadian people from across the Maritimes, beginning in 1755 and ending in 1762 (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). In the fall of 1755, the first Acadians were rounded up by order of Charles Lawrence, the latest British Governor to take charge of the colony. Those who failed to pledge allegiance to the Crown were forced to leave. There were no exemptions made for the Acadians, and the supposed neutrality, which they were under the impression that they had won, was no more. Governor Lawrence took a hard stance: sign an unaltered oath, or there will be consequences for your actions. Unfortunately, the Acadians could not have foreseen just how devastating these consequences would be.

2.2.1 The Preceding Events

Coming to power in 1753 after spending six years in the region, Lawrence was familiar with the defense issues of the colony (Griffiths, 2005). As noted by Griffiths, Governor Lawrence also "clearly envisaged the colony very differently from his predecessors" (2005, p. 430). He proposed military action to deal with the Acadians, where no previous governor had. This military action would include the removal of the people should they refuse an unqualified oath of allegiance. This policy was the result of Lawrence's "wish to make Nova Scotia a secure and flourishing outpost of the British empire in North America, not merely to establish a strong presence on the periphery of an empire" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 430). The Acadians, in their refusal to take an unqualified oath of allegiance, stood in the way of this vision. As such, Lawrence and his advisors came to the eventual decision to "deport the majority of the inhabitants under his jurisdiction, without anything approaching express permission [from his superiors]" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 430).

In the final year before the Deportation (summer 1754 – summer 1755), tensions ran high

in Acadie. Governor Lawrence, working with Massachusetts Governor William Shirley, organized a show of British military might in Acadie (Griffiths, 2005). Approximately 2,000 Anglo-American provincial soldiers and 300 British regulars were involved, with command given to British officer Lt.-Col. Robert Monckton (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). Their goal was to capture Fort Beauséjour and Fort Gaspareaux, both of which were under French control at the time. Fort Beauséjour, located in what is today New Brunswick along the border with Nova Scotia, was captured by the British on the 16th of June 1755 (Griffiths, 2005). Fort Gaspareaux, located in what is today New Brunswick and northeast of Fort Beauséjour, surrendered shortly thereafter. Throughout the months leading up to the capture, Lawrence was consumed with worry about the Acadians (Griffiths, 2005). When Lawrence considered the security of Nova Scotia, "the reliability of the Acadians during an attack by the French was always a major concern" (Griffiths, 2005, p. 433). Lawrence pressed on, attempting to get the Acadians to sign an unqualified oath into the summer of 1755, first meeting with the Acadian representatives on the 3rd of July 1755 (Griffiths, 1973). Griffiths (1973, p. 53) finds that:

> The political maneuverings which led to the deportation can be traced clearly through the records of this Council [which included Governor Lawrence and his selected council members], which met on its own and also with the Acadian delegates. From these same records one matter is quite clear: the Acadians were convinced of their right to discuss and debate, and the Councillors were equally convinced of the Acadian right only to hear and accept.

The final meeting between Acadian representatives and the Nova Scotia council took place on the 28th of July 1755, and the Acadians' arguments for remaining neutral were met with continued disbelief by the Council and Governor Lawrence (Griffiths, 1973). The Council informed the representatives that a decision had been made in favour of deportation, since the Acadians had refused the oath numerous times. The Deportation began in August of 1755. As noted in Figure 2, the Acadian settlements were well populated at this time, and this event

proved to be the great military undertaking that Lawrence had envisioned.

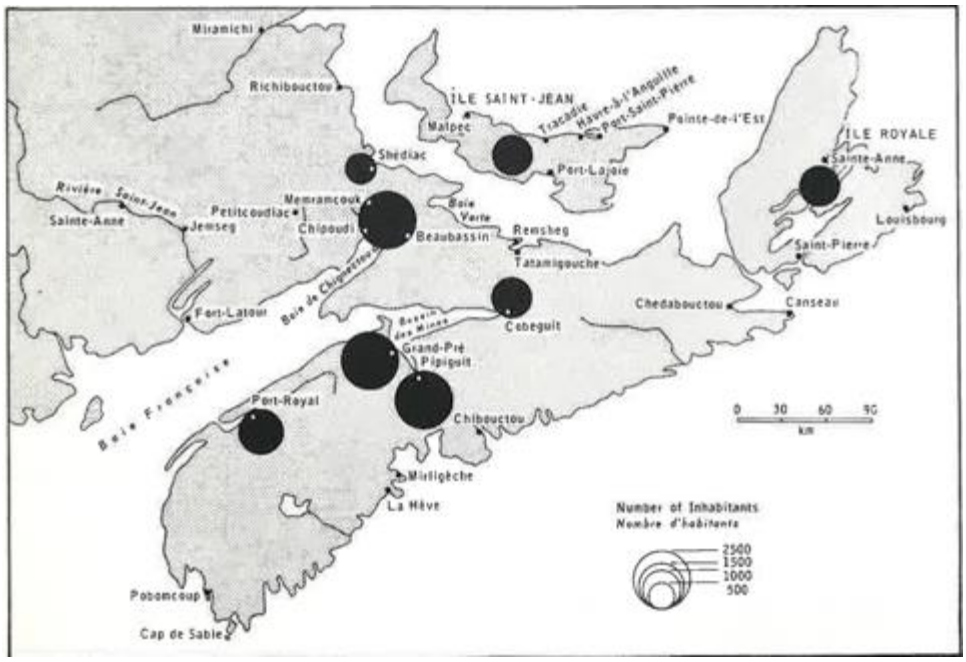

Figure 2: Acadian Settlements in 1755.
Image Credit: LeBlanc, R. (1967). The Acadian Migrations. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec, 11*(24), 523–541

2.2.2. The Expulsion

Sadly, as noted by Johnston & Kerr, "No Acadian family tree was left untouched by the Deportation" (2004, p. 6). On September 4th, 1755, Lt.-Col. John Winslow read a "Citation" to the Acadian people residing in the village of Grand Pré: the message stated that all men and boys aged 10 years and older were to present themselves to the local parish church of Saint-Charles-de-Mines at 3pm the following day (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 55). As ordered, 418 Acadian men and boys had gathered as requested at the church on September 5th, 1755. Shortly after 3pm, Winslow had interpreters read aloud the Deportation order in French to those gathered, informing the inhabitants that they and their families were to be deported from this land:

> That your Lands and Tenements, Cattle of all Kinds and Live Stock of all Sortes are Forfitted to the Crown with all other your Effects Saving your money and Household Goods and you your selves to be removed from this his Province.
>
> (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 55)

We can only imagine the scene that played out at the church that afternoon. The eyewitness account of a New England soldier records the looks on the faces of the Acadians as, "shame and confusion… together with anger", adding that, "the countenances of the Acadians were so altered it could not be expressed" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 57). The women and girls, who were left out of this gathering at the church, "undoubtedly heard the cries [of their brothers, fathers, husbands and sons]" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 57).

The Acadian men and boys were imprisoned at the church for several days. Winslow feared an uprising and, having limited resources to stop one, he decided that keeping the men and boys separate from their families was key to maintaining order (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). On September 10th, 1755, after being imprisoned for five days, Winslow ordered that 200 of the men and boys be separated from the rest. There were five transport ships waiting in the Minas Basin, and the men were marched off to the waiting ships. Winslow recorded the scene, writing that the men "went off Praying, Singing & Crying, being Met by the women & Children all the way… with Great Lamentations upon their knees praying" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 59). In total, approximately "2,100 Acadians were deported from the Minas area in 1755, accounting for roughly one-third of the 5,800 Acadians deported from Nova Scotia during the first year of forcible removals" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 77). In every incident, "children made up the largest category [of deportees]" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 76). The British tried their best to keep families together, "Yet in the chaos and hurry this was not always possible" and the sheer size of Acadian families – often numbering more than 10 children – made it even more difficult

to keep them all together (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 61). As well, the Acadian definition of family was not limited to the idea of a nuclear family, comprised solely of a mother, father and children (Johnston & Kerr, 2015). Grandparents, aunts, uncles, cousins, nieces, nephews, and in-laws were included in the Acadian definition of close family and these large family units were often separated.

Once the Acadian people had been removed from Grand Pré, the British soldiers followed through on orders to burn "houses, barns, churches, and all other structures the Acadians had built. The idea was that there would be no shelter for anyone who might have escaped" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 77). As noted in Winslow's journals, the "soldiers set fire to 698 buildings in the Grand Pré region: 276 houses, 255 barns, 155 outhouses, 11 mills and 1 church" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 77). What took place at Grand Pré happened many times over, all across Acadie, beginning in 1755. These scenes of the forcible removal of a people from their homeland played out repeatedly until 1762, when the last of the deportations occurred.

When the Nova Scotia Council and Governor Lawrence planned the deportation of the Acadians, they had originally agreed to send the Acadians to France and other French colonies (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). After some thought, however, they decided against this, as they did not want to strengthen their enemy's military forces. As an alternative, they decided to send the Acadians to Britain, and Anglo-American colonies located to the south of Acadie (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). As noted by Johnston & Kerr, "The officials did not use terms like assimilation, yet that is clearly what they wanted" when sending the Acadians to Anglo-American colonies, where the population was mainly English speaking and Protestant (2004, p. 68).

Ultimately, the expulsion forced "about three quarters of the slightly more than fourteen

thousand Acadian men, women and children then living in the Maritime region" to leave their homes (Johnston &LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). They were transported by ship to various places, including the southern United States and France (Leblanc, 1967). The remaining quarter of the population either went "into hiding or fled to locations they hoped would be safe" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 67). The Acadians endured terrible conditions aboard the ships, as there were often "storms, food shortages, foul drinking water, contagious diseases, and squalor" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 64). Unfortunately, many Acadians died while en route. Approximately 3,100 additional Acadians were deported after the British captured the French Fortress of Louisbourg in 1758, of which "an estimated 1,649 died by drowning or disease, a fatality rate of 53 per cent" (Marsh, 2013).

As for those who survived the journey, they were considered refugees and were unwelcome in these new and unfamiliar places. The repercussions of the events of the Deportation were long lasting, as the Acadians struggled to find a new sense of community. Indeed, while the official expulsion of the Acadians from Acadie ended in 1762, Acadian migration between North America, the Caribbean, and Europe occurred frequently until the end of the 18th century (LeBlanc, 1967). We can observe the devastating effects of these forced migrations between 1755 and 1762 in Figures 3 and 4, and in Table 1.

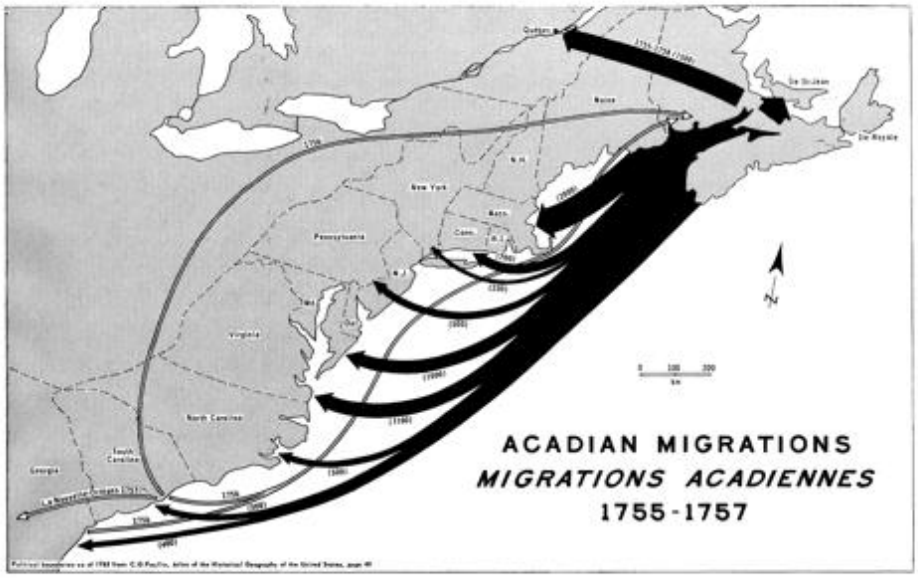

Figure 4

Figure 3: Acadian Migrations 1755-1757
Image Credit: LeBlanc, R. (1967). The Acadian Migrations. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec, 11*(24), 523–541

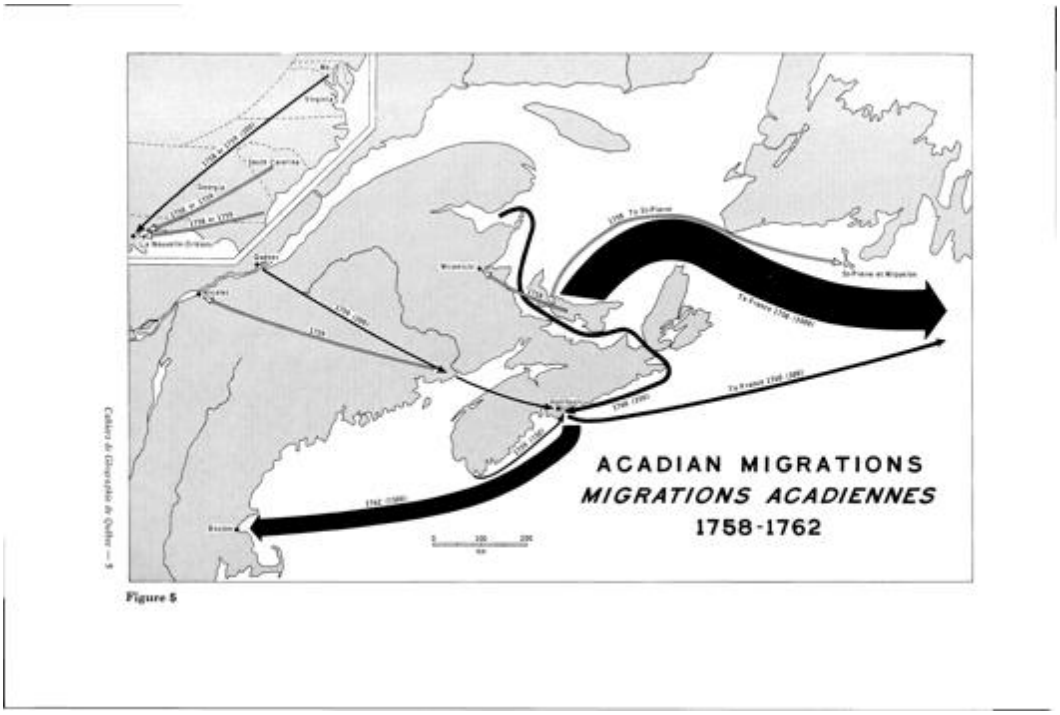

Figure 4: Acadian Migrations 1758-1762
Image Credit: LeBlanc, R. (1967). The Acadian Migrations. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec, 11*(24), 523–541

Table 1. Location of Acadians in 1763

Place	Number
Massachusetts	1,043
Connecticut	666
New York	249
Maryland	810
Pennsylvania	383
South Carolina	280
Georgia	185
Nova Scotia	1,249
St. John River	87
Louisiana	300
England	866
France	3,400
Québec	2,000
Prince Edward Island	300
Baie des Chaleurs	700
TOTAL	12,618

Credit – LeBlanc, R. (1967). The Acadian Migrations. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec, 11*(24), 523–54

The Acadian Deportation was a devastating event with lasting consequences. Unfortunately, as Johnston and Kerr argue, "what happened to the Acadians is not unique, nor is it a phenomenon we no longer see – far from it, as we learn from world newscasts on a regular basis. There have been and there continue to be many forced relocations, "ethnic cleansings", and diasporas" (2004, p. 6).

It is worth mentioning that there is some debate in the literature, and amongst Acadians, on how the terms "The Deportation" and "Le Grand Dérangement" are used (Rudin, 2009). For some, they are used interchangeably to reference the dark events of 1755 (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). For others, they speak to a political difference in the interpretation of those events. On one side of the debate is the notion that moving away from using "The Deportation" and instead using the "Le Grand Dérangement" is significant in showing the resiliency of the Acadians as a people. Those on this side of the argument find that the term "The Deportation" implies that the Acadians were removed and are long gone (Rudin, 2009). They argue that the term "Le Grand Dérangement" better captures what they feel the Acadians went through: a great upheaval, but one that did not lead to their permanent disappearance as a people. LeBlanc (2005) finds that Acadians have used the term to convey the devastation of the Deportation, not as a means of avoidance, but rather of acknowledgement. The term "Le Grand Dérangement" for LeBlanc, and others who take this narrative approach, references not only the Acadians who were deported, but also those who escaped and survived.

