

This is an electronic version of an article published in:

Craig, B. (1997). Cultural face-off: Yankees, British, and the St. John Valley French. *River Review/Revue Rivière*, (3), 65-95.

Cultural Face-Off:

Yankees, British, and the St. John Valley French

Béatrice Craig

The upper St. John Valley seems to have been a well-frequented place from the late eighteenth century onward. Until the building of railways in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the valley was the only winter route between Halifax and Québec City, and one of the few summer ones. Consequently, it was frequently used by British people,¹ who could be government officials, couriers or private individuals travelling for business or pleasure. The latter were usually drawn by the Grand Falls, which had quickly become a well-known public attraction; even official travellers would make it a point to stop along their way and view it. Many of those British travellers indulged in a pastime common among the respectable classes of the time, the writing of travelogues, and left an account of their trip through the upper reaches of the St. John Valley. As for more official travellers, they often visited the region specifically to collect information for the report they were expected to produce.

British travellers went through the upper St. John Valley even before it was settled. American travellers did not appear until much later, with the exception of the surveyor of the Bingham purchase who made his way to the upper St. John in 1790. No other Americans seem to have reached the upper St. John until the late 1810s, when timber cruisers and lumberers arrived. Some of those men settled permanently in the area, but none bothered penning his impressions for posterity. Then, in 1820, Maine became a state, took a hard-line position in the northeastern boundary dispute, and

tried to assert her sovereignty over her very remote and not very accessible northern reaches. She sent her agents to the disputed territory to investigate “trespasses and aggressions” by the British, to inquire into the inhabitants’ land claims, and, after the settling of the boundary dispute, to report upon the progress of education in the settlement. Official reports were picked up by journalists who drew their own portraits of the Madawaska French for the benefit of their readers; private visitors followed in the footsteps of the government agents, and published their impressions.

Private or official descriptions of regions visited and foreign cultures are often sources of useful information about their subject. They are also usually good sources of information about their authors: unwittingly, the latter reveal their expectations, values and prejudices. Travelogues and official reports can thus be good windows into the mindset of a group or of an era. The St. John Valley accounts are no exception. They reflect shifts of opinion over time; later authors were more likely to be conscious of the linguistic, religious and cultural differences between them and the people they described. Although British and American accounts both evolved towards greater ethnic consciousness, if one can use a very twentieth century term, they nonetheless differed in their vision of the French. The American travellers and commentators seemed much more influenced by what they had read beforehand about the people they were encountering. They were much more inclined than the British were to stereotype, to moralize, and to deplore the fact that the St. John Valley residents were not clones of themselves. And unfortunately, the Americans did not always take their clues from authors like Bancroft and Longfellow, who viewed the French favourably, but often took them from other authors who didn’t. The differences between the American and the British accounts highlight different attitudes towards the Other in general, and ethnic minorities in particular.

The earlier travellers through the St. John Valley were not unduly concerned with the inhabitants’ Frenchness—when they noticed it at all. Patrick Campbell, John Mann and Lieutenant Coke, three tourists who travelled through the St. John Valley between 1791 and 1832, for instance, occasionally referred to the fact that their guide, boatman, or landlord was a Frenchman, but nothing in their narrative allows the reader to conclude they had visited a French settlement.² Some visitors not only did not “see”

the French, but “saw” the local Irishmen instead, and could mislead their readers into thinking the upper St. John Valley was the site of a hardscrabble Hibernian pioneer community of poor families eking out a living among stumps.³

Travellers who did notice that the St. John Valley inhabitants were French did not necessarily make much fuss over the issue. Park Holland, the Bingham purchase surveyor, for instance, described the terrain, the weather, the housing and the crops very matter-of-factly, drew the portrait of an old French hunter married to an American Indian woman, favourably commented on the politeness of the inhabitants, gave a thumbnail sketch of the settlement history and continued his journey after two paragraphs!⁴ He could have been describing any other Maine pioneer settlement.

The travellers indifferent to the ethnicity of the inhabitants were not bad observers—far from it. They gave precise descriptions of the landscape and the fauna, and in the case of the pleasure travellers, of their own adventures and of the problems they encountered on a still fairly difficult and rugged route. One must conclude that they did not dwell on the issue because they did not think it was important. They took it for granted that the world was made of all sorts and accepted it with equanimity.

Two early observers, though, stand out from this group. *They* noticed. One thought the French were excitingly exotic; the other was slightly ill at ease, and, one may surmise, vaguely concerned. The first gentleman was an eighteen-year-old lieutenant in the 104th foot regiment of New Brunswick. A native of Jersey, he had arrived in British North America shortly after the outbreak of the War of 1812; his regiment was sent to the Canadas the following winter. Lieutenant John Le Couteur kept a diary, and sketched the sceneries on his way.⁵ He stayed less than two days in the upper St. John Valley, but kept his eyes open and chatted with the priest. His description is the first example of a trend which gathered subsequent strength: the equation of the St. John Valley “Acadian” settlement with the Arcadia of antiquity.⁶ He describes the French inhabitants as settled in “peaceful retirement,” their habits and manners as “simple and kind.” The settlers grew enough in summer to be able to spend the winter in “mirth and friendly intercourse.” Le Couteur explicitly made the parallel with the ancient world, asserting that “this is the only Arcadia now existing in the world.”⁷

Le Couteur was a rather sentimental young man, prone to idealize all and sundry (especially the young ladies he met). The realization that the St. John Valley settlers were different may not inevitably lead to such effusive and drippy statements, though. Peter Fisher, the first historian of the Province of New Brunswick, and subsequent author of an almanac aiming at enticing immigrants to come to the province, was obviously unsettled by what he found. And yet, he had little negative to report. His 1825 *History of New Brunswick*⁸ describes a flourishing settlement growing significant surplus, and trading it in Fredericton. So does his 1838 *Notitia*.⁹ Both texts mention the politeness of the inhabitants (everybody, even ill-disposed visitors, commented on the St. John Valley people's politeness and kindness to visitors). The *Notitia*, published at the peak of the boundary dispute, asserts that the settlers were "warmly attached" to the British government. Like Le Couteur, Fisher found the Madawaska French peaceful and contented, leading an orderly life. Crime was unknown among them and they had had no need for magistrates until traders and other strangers settled among them. So far, Fisher was describing the Madawaska French in practically the same terms as Le Couteur, less the teen-age sentimentality. All these praises make the conclusions of both his descriptions surprising. The description in the *History of New Brunswick* ends by stating:

The men are about the middle size, generally spare built and active; the women, on the contrary, are very stout and short. They are very lively and hospitable, but very slovenly in their house and cookery. In short, they appear a different race from the English. A stranger going above the falls finds himself suddenly among a new race of people, different in their language, religion, habitations and manners.¹⁰

His opinion had not improved much by 1837. The French were still a breed apart, but one that intercourse with the English was improving. Local housing, for instance, still did not meet Fisher's standards, but fortunately (in his eyes) "within a few years, some of them have begun to imitate the English in constructing frame houses, which is making a great improvement on the face of the country."¹¹

Le Couteur, who equated the Madawaska settlement with the Arcadia of ancient times, and Fisher, who set off the French as a "race" apart and hinted that emulation of the English could only improve their way of life, heralded two trends which came to characterize American descriptions of the Madawaska French in the later part of the century. One of those trends was strengthened by an opportunistic reading of St. John Valley history during the boundary dispute, and by the publication of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. The other was reinforced by the practical problems of integrating the St. John Valley into the Maine body politic.

