

# ACADIAN CULTURE IN MAINE

North Atlantic Region

National Park Service

U.S. Department of the Interior

ACADIAN  
CULTURE  
IN MAINE

# ACADIAN CULTURE IN MAINE

PREPARED BY  
North Atlantic Region  
National Park Service  
Boston, Massachusetts

BASED ON  
Maine Acadian Cultural Survey  
A Study by  
American Folklife Center  
Library of Congress  
Washington, D.C.  
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SUBMITTED TO  
Committee on Energy and Natural Resources  
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## RÉSUMÉ

Les Français de l'Acadie ont été chassés de la Nouvelle-Écosse par les Anglais, en 1755. Au cours de la décennie de 1780, quelques-uns se sont installés dans la vallée du haut Saint-Jean, région au nord-est du Maine, aux États-Unis, et du nord-ouest du Nouveau-Brunswick, au Canada. Les descendants de ces pionniers s'identifient comme Acadiens, et le haut Saint-Jean est considéré comme un centre de culture acadienne au Maine.

L'histoire de la vallée du haut Saint-Jean est une des clés permettant de comprendre la colonisation de l'Amérique du Nord et l'évolution historique des États-Unis. Apport intégrant de la culture locale, la langue française y est encore parlée, conférant ainsi un caractère distinctif à la région. L'architecture locale suscite de l'intérêt: il y a autant de solides constructions en bois dans le haut Saint-Jean qu'il y en a ailleurs aux États-Unis. Un héritage matériel des plus variés est témoin d'une culture vivante avec ses traits distinctifs. À partir des granges jusqu'au tissage, on retrouve: chansons, coutumes, expressions orales, danses, mets typiques et valeurs esthétiques contribuant à la diversité culturelle du Maine et des États-Unis. Les traditions d'autres groupes locaux s'allient à leur culture.

Comme beaucoup d'autres cultures traditionnelles, l'héritage acadien est menacé de disparaître au Maine. Les communautés acadiennes se préoccupent beaucoup de l'avenir de leur culture. Le Service du Parc National collabore avec les Acadiens du Maine pour son interprétation et sa conservation. Des aspects tangibles ou non de cette culture sont en liens avec les contextes historiques et contemporains.

Le présent rapport est le résultat de la recherche sur la culture acadienne au Maine accomplie sur les lieux pour le Service du Parc National pour la Région du Nord de l'Atlantique, par le Centre sur la vie traditionnelle américaine de la Bibliothèque du Congrès. Cette étude donne suite à la loi sur la Conservation de la culture acadienne au Maine, (Public Law 101-543). Cette loi demande au Secrétaire de l'Intérieur, par le biais du Service du Parc National, de mener une étude détaillée sur la culture acadienne au Maine et de prévoir un programme d'interprétation. La loi établit une Commission de onze membres, chargée de la Conservation de la culture acadienne au Maine, dont les buts sont:

- 1 reconnaître l'importante contribution à la culture et à l'histoire américaine apportée par les immigrants acadiens venus de France en Nouvelle-Écosse, puis expulsés par les Anglais, en 1755, et installés dans les diverses colonies nord-américaines, entre autres, dans le territoire qui sera le Maine;
- 2 aider les gouvernements du lieu et de l'état ainsi que les autres entités publiques et privées du Maine à interpréter l'histoire des pionniers acadiens et de leurs descendants, et contribuer à la conservation de leur culture: musique, arts, artisanat et folklore;
- 3 contribuer à l'identification, au rassemblement et à la conservation de lieux, de données historiques, d'objets fabriqués et associés aux Acadiens du Maine, afin que le public en prenne connaissance et en bénéficie.

Tel que requis par la législation, cette étude sur la culture acadienne est présentée au Comité des affaires intérieures et insulaires de la Chambre des députés des États-Unis, et au Comité sur l'Énergie et les Ressources naturelles du Sénat des États-Unis.

## SUMMARY

**F**rench-speaking Acadians were deported from Nova Scotia by the British in 1755. During the 1780s, some of those displaced Acadians settled in the Upper St. John Valley—now part of the state of Maine in the United States and the province of New Brunswick, Canada. The descendants of those settlers still identify themselves as “Acadian” and the Upper St. John Valley is regarded as the locus of Acadian culture in Maine.

The history of the St. John Valley provides an important key to understanding the settling of North America and the historical development of the United States. The local French dialect has remained an important part of the culture and is prevalent in the river valley today, making the area distinctive. The architecture of the Upper St. John Valley is significant; there may be as many solid-walled wooden buildings there as anywhere in the United States. A range of other material culture, from barns to weaving, possesses distinctive features and the living culture—songs, customs, figures of speech, dance styles, foodways, aesthetic values—contribute to the cultural diversity of Maine and the United States. And, the context of the traditions of other groups in the region contributes to Acadian culture.

Like many traditional cultures, Acadian heritage is endangered in Maine. There is real concern about the future of the culture among the Acadian community. The National Park Service is cooperating with Acadians in Maine to interpret and preserve their culture. Tangible and intangible aspects of the culture are being addressed in both historical and contemporary contexts.

This report presents the findings of the Maine Acadian cultural survey, a field research project conducted for the North Atlantic Region, National Park Service by the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. The survey was carried out pursuant to the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act (Public Law 101-543). The Act directs the Secretary of the Interior, through the National Park Service, to prepare a comprehensive study of and interpretive program about Acadian culture in Maine and establishes an eleven-member Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission. The purposes of the Act are to:

- 1 recognize an important contribution made to American culture and history by the Acadian immigrants from France who settled in Nova Scotia and, following expulsion by the British in 1755, resettled in various North American colonies, including the territory that eventually became the State of Maine;
- 2 assist local and State governments and other public and private entities in the State of Maine in interpreting the story of the State's Acadian settlers and their descendants as well as preserving Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore; and
- 3 assist in identifying, gathering, and preserving sites, historical data, artifacts, and objects associated with the Acadians in Maine for the benefit and education of the public.

As required by the legislation, this study of Acadian culture is being transmitted to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate.

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# ACADIA

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## The First Acadians

The naming of the North American region known as Acadie or Acadia has been variously attributed. According to one account, it was named by Verrazano, who explored the Atlantic Coast for France during the early sixteenth century. When he visited the region that is now the Middle Atlantic states during one April, "he found the vegetation so luxuriant that he named the country 'Arcadie' in remembrance of the region of ancient Greece whose innocence and joie de vivre were celebrated by the poets" (Daigle 1982b:18). Whatever its provenance, during the early years of the seventeenth century French "Acadie" or "Acadia" referred to the territory now known as New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and eastern Maine. At various times the name also encompassed Isle-Saint Jean (Prince Edward Island), Île Royale (Cape Breton), Les Îles de la Madeleine (Magdalen Islands), and the southern coast of the Gaspé Peninsula. Beginning in the early eighteenth century, the conflicting claims of France and England embraced "Acadia" and "Nova Scotia" as essentially the same area (Clark 1968:72).

The date of the first European contact with Acadia is unknown, but contemporary historians seem to agree that French fishermen and fur traders were among the first to land on its shores. Undoubtedly, commercial interest in the region was stimulated when the French monarchy began to grant American fur monopolies in 1588 (Daigle 1982b:18). Eventually, it was decided that colonization could be financed through these trade monopolies, and, as a result, the merchant Pierre du Gua Sieur de Monts received a trade monopoly over territory between the 40th and 46th parallels with the understanding that he establish a colony.