On the other side of the debate are those that feel that using the term "The Deportation" signifies an important moment in Acadian history, and that using the term "Le Grand Dérangement" to explain the events of 1755 doesn't do justice to what happened to the Acadians (Rudin, 2009). Many on this side of the argument feel that these events amounted to ethnic

cleansing or, at the very least, assimilation on the part of the British. The term "The Deportation" speaks to this forcible removal of a people (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). Interestingly, Faragher (2006) refers to "Le Grand Dérangement" while arguing that the events amounted to an attempt at ethnic cleansing, illustrating that this term is not incompatible with a strong focus on the deportation as a defining moment for the Acadians. Ultimately, while there is debate within both the academic and Acadian communities over which term should be used, it is clear the Acadians are indeed a resilient people who cannot be defined by the traumatic events of the mid-18th century.

2.2.3 The Acadian Community Today

The events of the Deportation devastated the Acadian community at the time, but we must remember that, "while the Deportation is a crucial part of the Acadian story, it is not the entire story" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 7). Beginning in the late 1760's, many Acadians started to make their way home to Acadie. This group was primarily made up of Acadians who were former prisoners in British forts, or those who had fled or gone into hiding, as very few Acadians that had been sent far away ever returned (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). Unfortunately, by this time, the New England Planters had been brought in by the government to settle on the land once owned by the Acadians, and thus there was no land available for the Acadians (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). As noted by Johnston & Kerr, "the Acadie they had known no longer existed" (2004, p. 69). Many Acadians instead ended up settling on what is today known as the French Shore, along the coast of southwestern Nova Scotia. Other Acadians moved around what is today the Maritime provinces, settling on whatever land they could afford, and where they were permitted to do so.

What the British had underestimated, in their desire to drive out and assimilate the Acadian people, was "the Acadians' will to survive and their unshakeable desire to retain their ways and identity" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 68). This incredible strength came from years of "self-reliance and successful struggle against forces that often threatened their way of life." Indeed, a significant number of Acadians in the Anglo-American colonies retained their identity and did not give up on their traditions and ways of life, as we can note from the thriving Cajun population in Louisiana (Johnston & Kerr, p. 68). Today, there are millions of Acadian descendants around the world, concentrated in five main areas: "the Atlantic region [of Canada], Québec, Louisiana, New England, and France" (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 69). Despite the incredible hardships they faced, the Acadian community persevered.

2.3 The Creation of the Memorial Site of Grand Pré

One of the principal settlements within Acadie was the village of Grand Pré, located on the Eastern edge of the Annapolis Valley in central Nova Scotia. Today, Grand Pré is both a UNESCO World Heritage Site and a Canadian National Historic Site. It is surrounded by extensive dyked farmland, put in place by the Acadians in the late 17th and early 18th century (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). The site of Grand Pré was not always as central to the telling of the Acadian story as it is today. In the 1860's, many Acadian descendants began a movement known as the "Acadian Renaissance," which gained traction into the 1880's and 90's across the Maritime provinces as "a spirit of perseverance and nationalism surged among Acadians" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 97). The movement's leadership began to organize and hold national conventions, which led to the emergence of an Acadian flag, "a national day, an anthem, and other markers of identity and pride" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 98). The Acadian

Renaissance movement was a driving force in the creation of the site of Grand Pré that we know today, as they were "seeking to find and generate pride and inspiration in the Acadians' past" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 99).

There are two main reasons why Grand Pré came to be the symbolic place it is today. First, Lt.-Col. Winslow kept an incredibly detailed journal of the events that happened during his time in Grand Pré, as the British officer in charge of deporting Acadians from this area (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). This meant that there was a historical record of this event, which helped in piecing together the story of what happened in Grand Pré. Second, in 1847, American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow wrote the epic poem '*Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie'*, telling the story of "simple, peace-loving peasants" devastated by the Acadian Deportation (Kennedy, 2014, p. 5). It is important to note that Longfellow wrote the poem nearly 100 years after the Deportation of the Acadians and that he had never met any Acadians nor visited the land of Acadie. His poem, as a work of fiction, did not strictly adhere to the historical records. The idea for the poem started in April of 1840. Longfellow was hosting a dinner party at his home in Boston, Massachusetts and one of his guests, fellow writer Nathaniel Hawthorne, asked another guest, Reverend Lorenzo Conolly, to tell the tragic tale he had heard from one of his parishioners, Mrs. George Mordaunt Haliburton. The tale was that of Evangeline, a young Acadian woman who became separated from her beloved Gabriel on their wedding day, during the expulsion of the Acadians from Grand Pré, and who spends the rest of her life searching for him, only to find Gabriel on his deathbed in Philadelphia many years later. Struck by this tragic story of star-crossed lovers, Longfellow set about composing his epic poem *'Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*', which he would not complete until 1847.

While the characters in the poem are fictional, the historical backdrop was factual, and

interest in the events of the Deportation grew as the poem's popularity soared. Eventually, the poem became widespread:

> The poem became required reading in many Canadian and American schools and colleges during the later part of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. As a result, Evangeline, Grand-Pré, and the Expulsion (now generally referred to as the Deportation) became household names.
>
> (Le Blanc, 2003, p. 55)

In its first year of publication, five editions of 1000 copies each were printed and, within 100 years, approximately 270 editions of the poem were published worldwide (Le Blanc, 2003). The poem was eventually translated into approximately 130 languages (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). As noted by Le Blanc, the poem essentially "immortalized Grand-Pré" (2003, p. 57), by evoking images of an idyllic "Paradise Lost" (Griffiths, 1973, p. 79). Longfellow took it upon himself to gloss over the past in '*Evangeline*', painting the events of the Deportation with a highly romantic, rose-tinted point of view. As a result, tourists increasingly wished to visit "Evangeline's village of Grand-Pré to gaze sympathetically upon her lost paradise" (Le Blanc, 2003, p. 59; McKay & Bates, 2010).

The "Evangeline Phenomenon" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 72), began in the province of Nova Scotia in the 1860s, and, eventually became an "organized campaign mounted by corporate interests and entrepreneurs" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 103). By the 1920s, the phenomenon had attained a high degree of popularity, and Nova Scotia had become known as the "Land of Evangeline," resulting in it becoming "one more front on New England's therapeutic frontier, offering a variety of attractions to well-heeled East Coast folk as a respite from their stressful urban lives" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 103). Entrepreneurs developed infrastructure using this "Evangeline brand," complete with "advertising copy, postcards, railway coaches, steamships and pseudo-events," some of which are still in use today (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 76). This

promotion of the narrative of Evangeline has worked as a marketing strategy since the poem gained popularity, with Maritime tourism receiving ample interest from tourists (Soucoup, 2013; McKay & Bates, 2010). With the rise of the Dominion Atlantic Railway, and the operation of the first successful train and ferry tour of Nova Scotia in 1871, tourism from America to the Land of Evangeline in the Annapolis Valley was booming: a convergence of "idyll and industry" (Campbell, 2017, p. 54; Campbell, 2011; Soucoup, 2013; McKay & Bates, 2010). Even early tourism advertisements in Nova Scotia featured images of Evangeline, with these advertisements painting a romanticized past for Nova Scotia, which offered, "stressed-out American urbanites a chance to relive the romance of older and better times," and allowed them to "recover their vital energies, and derive inspiration from tranquil landscapes bathed in the transfiguring glow of history" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 72). While it is understandable that much of the Annapolis Valley area of Nova Scotia would cash in on the opportunity to market Evangeline, more perplexing was the adoption of everything Evangeline by the Acadian people themselves. As McKay and Bates note, the poem became popular amongst Acadians between 1884 and 1887, with the name Evangeline becoming "common currency" in Acadian culture, "first applied to vessels and then to baby girls" (2010, p. 93). This was a surprising development, given that Evangeline was penned by an American English-speaking poet. On the other hand, it is important to note that there were, and still are, Acadians who are disenchanted with Evangeline, considering her to merely be "an aspect of Acadian myth" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 123).

2.3.1 A Tourist Attraction

The Evangeline Phenomenon ultimately gave rise to a dedicated Acadian heritage attraction near the village of Grand Pré. The heritage site that we know today was initially a

fourteen-acre area purchased in 1907 by a local jeweller, John Frederic Herbin (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). The land was believed to be the site of the 18th-century Acadian church of Saint-Charles-des-Mines, which residents of Grand Pré and surrounding areas would have attended. However, after numerous archeological digs at Grand Pré, the exact location of the church has never been found. Herbin's mother was Acadian, and Herbin wanted to have the site of Grand Pré made into a memorial to the Acadian Deportation. He erected a stone cross on the grounds to mark the location of the Saint-Charles-des-Mines cemetery (which was found on the grounds), using stones from what he believed were once a part of Acadian houses (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). In 1908, the Nova Scotia legislature enacted the "trustees of Grand Pré Historic Grounds", giving legitimacy to Herbin's vision and marking the first step of government involvement in protecting the land of Grand Pré (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 104).

In 1917, Herbin and the trustees sold the grounds of Grand Pré to the Dominion Atlantic Railway (DAR), with the condition that a memorial church be built on the site for the Acadian people (Johnston & Kerr, 2004). The DAR then assumed responsibility for the maintenance of the land. The DAR consulted with a renowned architect at the time, Percy Nobbs, in order to make a plan to turn the grounds into a tourist attraction, evoking images of Evangeline and the scenery from the poem. Nobbs drew up a plan "complete with pathways, flower beds, and potential monument locations" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 105). The idea was that this site would allow visitors a peaceful place to reflect on the Acadian tragedy of 1755. The DAR used the connection between Grand Pré and the poem *Evangeline* to promote the railway, and in turn the site of Grand Pré.

In 1920, the DAR unveiled their commissioned statue of Evangeline. Built entirely of bronze, she was the work of a Québécois father and son sculptor team, Louis-Phillippe and Henri

Hébert. McKay and Bates suggest that this statue was "non-confrontational" in that, "the viewer who stands before her is thus invited to take part in her mourning (but [is] not challenged to rise up against the oppressor or reflect guiltily upon his implications in the tragedy)" (McKay & Bates, 2010, p. 119). McKay and Bates propose that this statue was "suggestive of the complex economic and cultural colonial context within which it was erected" (2010, p. 119). At the time of the statue's creation, there were various forces that had a hand in creating the site of Grand Pré, namely the Dominion Atlantic Railway, and the Nova Scotian government. Neither of these entities would be interested in a statue that highlighted the tragedy of the Acadian people. This was due in part to the fact that Grand Pré was originally designed to be a theme park of sorts, or at the very least, a happy and relaxing place for visitors.

In addition to the statue, another key element of the grounds was the Memorial Church. In 1921, during the 8th Acadian National Convention, the former Société Nationale l'Assomption, now known as the Société Nationale de l'Acadie, officially took possession of the church site from the DAR (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). In 1922, the Memorial Church, also known as the l'Église Souvenir, was built after many fundraising efforts by the Acadian community throughout North America. The interior was completed in 1930. The church represents "the spirit of nationalism and the renaissance of Acadians," and the site of Grand Pré continued to play an important role in the Acadian renaissance in the years that followed (Johnston & Kerr, 2004, p. 73). Commemorative efforts at Grand Pré over the next several years included installing a statue of the Acadian patron saint, Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption, in the church in 1923, and what is known as the Deportation Cross, an iron cross erected in 1924 along the DAR railway line, at the place believed to be the point of embarkation for Acadians in 1755. Research in later years showed that this embarkation point was actually in a place called Horton

Landing, and the cross was relocated accordingly in 2005 (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015).

Ultimately, all these commemorative efforts increased tourism to the site, not only by those of Acadian descent, for whom the trip became a pilgrimage of sorts, but also by non-Acadians. Since the events of the Deportation of 1755 had resurfaced, there was a collective worldwide sentiment that this was a great tragedy that should not be forgotten. With the creation of Grand Pré, there was now a place to remember: a *lieu de mémoire* for the Acadians, and people everywhere (Nora, 1989).

2.3.2 The Shift to a Historic Site and the Road to a UNESCO Designation

After three decades of Grand Pré functioning as a tourist attraction and an unofficial memorial site for the Acadian Deportation, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada made a recommendation to the Government of Canada that the site of Grand Pré would make an excellent National Historic Park. Negotiations began in May of 1955 and, by December, the Société Nationale l'Assomption agreed to sell the grounds to the Government of Canada (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). Grand Pré National Historic Site came into existence, under the jurisdiction of Parks Canada. Five years later, in 1961, the site opened to the public as a site of national historic significance. Since then, Parks Canada has worked diligently with representatives of the Acadian community to maintain and enhance the original features of the site. In 1995, the Government of Canada decided to designate a large stretch of land from Long Island to the Gaspereau River, calling it the Grand Pré Rural Historic District. This designation "acknowledges the interconnected importance of dykelands and upland as a cultural landscape from the 1680's to the present" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 111). Yet, with this designation, members of the Acadian and local Nova Scotian community began to wonder if the Grand Pré

sites collectively might be able to receive an international United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) World Heritage Site designation (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 111). According to UNESCO:

> Heritage is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations. Our cultural and natural heritage are both irreplaceable sources of life and inspiration. What makes the concept of World Heritage exceptional is its universal application. World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located.
>
> (UNESCO, 2020)

UNESCO World Heritage Sites are selected every year from a Tentative List put forth by countries who have sites that they would like to have considered. The first UNESCO World Heritage Sites were selected in 1978, and Canada compiled its first list in 1980 (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). In the early 2000s, it was time for a new Tentative List of potential sites, and 130 locations from all provinces and territories were assessed to see if they would meet the criteria set out by UNESCO (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015). Eleven sites were eventually selected, two of them in Nova Scotia. In addition to the Town of Lunenberg, which had already been inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage Sites List in 1995, the Joggins Fossil Cliffs were selected in 2008. Then in 2012, the Landscape of Grand Pré was designated an official UNESCO World Heritage Site. It is a long and arduous process to be selected. Sites go through a "rigorous process of research, evaluation, and clarification of significance" that takes many years to complete (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 113). There are ten possible criteria for designation, and the potential site must be deemed by UNESCO to be "an exceptional example of the category it represents" as well as possessing "outstanding universal value" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 113).

The Landscape of Grand Pré was deemed to meet two out of UNESCO's ten criteria

(numbers v and vi) in order to be included on the World Heritage List. Criterion number v means:

> to be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change
>
> (UNESCO, 2020)

Criterion number vi, meanwhile, requires sites "to be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance" (UNESCO, 2020). According to UNESCO, Grand Pré meets these criteria in the following ways:

> (v): The cultural landscape of Grand Pré bears exceptional testimony to a traditional farming settlement created in the 17th century by the Acadians in a coastal zone with tides that are among the highest in the world. The polderisation used traditional techniques of dykes, aboiteaux and a drainage network, as well as a community-based management system still in use today. The resultant rich alluvial soil enabled continuous and sustainable agricultural development.
>
> (vi): Grand Pré is the iconic place of remembrance of the Acadian diaspora, dispersed by the Grand Dérangement, in the second half of the 18th century. Its polder landscape and archaeological remains are testimony to the values of a culture of pioneers able to create their own territory, whilst living in harmony with the native Mi'kmaq people. Its memorial constructions form the centre of the symbolic re-appropriation of the land of their origins by the Acadians, in the 20th century, in a spirit of peace and cultural sharing with the English-speaking community.
>
> (UNESCO, 2018)

UNESCO World Heritage Sites differ from National Historic Sites in two ways: first, National Historic Sites are dedicated to "preserving, commemorating, and communicating a person, place or event of historical importance in a particular country," while UNESCO World Heritage Sites possess "qualities that speak to everyone on the planet" (Johnston & LeBlanc, 2015, p. 114). Second, these "key qualities" need to be continuous and not merely of note in the past (Johnston

& LeBlanc, 2015, p. 114). Writing in the context of dark tourism, the term for visiting sites where death, disaster or tragedy have occurred, Miles (2002, p. 1176) finds that certain sites have a "critical spatial advantage" over others, in terms of their "locational authenticity". Locational authenticity, he argues, occurs when a site of remembrance of a tragedy is created upon the actual ground where the tragedy occurred. The landscape of Grand Pré is considered to have this locational authenticity and UNESCO finds, "the conditions of authenticity are met for the memorial aspects of the Acadian culture and for the symbolic dimension of these landscapes" (UNESCO, 2018).