The first Americans to reach the upper St. John Valley after Park Holland and leave accounts of their journeys were the officials sent by the State of Maine in the 1820s and 1830s. They took note of the inhabitants' Frenchness, but probably would not have wasted much ink over it had they not been able to use it to bolster Maine's claim to the territory. They presented the Madawaska French as Acadians who had been evicted from their settlements on the lower St. John when the loyalists had arrived, and who had deliberately resettled above the Grand Falls because they knew the region was not under British jurisdiction. Their presence then was proof that the British claim to the disputed territory was a sham: the upper St. John Valley, and therefore the entire disputed territory was, and had always been, American.

The first of those state officials was the party of George W. Coffin, who had been sent to the disputed territory in 1825 to investigate the activities of the Provincials.¹² They were allowed to grant *bona fide* settlers up to 100 acres. Their local guide and informant was John Baker, an American lumberer and miller originally from southern Maine. Baker told the visitors that the French inhabitants were very desirous to become part of the United States, and the two officials reported that the French settlers themselves had expressed such a desire. They also discovered they had neither the time nor the authority to issue grants to the Madawaska settlers, who were too numerous, and usually occupied more than 100 acres. The rest of their description of the French is mostly matter-of-fact: the families were large; the inhabitants were "very industrious, civil and hospitable people, and well deserving of the fostering care of government." Their agriculture was flourishing, and they grew the best potatoes the two men

had ever seen, despite the fact that their farming skills were not up to the visitors' standards. They were not, noted Coffin, "what we should call good husbandmen." He was also at a loss at finding a frame of reference which could have allowed him to understand the community he was visiting. For lack of anything better, he equated the French with a tribe of white Indians; when his party met Simonet Hebert, a prominent local citizen, he referred to him as the "grand Sachem of this French settlement." Like Fisher, he may have thought the French were a "race apart."

Coffin was followed three years later by Charles S. Davies, who was appointed by the state to investigate British "aggressions."¹³ Davies seems to have been the first to articulate the theory that the St. John Valley French were refugees from the British colonies. Davies described them as "French Neutrals" (the term that the American colonies had used to refer to the Acadian deportees in 1755), "who had been expelled from their farms and improvements on the establishment of the province of New Brunswick; and who have been joined from time to time by their countrymen from Canada, who have not chosen to continue under the government established on its conquest."¹⁴

Davies's account flies in the face of existing evidence. It ignores the fact that a non-negligible number of Fredericton Acadians had received grants on the lower St. John from the New Brunswick government, that the rights of all occupants—including Acadian occupants—to sell their improvements to whoever took over their land for whatever reason had been reasserted by the governor in council, and that many of the Madawaska settlers had sold a grant or some improvements before—or even after—taking land at Madawaska.¹⁵ The lower St. John Acadians may have been particularly dissatisfied with the massive arrival of the loyalists in the area, but as a group, they had not been treated worse than anyone else.

Three years later, the Maine government sent another two agents, John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh, to the St. John Valley, to ascertain the claims of the settlers to the land they occupied. The governor was very careful in the choice of his envoys. Edward Kavanagh was a Catholic; he had attended school in Québec, and could speak French fluently, and, perhaps for this reason, there is no suggestion in the writings of the two men

that the Madawaska French belonged to a different branch of humanity altogether. Kavanagh kept a journal of the expedition. Later, the two men presented the governor with a formal report of their findings.

Kavanagh's journal¹⁶ is packed with detailed information about the lay of the land, the soil, the climate, the state of the roads, the means of conveyance, accommodation en route, forms of land ownership, crops and other economic activities, and religion. He found the land fertile, the people industrious and peaceful, and the housing primitive (too many log houses, not enough American frame houses). Deane and he were almost always well-received, although the settlers were worried that the Americans might evict them if the boundary dispute was settled in their favour.

Kavanagh's journal also contains a brief narrative of the history of the Madawaska people which casts the British in a bad light:

After the cession of Canada to Great Britain in 1763, they established themselves at what they called the Parish of Ste. Anne, now Fredericton. In 1784, they had made considerable improvement, had cleared up land, built houses and raised stock. But their lands were divided among the soldiers of a British regiment commanded by one Lee. They remonstrated and as an act of special favour they were allowed to retain 200 feet square of land around their dwelling houses. They refused this boon and again started for some other settlement.¹⁷

This account is not false, but its use is very misleading. Deane and Kavanagh picked up one incident, and presented it as representative of the British treatment of the Acadians, which it was not.

The information contained in the report to the governor is more detailed.¹⁸ First, it briefly describes each holding (name of occupant, length of occupation, extent of improvements, etc.), and notes that most of the settlers were from French Canada. Secondly, it was followed by a lengthy description of the area, its geography, soil, climate, hydrography, and fauna, and of its people and their activities. Three pages denounce British trespasses. Like Kavanagh's journal, the report is very matter-of-fact, and conveys a positive image of the inhabitants who are "inoffensive and obliging people who live in peace with each other."¹⁹ The settlement is also de-

scribed as economically prosperous. The report ends with a recommendation concerning the best way to introduce American laws and usage in the settlement.

The historical narrative contained in the journal had also been modified to toe the party line as defined by Charles Davies. The inhabitants now have become:

descendants of the ancient Acadians, who were driven from their farms by the introduction of the Refugees and the Laws of the province. They abandoned their farms to the British and sought a refuge in a place that they believed the British had no right to exercise jurisdiction. They understood where the lines of the province were, and the old inhabitants described the lines correctly according to the treaty of 1783. They remained sometimes undisturbed, but were finally induced to take deeds of their land, but no other acts of jurisdiction seemed to have been exercised over them for many years, and very few acts before the administration of Governor Douglas, who was very active in extending the British usurpation.²⁰

This was inaccurate, too. The French had petitioned the New Brunswick government for grants; they had voted at elections; they had received the provincial bounty on bread grain grown on new land. And the province had appointed some of them to the positions of Parish officers, Justice of the Peace and Militia officials.²¹ But this narrative strengthened the American claim to the disputed territory, and was promptly adopted by Mainers if one is to believe some newspapers of the time. In December of 1831, for instance, the *Republican Journal* (Belfast, Maine, and Democrat despite its name) wrote:

About the close of the American Revolution, they [the Madawaska French] were discovered by their old enemy, the English, and their lands were granted by the British Crown to a band of American refugees. The poor Arcadians [sic], driven once more from their homes and reduced to beggary, plunged again into the wilderness, an hundred and seventy miles from Fredericton, and occupied their present position, which they,

knowing the terms of our treaty with Great Britain and being familiar with the geography of the country, considered as without the bounds of English jurisdiction. Here, after the lapse of half a century, they feel anew the rod of the oppressor. They are a frugal, industrious, pious, and amiable people, among whom vice, immorality, crime and contention are unknown. They are governed by the simple principles of natural justice, settling their affairs without the aid of the civil code of courts or of lawyers. How unfortunate that they are disturbed by the footsteps of modern civilization.²²

This text completely obliterated the French Canadian ancestry of the Madawaska settlers. They were now all Acadians. And “Acadians” and “Arcadians” were synonymous, as in Le Couteur’s narrative. Deane and Kavanagh, being rather practical men, had not imagined an “Arcadia” on the banks of the St. John River! But the *Republican Journal* writer, who very likely had never set foot in the disputed territory, had no difficulty romanticizing the settlement he had heard about. On the one hand, the Madawaska settlers were described in prelapsarian terms; they were the “natural men” of eighteenth century philosophers, guided by the innate goodness of human hearts, and uncorrupted by the deleterious influence of civilization. On the other hand, they were doomed: sooner or later, they would move from the Golden Age to the modern one. Their present existence was not the only aspect of their life that was romanticized. So was their history. The Madawaska Acadians were described as a people reduced to a wretched state and hounded around the wilderness by the cruel British. And the narrative was replete with heart-tugging images and expressions.