On April 7, 1604, de Monts sailed from Havre-de-Grâce in France with an expedition of 120 men and settled on a small island near the mouth of the St. Croix River. They called it "Sainte-Croix" or "holy cross." Included with the expedition were several "gentlemen," among them Jean de Poutrincourt and Samuël de Champlain, the King's geographer. In August, de Monts sent his main fleet back to France. He and Champlain, with seventy-seven others, settled in for fall and winter, thus beginning the long and often bitter process of adapting the European way of life to the North American environment. During that first winter thirty-four members of the party died and many others became dangerously ill. Consequently, the colony was moved to a more favorable site at Port-Royal (now Annapolis Royal), on the Bay of Fundy in present-day Nova Scotia. There the settlers cleared and cultivated land and appeared to be making progress. However, de Monts' monopoly was revoked in 1607, the colony was abandoned, and the settlers returned to France. A map showing the major seventeenth-century settlements of Acadia is on page 5.

Today St. Croix Island is recognized as one of the first European settlements in northern North America heralding permanent European settlement in Canada, and as the cradle of the Acadian presence on the continent. Due to the island's importance in the history of Canada as well as that of the people of the United States, it is now the

Saint Croix Island International Historic Site, a unit of the National Park System.

Following the 1607 abandonment, Jean de Poutrincourt secured the concession for the Port-Royal area and returned with a second group of colonists in 1610. More settlers joined the group in the following year, including de Poutrincourt's wife, who is believed to be the first Frenchwoman to come to Acadia (Roy 1982:130). In 1613, one of Port-Royal's sponsors withdrew support from the colony and devoted it to the establishment of a rival colony at St. Sauveur on Mount Desert Island, Maine. Later that year, the colonies at Port-Royal and St. Sauveur were both destroyed by English colonists from Virginia. While most of the French colonists returned to France after the disaster, a few stayed behind and maintained a French presence. It is believed that the site of the St. Sauveur colony is located within Acadia National Park.

This conflict between the English and the French was merely one of a long series of encounters that would unfold over the next 150 years. As Daigle (1982b:24) has observed, "Acadia, within the colonial context of North America, was a border colony. Positioned between two rival settlements (New France in the north and New England in the south), the area around the Bay of Fundy was repeatedly the subject of dispute and the scene of military engagements."

Port-Royal was occupied by the British throughout the 1620s. In 1621, King James I of England gave the concession of Acadia (now Nova Scotia) to Sir William Alexander. Alexander began a small colony in 1629, but it was disbanded in 1632 when the Treaty of Saint-Germain-en-Laye returned Acadia to France (Roy 1982:131). Frenchman Isaac de Razilly was then named lieutenant general for Acadia and instructed to revive settlement. He established a colony at La Hève (La Have), on the southern shore of Nova Scotia. Among other reasons, de Razilly's expedition was notable because it included a number of families (Roy 1982:131).

By 1636, other small settlements had been established elsewhere in Acadia. These included settlements on Nicolas Denys's concession, along the Gulf of St. Lawrence; Charles de la Tour's concession at Cap de Sable (Cape Sable); in the Lower St. John River area; and on the south shore of the Bay of Fundy exclusive of Port-Royal. Settlers were also in place at La Hève and Port-Royal.

Following de Razilly's death in 1635, his office was filled by Charles d'Aulnay. During trips to France, d'Aulnay recruited families for the colonies in Acadia. By 1650, Acadia had over 400 French inhabitants, including forty-five to fifty families in the Port-Royal and La Hève areas as well as the men affiliated with Denys and La Tour. These forty-five to fifty families are generally considered to be the founders of the Acadian population (Roy 1982:133). Many of the colonists had much in common. For example, over 40 percent of the families listed in the 1671 census of Acadia were peasants (*laboureurs*) drawn from d'Aulnay's estate, near the town of La Chaussé in Poitou, France. Between 55 and 70 percent of Acadia's seventeenth-century immigrants were natives of the Centre-Ouest provinces of Poitou, Aunis, Angoumois, Saintonge, and Anjou (Brasseaux 1987:124).

English forces seized Port-Royal in 1654 and held Acadia for the next thirteen years. By the time France regained the territory in 1667 under the terms of the Treaty of Breda, the French settlers who remained had developed a capacity to think and act in their own interests, inde-

pendent of European authorities. They adapted their French agrarian life-style to the local environment, and they began to think of themselves as a people separate from their fellow Frenchmen in the mother country and in settlements in Québec. Because their territory "was subjected to divergent policies that turned it into a pawn on the great chessboard of imperialistic politics," the settlers learned that, in order to survive, "neutrality was the wisest course until one of the combatants finally won the struggle" (Daigle 1982b:17). The developing Acadian identity remained intact throughout the Anglo-French struggle for domination in North America.

In 1713, Acadia became a permanent English possession as a result of the Treaty of Utrecht. Under the terms of the treaty, according to Queen Anne's lenient interpretation of them, Acadians who remained in Acadia were granted freedom of religion and full title to their property (D. LeBlanc 1966:54-55). However, the English were intent on making the Acadians into British subjects, and they tried to persuade them to swear an unconditional oath of alliance. The Acadians refused, insisting that they would not swear alliance to the English crown unless certain conditions were met. Specifically, they wanted guarantees that their Catholic faith would be respected, that they could remain neutral in any conflict between the English and local Indians, and that the English would take the Acadians' own history into account (Daigle 1982b:37). While the English administration could have interpreted the Acadians' refusal to take the oath as an act of rebellion and ordered their expulsion, this option was not exercised in view of the possibility that Acadians could strengthen French positions elsewhere if driven out of Nova Scotia. The English accepted the Acadians' self-definition as "French neutrals" and allowed them to pursue farming, fishing, and fur trading as before. For the Acadians, the period from 1713 to 1744 was a time of peace and significant population growth (Daigle 1982b:39).

## *Le Grand Dérangement*

English tolerance of the Acadians' neutrality ended in the 1740s when warfare resumed in Europe between Great Britain and France, sparking the renewal of hostilities in North America. Warfare ceased in 1748, ushering in a change in English policy that would have tremendous repercussions for the Acadians. The English, who had previously been concerned with the attainment of commercial goals in Acadia, adopted additional goals, including the acquisition of territory and the initiation of colonization (Daigle 1982b:43). In the view of British officials and immigrants who came into Acadia from New England after the founding of Halifax in 1749, the Acadians, who had ties with the French and the Indians, were obstacles to English settlement (Wade 1972:11).

A year after the resumption of hostilities between the English and the French in 1754, Governor Charles Lawrence of Nova Scotia again demanded that Acadians swear an unconditional oath of allegiance to the English Crown. Despite the growing strength of the English, the Acadians rejected the demand, and on July 31, 1755, Lawrence ordered the forcible removal of the colony's large Acadian population. The order was implemented on September 5, thus beginning the Acadian diaspora, otherwise known as *Le Grande Dérangement*.

During the course of the next few years, thousands of Acadians were loaded onto British merchant vessels and dispersed throughout the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia (R. LeBlanc 1971). For

many Acadians, the disruption continued for thirty years or more. Some were imprisoned in England, some were removed to France, and others made their way to the West Indies, Québec, and Louisiana. Many died of disease and hardships suffered during the expulsion. Of Nova Scotia's 12,000 to 18,000 resident Acadians, 6,000 to 7,000 were removed from their homeland during *Le Grand Dérangement*. Those who escaped deportation became fugitives (Brasseaux 1987b:217).

In several instances, ships loaded with deportees were forced to return to Nova Scotia when colonial administrators in the American colonies refused to accept the Acadians. Upon their return, Acadians discovered that their former lands had been taken over by the English. Consequently, those who wished to remain in the region attempted to settle in remote areas, far away from the English. According to Daigle (1982b:46), "their ultimate goal was to recreate in isolation a country in which their values would be preserved without outside interference."