Clearly, then, the site of Grand Pré plays an important role in the narrative of the Acadian Deportation, first as a National Historic Site and eventually as a UNESCO World Heritage site because of its significance to Canada and the World. In the next chapter, I will address the scholarly literature on spatial commemoration and sites of memory, which will help to conceptualize how the story of the Acadian Deportation is commemorated at Grand Pré.

Chapter Three: Literature Review

3.1 The Role of Place in Geography

For humanistic geographers, understanding the spatiality of people's lives, or how people interact through space and place, is at the heart of our discipline. This concept of place is fundamental to the study of human geography. With the advent of the humanist approach to geography in the late 1970's, the idea of experience became the centre of attention in place discussions. These humanistic geographers focused on the relationship between people and the world *through* experience (Cresswell, 2008). In this sense, "places are locations with meaning" (Cresswell, 2008, p. 134). This was revolutionary at the time and many geographers would dedicate their careers to exploring place in this way, most notably Yi-Fu Tuan, who had much to say about the experience of place: "place is a center of meaning constructed by experience. Place is known not only through the eyes and mind but also through the more passive and direct modes of experience, which resist objectification. To know a place fully means both to understand it in an abstract way and to know it as one person knows another" (1975, p. 152). While the definition of place itself is often contested, Cresswell and Hoskins find that most of the geographic literature on place can agree on the following:

> Place simultaneously evokes a certain materiality (it has a tangible form to it) and a less concrete realm of meaning. These come together in a particular location (even a mobile location such as a ship). In addition, place involves different levels of practice and performance. Unlike dominant notions of landscape, which is more often than not seen from a distance, place needs to be experienced. Place is a lived concept. (2008, p. 394)

Place, as described by the humanistic geographers of the 1970's, tended to be an overwhelmingly positive thing. In the 1980's and 1990's, a more critical human geography emerged, informed by Marxism, feminism, and post-structuralism. These geographers were interested in exploring

questions of inequality and power in relation to place, and thus emphasized that place experiences could also be negative or dark in nature. Contemporary human geographers have also emphasized the fluidity of place. Doreen Massey takes a "progressive" or "global" approach to place:

> First of all, it is absolutely not static. If places can be conceptualized in terms of the social interactions which they tie together, then it is also the case that these interactions themselves are not motionless things, frozen in time. They are processes. (1997, p. 322)

Massey's work led to a transformation in the way that we think about place, from starting out, thinking of place "vertically – as rooted in time immemorial – to thinking of it horizontally – as produced relationally through its connections" (Cresswell, 2013, p. 222). Cresswell adds that "place is not a fixed, bounded or unchanged thing, but open and constructed by the people, ideas and things that pass in and out of them" (Cresswell, 2008, p. 137). Fluidity can encourage a positive encounter with place, as it allows our conceptions of places to change. However, this does not make our overall experience of place necessarily positive. Places always remain fluid and open to interpretation and transformation; therefore, as Cresswell aptly states "they [places] are never truly finished" (Cresswell, 2008, p. 137).

3.2 The Geography of Memory

Understanding place and the spatiality of people's lives is of key importance when we discuss the site of Grand Pré. The site of Grand Pré itself has undergone many changes over time, making it fluid, dynamic, and open to interpretation and transformation. Visiting the site can lead to a darker experience of place, as the site commemorates the tragedy of the Acadian Deportation. The role of place in fostering collective memory and commemoration is thus also relevant to the discussion of Grand Pré.

The notion of place is crucial when exploring the role of memory within the realm of geography and can be used to either "bolster or undermine particular forms of shared memory" (Cresswell, 2015, p. 206). As Cresswell and Hoskins state, "three facets of place – materiality, meaning and practice – are similarly prevalent in geographers' writing on memory, where the geographical functions both as a realm for outsourcing memories and as a location in which reminiscence occurs" (2008, p. 394). Memory, in this sense, bears similarities to place, and the connection between the two concepts is strong. As the philosopher Jeff Malpas notes, "the connection of memory with place is not peripheral nor is it contingent. Place and memory are integrally connected such that one cannot understand one without reference to the other" (2012, p. 12).

Like place, memory is fluid, dynamic and capable of transformation. The act of remembering or reminiscing clearly allows for new interpretations of a past event. While we have found that both place and memory are concepts that are open to change and interpretation, it is also possible to view these concepts as fixed and stable, which makes them all the more complicated. Edward Casey finds that there is a "stabilizing presence" of place – however much a place changes, it also remains the same (1987, p. 186). Cresswell and Hoskins note this as well, first discussing Casey, and then stating, "we might return to a childhood haunt and be shocked by how much is new and how much has disappeared, but it is more likely that parts will endure and evoke memories of an earlier time" (Cresswell and Hoskins, 2008, p. 395). While some places may not change physically, our experiences of places can and do change, so while the materiality of place may remain the same, the experience of a place can alter over time, and "this experiential nature of place adds to the association between place and memory" (Cresswell and Hoskins, 2008, p. 396). Sometimes, as Cresswell and Hoskins note, this change occurs gradually

over time, and sometimes it occurs quite quickly (2008). These changes, and therefore changing interpretations of places, are noted in several key studies in the geography of memory.

Public memory is an important aspect of both local and national community identities. As noted by Licata & Mercy, "collective memories are shared representations of a group's past based on a common identity" (2015, p. 194). While the formation of collective memories is affected by both cognitive and emotional factors, it occurs in the context of human interaction – both with each other and with cultural artefacts, and these collective memories are "shaped by, and transmitted through, narratives" (Licata & Mercy, 2015, p. 194). In the 1980's French sociologist Pierre Nora coined the term '*lieux de mémoire*' to describe important sites of collective memory, such as museums, archives, and cemeteries (Nora, 1989). Similarly, as Foote and Azaryahu note, the geography of memory "locates history and its representations in space and landscape. It answers the question 'where is memory', in terms of places and sites that cast a certain vision of history into a mould of commemorative permanence" (2007, p. 127). They also find that the "geography of public memory is dynamic: new commemorative features are added while others, abruptly or gradually, disappear" (Foote and Azaryahu, 2007, p. 130). When discussing memory in relation to place, Cresswell and Hoskins also find that:

> Memory is conceived as a device that works to naturalize or (less often) contest existing social hierarchies. In such circumstances place occupies a precarious ground at risk of becoming hidden, forgotten, silenced, or shadowed by normative strategies of recall. In other accounts place can help recover memories, or at least make them more visible, by validating pasts and enabling some to claim a presence. (2008, p. 394)

Interest in the geography of public or collective memory and commemoration has grown over the past three decades since the emergence of early works focusing on landscape symbolism (Harvey, 1979; Lowenthal, 1975, 1985; Tuan, 1974, 1979). The research in this area has

expanded, according to Foote and Azaryahu, to include issues such as "heritage tourism, historical preservation, and the politics of commemoration, national identity and patriotism" (2007, p. 125). Public memory and commemoration exposes past and current "social tensions, political realities, and cultural values" (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007, p. 125). Foote and Azaryahu assert that:

> Memory is seen as socially constructed, not innately given, and always shaped by economic, social, cultural, political and ideological contexts of its creation. In this sense, memory is an invented tradition often shaped by many individuals and groups over long periods of time. (2007, p. 126)

As such, a geographic analysis offers spatial perspectives on what Foote and Azaryahu call "the patterns and dynamics of commemorative practices" (2007, p. 125). Interestingly, in many cases, memory is manipulated to serve the interests of the powerful elite within society, as they try to legitimize their authority (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007, p. 130). The powerful in society may erect sites, including memorials, buildings, and street signs, which hold meaning and tell a narrative which casts the elite in the best possible light. However, these sites can often become focal points for social friction: "contested sites like these, where the powerless can confront the powerful, can be effective points for resistance" (Foote & Azaryahu, 2007, p. 130). These contested sites, and other sites of violence and tragedy are associated with the darker side of place mentioned earlier. Ultimately, it is clear that public or collective memory plays an important role in whether historical events are physically commemorated in the landscape, and how the narrative is framed for visitors.

3.3 Dissonant Heritage

In the late 1990's, Tunbridge and Ashworth explored the notion of dissonant heritage. They began by defining heritage as a "contemporary product shaped from history" (1996, p. 20).

By this, they mean that heritage is culturally constructed, with a wide variety of "possible heritages", in response to the needs of specific consumer groups (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 8). This heritage product can be viewed in two ways. First, the supply side can be considered, focusing on the producers of heritage, or the heritage site itself. Second, we can look at the demand side, which emphasizes the consumers of heritage, or the visitors to the site. In order to examine the heritage creation process, they found that a new concept was required, which kept ideas of "discrepancy and incongruity" at the forefront, which they called 'dissonance in heritage' or dissonant heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 20). Tunbridge and Ashworth state that dissonance in heritage "involves a discordance or lack of agreement and consistency, which in turn immediately prompts the question, 'between what elements does dissonance occur?'" (1996, p. 20). They draw an analogy with music, particularly the idea of disharmony, which can also be extended to psychology and the idea of cognitive dissonance (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). They found that dissonance is both elemental to the nature of heritage, and also, that it is a ubiquitous condition of all heritage (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996).

Tunbridge and Ashworth also discuss the relationship between dissonance and disinheritance. The concept of heritage, as noted earlier, is a contemporary product, and so as a new generation is born and lives, they in turn create their own new heritage. This heritage becomes embedded in our culture – often for long periods of time – leaving behind traces for future generations to pick up on, or to ignore. In turn, someone is going to inherit this heritage, while someone else will be disinherited, either "completely or partially, actively or potentially" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 21). Tunbridge and Ashworth note that this notion of disinheritance, at its core, finds that all heritage belongs to someone; and therefore, it does *not* belong to someone else. What it really comes down to is: who is writing our heritage? Also, and

perhaps more importantly, who is being written out?

Heritage management is open to a wide array of choices and decisions made by the 'memory managers' of today. These choices are not always easy to make, and some heritage narratives can be considered more important to relay to future generations than others. For example, Tunbridge and Ashworth devote an entire chapter to tackling the heritage of atrocity. This type of heritage can lack "tangible remains" or physical evidence, as atrocity often involves desecration or destruction (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 129). The intangibility of this type of heritage means that since there may be no one to inherit this heritage (other than tourists), the interpretation of this type of heritage may vary greatly, depending on who is interpreting it (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996). Tunbridge and Ashworth question how can you possibly market or manage this type of heritage? They find that the choices are not always easy. Memorialization can potentially lead to the glorification of the perpetrators, which would offend those who are descended from the victims. One thing is clear, however. The management of these sites of atrocity heritage requires further investigation.

Dissonance in heritage is frequently caused by commercial developments, especially those looking to 'cash in' on, or sell, the past. However, Tunbridge and Ashworth find that museums, the memory managers, have been "guilty of causing heritage dissonance more often and with more serious consequences than any commercial developer" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 264). Tunbridge and Ashworth find that while at times dissonance in heritage can seem overwhelming and can lead us to think that there is no way to reconcile our present with the past, this dissonance can also be "trivial, ignorable or bearable" and even easily mitigated, depending on the situation (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 263). Once again, the choices are often left up to the memory managers, to decide if this dissonance is easily mitigated. Tunbridge and

Ashworth state that the resolution of heritage dissonance, from minor issues to large scale atrocities, at local and global scales, is "absolutely fundamental" to cultural and political harmony in our society (1996, p. 276).

Also writing in the late 1990's (with an updated and revised version published in 2003), Kenneth Foote discusses American sites of violence and tragedy in his book *Shadowed Ground*. In using a geographic scope of analysis, Foote offered a new and interesting perspective on how such sites are commemorated (if and when they are commemorated at all) and the various rationales behind these commemorations. For example, if we do commemorate or choose to remember a tragic event within our collective memory, then how do we do it? If we decide not to commemorate these sites, he questions why we do not, and then what happens to these sites? Foote finds that these sites have the "power to transform landscape, and alter its meaning over long periods of time" (Foote, 2003, p.4), where the site itself becomes open to various interpretations over time. Foote devised four approaches for commemorating sites of violence and tragedy: sanctification, designation, rectification, and obliteration. It is worth noting that at times these categories appear to fall along a continuum and that sites can change categories over time. Each of these outcomes can result in major changes to the surrounding landscape, but each one has a different impact in terms of our geography of collective memory (Foote, 2003).

Sanctification, involves the creation of a "sacred" place – a site set apart and dedicated to the memory of a person, group or event (Foote, 2003, p. 8). This process almost always involves the construction of a permanent marker on the landscape, and is intended to be maintained for all time. These places are dedicated through rituals of consecration, and are then "transformed into monuments that serve as reminders or warnings" (Foote, 2003, p. 8). Designation is similar in nature to sanctification, except that, although the site is also marked, "this response omits rituals

of consecration. In essence, designated sites are marked but not sanctified" (Foote, 2003, p. 16). Foote explains that with designation, there is usually agreement that a site itself is important, however, these places are simply unveiled rather than dedicated.

Rectification is the process by which a site of violence or tragedy is "put right and used again" (Foote, 2003, p. 23). The site may gain temporary notoriety, however, the negative associations with the site itself weaken over time, and the site is then reclaimed and reused in everyday life. Foote informs us: "rectification is the rule for the vast majority of sites touched by tragedy and violence. These are the sites of events that fail to gain the sense of significance that inspires sanctification or designation and lack the shameful connotations that spur obliteration" (2003, p. 23). Finally, obliteration entails "effacing all evidence of a tragedy to cover it up or remove it from view. Obliteration goes beyond rectification for the site is not just cleansed but scoured" (Foote, 2003, p. 24). Most commonly, the site is abandoned, and while it may be used again after a long period of time, it will not be used for the same purpose as it was previously.

Foote's main point throughout this early work – that violent and tragic events should be commemorated in the landscape in order to allow for emotional healing to occur – is still important and relevant today. He aptly states that, "The clock cannot be turned back on the American past, nor should it be" but rather, we find that Americans must face the violent and tragic events which have helped to shape the country – for better or for worse – by marking the sites and commemorating them in our public collective memory (Foote, 2003, p. 336). He muses that "perhaps the point is that many more events could and should be openly acknowledged in landscape as a step toward a more encompassing view of the roles played by violence and tragedy in American society" (Foote, 2003, p. 336). These ideas can easily be translated to other settings outside of the United States of America and can be applied to various sites of violence

and tragedy around the world. The site of Grand Pré in Nova Scotia is no exception, as a site that commemorates the tragedy of the Acadian people.

3.4 Dark Tourism

With the advent of dissonant heritage research, some scholars then began to branch out from this line of inquiry into the realm of dark tourism. Dark tourism, according to Light, tends to be used as "an umbrella term for any form of tourism that is somehow related to death, suffering, atrocity, tragedy or crime" (2017, p. 277). Sometimes known as thanatourism, which encompasses travel to specific sites motivated by a desire for an encounter with death (Light, 2017), dark tourism is considered by many scholars to be an emerging field of research which requires greater interdisciplinary study (Foley & Lennon, 1996; Miles, 2002; Slade, 2003; Stone, 2006; Biran, Poria & Oren, 2011; Stone, 2011a). Given the tragic nature of the events of the Acadian Deportation, the site of Grand Pré can be considered a site of dark tourism.

Dark tourism as an explanatory framework was first proposed by Foley and Lennon in 1996. They defined it as "the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198). Foley and Lennon focused on the dark sites and the ways in which they are presented and interpreted for visitors: the supply side of the debate. Taking another viewpoint around the same time was Seaton, who proposed the idea of thanatourism: "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death" (1996, p. 240). This notion represents the demand side of the debate: visitor motivations for encounters with death, which has been of interest to researchers since it was first proposed. Much of the early dark tourism work focused on dark sites, while more current research has increasingly focused

on visitor motivations.