As long as this version of Madawaska history was the dominant one, the Americans were more likely to treat the French with sympathy. Acadian history neatly paralleled the basic plot line of the melodramas so popular at the time, and which opposed an arch-villain totally devoid of redeeming qualities, and a pure, innocent, and helpless heroine who passively suffered at his hands. They could also stage a pure and fearless hero who rescued the damsel in the last act. The British were the villain, the Acadians the virginal heroine, and the Americans the hero into whose arms they had run for protection!

In addition, educated New Englanders knew about the “real” Acadians. Volume 4 of George Bancroft’s *History of the United States*, published in 1852, contained an account of the Grand Dérangement very favourable to the Acadians; Bancroft’s narrative had to have been made public earlier because the *Republican Journal* concluded an article on the Madawaska French in the following terms in 1843:

Such is a brief picture of the conditions of this remnant of those unfortunate Acadians whose cruel expulsion from their ancient homes in Nova Scotia has been immortalized by the pathetic eloquence of Bancroft. May they receive from us that kindness and protection which are due to their own simple virtues, and to the misfortunes of their ancestors.²³

Bancroft had drawn what he saw as obvious parallels between the fate of the Acadians and the one of the American colonists: both had been the victims of British oppression. Now their descendants were seemingly seeking to join the southern republic. How could the Americans turn their backs on this small people? Ideological consistency required that they be adopted into the family.

The problem, though, was that the fair damsel could never be as fair in real life as in her rescuers’ imaginations. Bancroft’s Acadians were brave and gallant and admirable—and gone forever. One could not conflate his heroic description with reality. The St. John Valley Acadians were very real—and had become citizens of Maine. Even in 1843, the *Republican Journal*, usually rather positive albeit a bit maudlin, found the Madawaska French wanting in many respects:

The people live chiefly by agriculture. . . Their husbandry is rude; their implements poor; and their breeds of cattle, sheep and hogs of the worst description. Their chief crops are wheat, barley, oats, potatoes and grass. . . Their houses are most frequently built of hewn timber: sometimes of logs, and sometimes they are shingled or clapboarded. They are warm and comfortable. There are a few grist mills, of an inferior description. They buy and sell but little, producing nearly everything they consume, and hardly anything more.²⁴ Their trade, such as it is, is with Fredericton and Quebec, principally with the latter place.

Amid all the apparent hardship of their condition, they exhibit a vivacity, cheerfulness and buoyancy characteristic of the nation from which they sprung. Their winters are devoted almost entirely to amusements, of which the most favorite are horse racing and dancing. A house is thought little of which does not have one room large enough to accommodate a dancing party. Possessing in abundance all the necessaries, and according to their standard, all the comforts of life, and enjoying good health, they are content with the present and careless of the future. They ordinarily attain old age.²⁵

The author may have thought he was sympathetic and understanding; he was after all the one who referred his readers to Bancroft, and pleaded for the welcoming of the Madawaska people into the Maine family. Nonetheless, his text reveals a great deal of ambivalence: the French were allegedly not good farmers, and were satisfied with a subsistence agriculture, which in a country so relentlessly devoted to “progress” was a damning statement, not a compliment. Instead of working hard to improve their lot, the French were enjoying life! And worse, they were engaging in pastimes that Puritans had always considered sinful, like dancing, and gambling on horses. They were improvident, “careless of the future.” These traits were genetic (“characteristic of the nation from which they sprung”).

Mainers were beginning to understand that deciding, out of romantic enthusiasm, republican generosity, or anti-British resentment, that the French deserved the protection and sympathy of the American Republic, was an easy thing. Dealing with the practical problem of integrating this group into the existing society was much more difficult. What was going to be the place of the newcomers in American society? What kind of citizens were they going to be? Until the treaty was signed, Mainers seemed to have taken for granted that the French would integrate into American society without major difficulties. Nonetheless, they assumed that the French were suffering from obvious handicaps, as they had until then been living in ignorance of what was perceived as the proper rules of a free society. Land agents who had opportunities to make longer than average stays in the area were worried at the French lack of experience with the American system of government and with the American legal system. Deane and Kavanagh

were surprised that an apparently stable, orderly society could survive without the rather cumbersome apparatus of New England democracy. They were also amazed when they discovered that landed property was respected despite the absence of deeds, and sold or transferred by verbal contracts with a minimum of apparent problems.²⁶ One gets from reading their report the lingering impression that, in their eyes, a society resting upon the force of the spoken word rather than on the authority of the written one was in some way deficient and vulnerable.

The commissioners appointed to issue grants of land under the terms of the 1843 treaty were frustrated by the inability of the French to speak English, by their ignorance of American laws, and by their "irregular" way of acquiring and conveying land.²⁷ Each land agent mentioned the lack of formal government agencies among them as a problem. Deane and Kavanagh specifically listed the need for roads, courts, registry of the deeds, as well as for Justices of the Peace and schools. They also recommended that the area be organized as a county in the near future. In their eyes, these were the most pressing concerns. Later officials were also concerned about the lack of roads, magistrates, municipal charters and schools, especially schools where the English language would be taught.²⁸

Mainers believed that to be integrated into the American citizenry, the French had to change their habits and adopt the numerous agencies of government the Yankees viewed as a bulwark of freedom against despotism. Initially, many officials believed English schools would easily take care of any problem that might arise. They undoubtedly believed, like the first superintendent Maine appointed to the settlement, that:

to effect a perfect change in their former conceived notions is a task of some considerable importance. The more speedily, however, they are brought to a knowledge of the benefits and blessings attendant on the just and impartial administration of a government by the people, the sooner will they realize the sacred obligations of citizens and as a consequence the more endeavour to fit themselves for proper participation in them.²⁹

Others though, like the *Republican Journal*, feared integrating and assimilating the French would be an arduous task.³⁰

Mainers did not believe the French were fit for self-government unless they were properly schooled and trained. By emphasizing the formal and even legalistic aspects of democracy, they overlooked the fact that the French had some experience with self-government and were already running their own affairs. Owing to the distance between the settlement and the county seat (more than 150 miles until 1833), the French had developed the habit of settling as many of their problems on their own as possible, calling in the arm of the English law only as a last resort. Observers, whether from Maine or from New Brunswick, stated that the French solved their grievances through arbitration: a panel of two or three people, including the priest, heard the contestants and rendered a decision which apparently was complied with.³¹ It is doubtful, then, that the French, accustomed to running their own affairs informally, verbally and in French, following local standards of justice and equity, saw conducting their business and preserving order in English, through formal institutions and written documents, and abiding by extra-local laws and customs, as progress.