It is estimated that 1,000 (Roy 1982:153) to 2,000 Acadians escaped deportation by hiding in the woods and living among the Indians. Some headed for Cape Sable and Pobomcoup (Pubnico) in Nova Scotia and some went to the Lower St. John River region in New Brunswick. Others headed north to the shores of Chaleur Bay in New Brunswick and Québec, and the Gulf of St. Lawrence, the Gaspé Peninsula, and the St. Lawrence Valley in Québec (Roy 1982:154).

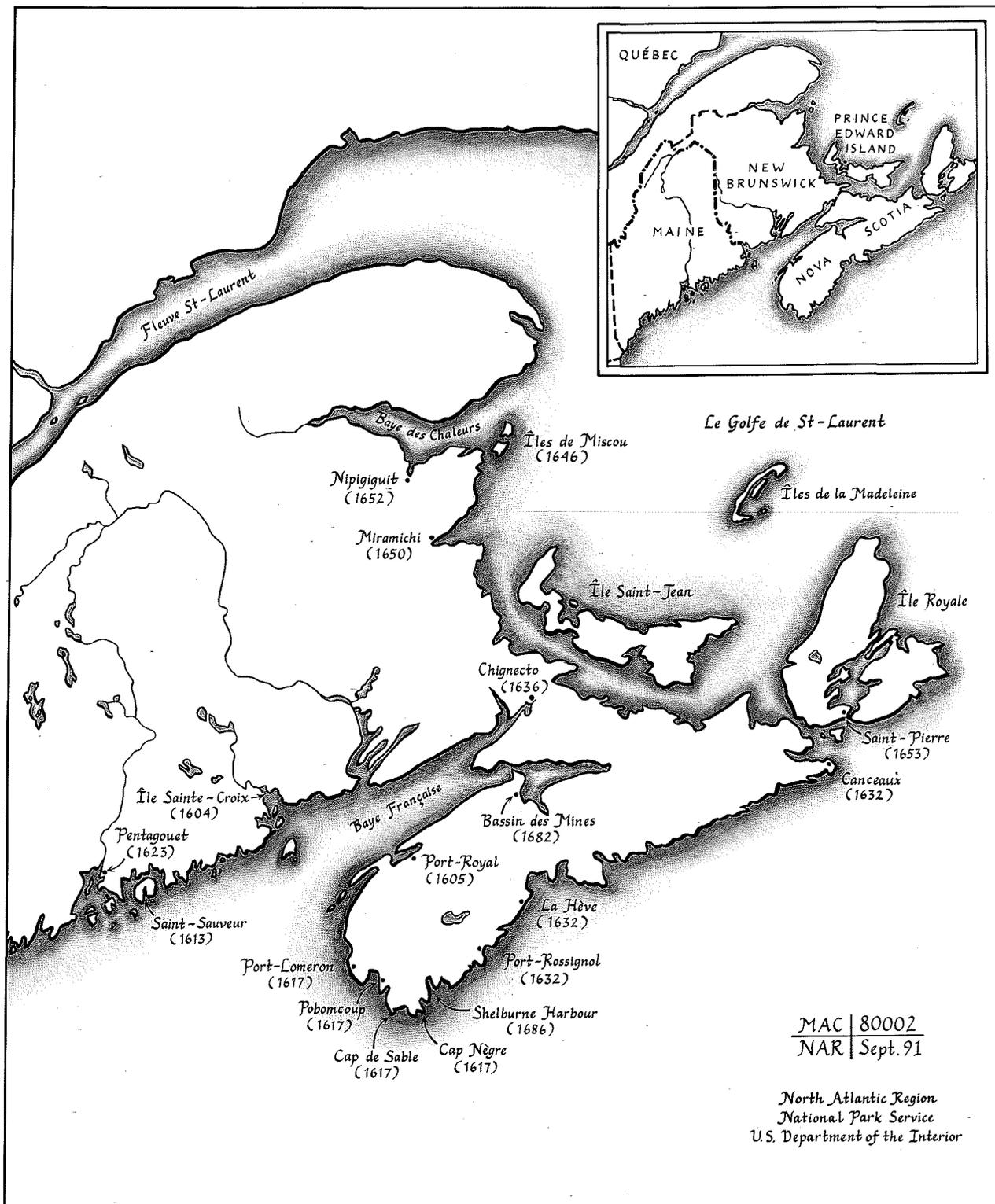
In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended hostilities between the English and the French and also halted the deportations. It has been estimated that there were 3,700 Acadians in American colonies, and between 9,000 and 10,000 in other North American locations and in Europe by that time (Roy 1982:155).

After the Treaty of Paris, the victorious English permitted Acadians to return to the Maritime Provinces, but stipulated that they must swear an oath of allegiance and settle in small groups (Thériault 1982:48). Concluding that there was no longer any possibility of receiving support from France, the Acadians agreed to these terms. While some who had been deported elected to remain where they were, many returned from Québec, France, the American colonies, and the forests of New Brunswick. According to Roy (1982:157), "refugees in the more southerly [American] colonies headed for Louisiana, hoping for a more fraternal reception in French territory. Those who left the New England colonies headed mainly for Québec and Acadia."

Although one might assume that repatriated Acadians who wished to return to Acadia would head back to their original settlements, this was not the case. As Thériault (1982:49) explains:

In general, Acadians who returned to the Maritimes avoided resettling their former land because it was now occupied by English colonists and because the British authorities preferred to have them scattered in small groups. For these reasons, they settled around Baie-Sainte-Marie in western Nova Scotia and around Cheticamp [and] on Île-Madame in Cape Breton. On Prince Edward Island, they chose the area around Malpeque, while in New Brunswick, they settled in the north, the east, and the St. John River Valley. Those who returned to the Fredericton area were forced to move to the northwest and northeast between 1784 and 1786, after the Loyalists arrived. Today, the majority of Francophones in the Maritimes are still scattered over these diverse regions as their colonization movements of the 19th and 20th centuries merely developed the hinterlands behind these areas.

So what was Acadia? It was a disputed political territory with ill-defined boundaries situated on the edge of seventeenth-century New France and New England. By the early eighteenth century the rulers of France and England equated it with present-day Nova Scotia. During the time of the disputed territory and into the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, there was another meaning to the territory of Acadia. It was



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**Early Acadia**

the land occupied by Acadians, regardless of where the official boundaries were drawn. Similar to the political concept, this second definition was not static nor easily described. For instance, while most early Acadians lived in Nova Scotia, they maintained the fur trade up the rivers of the north shore of the Bay of Fundy and the Gulf of Maine from the St. John to the Penobscot (Clark 1968:73).

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## MAINE ACADIAN CULTURAL SURVEY

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### Preserving a Culture

**R**ecognizing the important contribution made to American culture and history by Acadians, the National Park Service, North Atlantic Region, is developing an interpretive program to tell the story of Maine's Acadian settlers and their descendants. For the benefit and education of the public, the National Park Service is helping local governments, the State of Maine, and other public and private entities identify, gather, and preserve sites, historical data, artifacts, and objects associated with the Acadians in Maine. Likewise, the National Park Service is helping to preserve related contemporary cultural expressions, such as Maine Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore.

Through a self-discovery process, Maine Acadians have celebrated their heritage in recent years, striving to keep their culture alive. Interest in and support of this effort from outside the Acadian community has been minimal. The insight of many academic disciplines, along with the insight of Acadians themselves, is essential to tell the Acadian story and preserve Acadian Culture in Maine. In attempting to understand contemporary/historical and tangible/intangible culture, an interdisciplinary approach has been adopted by the National Park

*Camille DeVost  
of Lille, Maine,  
uses a crooked knife  
to carve an axe handle.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

Service's Maine Acadian culture project.