Several scholars early on researched the supply side of dark tourism – the sites themselves. Miles (2002) proposed a system of classifying sites based on locational authenticity, which suggested that specific locations where dark events take place hold meaning, and where such sites can be characterized as either dark, darker, or darkest depending on the degree of locational authenticity they possess. In this classification, sites where atrocities were committed, such as the concentration camps at Auschwitz, are placed in the 'darkest' category. For Miles, sites merely associated with atrocity would be placed in either the 'darker' or 'dark' categories, depending on the level of locational authenticity attributed to them. For example, Miles emphasizes that the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, D.C. is dark indeed, but lacks the locational authenticity of Auschwitz. Building on this, Strange and Kempa proposed multiple shades of dark tourism, finding that at penal tourism sites, shades of dark tourism "develop and co-exist" (2003, p. 388). Similarly, Stone (2006) proposed a spectrum of dark tourism: where sites *of* death and suffering were the 'darkest', and where sites *associated* with death and suffering grew increasingly lighter on the spectrum. These notions have been critiqued by many scholars, who argue that sites are not intrinsically dark (Jamal & Lelo, 2011; Ashworth & Isaac, 2015). Ashworth and Isaac find that,

> the fatal flaw in these attempts to impose a system of classification upon tourism sites, first separating them into discrete dichotomy of dark from light and then sub-classifying in an increasingly complex hierarchical system, is that the same site evokes different experiences for different visitors – simply, what one visitor finds dark, another does not. Therefore, no site is intrinsically, automatically and universally dark. Sites labelled as dark may not always be experienced as dark by every visitor (2015, p. 318).

Walby & Piché (2011) also suggest that visitors can and will experience 'dark' places in many different ways, and therefore 'dark' can have many different meanings for these visitors.

Some scholars are skeptical about, or even dismissive of, the concept of dark tourism, arguing that the notion of "darkness" is not an "objective fact" (Light, 2017, p. 279), but is instead socially constructed – it will change as time goes on, and between societies (Jamal & Lelo, 2011; Biran & Poria, 2012; Ashworth & Isaac, 2015). Furthermore, Ashworth and Isaac find that the concept comes into question on a global scale:

> The term does not translate well into French, German or other major European languages and the terminology does not seem to be firmly embedded in thinking about tourism outside a narrow range of countries. Indeed, considering the national background of almost all the pioneers in the field, it could be claimed to be a predominantly British phenomenon with much more muted echoes elsewhere (2015, p. 323).

Much of the research surrounding dark tourism focuses on battlefield tourism, or war tourism, which may offer too narrow a frame for dark tourism as a whole (Light, 2017). There is also some debate in the literature as to whether dark tourism is a new concept or simply a relabeling of an older concept. As noted earlier, Tunbridge & Ashworth, writing in the late 1990's, discussed the notion of "dissonance in heritage" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1996, p. 20), which appears very similar in nature to dark tourism, while other scholars see dark tourism as another dimension of heritage tourism (Light, 2017). Another important critique of note: some scholars find dark tourism to be but a flashy, evocative label for heritage tourism, rather than a coherent and substantive branch of research. Under the umbrella term 'dark tourism', both dark tourism and thanatourism have received much interest over the years, both in academia and in the popular media. The term has been sensationalized in the popular media and has drawn much attention. For example, there is a Netflix show called 'Dark Tourist'. Biran and Buda have found that "thanatological conceptualisations of dark tourism consumption have contributed to the 'normalisation' of dark tourism'," meaning, that society's morbid fascination with death has

been normalized by the popular media coverage of dark tourism (2018, p. 526). This is consistent with the overall critique of dark tourism: that it is a flashy term utilized to entice popular media coverage. Ultimately, Light argues, "dark tourism or thanatourism are just two possible frameworks for understanding tourism at places associated with death" (Light, 2017, p. 279).

Despite these concerns, by the mid-2000's there were increasing calls for further research into visitor motivations within the realm of dark tourism (Stone, 2006). Current research still primarily focuses on this line of inquiry, although it is now more multifaceted than ever (Stone, 2011a; Stone, 2011b; Stone, 2012; Kerr & Price, 2016; Nawijn, Isaac, Van Liempt & Gridnevskiy, 2016). Iliev (2020) finds that the most recent dark tourism research looks at the different experiences of tourists at dark sites, with a particular focus on emotional and cognitive experiences. Iliev notes, "the consumption, motivation and experience in dark tourism" remain key research areas in this field (2020, p. 1).

While there is clearly a need for further research into visitor motivations and experiences at sites commemorating violence and tragedy, there is also still a need for further research into the sites themselves. Grand Pré would certainly qualify as such a site and, while the framework of dark tourism has merit, I prefer to use the lens of dissonant heritage, and Foote's geographic analysis of 'shadowed' sites. In the next chapter, I will introduce the concept of spatial narratives, and explore the methods used to collect data at various study sites within the Grand Pré National Historic Site.

Chapter Four: Methods

4.1 Spatial Narratives

In this chapter I lay the foundation for my research methods. First, I give an introduction to the concept of spatial narratives, and why the application of this concept is relevant to my research. I explain two forms of spatial narrative: landscape narratives and museum narratives, and their potential application at historic sites. Next, I list my research questions, and explain how I went about using a spatial narrative approach to answer them. Finally, I detail the research challenges that I encountered.

This study analyzes the use of spatial narratives at a prominent national heritage site. The term spatial narrative, first coined by Kenneth Foote and Maoz Azaryahu in the late 2000's, describes the spatial configuration of a narrative – how narratives, or stories, are arranged to be told within a certain space; for example, within a museum or heritage site setting (Azaryahu & Foote, 2008). The use of spatial narratives appealed to me because to my knowledge, this approach has yet to be used at a Canadian National Historic site, and there is a growing body of research which has much to contribute to our current understanding of museums and heritage sites. Spatial narratives are relevant to my analysis of Grand Pré because there were many places to potentially apply this concept at Grand Pré. There are two museums contained within the heritage site, as well as guided tours, and the landscape itself.

In their 2016 book, *Narrating Space / Spatializing Narrative*, Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu discuss the intersection of narrative and space. This book is a significant contribution in the field of spatial narratives and builds on Foote and Azaryahu's earlier work. To begin, the authors find that space should not be viewed merely as the "backdrop" to a narrative, but rather, argue that

"space serves other narrative roles: it can be a focus of attention, a bearer of symbolic meaning, an object of emotional investment, a means of strategic planning, a principle of organization, and even a supporting medium" (2016, p. 1). Of key importance is that narrative intersects with space in two ways. First, there is the idea of narrating space, where spaces are transformed by narratives (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016). This approach is used by narratologists who are interested in analyzing how spaces are incorporated into narratives within literature. In the latter half of the book, the second idea is discussed, that of spatializing narrative. Spatializing narrative "approaches space as the environment in which narrative is physically deployed", or, alternatively, we can think of this as 'how narratives are told within space itself' (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 1). My research focuses specifically on the latter approach, that of spatializing narrative.

According to Azaryahu & Foote, the construction of spatial narratives involves configuring the narrative "in terms of locations, distances, directions, and movements on the ground at the actual site of the events being recounted", and no other form of narrative attempts to "attach stories to place in this way" (Azaryahu & Foote, 2008, p. 191). Depending on the story, and the space available, Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu (2016) find that it can be challenging to have stories spread over vast landscapes, while at the same time it is just as demanding to have large narratives told within smaller spaces. Another difference between spatial narratives and other forms of narrative, is that spatial narratives are often "co-authored" more so than most other forms of narrative, meaning that they are always changing and that their composition involves "writers, artists, architects, historians, politicians and others" (Azaryahu & Foote, 2008, p. 191). These narratives are often created over long periods of time and are not always easily framed. Where spatial narratives are often configured over time, this co-authorship can also be

extended over timeframes spanning decades or generations. This means that the narrative is likely to change, as it is influenced by both social and political pressures (Foote, 2003; Foote & Azaryahu, 2007; Azaryahu & Foote, 2008; Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016).

4.2 Landscape Narratives

Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu (2016, p. 163) use the terms landscape narrative to refer to "stories that are told by being inscribed or marked in the environment." The audience in question must "walk, drive, or otherwise move about in space" to comprehend the narrative of the landscape (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 163). Heritage sites can be examined through the lens of landscape narrative for two key reasons. First, as noted by Ryan, Foote, & Azaryahu, when narratives are told "on site" or "on the ground," we find that "space is often used as a surrogate for time" (2016, p. 161). This means that as we move about a space, "distances between signs, the directions in which people move, and the overall spatial pattern in which signs and plaques are arranged can all serve to represent time and the temporal sequence of a narrative" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 161). This is especially relevant when examining a heritage site, as we are often talking about large stretches of time, or an event that happened in the distant past. Essentially, at many historic sites, movement through space is often implied as a movement through historical time.

Landscape narratives can be broken down into several sub-categories: point narratives, sequential narratives, narratives of significant places, narratives of significant moments, and themed visits (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016). Point narratives tell a story from a single point or location, usually in the form of a plaque or a sign. As noted by Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu (2016, p. 165), "sometimes the landscape itself provides a particularly good vantage point for narrating

an event." For example, overlooking the ground on which a battle took place. The hill would offer a view of the battlefield, while a sign or plaque would offer details on what took place there. Sequential narratives are structured linearly: there are beginning and end points for the narrative, and chronological sequencing is used to help keep visitors on track (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016). Narratives of significant places includes stories that are told from a series of points or stops, with an element of the story told at each point, but not necessarily in chronological order (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016). This strategy can be advantageous in telling complex narratives, for example at the Grand Pré National Historic Site, as it helps to simplify the issue of narrating events that took place simultaneously. Narratives of significant moments also help to simplify "temporal and spatial complexity" by highlighting significant moments in a complex series of events at specific points (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 171). This idea is related to sequential narratives; however, narratives of significant moments are more selective. Themed visits on the other hand, allows for a great deal of freedom in the structure of narratives in the landscape (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu). It usually involves putting together a sequence of events, issues or places that may not have a similar storyline and morphing them into a unified narrative. For example, two otherwise unrelated sites could be unified under the theme of "The Titanic's impact on Halifax". This would bring together the Maritime Museum of the Atlantic, and the Fairview Lawn Cemetery, both of which would be of interest to those wishing to learn about the Titanic's impact on the city of Halifax.

In this case study of Grand Pré, a hybrid narrative theory was employed, as the many sub-categories of landscape narratives can all be applied. Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu find that,

> In some respects hybrid narratives are more in keeping with a postmodern ethos, which questions attempts to impose a single story on historical sites. Instead, they can be used to present visitors with a range of evidence, ideas, and perspectives that invite them to confront an event or site on their own. (2016, p. 177)

This is evident at Grand Pré. While the narrative of the Acadian people is the single story or theme at the site, we can see that visitors are presented with a range of historical evidence, and the perspectives of the English, French, Acadians, and Mi'kmaw peoples. This helps to encourages visitors to think about the narrative from many different perspectives and fosters an understanding of both the events that led up to the Deportation, and the events of the Deportation itself. Interestingly, it becomes clear that there are in fact two dominant narratives offered at the site of Grand Pré: the narrative of the celebration of Acadian people, their culture and perseverance, and the narrative of the Deportation.

4.3 Museum Narratives

Another type of spatial narrative used in this analysis of Grand Pré is called museum narratives. Museum tours and exhibits are inherently spatial in nature, and many scholars have examined how heritage tourism sites in particular "use space to represent the world" (Hanna et al, 2019, p. 49; Geoghagen, 2006; Alderman & Inwood, 2013; Hill, 2006; Till, 2001). Museum narratives involves understanding how and why museum planners and designers arrange text, images, sounds, objects, and architecture to tell stories along a certain route within a museum environment (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu (2016). These routes direct the movement of visitors and "invest museum space with a sense of sequential, narrative order" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 181). While it is important to note that not all museums are organized around narratives, many heritage museums are organized in this manner. Often, museums that are organized around a narrative are "quite explicit about using stories as a means of encouraging visitors to explore historical events" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 181). Both the interpretive centre and the Memorial Church at the site of Grand Pré are organized around an explicit narrative. At the

interpretive centre, the Acadian people, and their history, as well as their contributions to the surrounding landscape are the clear focus, while the events of the Deportation are the focus within the Memorial Church.

At times, narratives are not only narrated spatially but also chronologically. On guided tours, for example, "as stories are taken off the page and positioned as signs and inscriptions on real places, space assumes a somewhat unexpected narrative capacity" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 161). The docents at historic sites walk tourists around, narrating the story, often in chronological sequence. As noted by Crang, museums can be interpreted as "machines that inscribe time on space"; by their design and spatial configuration they can organize time within a given space (1994, p. 32). Crang (1994, p. 32) also finds that,

> time is manipulated in terms of the amount and organization of the space accorded to historic events, with no fixed formula relating the amount of space to the duration of the event. Rather, the amount of space is decided by the significance and importance of the event, and reciprocally marks the event as significant and important.

On another note, Crang (1994) finds that there is no need for chronological sequence in museum spaces. However, most museums do create a chronological sequence in order to give a sense of coherence for visitors, and a sense of meaning to their exhibits. The interpretive centre museum at Grand Pré utilizes this method.

Narratives told within a museum setting rely on many of the same tools that landscape narratives do, such as "spatial order, direction, linearity and progression" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 180). At the same time, museums have other tools at their disposal, including the use of "text, audio-visual aids, and artifacts that offer additional storytelling potential" (Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu, 2016, p. 180). In the case of Grand Pré, I find that the line between landscape narratives and museum narratives blurs, which, Ryan, Foote & Azaryahu (2016) note is possible

in the case of historic sites or buildings that are configured into museums. Visitors are offered different options which fit with both narrative types, including tours, viewing a film, and the opportunity to explore both the interpretive centre and the grounds of Grand Pré.

While Foote and Azaryahu laid the groundwork for conceptualizing spatial narratives, others have made important contributions in terms of methodology: how we analyze spatial narrative. One techniques for analyzing spatial narrative, pioneered by Hanna, Carter, Potter, Bright, Alderman, Modlin, & Butler (2019), is narrative mapping. These scholars were conducting collaborative research on narratives of slavery at various heritage plantation sites in the American South and they developed this method to capture "how guides, visitors, and exhibits interact within spaces when representing and performing history" (2019, p. 49). Narrative mapping, as designed by Hanna et al. (2019) can be described as "a mobile and geographically sensitive form of participant observation" (p. 49). Essentially, this method makes note of where visitors are exposed to narratives at historic sites or museums. Hanna et al. state that this method allows researchers to "capture, visualize, and interpret tendencies and variations in the content affective qualities, and spatial arrangements of museum narratives over multiple sites and across multiple tours of the same site" (Hanna et al., 2019, p. 49). Simply put, this method allows researchers to gather and interpret the data collected in a systematic way, across many study sites, and with data from many tours of the same site.

Writing on guided tours, and more specifically those given at plantation museums in the American South, Hanna et al. (2019) find that most previous research (Eichstedt & Small, 2002; Modlin 2008) gathers data from one or two researchers, on one or two visits to a specific site, who utilize auto-ethnography or participant observation to collect data. Due to these limited interactions, these researchers could potentially experience difficulties when arguing that their

data is representative of a museum's narrative; for this to be the case, the tours would have to be highly scripted, with the narrative being passively received by the visitors (Hanna et al., 2019). More recent research finds that the role of museum docents is not that simple (Brin & Noy, 2010; Potter, 2016). Tour guiding is complex and performative in nature, with many docents having some agency over the narrative of the tour and, therefore, over the experience of visitors to the heritage site (Hanna et al., 2019). Potter (2016) and Hallin & Dobers (2012) find that the narrative and affective content of tours will vary between different docents, different tours, and even between different tours given by the same docent. Additionally, visitors are not passive recipients of knowledge on tours or within the museum context, but rather, the relationship between visitors and museums is "dialogical," meaning that visitors often use their own experiences and knowledge to understand the information that is being presented to them (Buzinde & Santos, 2009). Chronis also reaches a similar conclusion, suggesting that visitors utilize their own prior knowledge and experiences to understand narratives and landscapes in a meaningful way, participating in what Chronis terms "story-building" (2012b). This emerging research on tour guiding and museum studies, suggests that guided tours and exhibits, like the geography of place and memory, are "dynamic" in nature (Hanna et al., 2019).

This idea is predicated upon Azaryahu & Foote's work (2008) on spatial narratives: the notion that spaces can be used to tell stories. Other influences upon this method include Smith & Foote (2016) and Smith (2018) and their work on museum discourses, as well as Chronis (2012a; 2012b; 2015), and their work on narrative construction and body-space staging. In terms of the latter, Chronis finds that the moving body can meaningfully interact with surrounding space and that tour guides can strategically move tourists bodies by way of choreography (scripted movements on tours), to construct meaningful experiences with heritage sites (Chronis, 2015).

Chronis finds that this movement within a space is key in terms of how spatial narratives are experienced by visitors to museums and historic sites (2015), and narrative mapping builds on this work, demonstrating how narrative and space are tied together on guided tours at heritage sites.