Contrary to expectations, the French proved unwilling to die out or assimilate. They were selective in their adoption of the American system: they conducted the town meetings in French, squatted on empty land, and were very lukewarm in their support of public schools. They saw little point in book learning, and when they sent their children to school, it was to learn to read and write French, not English.³²

The refusal of the French to cooperate in their cultural assimilation led the Americans to cast serious doubts about their intellectual abilities and potential for "progress." Once the Webster-Ashburton treaty was signed in 1842, the political need to equate the Madawaska settlers with the Acadians vanished. The settlers were more and more frequently identified, not with the Acadians, but with the French Canadians. This was a negative development. French Canadians ranked much lower in nineteenth century American public opinion than the idealized pre-deportation Acadians they had never met.

The American public had been provided through the first half of the nineteenth century with a consistent, and negative, picture of the French Canadians by its popular authors. Guidebooks and travel literature focusing on Canada normally described its French-speaking inhabitants as cheerful, congenial, and hospitable, but also ignorant, superstitious, unenterprising and indolent.³³

The timing of the association of the Madawaska inhabitants with the French Canadians rather than with the Acadians further added to their disfavour. Before 1830, Americans had usually perceived members of other cultural groups as innocent children who were to grow up, like any children, and become responsible, albeit worldly-wise, adults. French Canadians were not really responsible for their backwardness. They were subjected to the double tyranny of the British crown and the Popish Church, who imprisoned them in Old World customs. Free institutions would make them free men, as they would make free men of members of any cultural group.³⁴ This latter notion had fallen into disfavour by the 1840s. In 1838, for instance, a novel by Washington Irving presented the French Canadians as unable to shake their torpor, even when transplanted in the Republic.³⁵ Preconceived notions about the characteristics of the French "race" appeared. The French Canadians emerged as a "fun-loving people" preferring merriment to hard work, and devoid of Puritan commitment to acquisitiveness. Many American descriptions of the Madawaska French began to follow this model.

This was an altogether new attitude. Previous visitors had described the Madawaska French as a people unfamiliar with American republican institutions. Once this disability was removed through education, the French, if they could be convinced to learn English, would be indistinguishable from Anglo-Saxon Americans. With the exception of Peter Fisher, whose work may not even have been known to the Americans, there had been no hint that a Frenchman was innately different from an Anglo-Saxon. But in the 1840s, the French were becoming not only a distinct "race," but one displaying less-than-desirable characteristics as well. Simplicity of taste was viewed as a reflection, not of Spartan virtue, but of improvidence. Improvidence was for the nineteenth century the companion and cause of many vices: laziness, shiftlessness, uselessness, lack of instinctual repression, and other unworthinesses. By the late 1850s, the Madawaska French, like their Canadian counterparts, were beginning to be accused of most of them. Childlike carelessness was no longer to be smiled at, but censured. Their lack of enthusiasm for English-speaking schools rendered the French suspect to their Anglo-Saxon neighbours. Under the assumption that an uneducated man can only be ruled by his passions and prejudices, many

considered the French to be unfit citizens weakening the political fabric of society.³⁶ Throughout the state and the union, a significant number of citizens were beginning to view foreigners as so many Trojan horses sent to their shores by the absolutist powers of Europe to undermine the cause of freedom. Know-Nothingism appeared in Maine in the early 1850s. Although the party never nominated its own candidates for elections in the state, it was a political force to reckon with. Officials could no longer benignly neglect the northern French, and their assumed ignorance of the democratic process.

By and large, though, the most damaging blow to the French image came from the press. In the fall of 1858, the editors of the major papers in the state travelled to the northern part of Maine. This was a junket to promote the area and encourage immigration. Comments about the French were anything but sympathetic. The Madawaska settlers were accused, among other things, of selling their vote to the highest bidders, and of lacking pioneer spirit because they did not clear the forest, preferring to divide their holdings among their children, and of being poor farmers.³⁷ The first accusation cannot be proved or disproved, but naturalized citizens were stereotyped by the native-born as sellers of votes, and this is likely to be another instance of the phenomenon. The forest the French should have been clearing is unfit for cultivation. The Madawaska French seldom divided their holdings, unless they were much larger than average.³⁸ The editors had been fooled by the typical French Canadian farm layout, in long, narrow strips, fronting the river. As for the French being poor farmers, the agricultural censuses tell a very different story. In 1860, Madawaska farms were more productive than many New England ones.³⁹

Rather than an accurate description of reality, the editors' portrait of the French was the anti-portrait of the individual adhering to the Protestant work ethic. The new liberal-capitalist ideology wanted men to be free of the shackles of traditions and superstitions; the French were described as sharing the habits of the peasantry of France, "retained almost intact since the days of Louis XIV." The Protestant work ethic emphasized industriousness and acquisitiveness. The French were "light-hearted, improvident, unenterprising people, content to remain stationary while all around is progressing." The new ideal called for a repression of instinct. The French

were “more fond of the fiddle than the hoe.” They were also too prolific. They were almost always described as people having too many children.⁴⁰ This exerted a strange fascination for the Americans, fascination coupled with explicit or implicit disapproval. Properly civilized people were not supposed to make children for the fun of it. This was a sign of lack of self-restraint. The French reproduced as uncontrollably as animals, and had not yet learned how to control their instincts and delay gratification. Improvidence and high fecundity were therefore two aspects of the same problem, which at one point were used to explain the alleged poverty of the French.

This sort of statement circulated freely among the editors, and was printed in several major papers after the completion of the editors’ trip to northern Maine. No wonder that by the third quarter of the century, officials were delivering alarmist speeches about the need to Americanize the French. By that time, the French were described as ignorant and superstitious, too stupid to realize how blessed they were. Their traditions and customs were also attacked, in addition to their language and lack of knowledge of principles of government.⁴¹

Mainers writing for their countrymen denounced the “French menace” at length. When they wrote for an outside public, Americans did not need to be so alarmist, and the Madawaska French became mostly objects of ridicule. Charles Lanman, a sportsman and author of several books on the less-settled parts of North America, took a trip from New York to Boston through Québec, Labrador and Maine in the late 1840s, which took him through the Témiscouata and St. John Valleys.⁴² He described the French Canadians as a miserable and barbaric bunch. As for the St. John Valley Acadians, they had “degenerated into a more ignorant and miserable people”⁴³ than the French Canadians, whom they closely resembled in appearance and customs. He described the two groups in the same terms; their main business was popery, drinking, cheating their neighbours, barely making a living from tilling the soil and “fleecing the strangers to perfection.” He went to Mass at St. Basile, and found the congregation “composed entirely of Acadians decked in the most ridiculous gew-gawish dresses imaginable.”⁴⁴ After the service, the men spent the rest of the day racing horses, and the swiftest belonged to the priest. Lanman did not comment on the activity, but neither Englishmen nor New Englanders would have found it an appropriate way to spend the Sabbath.

Lanman’s is by far the most unpleasant narrative because the reader gets a strong feeling that all those disdainful comments were gratuitous. Lanman put people down to highlight his superiority. On the other hand, state officials, and even Ellwell to a certain extent, were genuinely worried. Lanman does not seem to have been: the people he encountered were in his eyes such fools that they were irrelevant.