An interdisciplinary approach is supported by Congressional testimony and the legislation that led to the National Park Service project, which is being conducted pursuant to the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act (see Appendix). Congresswoman Olympia Snowe testified at a House hearing (July 17, 1990) that the legislation "affords us the opportunity to help preserve—not embalm—an integral part of our state's heritage and present." She drew specific attention to "the dialect of the Acadians" and "the stories, songs, and legends" that continue to be passed down. At the same hearing, John L. Martin argued that "this legislation will help preserve Acadian culture, a way of life. . . ." At a Senate Subcommittee hearing (March 28, 1990) Senator George Mitchell foresaw programs to "celebrate, preserve and perpetuate Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore," and Senator William Cohen contended, "It is important that the traditions and beliefs of the Acadians be shared with others to foster a better understanding of our history."

This report presents the findings of an initial background survey of Maine Acadian culture from a "folklife" approach (combined with a look at historic properties). It should be noted, however, that expertise in history, anthropology, folklife, historic preservation, and other disciplines will be required to understand Acadian culture in Maine. The background survey was conducted for the National Park Service during June and July 1991 by the American Folklife Center, Library of Congress. The term "folklife" is defined in the legislation that established the American Folklife Center (Public Law 94-201):

The term "American folklife" means the traditional expressive culture shared within the various groups in the United States: familial, ethnic, occupational, religious, regional; expressive culture includes a wide range of creative and symbolic forms such as custom, belief, technical skill, language, literature, art, architecture, music, play, dance, drama, ritual, pageantry, handicraft; these expressions are mainly learned orally, by imitation, or in performance, and are generally maintained without the benefit of formal instruction or institutional direction.

## **Field Research Methodology**

Two fundamental questions faced researchers prior to commencing the cultural survey. Where in Maine should the study be conducted, and who should be studied? These two fundamental questions—Where? and Who?—encapsulate two critical concerns in the design of any cultural study: the focus and the context.

Where the study was to be conducted was the easier question to answer. Scholarly and popular publications concerned with Maine's culture and history, as well as comments solicited from Maine residents, indicated with unanimity that the primary locus of Acadian settlement in Maine is the Upper St. John River Valley in northern Aroostook County (see regional context map on page 11). Although small populations of Acadians can be found in other parts of the state, there is general agreement that the Upper St. John Valley is home to more Acadians than anywhere else, and that it is the "hearth" for Acadian culture in Maine. In addition, there is an accepted sense of the distinctiveness of the region, deriving not only from its Acadian heritage but from its economy, natural resources, location along the international border, and a cultural

milieu that is the product of the interaction of people of diverse cultural backgrounds. One indicator of the distinctiveness of the area is the fact that the Upper St. John Valley is commonly known within Aroostook County and much of Maine simply as "the Valley."

Having determined the geographic focus of the survey, the research team also had to consider the larger geographic context. It is clear that the Valley as a cultural area includes both sides of the St. John River, which forms part of the U.S./Canadian and Maine/New Brunswick border. Statements and publications by cultural specialists concerned with regional ethnicity suggest that the geography of ethnicity in New Brunswick is extremely complex, and this complexity may be reflected on the Maine side of the river. Acadians do not reside solely within the confines of the river valley, but occupy communities on the heights of land back from the river. Further, people from the Valley have migrated to other parts of Maine, New England, and elsewhere, and in many cases they have clustered in what might be termed satellite cultural communities which maintain continued contact with the Valley. Although the survey could not investigate these kindred communities in depth, field researchers encountered many members of such communities who were visiting the Valley in the summer of 1991. During the survey, researchers made comparisons between St. John Valley Acadian culture and Louisiana French traditions and folklife.

The question of who should be studied also suggested both a focus and a context. Acadian culture is the focus; yet defining precisely who is Acadian, and what cultural traits deserve designation as Acadian, is not as easy as might appear. Relatively few cultural traditions in the study area can be described as "purely" Acadian; indeed, the notion of cultural purity fails to recognize the cultural dynamism and energy that derives from intercultural contact. In approaching this complex of identity issues, the survey was guided by the following proposition: The culture of a group cannot be fully understood unless the broader cultural context within which the group develops is taken into account.

Thus, although the focus of the survey was on contemporary Acadian culture, the survey studied it within the context of the traditions of other groups in the region. To understand contemporary Acadian traditions in the Upper St. John Valley, the survey needed to consider cultural traditions of the Québécois, Micmacs, Malecites, Irish, Swedes, and others who have shaped the region along with the Acadians. In many cases it became clear, as the survey progressed, that traditions regarded as Acadian actually represented a cultural synthesis arising from interactions among all these groups. Analyzed from this perspective, the case of Acadians in the Upper St. John Valley emerges as a classic example both of cultural continuity and of the reconstitution of cultural traditions in the New World.

Having settled on the who and the where of the Maine Acadian cultural survey, researchers designed a fieldwork strategy for the documentation of the contemporary culture of the Upper St. John Valley with emphasis on Acadian cultural resources. While tailored to deal with issues unique to the Valley, this research strategy was broadly similar to those employed by other folklife field projects. Researchers concentrated their efforts on cultural expressions, guided by the idea that all communities use aesthetic experience to shape deeply felt values into meaningful forms (Hymes 1975:348). These expressions, such as stories, songs, recipes, and houses, which have grown out of shared experiences and

values, can serve as windows into a community's worldview (Hufford 1986:19).

The primary work of the survey's fieldworkers was interviewing local residents, documenting a multitude of cultural events, documenting sites and artifacts (with special attention to sites of cultural significance), engaging in participant observation, and analyzing archival materials. The survey aggregated a large ethnographic collection consisting of 5,600 photographic images, 500 pages of field notes and catalogs, 40 hours of audio recordings, 50 pages of sketches, and an assortment of ephemera such as local publications, program souvenirs, and historical and contemporary press clippings on cultural subjects and issues. The collection will be preserved for posterity in the Archive of Folk Culture, Library of Congress, with a reference copy of the materials in an appropriate archive within the Upper St. John Valley. It will serve as a resource base for further research, planning, and programming within the region.