This spatial narrative approach clearly has much to offer as a new way to analyze stories told in space. In my study, I drew upon several of these key ideas, including analyzing both the landscape and museum narratives at the site of Grand Pré. I conducted a spatial discourse analysis in both the interpretive centre and the Memorial Church. In addition, I utilize a modified version of the emerging practice of narrative mapping when assessing the guided tours given at the site. My research adds to the growing body of literature that helps bolster the usefulness of spatial narrative techniques in social science research. Next, I will detail my research questions and my thesis argument, and where and how the research was conducted.

4.4 Research Questions and Thesis Argument

As a reminder, two research questions were developed in order to examine the narrative at the site of Grand Pré:

1. What is the narrative of the Acadian Deportation told at the site of Grand Pré?
2. Given that the site of Grand Pré has multiple components, where and how is the narrative commemorated?

In this thesis, I will utilize a spatial narrative approach to argue that, while the narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré is dark in nature, it is not consistently presented across the multiple components of the site (i.e., the film theatre, the museum within the interpretive centre, the guided tours of the grounds, and the museum within the Memorial Church). Additionally, the evidence of dissonant heritage at Grand Pré will reveal that Parks Canada has

missed an opportunity to fully interpret this darker narrative for visitors to the site. As a result, this narrative is at times overshadowed by the more positive and celebratory narrative of Acadian culture and perseverance at Grand Pré.

The field research for this project was conducted at the National Historic Site of Grand Pré. The research took place in August and September of 2018, and again in the same months in 2019. Over the course of my field work, I gathered data on the textual and performative aspects of the site of Grand Pré, in order to carry out a discourse analysis of my data. The textual aspects include analyzing the interpretive centre, the film, and the Memorial Church. The performative aspect includes analyzing the guided tours.

4.4.1 Museum Narratives

In order to examine the textual aspects of Grand Pré, which include the interpretive Centre museum, the film, and the museum within the Memorial Church, I spent time exploring the interpretive centre and the Memorial Church. I also watched the film several times. I took notes on each section, detailing the layout of the centre and the church, and the progression of the film. I took notes on the key themes that were discussed in these areas. I also employed participant observation, taking notes on what visitors examined and interacted with in the centre and the church, and I detailed what their reactions were to the film.

4.4.2 Guided Tours

Over the course of my research in the summer of 2019 I participated in a total of twelve guided tours. Once the tours were over, I was able to sit down with my notebook and take notes on the events of the tour. I recorded the date of each tour, the total length of each tour, which

docent led the tour, as well as the number of attendees. In terms of the content of the tour, I took notes on which themes were touched on by the docents, and where, and which themes were given the most attention. I was not permitted by the site of Grand Pré and Parks Canada to interview the docents; however, the docents were all very friendly and approachable and were able to answer any general interest questions that I had at the end of each tour. I introduced myself to the docents before the start of each tour and explained that I was a master's student doing research at Grand Pré. I explained to them that I would not be interfering on their tour in any way, and that I would greatly appreciate if they did not change anything due to my presence. I was also able to do participant observation on the tours, noting what visitors found interesting, what themes kept their attention, and the questions asked, and remarks made by the visitors on the different tours. I did not announce to visitors that I was a researcher, however if visitors made conversation about what had brought me to Grand Pré that day, I would explain that I was there doing field research for my master's degree.

Prior to starting the first tour, I had made a list of themes that I had expected to be mentioned on the tours, and I added to the list as necessary while on the tours. I was asked to try to blend in on the tours, as such I did not use a notebook while on the tours. I made mental notes whenever a theme was mentioned, and where it was mentioned, and wrote down all my observations upon completion of the tours. In terms of analyzing my data, upon the completion of the tours I would highlight, or code for themes that were discussed. I kept track of where these themes were mentioned on the tour. I did not attempt to track how many times a theme or word was mentioned, as I did not have access to a pen and paper while on the tours.

4.5 Research Challenges

My original research plan had included interviews and I received ethics clearance from Saint Mary's University to conduct interviews with the docents at the Grand Pré National Historic Site, late in the summer of 2018. The interpretive centre and Memorial Church close to the public in early October every year, and so I spent approximately six weeks conducting preliminary research and familiarizing myself with the site. I returned to the research site in June 2019.

In 2019 I learned that I would require a research permit from Parks Canada, in order to interview the docents. I found that the process of obtaining permission from Parks Canada to conduct interviews would not fit within the timeline for my field work, and as a result I decided to modify my approach. I then applied for a permit to utilize a spatial narrative approach. This was approved and I began my fieldwork in August 2019. I attended a total of twelve guided tours, and concluded my research at the site in September.

Chapter Five: Findings and Discussion

In this chapter I discuss my findings from my research at Grand Pré, answering my research questions. First, I give a brief overview of the site, and I discuss the film that is shown in the multimedia theatre. Next, I discuss the museum that is housed within the interpretive centre. I also discuss the optional guided tours, the grounds, and finally, the museum that is housed within the Memorial Church.

When visitors are greeted at Grand Pré by the front desk staff in the welcome centre, they are given the option to pay admission for the interpretive centre, which includes the multimedia centre and a museum, and the Memorial Church. The grounds at Grand Pré are free to explore. If they choose to pay admission, they are given a map of the grounds, and the staff member explains the events that are happening at the site on a given day. This could include the guided tours, an artwork session, or even a cooking lesson, depending on what the site is offering that season. The visitors who wish to partake in these events pay an additional fee. Figures 5, 6 and 7, show the exterior, the map at the entrance, and the interior of the interpretive centre. Additionally, Figure 8 shows the map that all visitors are handed upon arrival at Grand Pré. The staff member usually explains the "best way" or their "recommendation" for how to tour the site when they hand out the map. Almost always, the recommendation to visitors was that they should first view the film in the multimedia theatre, before partaking in either a guided tour or touring the museum, grounds, and church on their own. As noted, I will be using this recommended sequence as a frame for this chapter.

Figure 5: The Interpretive Centre at the Grand Pré National Historic Site. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 6: The Map of Grand Pré that visitors see upon entering the Interpretive Centre. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 7: The interior of the Interpretive Centre. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 8: Map of Grand Pré National Historic Site (Image Credit – Parks Canada Agency, 2020)

5.1 Multimedia Theatre

The multimedia theatre at the Grand Pré National Historic Site is located within the welcome centre, toward the back left of the building when approaching from the entrance. The film in the multimedia theatre is highly recommended by the staff because it helps to set the tone for a visit to Grand Pré. The film tells the story of the Acadian Deportation, and by viewing this narrative early on in a visit to the site, it helps to heighten understanding for everything else the site has to offer. When visitors choose to view the film, they are directed towards the theatre from the front desk. Outside the entrance door to the theatre, is a plaque that says, "all too often in times of conflict, civilians are the victims" (Figure 9). This statement sets the solemn tone for the film that the visitors are about to see. Upon entering the theatre, visitors often spend some time pausing to look and listen to their surroundings. The entire theatre looks like the hold of a ship from the 1700's. There are hanging lanterns for light (there are brighter overhead lights too for safety), wooden benches lined with rope, and wooden barrels and boxes stacked around the room. From well-hidden speakers comes the sound of waves and the creaking of the wood as the "ship" sways on the ocean waves. There are three screens to the front of the theatre, or towards the front of the ship. The middle screen is the largest, flanked by two smaller screens on either side. Next to each padded seat on the benches is a set of headphones, with the option to listen in either English or French. When it is time for the film to start, a staff member invites visitors in both languages to please take a seat and gives a disclaimer that this film may be disturbing to some viewers, as it discusses the tragic events of the Acadian Deportation. The interior of the multimedia theatre can be viewed in Figures 10a and b.

Figure 9: The plaque outside the entrance to the multimedia theatre. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figures 10a and b: The interior of the multimedia theatre. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

The film opens on the main screen, with the scene of a woman giving birth in the hull of

a ship, much like the one the visitors are "in". The Acadians on board call for more light, and the woman's husband curses the British for this predicament. Another woman, introduced to us later as the narrator Madame Acadienne, admonishes him that this is not the time. She muses, how did we get here, so far away from our homeland of Acadie, in this terrible situation and what will become of us? The scene shifts to present day, where an interpretive guide at Grand Pré is talking with visitors, saying what a paradise Acadie was for our ancestors in the past, until the events of the Deportation forced them from their homeland. The female narrator, Madame Acadienne, dressed as a traditional Acadian woman, appears on one of the side screens, saying "a paradise? No, we worked hard to make this land our home".

Madame Acadienne tells us about the Acadian way of life and their society prior to the Deportation. She discusses how there is constant fighting between the English and the French, and the Acadians do not want to take sides. They wish to remain neutral. The territory is so coveted because of the fishery, the "surplus of our fields" and its strategic location. The Mi'kmaw perspective is also given at this time, by a Mi'kmaw man who appears on a side screen. The Mi'kmaq don't mind sharing the land peacefully with the Acadians, he says, because the Acadians only want to use the tidal flats. But, he notes that the British pose a threat, as they want to control all of Mi'kma'ki. Next, an image of British Governor Charles Lawrence appears on one of the side screens. He discusses the need for an unconditional oath to be taken by the Acadians. The audience then see tensions increase with the fall of Fort Beauséjour. Images of battle scenes are projected onto the walls of the theatre. The Acadian deputies offer to take an oath, with the condition that they do not have to bear arms for the British. Governor Lawrence will not accept this and signs the Deportation order.

Next, the audience sees Lt-Col. John Winslow appear on a side screen, as he narrates

what happened at Grand Pré on September 5th, 1755. Winslow explains that the Acadians will be removed from the land. The images on the walls are of the beautiful scenery of Grand Pré, overlooking the Minas Basin. After the Acadians are deported, the soldiers then set fire to the village and the church, to discourage any Acadians that may have escaped from returning. There are images of a burning village projected onto the walls. Madame Acadienne tells us that the events of the Deportation lasted for eight long years. The music in the film at this point is mournful, and the mood somber. The audience is meant to feel empathy and sorrow for the plight of the Acadians.

The scene then changes, away from the dark events of the Deportation. Madame Acadienne talks about how Acadians returned to their ancestral homeland of Acadie after many years away. The film does not explain what was waiting for the Acadians upon their arrival home, and what challenges they needed to overcome in order to once again live in Acadie. Madame Acadienne tells us that today, the Acadians celebrate their families, their culture, a sense of belonging to a unique culture, and a bright future. Traditional Acadian music plays as the Acadian people on board a ship see the land of Acadie in the distance. The scene fades out, replaced by an image of the present-day church at Grand Pré. The interpretive guide at Grand Pré is once again on the screen and talks about how the present-day Grand Pré National Historic Site, and UNESCO World Heritage site, pays homage to the Acadian people and their journey. As the credits roll, the names of the deported families are projected onto the walls, in alphabetical order. The lights then come on.

Over the course of my research, I viewed the film six times. The observations that follow are an amalgam of my various visits to the site, on the days when I viewed the film. Some visitors get up right away when the film ends, almost as though they are eager to get away from

the uncomfortable story. Others remain seated, deep in thought. One man hurriedly wipes tears away as he removes his headset. Another woman dabs at her eyes with her handkerchief, murmuring to her companion that she did not expect the film to be so moving. Outside the theatre, another woman remarks “well, that was very sad”, while her companion nods. Another woman says to her group, “what a nice little movie”. Two men in another group exchange “that was very interesting” and “a good bit of history for you there”. Others exiting the theatre and rejoining groups remain silent, as though processing what they have just seen.

The film at Grand Pré conveys the scope of the tragedy that was the Acadian Deportation. The story of the Deportation is told factually, but also with emotion by the characters on the screen. Madame Acadienne helps to put a face on the Acadians who were deported. This narration helps the audience to remember that this was not a trivial event that happened many centuries ago, with little consequence. Also, there is nothing in this film that seeks to alter the tragic narrative of the Acadian Deportation. The British are portrayed factually, as the ones responsible for these tragic events; yet they are not demonized either. Their accurate portrayal is important, as the film does not seek to sweep the events of the Deportation under the rug. An interesting point to note is that the film elects to end on a note of optimism. It does not dwell on the dark events of the Deportation, and it skirts around the challenges of the return of the Acadians to the Maritime provinces. The Acadians never returned to Grand Pré, nor did they return to other core communities in parts of Nova Scotia. This is tragic, yet the film ends by celebrating the thriving Acadian culture found in the Maritimes today. The film shown at Grand Pré tells the darker narrative of the Acadian Deportation, however, because Parks Canada chose to end the film on a celebratory note, it does not fully lean into the darker narrative of the Deportation. This is a missed opportunity to address this difficult subject matter in a meaningful

way. Next, we will look at the interpretive centre museum, where visitors can continue their education on the Acadians.

5.2 Interpretive Centre Museum

The museum at Grand Pré is complex, with many features. As the visitors walk into the museum, they will first see a map, titled "Odyssey of a People", about the Acadians' travels during and after the events of the Deportation (Figure 11). Once inside, they find a twofold layout. The outer perimeter of the museum is composed of a series of panels, which tell a chronological narrative of Acadian history when engaged sequentially in a counterclockwise pattern. There are also displays within the middle of the museum space. These displays use models and artifacts to focus on the ways in which the Acadians influenced the physical landscape at Grand Pré. Visitors progressing counterclockwise around the perimeter of the space will start with the display panel 'Our Roots Run Deep', explaining how the Acadians came to Acadie, followed by "District of Les Mines", explaining how the Acadians settled in the area that would become known as the Minas Basin (Figures 12a and b). From there, they can work their way around the room. The next three panels address themes of religion, trade relations, and the various objects of daily life.

In the back right hand corner of the room, there is a panel on oaths and sovereignty, with a listening centre behind it, which details four different perspectives on the Deportation: the British, Acadians, Mi'kmaq and French. Visitors next come to a case of objects discovered at Grand Pré. Beyond that are four panels focusing on geopolitical tensions in Acadia and the various conflicts that the Acadians found themselves in leading up to the Deportation. Next there is a case with registers detailing the families and their livestock at Grand Pré. Then there are

three panels on the Deportation, two of which provide headphones for visitors to listen to a narrated historical account of what happened from an Acadian perspective. Finally, the last few panels detail where the Acadians are today and inform visitors about how the site of Grand Pré came to be. This includes a discussion on Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, *Evangeline*. The last exhibit along the wall, once the visitors have come full circle around the room, discusses the marketing of *Evangeline* and showcases various items that were branded with her in mind (Figure 13).

Figure 11: A map that is on display when you first walk into the museum (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figures 12a and b: The first two panels along the outer perimeter of the museum: "Our roots run deep" (left) and "District of Les Mines" (right). (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 13: The Evangeline display in the museum at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

In the centre of the space visitors start at a panel titled "Keeping back the tides: From salt marshes to fertile meadows." This panel helps to set the tone for what visitors will learn about as they explore the centre of the space: the physical landscape of Grand Pré. Next, there is a plaque detailing how an aboiteau works, and how the Acadians worked to change the marshland into farmland. There is also a plaque containing Sieur de Diereville's description of Acadian dyke building during a visit to Port Royale in 1699. There are two interactive pieces along this side of the centre exhibit: a miniature wooden aboiteau, and a sample of black grass – a species used by the Acadians to build dyke walls. Next there is an interactive screen with vignettes of Acadian life, covering topics such as working in the garden, weir fishing, and harvesting wheat. As visitors move around the centre exhibit in a counterclockwise fashion, they will come to a large diorama of what a typical Acadian farmstead would have looked like (Figures 14a and b). As

visitors continue to move around the centre of the space, they will come to a statue of a man using an Acadian dyking spade, alongside a replica aboiteau, which is pictured underneath replica sods (Figure 15). Along the left side of the centre of the space is a large replica of what the Acadian dyke walls would have looked like, as well as an original Acadian aboiteau, dating back more than 400 years (Figures 16, 17a and b).

Figures 14a and b: Two photos of the diorama within the museum at Grand Pré. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 15: Statue of an Acadian using an Acadian dyking spade, alongside a replica aboiteau, pictured underneath sods. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 16: Replica of the Acadian dyke walls. (Image credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figures 17a and b: An original Aboiteau dating back to the 1600's displayed in the museum at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Visitors are not required to move through the museum along any prescribed path. However, from participant observation, I have discerned that there are predominantly two ways in which visitors move about the room. Many visitors choose to explore the outer perimeter first, moving counterclockwise around the space, and then circling back to the interior displays in the centre of the space. This gives those visitors a chronological sense of Acadian history as they travel the outer perimeter: their arrival in Acadie, their growth as a people, the events leading up to and including the Deportation, where Acadians are now, the creation of the memorial site of Grand Pré, and a brief history of Evangeline and how she came to figure prominently at Grand Pré. Alternatively, some visitors begin at the "Our Roots Run Deep" panel. From there, they move across the space to the centre exhibit panel "Keeping Back the Tides," and then continue to zigzag back and forth across the space, covering everything that the centre has to offer in one

circuit.