This outright negative attitude was one side of the coin. The romantic qualities of the Acadian past continued to attract attention, and were widely disseminated after the publication of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow’s poem, *Evangeline*, in 1847. Maine people quickly realized that some of the “Evangeline people” were living in their back yard. Some hardy travellers even went north to visit those picturesque characters, and *Harper’s Monthly Magazine* published an account of such a journey.⁴⁵ The author, Charles Hallock, referred to Madawaska as the “land of romance,” and praised the civility, simplicity and virtue of the inhabitants. The account explicitly refers to the poem. Stepping inside one of the houses, a member of the author’s party “contemplated the huge Canadian stove, six feet high, that stood in the partition wall, so as to warm both rooms . . . then he looked at the loom and the spinning wheel, and thought of Longfellow’s *Evangeline*; at the antique chairs and the bedsteads set into the walls like berths.”⁴⁶ What made him think of *Evangeline* was an activity New England women had by that time abandoned, for him a throwback to the past—the manufacture of homespun.

Hallock’s text is an odd mixture of detailed and direct observations of material culture and habits that ring true, like his description of houses with front porches where “the family sit at evening and receive the calls of their neighbors who come in boats,”⁴⁷ and of comments, visibly shaped by the reading of the poem, passing as observations about the mores and values of the people. Hallock and his friends attended a local wedding and the ensuing dance. One gets a lingering feeling that this is what Gabriel and *Evangeline*’s wedding would have been like, had it taken place. The whole affair exudes a childlike innocence, and is uncontaminated by outside influence; the bride is a “rosy-cheeked maiden” wearing “kirtle and petticoat, guiltless of hoops.”

Evangeline's success even influenced some government officials. The land agent who investigated the claims of the settlers on proprietors' land in 1874 described the mores and high standard of morality of the French in words plagiarizing the poem. He also dwelt at length on the quaintness of the French, describing their houses in these terms:

They have queer looking cottages with windows that open and shut like doors, their roofs and piazzas being broken, projected, picturesque, and often ornamented with trellis, cornice and fanciful adornments, so that their solid homeliness is often fringed with elegance.⁴⁸

The only real difference between this description and Lanman's "gew-gawish" fashion is that the latter is intended to be sympathetic. Both are really very condescending.

When visitors equated the Madawaska French with Acadians, they depicted them not as a drag on the progress of civilization, but as a counterfoil to the modern world. Our 1874 land agents concluded that:

We would say for the people of Madawaska that, with their primitive style of living, they enjoy the priceless blessings of health, which more than compensate for the absence of modern luxuries, and are doubtless much happier than millions who live in rich mansions and roll in luxury.⁴⁹

The St. John Valley Acadians, like Bancroft's and Longfellow's pre-deportation people, provided the Americans, caught in the compulsory march toward progress, with a psychological refuge. Somewhere, in remote and isolated valleys sheltered by "the forest primeval" survived some remnants of a past steeped in rustic and tranquil felicity, frozen in time and untouched by the world around them, guiltless not only of hoops in their skirts, but of any trace of modernity.

This "frozen in time" theme was common to descriptions of the Madawaska French as Acadian and as French Canadian. Most post-1840 American writings about Acadians and French Canadians shared this feature. Acadia was Arcadia, or the Garden of Eden; French Canada was stuck

in a retrograde feudalism and in popery. Neither belonged to the modern world which swirled around them and passed them by. The Acadians were too good to live in it, and the French Canadians not good enough.

What about the British? They were not attempting to build the perfectly free society in North America, and therefore cultural, linguistic and religious differences should not have threatened them unduly. And indeed, from the 1840s onward, British visitors to the St. John Valley noticed that the inhabitants were different from themselves, but they neither denounced the situation as dangerous, nor idealized the Acadians as the lost tribe of Arcadia. This did not mean that the British thought the French were their equals. They often suggested the French were not as "advanced" as could be desired and occasionally hinted that the example of the British would be profitable for them. Literature, even popular literature like travelogues, did not seem to have provided them with a frame of reference either.

Three British men left particularly detailed accounts of the Madawaska territory in the 1840s and 1850s, and another one did the same in the 1870s. Edmund Ward, born in Nova Scotia at the end of the eighteenth century of loyalist parents, was a printer, journalist, and deputy agent for immigration in New Brunswick in 1840. His book on the St. John River was intended to attract settlers.⁵⁰ Abraham Gesner, another Nova Scotia-born son of loyalists and a contemporary of Ward, studied medicine, surgery and geology in London. He is known as the inventor of kerosene. He left another detailed account of New Brunswick for the benefit of immigrants.⁵¹ Finally, James Finlay Weir Johnston was a Scottish agricultural chemist and mineralogist. He was invited by the New York State agricultural society to come and visit their part of the United States in the late 1840s, and to report on its capacity to support agriculture. Some New Brunswick promoters, hearing of his journey, convinced the lieutenant governor of New Brunswick to finance his investigation of the agricultural capability of their province.⁵² Two of those men were thus scientists of repute, and two were provincial propagandists. They were particularly concerned with describing in detail the natural environment of the province, the settlements, and the type of agriculture practiced, in order to encourage immigration. Comments on the people encountered were secondary to their purpose.

Edmund Ward depicted the French as “composed chiefly of Acadian French,” and as a “harmless and inoffensive people, who pay implicit obedience to their clergymen.”⁵³ They had been joined by impoverished French Canadians who had since achieved a fair measure of success, and by a few Scots and Irish. Several of the French settlers were substantial farmers, who supplied the nearby lumber camps with oats and hay.⁵⁴

Similarly, Gesner’s Madawaska settlers were a mix of French Canadians and Acadians, sprinkled with a few Provincials and Americans.⁵⁵ Some of their ancestors were Indians, which explained their distinctive appearance—they were dark-haired and dark-skinned. Their everyday style of dress was distinctive too, and Gesner attributed it to the old French peasantry.⁵⁶ The men were still wearing their hair in queues (an eighteenth, but not a nineteenth century fashion). They were “remarkably moral, orderly and frugal” and “passionately fond of music and dancing.” After Mass, the remainder of the day was spent racing horses or canoes, dancing and card playing.⁵⁷ Agriculture was very productive, and the crops beautiful,⁵⁸ despite an imperfect system of tillage and a “lack of agricultural enterprise seldom seen among English settlers.”⁵⁹

Gesner’s French, then, were nice, polite, moral, congenial people. Unfortunately, they were also unambitious, unenterprising, unacquisitive, and pleasure-loving. Gesner was not sure how to explain the Madawaska settlers’ behaviour. On one hand, he attributed it to their cultural heritage, and to some innate conservatism only slowly eroded by the example of the English. “It is scarcely possible,” he added, “to wean them from the customs of their forefathers, and improvements in the system of agriculture are very slow introduced among them.”⁶⁰ Whatever he encountered that was unfamiliar, like the outdoor clay oven and the well-pole, he identified as not only typically French, but as inherited, unchanged, from the seventeenth century! But in other parts of his book, he described the rest of New Brunswick settlers in terms that were not significantly different. The typical New Brunswick farmer was one who raised abundant crops, but preferred eating them to taking them to market where he could fetch a handsome price. New Brunswickers, whether French or British, were unpolished, but hospitable and fond of a good story or a good tune, and not commercially minded.⁶¹

Ward and Gesner, then, described the St. John Valley in very similar terms. So did J. F. W. Johnston. Johnston published two books as a result of his North American peregrinations. *Notes on North America* contains descriptions of the communities encountered. Johnston’s Madawaska French are a mixed and divided community. The old Acadian French were “fine, industrious men.” The Lower Canadians were “represented by the English settlers as a ‘miserable’ set.”⁶² Johnston believed this prejudiced view stemmed from the poverty of the recent French Canadian immigrants. The St. John Valley soil was of excellent quality, the crops beautiful, although some of the French Canadian settlers “appeared to be both needy and indifferent cultivators.” The stock left a lot to be desired, on the other hand.⁶³

Johnston’s description conveys an overall impression of prosperity. He was not entirely satisfied though. Upper and middle St. John Valley settlers all the way down to Woodstock, whatever their ethnic origin, had abandoned the cultivation of wheat and replaced it with buckwheat. This would not do, because buckwheat grew too easily and with too little effort. “It is a prelude of evil,” declared Johnston, “when a kind of food which requires little exertion to obtain it becomes the staple support of a people. They are sure to become indolent and careless of further comforts.”⁶⁴ Easy growing crops made lazy men.