## The Study Area

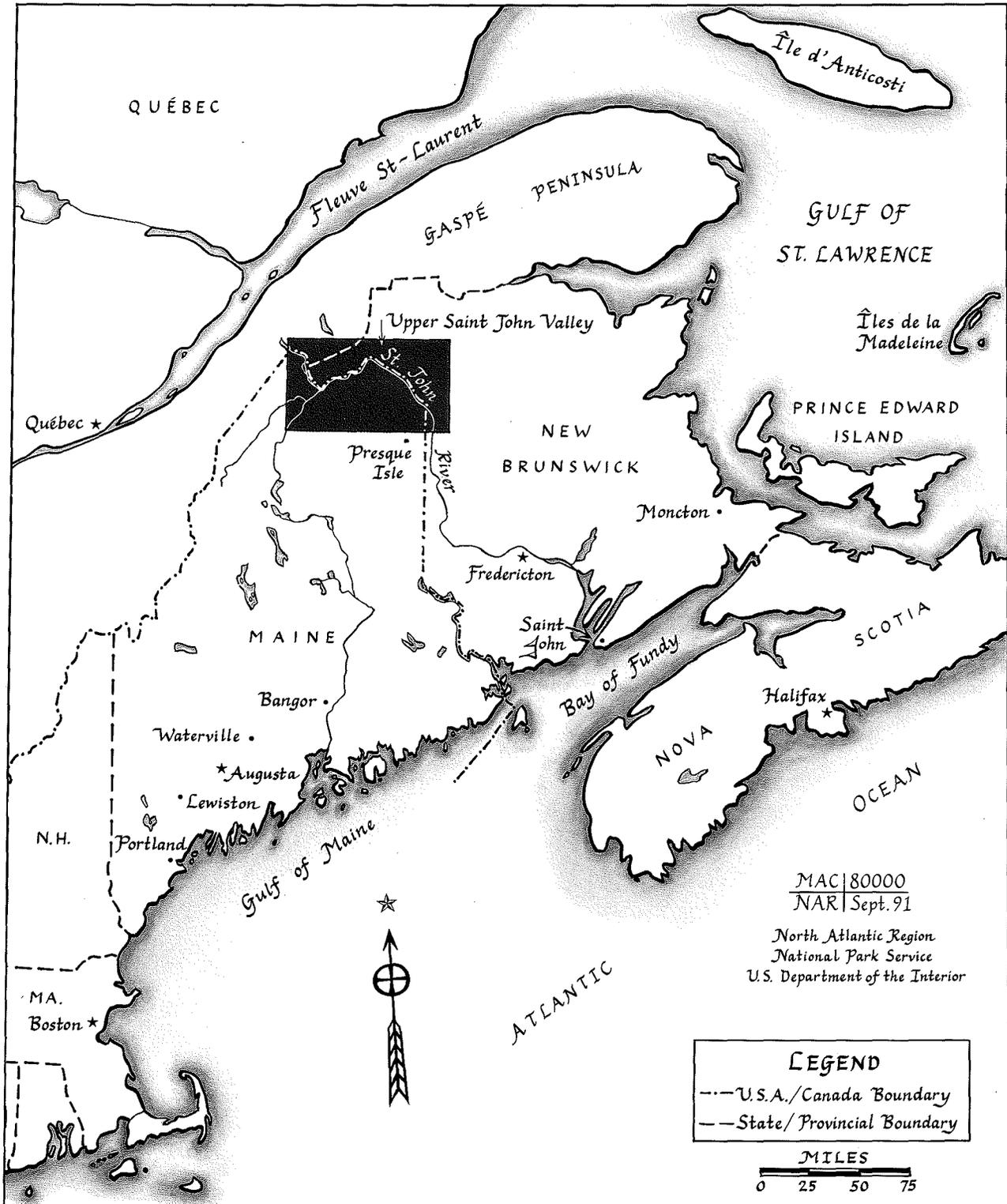
The Maine Acadian cultural survey focused upon a 70-mile stretch of the St. John River from Hamlin to St. Francis, Maine. This section of the river forms part of the international boundary between the United States and Canada. However, the Acadian cultural area overlaps the boundary, and the survey included some ancillary work in contiguous areas of New Brunswick. The study area is shown on the map, "Upper Saint John Valley/La Vallée du Haut Saint-Jean," found on the inside back cover.

The study area encompasses villages and towns located on or near the banks of the St. John River as well as the "back settlements," farmsteads created when territory inland from the river was progressively cleared and developed. Specific Acadian back settlements investigated include those along the Fish River and Maine Route 11, south from Fort Kent to Eagle Lake; those in the St. Agatha-Sinclair area; and those in the Long Lake vicinity. While fieldworkers documented the continuity of traditional cultural patterns throughout the study area, they observed that patterns were particularly noticeable in the smaller neighborhoods and farmsteads of the back settlements.

The Acadian settlements of the Upper St. John Valley represent a cultural area distinct from others in Canada or the United States. The area's cultural heritage is distinguishable from that of the large, French-speaking province of Québec. And the inland location of the region, its land-based economy (especially potato farming and lumbering), and its historical relationship with the United States distinguish it from Acadian-influenced areas in the Maritime Provinces. The busy settlements and developed farmlands of the Valley present a sharp contrast to the sparsely populated woodlands between Bangor and southern Aroostook County.

The population of the Maine side of the Valley is not large; it totals approximately 27,000 (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1991). The three international ports of entry—Fort Kent (pop. 4,268), Madawaska (pop. 4,803), and Van Buren (pop. 3,045)—are the largest U.S. towns in the Valley. Frenchville (pop. 1,338) is a hub for the Valley's farmlands. The other villages in the region are considerably smaller, though some, especially toward the eastern end of the Valley, such as Grand Isle, Lille, and Keegan, were once larger during the heyday of the St. John River log drives.

Within this cultural area, the largest concentration of people of Acadian descent is in Edmundston, Madawaska County, New Brunswick (pop. 12,044), across the St. John River from Madawaska, Maine, and in Grand Falls/Grand-Sault (pop. 6,203), located in Victoria County, New Brunswick, across the border from Hamlin, Maine. Many people of Acadian descent also reside southeast of the study area in the



**Regional Context: Upper Saint John Valley**

Aroostook River Valley towns of Caribou, Maine (pop. 9,415), 20 miles south of Van Buren, and Presque Isle, Maine (pop. 10,550), 12 miles south of Caribou. Most Acadian residents of these towns have roots in the Upper St. John Valley. However, these towns are not "in the Valley," and the Acadians who reside there are not in the majority.

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## ACADIAN SETTLEMENT IN THE UPPER ST. JOHN VALLEY

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During the 1780s, Acadians moving northwest along the St. John River settled in the upper river valley now shared by the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick. In Maine their numbers grew as the settlers' descendants developed the hinterlands south of the river valley, and as Acadians from other areas moved to the region. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries several other Acadian populations were established in Maine. Acadians—along with other Francophones (French-speakers)—moved to mill towns such as Biddeford, Lewiston-Auburn, and Rumford-Mexico from Québec, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and the Upper St. John Valley.

Because of its relevance to Acadians in Maine, it is useful to look more closely at the eighteenth-century migration from downstream on the St. John River. According to Wade (1972:19), within seven or eight years of the arrival of the Loyalists, Acadians moved out of the lower valley mainly to acquire more land and to secure the services of a priest. Other historians, including Roy (1982:164), emphasize that the Acadians departed because they were dislodged to make room for the Loyalists. In any case, Acadians on the river near Keswick (a few miles north of Fredericton) generally moved to the north shore of New Brunswick or to "Madawaska territory," an inland region encompassing the Upper St. John River Valley in the northwestern part of New Brunswick (Wade 1972:19).

Within the Madawaska territory, Saint-Basile received its first settlers in 1786 (Roy 1982:164), and it became the region's founding parish. Other settlements developed along the Upper St. John Valley first to the east, and then west of Saint-Basile. The establishment of settlements on both sides of the Valley is a subject that still requires rigorous scholarly investigation. Indeed, the best known history of the area was written in 1920 by a local priest, Father Thomas Albert (Albert 1920; English translation, Albert 1985). In his book *Histoire du Madawaska*, Albert claims that the first Acadian landing on the southern shore of the Valley occurred in 1785 at what is now St. David parish, in the present-day town of Madawaska, Maine (Albert 1985:42). Although contemporary historians and other scholars have not unanimously accepted this interpretation, it is the one generally accepted by members of the region's U.S. communities. St. David may well have been part of the original parish of Saint-Basile, thus causing some of the confusion.

Canadians from Québec joined the Acadians in the Upper St. John Valley, and by 1831 there were over 2,000 settlers in villages along a 45-mile stretch of the Valley, from Fort Kent to Van Buren (Allen 1981:87). During the first fifty years of settlement, a thriving, Catholic, French-speaking, and self-reliant farming community with many Acadian cultural features developed in the St. John River Valley.