5.2.1 Dissonant Heritage and Counter-Narratives in the Museum

When examining the museum narratives on display at Grand Pré, we can see how the spatial juxtaposition of dominant narratives and counter-narratives offers insight into how difficult history and heritage is discussed within the museum setting (Smith & Foote, 2016; Smith 2018). Acknowledging and addressing counter-narratives in heritage settings is important, because there are often more complex narratives in play than we are led to believe from the traditional or dominant narratives (Smith, 2018). Museums can work to either "highlight or downplay" counter-narratives, and can also choose to hide or display "the peoples displaced, the cultures destroyed, and the environments damaged" (Smith, 2018, p. 2). In the case of Grand Pré, the museum in the interpretive centre works to highlight these counter-narratives.

Near the back of the museum, there is an exhibit entitled "In their own words." Here, a semi-circular table is built into the wall, with four stools positioned along the table at different intervals. Each seat corresponds to a set of headphones and each set of headphones corresponds to a different perspective: the French, the British, Mi'kmaq, and Acadian peoples. These audio files tell the viewpoints of these groups on the issues of oaths and sovereignty, posed in question format. For instance, the French perspective questions "where should the Acadians' loyalty lie?" as well as "what should the consequences be for the Acadians who maintain their independence?" The responses provided showed how the French felt that the Acadians' loyalty should lie with them. The audio response for the French perspective was based on the ordinance issued in Québec by the Marquis de la Jonquière, dated 12 April 1757, which was attached to his letter dated 1 May 1757, sent to the governor of Île Royale. When listening to the British

perspective, we hear the big question “why are you deporting the Acadians?” In addition, a voice asks, “why deport all Acadians, when only a small number aided your enemies?” This time, the audio responses were based on acting Governor Charles Lawrence’s circular letter to the governors of the Anglo-American colonies, dated 11 August 1755, which explained his reasons for the Deportation. The Mi’kmaw responses are based on both a letter that a few Mi’kmaw leaders composed at Les Mines on 2 October 1720, and sent to Governor Phillipps at Annapolis Royal, and on Mi’kmaw oral traditions. The questions include: “why are you at war with the British?” and “how are the Deportation events affecting the Mi’kmaq?”. The Acadian viewpoint questions “why were the Oaths of Allegiance not taken soon after 1713, when Acadie became Nova Scotia?” and “why did your deputies not take the oaths in July 1755 in front of the Nova Scotia council in Halifax?” The responses were based on two documents found in the Grand Pré area: a letter sent by ‘several French inhabitants’, and a petition submitted by inhabitants of the Pisiquid, Les Mines, Canard River, and neighbouring places, to Governor Lawrence in Halifax.

This exhibit's inclusion within the interpretive centre museum is significant because it is the one element at Grand Pré where the singular focus on the Acadian perspective is briefly disrupted by a poli-vocal counter-narrative. I would argue that these counter-narratives do not detract from the narrative of the Deportation, but in fact, they bolster it. By offering differing perspectives other than that of the Acadians, these counter-narratives give insight into the complexity of the events leading up to the Deportation, furthering the point the museum is trying to make: that the Deportation was brought about due to a multitude of factors, and ultimately, it was a great tragedy for the Acadian people. This is important because these counter-narratives reveal the complex context surrounding the Acadian Deportation, which could be glossed over if the museum saw fit to do so.

Also, these counter-narratives include the perspective of Indigenous peoples, specifically the Mi'kmaw peoples in this case. This is a significant departure from many heritage museums, which often provide only a Westernized perspective of the issues at hand. Yet, beyond this one exhibit, the museum reverts to telling the narrative of the Deportation from an Acadian perspective to restore some interpretive coherence. Ultimately, the telling of counter-narratives at Grand Pré is significant, as it offers the visitors insight into the dissonant or difficult heritage of the Acadians at Grand Pré, which is not always found in other aspects of the site.

Figure 18: The panel "In Their Own Words" at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 19: Part of the listening centre for the "In Their Own Words" panel. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

The museum housed within the interpretive centre contains considerable information regarding the events of the Acadian Deportation. All the key elements of the narrative are present in the museum, the information is presented in a logical sequence, and is relatively easy for visitors to digest. This museum has a dual focus, as the narrative of the Acadian modifications to the physical and cultural landscape is also present. I felt that within this museum, both narratives were given considerable weight in terms of the displays and the amount of interpretive space that is used to deliver these narratives. However, the Deportation narrative is limited to the periphery of the space, suggesting that it is not the central narrative focus of the museum. The centre of the space, which naturally draws a great deal of attention, is focused solely on the Acadian modifications to the physical landscape, and Acadian culture, leading to the conclusion that the museum is more focused on highlighting this celebratory narrative. In addition, while the museum in the interpretive centre reinforces the narrative of the Deportation that is told in the film, it does not tell the Deportation narrative in the same emotionally-charged

way. Rather, it is more reserved and factual in its telling of this narrative. Overall, then, I suggest that the museum housed within the interpretive centre contributes to the telling of the dissonant heritage of the Acadians through the narrative of the Acadian Deportation, but this narrative does not stand out as a central focus in this component of Grand Pré.

5.3 Guided Tours

Over the course of my research, I went on 12 guided tours with seven different docents. Each guided tour began at 10:00 AM in the main hall just outside the movie theatre. The tour guides, whom I will refer to as docents for the rest of this section, were all very informative as well as entertaining for visitors. The docents always began the tour in the main hall and made an announcement that the tour was now starting. Each docent asked if everyone had had a chance to view the film and explained it briefly for those who had not yet seen it, emphasizing that the film covered the tragic events of the Deportation. As such, it became clear that the docents viewed the film to be of vital importance in helping to understand the narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré, with some recommending to visitors that they go back and watch the film upon the completion of the tour. The docents also introduced themselves and told a bit about how and why they came to be working at Grand Pré. This helped to build rapport with visitors and was well received as a way to break the ice with the visitors on the tours. They also usually gave a brief outline of what to expect on the tour.[3] Interestingly, one observation that I made while on these tours was that both the docents and visitors to the site were often of different ethnic backgrounds. At least one docent acknowledged that they were of Acadian descent. It is possible that this

[3] I am going to write this section following the structure of a 'commonplace' tour; however, this section encapsulates the details from the 12 tours that I went on. Simply put, it is an aggregate account of the 12 tours. Where things deviate from the standard tour, I will clarify what exactly was different, to help makes things explicitly clear.

could affect how to the narrative was delivered, and how the narrative was received or understood by the visitors.

Before starting the tour, one docent said to the group that they wished to acknowledge that we are on the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaw peoples. It should be noted that this docent explained that, while they themselves are not Indigenous, they said that they would make every effort to include a Mi'kmaw perspective on various aspects as we moved through our tour. Only one other docent gave this acknowledgement, and of the seven docents that I experienced on the 12 guided tours, only four gave a Mi'kmaw perspective where applicable and shared with visitors the important role the Mi'kmaw people played in the Acadians' success in Acadie.

The docents next invited the tour-goers to follow them into the interpretive centre museum, where they came to a stop at the Map of Acadie. They usually gave a brief history at this point: what was Acadie? Who were the Acadians? From there we moved on to the panel "Our Roots Run Deep", where the docent explained how the original Acadian settlers had come over from several regions of France. They gave a brief history on why this happened, and then gave a quick overview of what things would have been like when the first European settlers arrived in what would become known as Acadie. From there we moved over to see the landscape model, which gave an aerial view of what a traditional Acadian settlement might have looked like here at Grand Pré. Here the docents usually stopped to talk about what life in the "Golden Age" of Acadie would have been like.

The docents then talked briefly about Acadian society, and what their families and life would have looked like. The next stop was around the back of the central exhibit, at the panel called "The Dyke", where there is a statue of a man holding an Acadian dyking spade. The

docent explained how the Acadians used dyking technology to drain the land of the great meadow, Grand Pré, and other areas of Acadie, thus reclaiming the land from the sea. As the docent talked about the dykes, they walked us around to see an original aboiteau that was dug up close to Grand Pré, which they have dated at close to 400 years old. This wrapped up the first part of the tour, where we covered much about the Acadians, their lifestyle, and their history. In the first part of the tour, the docents did not take visitors to every exhibit in the museum. Instead, visitors were directed to view a few highlights within the museum before the tour moved on. The exhibits that were highlighted within the museum on every tour included the Map of Acadie, the panel "Our Roots Run Deep", the landscape model, and the original aboiteau. Out of the 12 tours, more than half of them (eight tours) stopped at the panel "The Dyke" with the statue. I believe that these panels and exhibits were highlighted by the docents because they help to introduce the Acadians as a people, and they also demonstrate how the Acadians modified the physical landscape around them.

Next, we headed outside the interpretive centre, through the back doors (see figure 20). None of the docents stopped at the rose garden directly to your right, but some explained that you are welcome to stop in on the way back to the centre after the tour (see figure 21). In the rose garden are a trio of statues which represent the tearing apart of families during the Deportation. We quickly walked along the path that leads across a decorative wooden bridge and through a wooded area, before coming to a stop by a panel outside that discusses the landscape and archaeological digs that have occurred at Grand Pré (see figure 22). Here, the docents usually asked tour-goers to look around. They point out the foundation of what was an Acadian house in the gently sloping landscape. They take this point in time on the tour to talk about the events of the Acadian Deportation, giving some context about the British and French being at war, and

how the Acadians wished to be neutral. They explain that the site of Grand Pré is now a site of remembrance for this great tragedy. The docents explained how many visitors to the site are of Acadian descent and how Grand Pré, as a memorial site for the Deportation of their ancestors, is a very emotional place for many people.[4]

Figure 20: The back doors of the Interpretive Centre at Grand Pré (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 21: The trio of statues in the rose garden at Grand Pré (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

[4] I am not sure how it is that the docents knew how many visitors were of Acadian descent, and I did not get a chance to ask them about it.

Figure 22: The landscape views at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Some of the docents pointed out the flags high on the hillside in the distance at View Park (see figure 23). If they did point these out, they explained how you can visit this spot and have a great view of Grand Pré. There was one docent who asked tour-goers if they could identify the flags being flown, which helped to keep the interest of the tour-goers. There are five flags flying: the Canadian flag, the flag of Nova Scotia, the Acadian flag, the Mi'kmaw flag, and the UNESCO flag. The same docent explained how the Landscape of Grand Pré was designated by UNESCO as an important place of world heritage in 2012, giving a brief background on the two grounds for designation: first, the physical landscape – the way in which the Acadians shaped their environment with their dyking technology; and, second, as a place of remembrance for the important and tragic events of the Acadian Deportation. Interestingly, out of the seven docents that were followed over the course of this study, only three docents touched on the UNESCO designation in relation to Grand Pré, and Docent #1 was the only one to ask if anyone could identify the UNESCO flag on the tour.

Figure 23: The five flags flying at View Park. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

From here we kept walking along the path until we reached a set of train tracks, where most docents stopped to talk about the history of Grand Pré as a heritage site (see figure 24). They explained that the site we have today is due to a number of factors, but it began with an Acadian descendent, John Frederick Herbin, and growing interest in the tale of Evangeline in the early 20th century. They would talk about how interest in the history of the Acadians was growing, due in part to the poem, and how the Dominion Atlantic Railway played a role as they helped increase tourism to the area in the 1920s. One docent stopped at the old railway crossing and mentioned that this was once a premier destination for many and used that as a segue to move on to the statue of Evangeline.

We kept walking down a pathway and we came to the statue of Evangeline (see figure 25, and figure 26a and b). Arriving at the statue, one docent remarked "I'm sure many of you are wondering how it is that we came to have this lovely statue here." The docents at this point usually asked if anyone knows who she is. On some tours, no one knows and so the docent proceeds to give a quick summary of the story of Evangeline, and how she influenced the building of the site. Some docents gave a detailed background on her story. They explain the

history of the statue, and how the grounds were promoted by the Dominion Atlantic Railway as a visit to Evangeline's homeland, complete with the beautiful Victorian gardens. One docent explained that Evangeline was actually "branded" before Mickey Mouse, leading one visitor to exclaim to the group "Grand Pré sounds almost like a Disneyland of the 1920s!". At the end of the story, most docents asked the group if anyone knew that Evangeline was a fictitious character. Many people nodded their heads knowingly, while others were surprised. One docent invites visitors to walk clockwise around the statue. They explain that many people have said that as you walk in this direction around the statue, while gazing at Evangeline's face, she appears to age before your eyes from a young maiden to an older woman. Some visitors say that they could see it, while others try it and shrug.

Figure 24: The train tracks that run through the site of Grand Pré. The original platform was found on the right, on the other side of the tracks in this photo. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

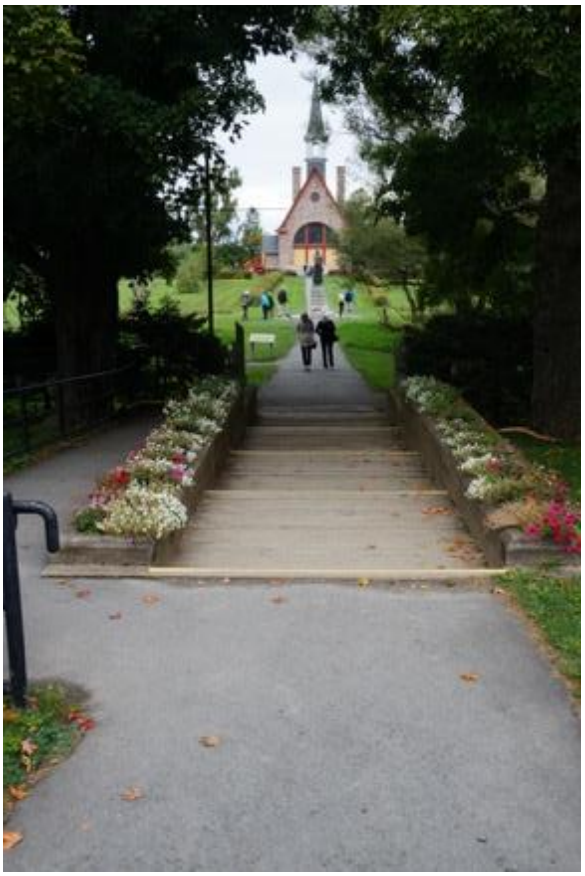

Figure 25: The pathway past the train tracks leading to the statue of Evangeline. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figures 26a and b: The statue of Evangeline at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

We continued walking along the path and the docent pointed out the beautiful Victorian gardens, which continue to sprawl for some length on either side of the pathway (see figures 27a, b and c). One docent commented that, while the Victorian gardens make for beautiful scenery and add to the tranquility of the memorial space for reflecting on the tragedy of the Acadians, they are "out of place" and kind of a "bizarre" addition, as their beauty stands in stark contrast to the tragic events that happened in this area. At the top of the pathway by the church, a few of the docents usually veer off to the right and invited tour-goers to approach a large maple tree (see figure 28). The docents that did this explain that the tree has been affectionately named "George", and that it is a very special tree. They asked everyone to take turns guessing how old George is. Everyone guessed at least 100 years or more, because this tree is quite large. We were

all surprised to learn that George is only approximately 80 years old. The docents explained that this is a testament to the rich soil in the area, that a tree can grow to be this large in a relatively short amount of time. As a side note, during Hurricane Dorian on September 7th, 2019, George was knocked over by heavy winds, and now only the stump of the tree remains.

Figures 27a, b and c: Some of the Victorian style gardens at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 28: The Memorial Church at Grand Pré. To the right of the church, you can see a flagpole, and to the right of flagpole, you can see a group of trees. The first tree that you see is the tree that was known as "George". (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

We continued walking down this pathway and we passed Evangeline's Wishing Well and the Bust of Longfellow (see figure 29a and b). On one tour, we stopped at both. For the majority of the tours, however, we did not stop at either, but the docents sometimes gave passing remarks. Some docents explained that this is just a nice added touch to the grounds but that the well has no historical background to the tale of Evangeline. We continued all the way down the path until we stopped at the Herbin Cross (see figure 30). Here, the docents usually explained that we are standing in a cemetery, and that there are people buried right under our feet. We learned about how John Herbin built the cross believing that the stones were perhaps from the foundations of Acadian houses. We talked about how the church of St. Charles-des-Mines was potentially burned to the ground, in 1755, as the British soldiers had been ordered to burn houses

and barns to deter the Acadians from coming back. The original foundation of the church has never been found. On that note, we turned around and walked back down the path towards the Memorial Church.