Yet, in the same breath used to denounce buckwheat as not requiring enough effort on the part of the farmer, Johnston denounced it for requiring too much from the farmer’s wife. Wheat could be turned into bread which kept for several weeks. Buckwheat had to be prepared for every meal. Johnston believed the farmers’ wives had better things to do with their time than to cook! And constant cooking disturbed the order of the kitchen.⁶⁵

Johnston described in detail the activities of only two farmers. One was an M. Cyr, who owned 350 acres, twice the local average.⁶⁶ The other, Captain L. Coomb, possessed 1025 acres.⁶⁷ Johnston obviously believed that anything short of English-type estate agriculture was primitive and unworthy of notice. This type of agriculture was rather uncommon in North America, where farms were operated solely with a family labour force. Europeans tended to disdain those small family farms and the form of ag-

riculture they practiced. Europe was land-poor and labour-rich: there was not enough land for all would-be farmers, and the fact that the elite monopolized most of the existing land did not help. The elite were thus able to hire the landless for a pittance, and European agriculture was intensive, investing much labour and fertilizer into production. The resulting yields were, not surprisingly, twice as high as in North America. In early nineteenth century North America, where land was abundant, and thus cheap, the majority of families could secure a holding. But labour was scarce and thus expensive. Not being able to intensively cultivate their fields, North American farmers compensated for the low yield by putting more acreage under cultivation. Europeans almost never understood that the American land and labour markets were the reverse of the European ones, and condemned North American farmers for not using the practices and techniques of their European counterparts. Johnston was one example of this attitude. New Brunswickers did not know how to farm. Their land was "generally ill-treated—the take-all-and-give-nothing system being pursued, partly from ignorance and partly from idleness."⁶⁸

The last scientific description of the Madawaska settlement in the period that interests us was penned by Charles Lugin, the Secretary of the Agricultural Board of New Brunswick and author of several promotional volumes on New Brunswick. In 1872, he presented the provincial legislature with a report on Victoria County, which included the New Brunswick Madawaska as well as several civil parishes below the Grand Falls.⁶⁹ Lugin provided the legislators with a detailed description of the crops, soils and farming techniques prevailing in the area, identifying what was specific to each group. The Irish produced excellent potatoes. The French grew large amounts of peas, some flax, and "were expert in weaving good, strong, and durable linen."⁷⁰ Victoria County agriculture was not as good as Lugin wished it was. He partly blamed the deleterious influence of the lumber trade, not the inhabitants' ethnicity, for this state of affairs. The lumber trade and shingle-making provided farmers with opportunities of making "easy" money and lured them away from their fields, which were consequently neglected. The second cause behind the underperformance of Victoria County agriculture was also independent of ethnicity: the lack of

cheap communication with existing markets. Lugin recommended a railway connection to solve this problem.⁷¹ Lugin's position was thus very similar to that of the Americans in the 1830s and early 1840s.

Lugin also described the ethnic make-up of the county. The four western civil parishes were inhabited by a mix of French Canadians and Acadians. As a group, they clung "tenaciously to their old manners and customs." They were devoid of obvious character flaws, and "though not very enterprising, are tolerably industrious and economical."⁷² Lugin noted that they were beginning to feel what he believed was the favourable influence of the English with whom they were in daily contact. Public, non-confessional schools would complete their transformation.

As for private British travellers, they remained blissfully unconcerned by the St. John Valley Frenchness. They were usually aware of it, some even dwelling on it at length, but cultural differences were in their eyes another tourist attraction, not a problem. And none made reference to *Evangeline*. Either the poem was not read in the British Empire and even in New Brunswick, or the British did not equate contemporary Acadians with fictitious ones.⁷³

What are all those accounts telling us? If we strip them of their moralizing slants and opportunistic constructions of history, they convey very similar information about the Madawaska settlers. The upper St. John Valley was a prosperous settlement, blessed with a flourishing agriculture, engaging in some lumbering and shingle-making on the side, but a bit old-fashioned, especially when it came to clothing and housing styles. Serious crimes were unknown among them, and they kept a nice balance between work and leisure, profit-making and social activities. They were polite, hospitable and gregarious. The women were very busy with large families and textile production, among other things, and had little time for "home-making." Madawaska houses probably looked more like workshops than Victorian parlours.

Early visitors seem to have been able to see what was in front of them. Their accounts of the Madawaska settlements were normally descriptive, and abstained from moralizing. Initially, the Americans were neutral as well, even if they manipulated the Madawaska history for their

own ends. They soon became very ethnically conscious, or, in the terminology of the time, "racially" conscious. The French *were* different; they were different because they belonged to a different "race."

Until about 1815, Americans took for granted that their society was the best in the world because their institutions were superior to all others. Any people of European descent, no matter how steeped in barbarity, could progress to the standard of the Americans if they enjoyed similar free institutions. They were one unique race, improvable and inevitably destined to progress. It was the duty of the most advanced members of the human race to illuminate the path for their less fortunate brethren. Indians, among others, would become "civilized" under the benevolent wardship of the Americans. By 1850, this vision had been replaced in the minds of most by Anglo-Saxon racialism. Mankind was made of different races, some inherently superior to others. The outward sign of a superior race was its English- or American-type institutions, its individualism, and its acquisitiveness. Races which displayed different institutions or a lack of entrepreneurial spirit were not only inferior, but likely to be unimprovable. They were either doomed to extinction, like the Indians; to subjection, like the Blacks; or they needed the guidance of the Anglo-Protestant. Between 1815 and 1850, the two ideologies coexisted, one gradually replacing the other, without completely eliminating it.⁷⁴

The American perception of the French fit into this framework. People who were different were, almost by definition, inferior. Inferior people burdened the Americans in their march to progress. The St. John Valley people were different; therefore they were a threat to the American experiment, and had to be eliminated through assimilation. The more nostalgic—or the more romantic—Americans were willing to tolerate small pockets of difference in remote areas, where they were not likely to contaminate anyone. An Acadian reservation in Northern Maine was therefore acceptable. No matter how sympathetic Longfellow may have been towards the Acadians, he did no favour to their descendants, who could find acceptance only if they lived up to the expectations the poem raised, one of which was their being living fossils. The St. John Valley French could either remain trapped in the past and be admired by some, or step into the present, and be vilified.