Settlement spread up and down the St. John River from the initial hearth, eventually occupying 80 miles or so along both banks (roughly from Grand Falls/Grand-Sault to St. Francis). The banks of larger tributaries, like the Madawaska, the Green, the Grand, and the Fish, were settled early, especially near their confluences with the St.

John. Smaller brooks flowing into the St. John also attracted early settlement. The "flats," or floodplains, along the banks of the river were soon developed into productive farms, and clearing for new farmlands pushed progressively farther from the riverbanks.

After the establishment of the international boundary in 1842, more people moved into the Valley and the area of settlement was extended. Allen (1981:87) summarizes this expansion as follows:

Some people moved up the Fish River along a newly created road to the south. Also, by the 1850s logging trails penetrated the broad hill country east of Frenchville, and after 1860 this area received its first farm families. Ultimately, these back settlements would be spread over the land some ten miles south of the river. By 1892 the settlement encompassed Hamlin on the east and St. Francis on the west, but the general direction of the expansion was to the south. Wallagrass, Eagle Lake, and Winterville were then well populated. The major southward thrust was along the main road from Van Buren to Caribou, with a focus around the parish at North Caribou, established in 1881. A secondary movement of French pushed south from Hamlin near Limestone.

Expansion to the southeast brought people of French descent in contact with English-speaking settlers in eastern Aroostook County, and with Swedes who founded the town of New Sweden (1871) and later the town of Stockholm. On the western extremity of French settlement in the Valley, near the mouth of the St. Francis River, the French came in contact with English-speaking loggers who migrated there from New Brunswick (Allen 1981:87).

When the Valley's French villages were created, a line-settlement pattern was established which remains intact today. Virtually all public and private buildings, including houses, churches, and mills, were dispersed in a linear fashion along the courses of waterways. French settlers in Louisiana (Edwards 1987, Vol. I), along the St. Lawrence River in Canada (Harris 1966), and in present-day Missouri (Schroeder 1983) arranged their communities in similar patterns. The line-settlement form apparently was also common in New England during the period of initial settlement but was abandoned during the Federal Period (Wood 1988:159-169).

Along the Upper St. John Valley, initial land ownership was granted by the British Crown. The grants were partitioned according to a modified arpent system, long lots extending from and perpendicular to the river. After settlement of lots in the *premier rang*, the first row of lots touching the river, the *deuxième rang* (second row) lots were developed. On the north side of the river, settlement continued to at least six tiers in some places. Because of the curves in the river, these *rangs* became oddly juxtaposed, producing an irregular cadastral pattern.

On the south side of the river, settlement expanded in this manner in some places until a *quatrième rang* (fourth row) was established. After the United States secured ownership in the 1840s, land ceased to be granted in the modified arpent system. Subsequent landholdings, granted usually to descendants of the original settlers or occasionally to new settlers arriving in the Valley, consisted of irregular rectilinear land grants. These grants became known as *les concessions*, and the newer neighborhoods associated with them became known as "back settlements." Though the landholding parcels in the back settle-



DAVID A. WHITMAN

*Aerial view of the Upper St. John Valley. The pattern of fields is suggestive of the original "long lot" land grants.*

ments are shaped differently from the initial tiers, neighborhoods continued to develop in the dispersed linear form. Their orientation may be toward the shore of one of several large lakes or toward a road. Like the initial *rang* communities, the small back settlements consist almost entirely of multi-generational, extended-family groupings.

During the late nineteenth and twentieth century, Acadians migrated from their settlement core in the Upper St. John Valley to other communities in New England. Considerable outmigration of Acadian workers and their families first occurred in response to a shortage of mill workers in New England as a result of the Civil War. During the twentieth century, mechanization increased the yield of farmland but reduced the number of laborers required. Facing a decline in employment opportunities in their home territory, many residents of the Valley headed south in search of jobs created by the industrial growth of southern New England. The connections between the Valley and southern New England continue today.

Fieldwork during the Maine Acadian cultural survey included a number of interviews which shed light on the relationship between the Valley and other New England communities. Bristol, Connecticut, for example, was often mentioned as a destination for Valley workers. On July 5, 1991, Edgar Lavertu, a computer programmer from Bristol who returned to the Valley for the Lavertu family reunion, shared some of his experiences as an emigrant from the Valley. He explained that people who migrated to Bristol formed neighborhood "colonies," often consisting of extended families. The initial colonies were located in urban settings, and the migrant families maintained their distinct Valley French culture to a surprising degree. However, as individual families gained the means to move to the suburbs, colonies became more dispersed and traditions were harder to maintain. It is likely that this pattern has affected most satellite Acadian communities today.

In addition to the satellite communities in southern New En-

gland, there are Acadian communities in Maine from Limestone in the north to Portland in the south. The Rumford-Mexico and Lewiston-Auburn areas have drawn many workers from the Valley; in the case of the Rumford-Mexico area a large segment of the population migrated from Prince Edward Island. In addition, researchers learned of a sizable group of Cyrs and Michauds living in Missoula, Montana, and met Acadians with Valley roots who live as far away as California and England.

Many individuals who migrated from the Valley in search of employment maintain the connection. Some return to the Valley for brief visits. Others return when they encounter difficulty adjusting to urban and suburban life in southern New England and elsewhere. Still others have worked in distant places for decades and return to the Valley for their retirement.

Each summer large family reunions occur in the Valley as Acadians from throughout New England and beyond return home. Weddings and anniversaries are scheduled to coincide with summer vacations. While the annual Acadian Festival Family Reunion, co-sponsored by the Madawaska Historical Society and the Town of Madawaska, is very successful and garners considerable local publicity, it is only one element in a larger system of summer family reunions throughout the Valley. During the first week of July 1991, automobiles with Connecticut and Massachusetts license plates threatened to displace those with Maine plates. Despite considerable outmigration, the Upper St. John Valley continues to be the cultural hearth and home to many Acadians.

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## THE FRENCH LANGUAGE IN THE UPPER ST. JOHN VALLEY

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### French Language Prominence

French is the majority language in the Acadian communities of the Upper St. John Valley. Over 80 percent of the population on the New Brunswick side of the river, from Grand Falls/Grand-Sault west to Connors, have French as a mother tongue (Rooney et al. 1982:162). Along the Maine side of the Valley, from Fort Kent east to Van Buren, over 86 percent of the population had French as a mother tongue in 1974 (Allen). Percentages pertaining to the linguistic heritage of the Valley remained relatively constant between the 1970 and 1980 U.S. Censuses. An independent survey by Maine School Administrative District No. 33, which serves the Upper Frenchville-St. Agatha region, collected data relative to the actual use of French in that area, and it was the language most often used in the homes of 69 percent of school-age children. The survey (1991) confirmed that bilingualism was an integral part of the community (97 percent).

Information provided by the State of Maine, Department of Education, reveals that 40 percent of school children in the Upper St. John Valley speak both French and English. Slightly more than half of the students in the Van Buren (54 percent), Madawaska (52 percent), and Upper Frenchville-St. Agatha (55 percent) area school districts are native bilingual, while Maine School Administrative District No. 33 (Upper Frenchville-St. Agatha) reports the highest number of limited English proficiency students (26 percent). Nevertheless, French as a native language among school children has declined throughout the Upper St. John Valley. During the five-year period from 1987 to 1991 use of French as a native language among school children dropped by 18 percent (Bérubé 1991).