Figure 29a and b: Evangeline's Wishing Well (Left), and The Bust of Longfellow (Right) at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 30: The Herbin Cross at Grand Pré. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

We entered the Memorial Church and, once we are all standing in the middle, the docents who end their tours in the church usually pointed out the stained-glass window and give a bit of history on the window. They talked about how the church came to be and gave a brief explanation about the paintings on the walls. Some talked about the other decorative aspects of the church. One docent explained that the church is considered to be a memorial church, rather than a functioning church because it is not consecrated, meaning a service cannot be held there. Most docents usually ended the tour by saying that we are welcome to explore the church and the rest of the grounds, and that if we have any questions, please don't hesitate to ask them.

It happened twice where I was the only person on the tour. The docents (#2 and #7) knew that I was there to research the tours, so they kindly gave me a slightly shortened version of their standard tour. I asked them to stick to their "script" as much as possible so that I would get a sense of their tour "style" for lack of a better phrase. In these situations, we quickly covered the

brief history of Acadie and where the Acadians had originally come from. With Docent #2, I was given a very thorough history of the Dominion Atlantic Railway (DAR) and the history of the park and tourism to Grand Pré. This docent talked about Evangeline in the sense of her impact on tourism, not in terms of her relationship with the Deportation. The Deportation was talked about on this tour, but it was not a theme given a great deal of attention, except in relation to how the events spurred the creation of the memorial park. The docent talked about the marketing of present day Grand Pré, and how it is a site of remembrance, but also, a tourist attraction, and how people come from all over the world to see Evangeline and her 'homeland'. As we walked towards the Memorial Church, the docent discussed the Victorian gardens, giving me a quick history lesson on the Victorian Era and the popularity of this type of garden.

Once we reached the church, the docent talked about how historical accuracy is often missing from the emotionally heightened aspects of the retelling of what happened at Grand Pré. The docent explained that there is no historical evidence to suggest that the church was burned to the ground; rather, this has become part of 'Acadian myth or legend'. They explained that it is an important part of their job, as a guide at Grand Pré, to convey information, and to not let emotion run away with the narrative. This docent put a lot of emphasis on the history of the site of Grand Pré, as well as more recent tourism and how that impacts what happens at the site today.

Similarly, on tour #11 I was the only person on the tour. At the statue of Evangeline, Docent #7 talked about a similar Deportation story that is told in New Orleans, Louisiana. The story was about two people in love, Emmaline, and Louis and, while it is similar to the tale of Evangeline, it is different in a few ways. In this story, Louis marries while Emmaline is searching for him, and she dies of a broken heart upon learning that he has married. The docent used this as an opportunity to show that the Deportation story is indeed a sad one, however, it is

not unique to the Acadians. There have been many diasporas in our collective world history. They also say that Deportation of the Acadians is a significant piece of Canada's dark history, and a large part of what the site of Grand Pré does is to make an effort to bring this dark history to light.

Interestingly, on tour #9, Docent #1 took a different route after we finished at the statue of Evangeline. Instead of going right past the Memorial Church, we went left along to the pine trees by the traditional Acadian kitchen garden. Here the docent spent a great deal of time discussing the grounds of Grand Pré, and the physical landscape, as the dykelands are very visible from the garden. This docent also went into more detail than previous docents about what happened after the Acadians were forced from this land, covering a great deal of information about the New England Planters. Docent #6 on tour #10 also turned left at the Memorial Church once we finished discussing Evangeline and walked us through the apple orchard (see figure 31). They encouraged people to try to name the various types of apples grown in the orchard, as well as encouraging visitors to pick one and try it. We moved on to the traditional Acadian kitchen garden, where this guide was extremely knowledgeable about the various plants grown by the Acadians (see figures 32a and b). They also discussed the influence of the Mi'kmaw people on the Acadians, as you would often find tobacco and sweetgrass grown in Acadian kitchen gardens. They encouraged tour-goers to try the string beans and some of the other fruits and vegetables grown in the garden. Interestingly, they ended their tour in the garden, and invited tour-goers to explore the garden and the grounds on their own time. They kept a great deal of the focus during their tour on the interactions between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaw peoples. The Deportation was discussed on this tour, and this docent talked about how the Indigenous peoples were impacted by the departure of the Acadians, and how they fared when the British began to

impose policies and restrictions on them.

Figure 31: The path past the apple orchard (the orchard is to the right in the photo). (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 32a and b: The Acadian Kitchen Garden, and the sign for it that helps inform visitors. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

One docent wrapped up the tour by saying that, while we have learned a lot of dark history today, there are many lessons that we can learn from the past in order to ensure history never repeats itself. They also said that while the British were, in this case, the perpetrators of a great crime, that does not mean that we should go forth from Grand Pré with bitterness or dislike for the British. Rather, Acadian descendants, and Canadians, have proven their resilience to move past tragic events and, if anything, this gives us cause to try to live with one another in harmony today. It was an interesting way to end the tour. This was not the only docent to acknowledge the British as the "villain" in this story of the Acadians. While other docents acknowledge this, many of them were attuned to or monitored the mood or emotion of their guests on the tour. Several visitors shuffled from one foot to another when discussing the dark events of the Deportation, while some looked away from the docent, and others cleared their throats. By their body language, many looked as though they would rather be anywhere else. In these cases, a few docents were quick to appease those on the tour who were uncomfortable with this portrayal by saying something along the lines of, "well it was a very long time ago" or "it was a different time." Docents #1, #3 and #4 were the only ones that did not try to sugarcoat the story to make it more palatable for visitors. Neither docents #1 nor #3 tried to appease people, yet they also kept the tour moving along so that people were not stuck feeling uncomfortable for too long. Docent #4 went further, however, keeping visitors physically in the same spot and saying that, while this dark past may make many of us uncomfortable, "I invite you to sit with this uncomfortable feeling" and acknowledge that a great tragedy happened here. They explained that the events were not unavoidable due to the time, and, for many Acadians, 250 years doesn't feel like that long ago. Yet, at the same time, they helped to ease some of the discomfort that some visitors were obviously feeling by saying that there are lessons to be

learned, and that this tragic story proves that Canadians are resilient as a people.

While some docents were not prepared to sugarcoat the narrative of the Acadian Deportation, others were slightly more dismissive of its impacts when speaking with visitors. I found the notion that the British had no choice because of 'the times', to be an alarmingly common reaction amongst visitors when learning about the Deportation, both within the interpretive centre and on the tours. I gauged this reaction through participant observation. While it may be the opinion or attitude of some visitors to the site, Grand Pré does not go along with this narrative. Most docents were quick to explain that this is not an opinion held by the site. Also, without insulting or offending the visitor, these docents explained why this attitude, which does not hold the British accountable, is troublesome. However, there were a few docents who appeared uncomfortable with this type of confrontation, and so did not directly correct the visitors on this point. However, the docents did not go along with that narrative when giving their tours.

At least two docents focused on bringing the conversation back to the fact that the Acadians are not just a people from long ago, emphasizing that the Acadians and their proud culture are very much alive and well here in Nova Scotia today. Docent #1 often brought the conversation on the tour back to the fact that Acadians in Nova Scotia and the other Maritime provinces have influenced the culture of the region and have made important contributions to society up to the present day. This docent gave the theme of the Deportation a substantial amount of attention as well, making sure that the depth and gravity of what happened really sunk in for visitors on the tour. They invited tour participants to put themselves in the shoes of the Acadians as we walked along, explaining at one point as we walked towards the cemetery, that this is the same direction the Acadians would have walked to get to the boats waiting to take them away,

and that it is almost impossible to imagine what that would have been like.

The guided tours at Grand Pré are an integral piece of the narrative of the Acadian Deportation, as the tour guides can bring this affective heritage to life for visitors. The docents help to convey the narrative in a way that the exhibits in the museum and the film cannot. The docents add to the conversation about the Deportation at the site by conveying the narrative with emotion. This is important, as it could be easy for visitors to distance themselves or remove themselves from the events of the past, when viewing the exhibits. While the film carries more emotional weight than the exhibits, visitors could still potentially chalk it up to being 'just a movie' and can then view it in a detached and sanitized way. The docents on the other hand, keep this detachment from happening. They add emotion to the narrative, helping visitors to come to terms with the fact that this was a very real event that happened to very real people. Regardless of how long ago the events of the Deportation happened, these events are still tragic today, and having a human voice narrating this for visitors helps these events to not feel so far removed from the present. Additionally, most of the docents spend considerable time on the tours discussing the events of the Deportation. This is one aspect of the site where the Deportation narrative is indeed highlighted. However, the additional fee for the guided tours may prevent visitors from taking the tour, as well as the fact that only one tour per day is offered. Ultimately, these circumstances may prevent visitors from receiving this highlighted narrative.

5.4 Memorial Church

On the grounds at Grand Pré there is a replica church that was built in 1922 as a commemorative monument for the remembrance of the events of the Acadian Deportation. The Memorial Church lies at the northern edge of the property, beyond the statue of Evangeline (see

Figure 8). The Memorial Church predates the interpretive centre, and today is maintained as a second museum on the grounds. If visitors choose to pay admission to the interpretive centre, they also have access to the museum that is housed within the Memorial Church. Visitors are also often taken into the church when they pay for a guided tour at Grand Pré. The focus of this museum differs slightly from the museum in the interpretive centre. Whereas the exhibits in the museum in the interpretive centre focus on a chronological history of the Acadians, touching on the events of the Deportation along with their transformation of the physical landscape, the museum inside the church focuses solely on the Deportation of the Acadians. Thus, while the two museum are certainly related, the space within the Memorial Church has been dedicated to educating visitors on the events of the Deportation, and the trauma that ensued as a result of these events.

Upon entering the Memorial Church, visitors are steered right by a short wall with a plaque on it that is dedicated to the victims of the Deportation (Figure 33). They are then greeted by an interpretive guide stationed to the right of the entrance. There are more maps of the grounds available at the guide's desk, along with various pictures of Grand Pré, maps and aerial views of the site, and an Acadian origins map of France. There are colouring sheets and crayons for children to play with. In the middle of the church is a clothes trunk, where children can dress up in traditional Acadian clothing and shoes. There is also a beautiful stained-glass window above the front door of the church (Figure 34a), and visitors are often encouraged, especially if on a guided tour, to turn around and look at the window. The stained-glass window was designed by the artist Terry Smith-Lamothe, who is of Acadian descent, and it was installed in the church in 1985. The scene in the window depicts the moment the Acadians are deported from their homeland. This information, and the artist's discussion on their vision for the window, can be

found on a descriptive plaque located towards the front of the church (Figure 34b).

Figure 33: The plaque on the short wall when you first walk into the Memorial Church, commemorating the victims of the Acadian Deportation. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 34a and b: The stained-glass window in the Memorial Church (above) and the panel that informs visitors about the stained-glass window (below). (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Within the church there are six paintings created by the artist Claude Picard, an Acadian artist born in Edmunston, New Brunswick in 1932. In 1986, Picard won a Parks Canada competition, and painted the six paintings for the permanent exhibit in the Memorial Church at Grand Pré. These paintings (along with their accompanying descriptions) tell the story of the Acadian people before, during, and after the events of the Deportation (Figures 35a and b). Near the back of the church, to one side, there is a binder which details the Acadian families and their livestock that were living in Grand Pré in 1755 (Figure 36). There is also a copy of the original

text from Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow's journal, which contained The Deportation Order (Figure 37). This was read aloud to the Acadian men and boys on September 5th, 1755, in a church not unlike this replica version. In another area is the official apology made by Queen Elizabeth II in 2003, for the British role in the events of the Deportation (Figure 38). Nearby, additional artwork featuring Evangeline is on display (Figure 39).

Figure 35a and b: The description for the painting "1755 - Reading the Deportation Order" in the Memorial church at Grand Pré (above), and the painting with the same name (below). (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 36: The binder which gave detailed notes on Acadian families and their livestock in 1755. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 37: A copy of the original text from Lieutenant Colonel John Winslow's journal, which contained The Deportation Order. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 38: The apology issued to the Acadian people by Queen Elizabeth II. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 39: Artwork of Evangeline within the Memorial Church (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

In an alcove near the rear of the church is a diorama of the Acadian Deportation, titled "Through the Eyes of Children" (Figure 40). Along with the large depiction, there is a bench for reflection with a listening centre. Through the headphones, you can hear a narration inspired by incidents described in Winslow's journal, as well as accounts from two imaginary figures, a 12-year-old girl and her 10-year-old brother, who explain what it may have been like to live through the summer of 1755. Along the shorter back wall separating the main part of the church

from the alcove, four gold plaques are mounted, containing the names of the Acadian families deported from Grand Pré (Figure 41). Other photos of the interior of the Memorial Church can be seen in Figures 42a and b.

Figure 40: The large diorama of the Acadian Deportation at the back of the church in an alcove, titled "Through the Eyes of Children". (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 41: Gold plaques in the Memorial Church which give the names of the families deported from the Grand Pré area. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

Figure 42a and b: Photos of the interior of the Memorial Church at Grand Pré, featuring the statue of the Acadian patron saint Notre-Dame-de-l'Assomption. (Image Credit: Marie Fox, 2019)

The spatial narrative of the church is different than that of the museum within the interpretive centre. Visitors to the interpretive centre museum generally explore that area in two ways, as mentioned previously. In the Memorial Church, once again there is no prescribed path for visitors to follow, however, the paintings on the walls are in sequence. As a result, it makes

sense to start with the themed paintings that depict the era before the Deportation, before moving along to view the paintings that concentrate on the latter events. Upon entering the church, many visitors first explore the perimeter of the space and view these paintings in sequential order. Others do not and proceed to cross the centre of the space to view the gold panels near the rear of the church with the names of deported Acadian families. Some visitors simply sit on the provided benches near the centre of the church and marvel at the beauty of the stained-glass window above the front doors. In short, there are many ways for visitors to explore the Memorial Church.

While the museum in the interpretive centre discusses the Deportation factually, and approximately half of the space is dedicated to the narrative of the Deportation, the space within the Memorial Church is completely dedicated to the telling of the Deportation story and does so with emotion. This is significant because this additional space could have been used by the site of Grand Pré in a variety of ways. Yet, the site has chosen to dedicate this component to the telling of the Deportation narrative completely. The Memorial Church tells the narrative of the Deportation factually, much the same as in the museum within the interpretive centre. However, the difference is in the emotive power of the church, which is greatly influenced by the locational authenticity of it. Even though this church is a replica, there is locational authenticity here. Visitors to the site are learning about the events of the Acadian Deportation not only in the landscape where these events occurred, but also, within a setting built by the Acadian people to commemorate the tragedy their ancestors endured. The Memorial Church evokes a connection to the past in terms of affective heritage for visitors where they can feel and see the church as a tangible link to the events of the Deportation. From the stained-glass window to the paintings on the walls to the framed declarations, all these things contribute to a certain mood within the

church. These works of art detail how this event changed a nation, and the feeling stays with you. Art can evoke emotion in ways that more factual text cannot. This emotional telling of the Deportation narrative in the Memorial Church at Grand Pré is central to the telling of the narrative of the Deportation at the site. This is one of the components of the site of Grand Pré that evokes more emotion for visitors, in a similar way to the guided tours.

5.5 Conclusion

In terms of spatial narratives, the Deportation story is commemorated at the site in every key area: the film, the interpretive centre museum, on the guided tours, and within the museum in the Memorial Church. This was done in a variety of ways. The film included props within the theatre and visuals on the screen to immerse the visitors in the narrative. The interpretive centre museum contained signage and displays for visitors to read, as did the Memorial Church. The guided tours helped to further interpret the information in various areas for visitors and added to the narrative of the Deportation by engaging visitors, both by physically leading them around the grounds, and by engaging these visitors in conversations on the tours. I found that the textual and performative aspects of spatial narratives at the site do in fact "tell the story" of the Acadian Deportation for visitors. Unfortunately, however, while this darker narrative is commemorated spatially in every key aspect of the site, it is often overshadowed by the more positive and celebratory narrative of the Acadian people and their heritage.