Anglo-Saxon racialism prevailed in Britain as well.⁷⁵ It seems to have had limited impact on the travellers' views of the Madawaska French, though. British visitors eventually took notice of the settlement's Frenchness. They believed the French were socially and technically very conservative, and incapable of evolving on their own—hence the tendency to see anything different as a throwback to a stereotypical seventeenth century "French peasant" culture, or even to an earlier one. But the British never expressed any doubt evolution would take place as the French mingled with English-speaking people. And at times, one cannot even be sure that the British authors' sense of superiority stemmed from ethnic consciousness. Their lumping the Madawaska French in the same bag as the rest of the rather backward and not very hard-working New Brunswickers suggests that class could explain their attitude as much as ethnicity.

Why such differences between British and American views? The Americans were conducting a Grand Experiment in North America; they were building the prototype of the democratic society. For the experiment to succeed, all had to share the same values and the same ideology. Cultural and linguistic differences and Catholicism seemed to threaten this cultural and ideological homogeneity. They had to be obliterated, or museified. The British were not conducting any experiment. Their society was, and had always been ethnically very diverse; English, Welsh and Anglo-Normans, Cornish and Manx, Scots and Irish shared the British Isles, and had very little in common. The Islands were equally diverse in terms of religion, with Catholics in the Highlands and in Ireland, Presbyterians in the rest of Scotland, Protestant dissenters in Wales, and an Anglican Church divided between the quasi-Catholic High Church and the very Calvinist Low Church. The only thing Britain asked of all her constituent people, the glue that kept everything together, was allegiance to the Crown. By the end of the seventeenth century, attempts at institutionalizing religious conformity had been abandoned. Subsequently, ideological or cultural conformity was neither required nor sought. And being French and Catholic in an empire which soon included India, most of East Africa, and part of the Arab World was not being very exotic.

Notes

1. "British," in the context of early nineteenth century North America was a rather vague term. It could refer to the British from Britain, but also to his or her majesty's subjects in British North America, which was all of Britain's possessions in North America. Until 1867, the term "Canada" applied only to present day Québec (Lower Canada) and Ontario (Upper Canada). New Brunswickers were *not* "Canadians"; they were often referred to as "Provincials" by European British and by Americans. In this paper, the term "British" is used in its nineteenth century meaning, and refers to British subjects of European or North American extraction.

2. Patrick Campbell, *Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Year 1791 and 1792* (Edinburgh, 1793: 80-110); John Mann, *Travels in North America, Particularly in the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada and New Brunswick and in the States of Maine, Massachusetts and New York* (Glasgow, 1824. Reprinted in Fredericton in 1978: 36-41); Lieutenant E.T. Coke, *A Subaltern's Furlough: Descriptive of Scenes in Various Parts of the United States, Upper and Lower Canada, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia during the Summer and Autumn of 1832* (London, 1833: 349-364, in *Early Travellers in the Canadas, 1791-1867*, selected and edited with an introduction by Gerald M. Craig, Toronto, 1955: 97-110).

3. According to *American Memoranda, by a Mercantile Man during a Short Tour in the Summer of 1843* [James Lumsden] (Glasgow 1843):

Along the Madawaska River the country is principally settled by a class of the poorest Irish squatters I ever saw: if an acre or two of potato ground is cleared, it is all the poor creatures seem to care for; and their chief means of subsistence is derived from occasional employment in assisting the lumberers on the river. . . . From Témiscouata Lake to Little Falls, you scarcely see a respectable habitation. With the exception of two or three small farm houses, there are nothing but log huts and miserable dwellings.

4. The Surveyor of the Bingham Purchase, Park Holland's story is told in *Life and Diary* (Bangor Historical Society); Another traveller who did not think the St. John Valley's ethnic make-up deserved more than a passing mention is George Head, esq. (*Forest Scenes and Incidents in the Wilds of North America,*

being a Diary of a Winter's Route from Halifax to the Canadas, London, 1829: 63-136). Head made his trip in 1815.

5. Donald E. Graves, *The War of 1812 Journal of Lieutenant John Le Couteur, 104th Foot: "Merry Hearts Make Light Days"* (Carleton UP, 1993) 99.

6. Arcadia was a region of ancient Greece considered to be a rural paradise. The term has since been used to refer to an idealized rural community characterized by innocence, peacefulness and simplicity.

7. Graves 99.

8. Peter Fisher, *History of New Brunswick* (1825; St. John: Province of New Brunswick and W. Fisher, New Brunswick Historical Society, 1921) 52-57.

9. Peter Fisher, *Notitia of New Brunswick for 1836, and extending into 1837, comprising Historical, Geographical, Statistical and Commercial Notices of the Province by an inhabitant* (St. John, 1838).

10. Fisher, *History* 53.

11. Fisher, *Notitia* 98.

12. George W. Coffin, *Journal of George W. Coffin, Massachusetts Land Agent, Journey up to the St. John River, September and October 1825* (Maine State Archives, Land Office Records).

13. Charles S. Davies, *Report of Charles S. Davies, esq., Agent Appointed by the Executive of the State of Maine to Enquire into and Report upon Certain Facts relating to Aggressions upon the Rights of the State, and of Individual Citizens thereof by Inhabitants of the Province of New Brunswick* (1828).

14. Davies 15.

15. The petitions and land grants are in the Provincial Archives of New Brunswick, RS108, Land Petitions and Application Books: Microfilm Reel F1024, Petition of Augustin Leblanc and others to Governor Parr of Nova Scotia, 24-11-1784; Reel F1025, Petition of Amand and Francis Cormier, 5-4-1785; Reel F1029, Petition of Augustin White and other French inhabitants, 10-3-1785; Reel F1032, Memorial of French settlers, 28-6-1786, and Petition of Francis Violet, 28-08-1786; Reel F1033, Petition of Arthur Nicholson 6-4-1786 and 16-7-1787, and Petition of J.B. Cormier, 1787, and Petition of Benjamin Davis et al., 25-5-1787, and Petition of J. B. Cir et al., 1-6-1787, and Petition of Charles Lambert, 20-4-1787, and Petition of Joseph and Marie Cormier, 20-6-1787; Reel F1034, Petition of Richard Vandenburg, 1787; Reel F1035, Petition of John Martin et al., 1-7-1788, 31-7-1788 and 10-10-1788; Reel F1036, Petition of William Lockyer, 5-2-1789; Petition of Joseph Thibodo et al., 21-12-1789, and Petition of Joseph Sear 26-8-1789 and 14-11-1789; See also: Raoul Dionne, *La colonisation Acadienne au Nouveau Brunswick 1760-1860*, (Moncton, Chaire d'études acadiennes, 1989). The land sales between Lower St. John