As one travels west from Fort Kent up the St. John River, the proportion of the population with French as their mother tongue declines (Rooney et al. 1982:163). The western boundary of the Upper St. John River French speech community appears to be near the eastern border of Allagash Plantation. Traveling east from Van Buren along the St. John River and then south along the New Brunswick border, the percentage of the population with French language heritage also diminishes. The change from French to English is gradual. However, south from Van Buren along U.S. Route 1, the decline is more abrupt due to the presence of the Swedish settlements of Stockholm and New Sweden. The community of Caribou, a little farther south, has a larger number of residents with French language heritage than the Valley town of Frenchville, but these residents make up less than 25 percent of the population. Similarly, residents of nearby Presque Isle who possess French language heritage constitute a minority of the city's population.

Impressions garnered during the Maine Acadian cultural survey confirm the high concentration of French in the Valley. French apparently dominates all speech events of all age groups on the Canadian side of the border. On both sides of the Valley, French is the language of choice in many settings: church gatherings, restaurants, grocery stores, family gatherings, laundromats, and workplaces. On the Maine side, Catholic masses are regularly delivered in French at St. Luce Church in

Frenchville and at St. David Catholic Church in Madawaska. Public addresses, presentations, and introductions, such as those given at the Acadian Festival in Madawaska and the Festival de la Grande Rivière in Van Buren, are often conducted in French.

On the Maine side of the border, French usage seems to be less common among those under thirty years old. A number of younger people are passive bilinguals—that is, they comprehend French but are reluctant to speak it or are incapable of conversing in French. However, some teenagers and children speak and conduct business in French. Because of the reduced buying power of Canadian money, French-speakers from New Brunswick and Québec are currently crossing the international border into Maine to make purchases. Maine citizens of all ages working in retail establishments are at a great advantage if they are able to transact business in French.

Many individuals on both sides of the border are much more comfortable speaking French than English. It seems likely that unilingual French-speakers could live entire lives in the Valley without serious difficulties. There are also unilingual English-speakers in the Valley. Some are recent immigrants working in the lumber and paper mills, and their children; others belong to English-speaking families who moved to the area generations ago but have successfully insulated themselves from the predominant French speech community. Unilingual English-speakers, whether they admit it or not, are clearly at a disadvantage in daily speech events that occur in the Valley.

Some participation in bilingual communication is a virtual requirement of everyday life in the Upper St. John Valley. Language use is complex and features bilingual code switching. French and English typically flow together in the same conversations, often in the same sentences, during natural communication among neighbors. And, as noted by Dubay (1978), native French lexical and syntactic features often influence English speech patterns. As a result, a high integration of French and English occurs within many conversations. Some switching from French to English is apparently triggered by a stigma that some Acadians feel with regard to the status of their language. The reverse can also occur when bilingual French-speakers switch from English to French to assure that their conversations are not monitored by unilingual English-speakers within earshot. This occasional "secret" character of Upper St. John Valley French has functional parallels in French Louisiana.

### **Some Features of Upper St. John Valley French**

Marie Gauvin (1969) notes differences between the dialects of her father, a native of the St. John River Valley, and her mother, who was from Québec. Since some Valley residents are of Acadian origin, and some Québécois, some variation in linguistic usage is predictable. Yet Gauvin's analysis of Acadian French usage in "Le Madawaska" assumes, probably correctly, that "Valley French" is a homogeneous analytical unit.

It is an interesting question whether the French of the Valley has, over its long history of development, preserved or selected Acadian dialect features. Gauvin (1969) and Albert (1969) noted numerous figurative usages of maritime and nautical terms in the French language of the Valley. These usages, many of which are characteristic of Maritime Acadian and Louisiana Cajun French, derive from the common maritime heritage of Acadians and have generally spread throughout the entire

Valley French community, much as they did throughout large parts of Louisiana among speakers of diverse origins.

For example, *amarrer*, which signifies the action of mooring a ship with a cable (see, for instance, Gruss, *Dictionnaire Gruss de Marine*), is used in the Upper St. John Valley, and in Louisiana, as the general verb "to tie." *Gréer*, which means to rig a ship, can figuratively indicate the "dressing" or "rigging" of a woman's attire or a youngster's bicycle. *Larguer*, to loosen the lines of a ship from its mooring, is used in the Valley to indicate "letting go" of any object (as in the verb *lâcher*). In Louisiana, this figure of speech is further abstracted to refer to the condition of a person who is at the end of the line, or completely out of strength. Many common figures of speech derive from the nautical term *bord*, literally the side of a ship: *virer de bord*—to turn back or retrace one's steps; *changer de bord*—to change places from one side to the other; and, perhaps the most common, *l'autre bord*—the other side (of the St. John River, for instance).

This application of nautical terminology to an inland reality also occurs in Valley English. For instance, in describing the parts of his potato house, Herman Deprey of New Canada used the term "bulkheads" to refer to walls separating potato storage compartments. (A bulkhead is an upright partition separating parts of a ship.) Clarence Plourde of La Côte de Pinette, mentioning that he and his wife traveled to Connecticut during the 1950s, said "We landed in Bristol." Thus English as well as French speech patterns may also reinforce the maritime heritage of Upper St. John Valley residents.

It has been noted (Gauvin 1969, Albert 1969) that there are many ancient expressions in Upper St. John Valley Acadian French. The use of some of these expressions may have continued because they are linked with elements of material culture that have also demonstrated exceptional continuity. For instance, the word *quart* is the local Acadian word for "potato barrel." This word apparently derives from *quartaut*, or *quart de muid*, both archaic words for *petit tonneau*, or "small barrel" (Robert 1988). The *quart*, still used in northern Aroostook County during the potato harvest, is one of the last of its sort in continuous use in North America.

Another word that may be linked with an element of material culture is *échelle*—"stairway" in Valley Acadian vernacular. The standard French word for "stairway" is *escalier*, while the more standard translation for *échelle* is "ladder." "Gangway" and "ship's ladder" are alternate translations of *échelle*. It has been suggested (Gauvin 1969) that the Acadian *échelle* derives from this maritime usage; inspection of a number of nineteenth-century Acadian houses in the Valley leads one to believe that *échelle* best describes the set of steep steps used to climb into the attics of Acadian houses. These steps are more like a ship's ladder than a stairway. Interestingly, the word *échelier* (another form of *échelle*) is used in Louisiana to designate precisely the same sort of steep stairway leading to the attics of Acadian houses. The houses of wealthy Creole planters were more likely to have an *escalier*; most Louisiana Acadians had to make do with an *échelle*.

Certain typically Acadian phonological processes have apparently spread through the Valley. Certain vowels vary from the standard French, as in the word *tellement*, where *-ment* is pronounced [mãẽ] instead of the more standard [mõ], and *oui* becomes [wɛ], and so forth. The standard French "v" becomes [w] as in *voir* [war]. The "j," as in

*jamais* or *jaune*, often becomes [ɣ]. In the pronunciation of *acadien* there is a tendency to create the [ɣ] sound in the middle of the word, as in [kaʔẽ]. This pronunciation is used by Louisiana "Cajuns." But in the Upper St. John Valley, *acadien* is further transformed to become [kaʔẽ], and is sometimes spelled *cayen*.

As in Louisiana and the Maritimes (Boudreau 1988), alteration of initial consonants occurs in certain phonological environments. For instance, the words *dieu* and *diable* become [dʒœ] and [dʒab]; *queue* and *cuisse* become [tʃœ] and [tʃüis]. Fieldworkers also noted that [tʃe] and [ke] are alternate pronunciations of the word *quai* (a wharf). A man describing a *soliveau* (joist) of an old house called it a [tʃolivo].