An interesting consideration for this site is what happens to the narrative of the Acadian Deportation if components of the site are skipped or are done in a different order than the recommended sequence by the interpretive staff. The impacts to the narrative cannot be understated if visitors were to skip one or more sections of the site. If they were to pay admission

to the museum but did not pay for the tour and skipped the film, they would still gain insight into the Deportation narrative, yet it would come without the emotive factor that is the human telling of the narrative. If visitors were simply there to wander the grounds, they are getting very little of the Deportation narrative, and certainly less context for the beautiful Victorian gardens on the grounds. If visitors only go to the interpretive centre museum, but not the guided tours or the Memorial Church, it is possible they will come away feeling as though the Deportation narrative is not the central focus of the site, since the museum in the interpretive centre places approximately half of its focus on detailing the Acadian modifications to the physical landscape. These are interesting considerations; however, what is clear is that unless every component of the site is visited, the narrative of the Deportation at the site becomes diminished for those visitors who miss or skip these components.

Ultimately, I found that the narrative of the Acadian Deportation offered by the film, museum, guided tours, and the Memorial Church was not consistently presented across all aspects of the site. While the narrative of the Acadian Deportation is acknowledged and discussed at the various components of the site, I would argue that the more celebratory narrative of the Acadian people and their thriving culture bleeds through and overshadows the darker, more dissonant narrative of the Acadian Deportation.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

As noted by Tunbridge and Ashworth, "History is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and to pass on" (1993, p. 6). National historic sites, such as Grand Pré, are focal points for heritage communication, and as such they play a key role in the 'passing on' of heritage. But, how do historic sites decide what heritage to pass on and how do they interpret that heritage for visitors, particularly in circumstances where tragic events in the past create the potential for considerable heritage dissonance? As Tunbridge and Ashworth (1993, p. 21) argue, "dissonance in heritage" is "inevitable," as "all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's." This also means that any heritage product "disinherits someone completely or partially, actively or potentially" (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1993, p. 21). As a result, they suggest that the "creation of a universal heritage which provides an equal but full inheritance for all" is "essentially illogical" and the attempt to create this universal heritage, creates problems (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1993, p. 21; Blacker, 2021). At the Canadian National Historic Site of Grand Pré, Parks Canada aims to be inclusive and accessible to all Canadians, even as the site focuses on the particular hardships endured by the Acadian people in the 18th Century. Unfortunately, as a result, the darker, more dissonant narrative of the Acadian Deportation, gets downplayed and partially overshadowed by the more positive and celebratory narrative of Acadian culture and perseverance. As a result, Parks Canada has missed an opportunity to fully address this dark chapter of Canadian history in a meaningful way.

At Grand Pré, there are clear examples of the many kinds of heritage dissonance outlined by Tunbridge and Ashworth. First, there are positive versus 'negative' or 'dark' narratives at work, and the notion of blame to consider. Indeed, the site of Grand Pré tends to 'end' most

aspects of the Deportation narrative on a positive or happy note, attempting to leave visitors with an overall positive experience of the site. For example, the introductory film is emotionally charged, with visitors taking on the subject position of an Acadian deportee, by sitting inside the replica hull of a ship created within the theatre's interior. Yet, this dark narrative is tempered toward the end of the film, as a narrator states, "the Acadians returned to their homeland and today have a thriving culture." However, the film neglects to mention that when the Acadians returned to Nova Scotia, their land had been given to the New England Planters and they were forced to settle on less productive lands, elsewhere in the province. Essentially, there were hardships and struggles associated with the Acadians' return that Parks Canada glosses over in the film. The film also sets an emotional tone regarding the Deportation narrative that is not completely carried through the other interpretive sites at Grand Pré. Unfortunately, this dissonance isn't resolved as you move around the site – within the interpretive centre museum there is a panel discussing a "thriving Acadian culture" that is positioned after the factual displays discussing the events of the Deportation. On the guided tours, the docents seem to walk a fine line: they need to keep the visitors comfortable and so most try to keep things light, while still dealing with dark subject matter. Only at the Memorial Church does this darker and more emotional narrative of the Deportation return. The paintings on the walls within the church tell this narrative sequentially: first depicting the Acadian paradise established at Grand Pré before detailing the subsequent troubling events of the Deportation. Unfortunately, the Memorial Church is not something that all visitors experience, as you must pay a fee to enter the church.

Interestingly, Parks Canada attempts to tell this tragic Deportation narrative without continually assigning blame. In most interpretive spaces at Grand Pré, the issue of blame is occasionally broached, but the conversation gets quickly deferred. In the film, one Acadian

character says, “the British are to blame for our predicament,” which prompts the narrator, Madame Acadienne, to say “now is not the time.” The question then becomes, when is the time to discuss blame? If not now, when? This issue of blame is not raised in the interpretive centre museum, nor was it fully addressed by the docents on the guided tours I experienced, perhaps due to the perceived necessity of keeping visitors happy. After all, the issue of blame can be divisive, even several hundreds of years after the events depicted. This was apparent at Grand Pré, as some docents tried to smooth things over for visitors in ways that the film does not – remarking that the Deportation was “a long time ago.” Additionally, in the interpretive centre museum, the Deportation is put on the margins of the exhibition space. More focus and emphasis is placed on the middle of the room, where the diorama is. There is also the large replica of an Acadian dyke wall in the centre of the space, as well as an original 400-year-old aboiteau. These interesting and eye-catching displays highlight the landscape and societal contributions of the Acadians to the Maritimes. The interpretive centre museum is essentially a factual telling of the Deportation, except for the one dissonant aspect – the exhibit “In Their Own Words”. This exhibit adds emotion to the telling of the events of the Deportation, in an otherwise sanitized environment. It is possible and must be acknowledged that the celebratory narrative of Acadian culture and landscape modification, highlighted at the centre of the interpretive centre museum, may be less about Parks Canada avoiding the dissonant heritage of the deportation, and more of a reflection that they are showcasing a ‘Grand Dérangement’ narrative approach (as mentioned in Chapter 2), focusing on the resilience of the Acadian people. However, I feel that this is unlikely, given that the majority of the exhibits discuss “The Deportation” of the Acadians. Within the Memorial Church, however, Parks Canada does attempt to grapple with this issue of blame, which sets the church apart from the rest of the interpretive aspects of the site in this regard.

There is a framed copy of the Deportation Order, as well as a framed apology letter from the Queen of England for England's role in the events of the Deportation. Interestingly, these exhibits are located towards the back of the church and so, if a visitor did not take the time to fully explore the space, it is possible that these important exhibits could be missed; and, as mentioned previously, this space is not freely accessible to the general public.

At Grand Pré, Parks Canada is clearly trying to tell both 'stories'. One narrative is that of the Acadian Deportation, and the other is a celebration of the Acadian past, and current culture. Unfortunately, the positive and celebratory narrative often bleeds through most aspects of the site, doing a disservice to the darker narrative of the Deportation. We must give Parks Canada credit for talking about the Deportation, but they do not lean fully into the darker narrative. By skipping over the hardships returning Acadians faced and by sidestepping the whole issue of blame throughout most of the site, Parks Canada has missed an opportunity to address this difficult subject matter in a candid and meaningful way.

Another prominent example of heritage dissonance at the site is found in the repeated references to Evangeline. There are many features found on the grounds of the site that relate to Evangeline: the wishing well, the bust of Longfellow and of course the prominent central statue of Evangeline herself. Additionally, Victorian gardens are still present on the site, a landscape feature dating back to the days when Evangeline was the site's primary draw. There is also dedicated space within the interpretive centre museum where Evangeline is discussed, and she is a highlight of the guided tours, with the docents stopping at her statue to share her story. There are themed activities devoted to her at the site depending on the day of the week, and there are postcards, paintings, and other Evangeline collectibles available for purchase in the gift shop. The commodification of Evangeline is clearly visible, as Evangeline is an iconic figure

associated with the site.

The ongoing centrality of Evangeline to the narrative at Grand Pré is interesting because she is a fictional character that romanticizes the tragic events of the Deportation. As Parks Canada notes, "much more than a fictitious character, Evangeline symbolizes the perseverance of the Acadian people" (Parks Canada Agency & Government of Canada, 2017). While there is power that comes with this symbolism, there are also challenges associated with romanticizing the past, such as the Disneyfication of heritage sites.

The term "Disneyfication" (Rojek, 1993) has its roots in the notion of "hyperreality," coined by Baudrillard (1983) to refer to an idealized reality. In this idealized reality, it becomes impossible to distinguish fantasy from reality, because hyperreality produces "images of something that never existed in the first place" (Botz-Bornstein, 2012). Moreover, as Fu and Hillier note, "where reality and representation are intermeshed such that it is difficult to determine where one ends and the other begins, simulation occurs. A simulacrum is a copy without an actual original which becomes accepted as true. The question of reality becomes redundant with simulacra" (2018, p. 6). Baudrillard (1983) points to Disneyland as an examplar of hyperreality: a fabricated theme park created to emulate a reality that never truly existed. This 'false authenticity' (Eco, 1976) is epitomized by Main Street USA—Walt Disney's nostalgic homage to small-town America as it should have been (Fjellman, 1992). Significantly, many elements of Disneyland (and the other Disney theme parks that followed) would seem to commemorate distant lands and past events in ways that render them "sanitized" and "non-threatening" for visitors (Fu & Hillier, 2018, p. 6), providing the central themes for a 'disneyfied' form of heritage.

Moving beyond the Disney parks themselves, Meamber (2011, p. 126) defines

Disneyfication as “an approach to literature and history that simplifies and cleanses an object of unpleasantness,” going on to argue that, “in this view, Disney is implicated in the practice of presenting a superficial overview of history.” Additionally, they find, “Disney is also often charged with sanitizing the negative or more controversial elements of a subject” (Meamber, 2011, p. 127). These notions are in line with what we see at Grand Pré today: history here has been simplified and sanitized in the form of Evangeline’s romanticized, and soft-pedaled narrative of the Acadian Deportation.

In line with this notion, Tunbridge and Ashworth (1993, p. 22) find that there is a move towards generalization in some heritage tourism contexts, where complex local history becomes reduced to “familiar and easily recognizable characteristics” for visitors. They further state, “the heritage product must be rapidly assimilated into the existing experience, expectations and historical understanding of a visitor with limited local knowledge and quite definite expectations of what this heritage product should contain” (Tunbridge & Ashworth, 1993, p. 22). The story of Evangeline no doubt resonates with visitors because it embraces recognizable literary tropes and thus ties into familiar cultural themes. Unfortunately, as a result, this romanticized fictional narrative pushes the specifics of the Acadian experience at Grand Pré into the background, instead of highlighting the darker, factual narrative and bringing it forward.

In many ways, the Evangeline narrative at Grand Pré is comparable to the narrative of the fictional character Anne of Green Gables at Cavendish on Prince Edward Island (P.E.I.) (Squire, 1992). The popularity of Canadian author Lucy Maud Montgomery’s book series, *Anne of Green Gables*, changed both the physical and cultural landscape within P.E.I., much in the way *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie* has changed the landscape within the Annapolis Valley in Nova Scotia. Montgomery, writing about the idyllic scenery and wonderful natural beauty of P.E.I. in

her novels, brought elements of this existing landscape into her works of fiction. This "literary heritage" is not only given credence, but it is "given tangible expression" in the form of a literal "Green Gables" (the fictional house where Anne grew up) in Prince Edward Island National Park (Squire, 1992, p. 143). Additionally, many local businesses in the surrounding area hold names such as "the Anne Shirley Motel" and "Marilla's Pizza Restaurant," drawing their inspiration from the literary heritage of Anne of Green Gables (Squire, 1992, p. 143). In so doing, these tourist attractions have given "that which was fictional a factual identity" (Squire, 1992, p.143). Similarly, the lines between fact and fiction regarding Evangeline and her significance often blur at Grand Pré. While she is indeed representative of a group of people that underwent a great tragedy, there is also the unintended impact of visitors getting caught up or swept away with her fictional story and this romanticized narrative of the Deportation. There is also heritage dissonance on the guided tours in terms of Evangeline: the narrative that visitors receive is dependent on the docent. On guided tours it is hard for Parks Canada to control the narrative: the docents have license to say what they want. Some docents really play up the fictional Evangeline narrative, while others give it less emphasis. While every docent makes it clear that Evangeline is fictional, they frame her narrative as important, regardless of whether she was real or not, since she is the embodiment of a group of people who went through a traumatic event. As a result, there is clearly dissonance between the romanticized narrative of Evangeline and the factual darker narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré.

In some ways it is also strange that Parks Canada has maintained a central focus on this fictional narrative at Grand Pré for so long, preserving the Evangeline statue and other landscape elements that were first introduced by the Dominion Atlantic Railway more than a century ago. Tunbridge and Ashworth (1993) note that dissonance with respect to heritage messaging can take

many forms, including obsolete transmission. That is, "relics, buildings, monuments statues and dedications" that are either "no longer relevant to the society of current recipients, have a quite different meaning to that originally intended, or are just no longer understood" (1993, p. 29). This is clearly the case at Grand Pré, in terms of the strange assemblage of landscape components that are relics of the site's earlier days as a DAR heritage park. Indeed, the contemporary site has become a museum of a heritage site in many ways, by holding onto and preserving everything Evangeline at the site.

The outcome of these examples of heritage dissonance at Grand Pré, is potential missed opportunities to talk about dark events with a more critical lens. The need to acknowledge and reconcile with the dark events of the past has come into focus lately, most notably through the ongoing trauma caused by Residential Schools in Canada and the subsequent creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (Mas, 2015). Taking an unflinching look at the dark events of our past at heritage sites encourages Canadians to take ownership of these tragedies and helps ensure that they do not happen again. Parks Canada, as protectors of Canadian heritage, has a duty to tell these darker narratives, as they are just as much a part of Canadian heritage as are the celebratory narratives. Arguably, Canadian society has greater capacity for this sort of difficult heritage now, in the wake of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work, and Canadians now expect more from our heritage institutions. A similar cultural shift has also taken place in the USA, as there is now substantial scholarly literature revealing how slavery is finally being presented to visitors at plantation heritage sites in the southern states (Modlin, 2008; Buzinde & Santos, 2009; Potter, 2016; Hanna et al., 2019). To be clear, I am in no way suggesting that the troubling events of the Acadian Deportation are equivalent to the multi-generational tragedy of Residential Schools or the horrors of slavery in the United States. Rather,

I suggest that the Acadian deportation was nonetheless another dark event in Canadian history, and one that has not been fully interpreted at the site of Grand Pré. Ultimately, there are ways that Parks Canada could advance this telling of the darker narrative of the Acadian Deportation at Grand Pré – as opposed to giving mixed messages.

In this sense, there is a missed opportunity when it comes to presenting the two dominant narratives at Grand Pré: the positive and celebratory narrative of the Acadian people, and the dark, dissonant narrative of their Deportation from their homeland. If visitors were first presented with the positive narrative, explaining who the Acadians were and how they changed the land around them, then the Deportation narrative becomes much more poignant when it comes to document why and how that land was taken from them. Unfortunately, depending on what parts of the site you visit, you get different aspects of the Deportation narrative. Meanwhile, the positive narrative tends to shine through in most places, and, in some places, the darker narrative could be missed altogether. This is important to note because if particular places within the overall site are omitted, then visitors might end up missing out on important parts of the darker narrative. This is where the utilization of the spatial narrative approach provides important insights when examining sites of dissonant heritage. Analyzing spatial narratives allow us to locate not only *where* narratives are told at historic sites, but *how* they are told. At Grand Pré, the narrative of the Acadian Deportation is commemorated across the multiple components of the site in various ways, and utilizing a spatial narrative approach allows us to examine these components, both separately and in terms of how they fit together to form a larger whole. A spatial narrative approach allows researchers to reveal the dissonances at heritage sites by finding where they are located, and how they are communicated. By utilizing this spatial narrative approach, I was able to discern that there were two main narratives being

communicated at the site, and I was able to examine where and how both narratives were presented to visitors.

Ultimately, I found that the narrative of the Acadian Deportation told at Grand Pré is dark in nature; however, there is work to be done to ensure that this narrative of dissonant heritage is consistently represented across all aspects of this national heritage site. Additionally, Parks Canada has missed an opportunity to fully interpret this darker narrative for visitors to the site. As a result, this narrative is at times overshadowed by the more positive narrative of Acadian culture and perseverance at Grand Pré.

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