- Acadians and other individuals are in PANB, York County Registry Office, Books 1-4, 1785-1815, Microfilm Reel 5618. For the secondary literature on the topic, see Mason Wade, "The Loyalists and the Acadians," in Edward Shriver ed., *The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec*, (Orono: NEAPQ Center, U of Maine, 1973) 7-22; W. O. Raymond, "The First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River St. John," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada* (Third Series, volume 8, 1914) 415-52 (this is a particularly well-documented piece by the individual who edited the Deane and Kavanagh report for the *Collections* of the New Brunswick Historical Society); Béatrice Craig, "Early French Migrations to Northern Maine, 1785-1850," *Maine Historical Society Quarterly* 25 (Spring 1986) 230-47.
16. Edward Kavanagh, "Wilderness Journal," *Maine History News* 16.2,3,4 (April, July, October 1980): 3-7 and 15-16 and 8-11 and 16.
17. Kavanagh, "Wilderness," 8.
18. W. O. Raymond, ed., "State of the Madawaska and Aroostook Settlements in 1831, Reports of John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh to Samuel Smith, Governor of the State of Maine," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 9 (1914). The descriptive part of the report is on pages 452-84; the original report is included in the Maine State Archives. It is reprinted in Thomas Albert's *Histoire du Madawaska* (Québec: Imprimerie franciscaine missionnaire, 1921).
19. Raymond 454.
20. Raymond 453.
21. See Raymond's introduction to Deane and Kavanagh's *Report*. See also the testimonies in "Trial of John Baker," transcript, in John Francis Sprague, *The Northeastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War* (Dover, Maine: Observer, n.d.) 76-92. For appointments as civil parish officials, see PANB, Minutes of the County Council, York County 1818-1833 and Carleton County 1833-1850.
22. [Belfast, Maine] *Republican Journal* 1 December 1831. Also see *Republican Journal* 3 September 1840; the latter is reprinted from the *Bangor Democrat* n.d.
23. *Republican Journal* 29 December 1843.
24. *Republican Journal* 29 December 1843. This did not fit the evidence either. See my articles on Madawaska economy at the beginning of the nineteenth century: Béatrice Craig, «Agriculture et marché au Madawaska, 1799-1850», *The River Review/La revue rivière* 1 (1995): 13-38); "Agriculture in a pioneer region: The Upper St. John Valley in the First Half of the Nineteenth Century," *Farm, Factory and Fortune, New Studies in the Economic History of the Maritime Provinces*, Kris Inwood, ed. (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1993) 17-36;

- «Le développement agricole dans la haute vallée du St-Jean en 1860», *Revue de la société historique du Canada* 3 (1993): 13-26.
25. *Republican Journal* 29 December 1843.
26. Raymond 460. See also *Republican Journal* 27 January 1843, for an echo of this opinion.
27. See "Report of the Commissioners Appointed under Resolve of February 21, 1843, to Locate Grants and Determine the Extent of Possessory Claims under the Late Treaty with Great Britain."
28. "Report of the Committee upon Education in the New Settlements, 1847," *Legislative Documents of the State of Maine* (1847) 52-57.
29. "Final Report of the Superintendent and Instructor of Schools in the Madawaska Settlement for the Year 1844," *Legislative Documents of the State of Maine 1844*. 2. The "Report of the Land Commissioners" for 1844 expressed the same belief.
30. According to the 29 December 1843 issue of the *Republican Journal*, "It will be a long time before they accustom themselves to the machinery of our institutions and a longer time before their distinct nationality is effaced or lost."
31. Examples can be found on Raymond 459; Davies 15; and Fisher, *History* 53. 32. *Report of the Commissioners on the Settlement of the Publick Land of Maine* (Augusta: Sprague-Owen and Nash, 1870) 7; and "Final Report of the Superintendent. . . for the year 1844," 8.
33. J. Doyle, *North America, Images of Canada* 17-18, 21-26, 31, 67.
34. Doyle 28-29.
35. Doyle 25-26.
36. According to the "Report of the Committee upon Education in the New Settlement," *Legislative Documents of the State of Maine* (1847) 52-57:
- On its newest parts, the state borders very largely upon foreign provinces in which free schools do not exist, and as emigration is always to a greater or lesser degree taking place, there is a constant influx of ignorance and educational indifference within the bounds of the state. Especially does this current flow in upon us from the valley of the St. John.
37. See [Augusta] *Kennebec Journal* 12 November 1858; and Edward H. Ellwell, *Aroostook, with some Account of the Excursion Thither of the Editors of Maine in the Years 1858 and 1878*. Portland, 1878. Ellwell relied upon the editor of the *Maine Evangelist* for his comments on Madawaska; I could not trace any surviving contemporary issues of this paper.

38. This is evident when one compares the cadastral and survey maps of this area at different points in time.
39. Béatrice Craig, «Le développement agricole dans la haute vallée du St Jean en 1860», *Revue de la société historique du Canada* 3 (1993): 13-26.
40. This is according to Ellwell.
41. According to the *Report of the Commissioners on the Settlement of the Publick land of Maine* (Augusta: Sprague-Owen and Nash, 1870):

A colony of over five thousand souls is within our borders, ignorant, superstitious, and foreign in language, tradition and custom. Dwelling in the garden of the state, they are the poorest of its inhabitants. What is to be done with them? *We must Americanize them*; and this can be accomplished only through education. (22)

42. Charles Lanman, *Adventures of an Angler in Canada, Nova Scotia, and the United States* (London, 1848).
43. Lanman 234
44. Lanman 236.
45. Charles Hallock, "Aroostook on the Madawaska," *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 27 (1863): 688-98.
46. Hallock 696.
47. Hallock 695.
48. *Report of the Commissioners on Claims of Settlers on Proprietors' Land* 6.
49. *Report of the Commissioners on Claims of Settlers on Proprietors' Land* 7.
50. Edmund Ward, *An Account of the St. John and its Tributary Rivers and Lakes* (Fredericton, 1841) 84-89.
51. Abraham Gesner, *New Brunswick with Notes for Emigrants* 178-81. See also 212-5, 224-9, 332-5, 378-88 for soil, climate, currency, pioneering, etc.
52. James Finlay Weir Johnston, *Report on the Agricultural Capabilities of the Province of New Brunswick* (Second Edition. Fredericton, 1850); and Chapter 3 of James Finlay Weir Johnston's *Notes on North America* (1851) 67-82.
53. Ward 87.
54. Ward 88.
55. Gesner 180.
56. Gesner 332.
57. Gesner 333.
58. Gesner 180, 333.
59. Gesner 180.

60. Gesner 333.
61. Gesner 334.
62. Johnston 70.
63. Johnston 67.
64. Johnston 80.
65. Johnston 81.
66. Johnston 72.
67. Johnston 68.
68. Johnston 70.
69. Charles S. Lugin, *Victoria County* (Appendix to the *Journal of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick*) 1872.
70. Lugin xi.
71. Lugin xiii.
72. Lugin vii.
73. Early historian C.L. Hatheway's book contains absolutely no comment about the ethnic make-up of the Madawaska settlement (*The History of New Brunswick from its First Settlement, Containing a Geographical Description of the Province*, Fredericton, 1846, 43-47). Tourist Campbell Hardy, Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery, tried to turn his attempt at getting food from people who spoke no more English than he did French into an amusing anecdote (*Sporting Adventures in the New World, or Days and Nights of Moose Hunting in the Pine Forest of Acadia*, vol. 1, London, Hurst and Blackett, 1855, 138). William Thomas Baird, who had visited the Madawaska settlement in 1838 gives a purely descriptive account, and mentions that young men from the New Brunswick elite used to board with Madawaska families to learn French (*Seventy Years of New Brunswick Life: And Autobiographical Sketches*, St. John, 1890, 54, 89-94). Isaac Stephenson, who lived in the vicinity of Woodstock before moving to Wisconsin, also makes no comment about the Frenchness of the upper St. John Valley settlers in his memoirs (*Recollections of a Long Life*, Chicago, 1915, 1-56).
74. Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny, The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism*, (Cambridge: Harvard UP, 1981), especially chapters 3, 5, and 6.
75. Horsman 62-77.