There seems to be a tendency in Upper St. John Valley Acadian French to place a consonantal sound, often [g], at the end of words that end with high or extended vowel sounds. For instance, the French word *cheville* (wooden peg or trunnel) is pronounced [dʒwig]. A similar process may have resulted in the alternate pronunciations of the famous Upper St. John Valley Acadian buckwheat pancakes, *ployes* [plɔ:i] and *plouges* [plɔg].

### Language Stigma: Risk to a Valuable Cultural Resource

While Upper St. John Valley Acadian French has many similarities with Maritime Acadian and Louisiana Cajun French, it is also distinct in some ways from all other New and Old World French forms. It is distinctive, for instance, from the French spoken in Québec. These differences have been made painfully evident to the Acadians of the Upper St. John Valley. The status of Acadian speech has been systematically denigrated through the years by English-speakers, French-speakers from Québec, and sometimes native Acadian French-speakers as well.

When a language becomes the target of criticism and ridicule, a stigma with regard to that language is likely to develop among its native speakers. Embarrassment and low self-esteem are associated with language stigma, and the irretrievable loss of a valuable cultural resource could result. Upper St. John Valley Acadian French is stigmatized to a large degree (Gauvin 1969:1).

Geneviève Massignon (1962, Vol. II:731) argued that the Canadian Acadians' nickname *les Brayons* derived from the fact that Québécois considered Acadian speech a corrupted French. *Braie* is the French word for a flax brake, an instrument used to break flax. Massignon says, "*Ils appellent les gens du Madawaska les bréyons parce qu'ils leur est reproché de 'bréyer' (écorcher) le français.*" (They called the people of Madawaska Bréyons [Brayons] so as to ridicule them for breaking up the French language.)

Uncomfortable and stressful situations experienced in school are common sources of language stigma. By the turn of the twentieth century, the normal school in Fort Kent, called the Madawaska Training School, advertised that its purpose was to "educate French teachers in the English language . . . by constant drill . . . [so] that they may teach it intelligently in the schools of the Madawaska territory" (Pullen 1902:48). Throughout the twentieth century, tremendous pressures have been applied to the task of "saving" Acadian French-speakers from their native language. The process nearly always results in lowering the status of Acadian vernacular speech.

Punishment has often been a tool used by teachers to replace native French with English. As a youngster in school, Guy Dubay

(1978:13) claims that he was made to stay after school and write hundreds of lines of "I will not speak French at school." He asserts that his teachers, some of whom were French-speaking Catholic sisters from Québec, not only required students to speak English, but were also inclined to criticize, ridicule, and insult local French speech patterns. Dubay (1978:13), describing one of these French Canadian sisters who slapped his young fingers with a wooden ruler in order to cure his ignorance, claims that "this teacher caused more harm to my young formative character than any enemy of the French could ever have."

One Fort Kent woman in her early thirties refuses to teach her children her own native language. She said that because she was embarrassed about her speech in school, she wants to make certain her children do not develop a French accent. A number of informants claim that speaking French is still forbidden, or at least strongly discouraged, in some Valley schools. Most schools in the Valley continue to treat native Acadian French like a foreign language. There are state-provided tests which help to identify incoming students who are deficient in English. There are no tests available to identify students who are proficient or deficient in French.



JOHN COLLIER, JR.

*Notre Dame du Mont Carmel  
Roman Catholic School in  
Lille, Maine, August 1942.*

Maine School Administrative District No. 33's bilingual education program is a model program designed to help bilingual students in both French and English. This program has made significant progress in introducing materials pertinent to the heritage and culture of the students.

The international boundary that separates the Upper St. John Valley has created significant cultural divergence in the two populations. Perhaps the greatest long-term divergence stems from the school systems in Maine and New Brunswick. Students on opposite banks of the Valley are schooled in different political, social, and civic viewpoints and historical interpretations. They are also schooled in different languages. French education, once provided by one or another of the Catholic religious orders, dissolved in Maine with the institution of mandatory public education.

In New Brunswick, parents may presently choose to send their children to totally French or totally English schools. Most Acadians of New Brunswick are now educated exclusively in French, while most Maine Acadians are educated exclusively in English. Thus, there is a real possibility, if recent trends continue, that younger Acadians on opposite sides of the river could become functionally unilingual in different languages. While most Maine Acadians would likely agree with Maine's Speaker of the House of Representatives John Martin (1985) that the English language need not be perceived as "a menace to the souls of Acadians," the fact remains that the development of unilingual English competence among Maine Acadians will spell death to Acadian oral traditions in Maine and will undermine the cultural coherence of the region generally.

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## CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF MAINE ACADIAN CULTURE

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### Impressions of Upper St. John River Valley

1991 Acadian Day,  
Madawaska, Maine.



DAVID A. WHITMAN

From the perspective of a visitor, the Upper St. John Valley does not seem to be part of “mainstream America.” The French language is in everyday use. Local foods are conspicuous in both homes and restaurants. Catholic churches and religious shrines punctuate the line-settlement villages of the region. Local farmsteads include distinctive houses, barns, and outbuildings. Well-kept residential landscapes are decorated with religious statues, flowers, and an array of yard ornamentation. Color selections for many painted surfaces reflect an appreciation for contrast and brightness. Litter is not a problem, nor is crime—residents generally refuse to lock houses and cars. Many features of modern American consumer culture are rare or absent from the Maine side of the Upper St. John Valley. The one McDonald’s hamburger stand is located in Madawaska (one in Van Buren closed for lack of business). Until recently there were no restaurants that served only pizza, and none serve only fried chicken. The downtowns of Fort Kent, Madawaska, and Van Buren remain vital centers for shopping.

Such impressions help to describe the cultural distinctiveness of the Valley. In the course of its fieldwork, the Maine Acadian cultural survey was able to amplify these observations by the use of standard ethnographic techniques. What follows is a summary of salient cultural features that emerged from two months in the field. Extended research will be necessary in the future to fill in gaps in the present survey, to cover the entire seasonal round of the year, to assess variation over time, and to explore in greater depth the cultural significance of features identified below.

### Farming

Farming has been the principal occupation of the Upper St. John Valley since its early settlement. The clearing and cultivation of the flats along the river was the primary focus during the first decades of settlement. By the 1820s, the *premier rangs* of Acadian farmers were well established and prepared to supply the developing needs of the timber industry.

The Acadian family was instrumental in developing the Valley farmland and ensuring continued production. The needed workforce was provided primarily by the immediate family, though a tightknit extended-family network could be called upon during times of need. Immediate families (father, mother, and offspring) tended to be large throughout the nineteenth century and most of the twentieth. Upon marriage, the oldest son would often bring his bride into his father’s house, and a new generation of Acadian children would begin as parents became grandparents and children became aunts and uncles.

Oldest sons often retained the house and farm upon the retirement of their fathers. There was a tendency to maintain the integrity of well-developed farms instead of dividing them among offspring. As subsequent sons reached marriageable age, additional land was cleared for farming. These new farms, developed on the higher slopes and rolling plains that stretched back from the river, came to be known as *les concessions*. The pioneer experience of clearing and developing new

land continued into the twentieth century. A degree of socioeconomic stratification resulted as some Acadian farmers reaped the profits of well-developed farms while others were preparing new ground to plow. Local farm produce during the nineteenth century supplied most of the needs of the Valley population—vegetables, potatoes, buckwheat, oats, hay, sheep, hogs, and dairy products.

The typical barn of this period, the “Acadian barn” or *grange acadienne*, is similar to “English” barns found elsewhere in North America. This three-bay, side-opening, gable-roof barn has a central passageway through the middle called a *batterie*. The central passage with large opposed doors is named for its former function as a threshing and winnowing area. It also allows the transfer of hay from wagons to the upper-level hay mows on either side of the *batterie*. Grain storage is provided by one or more ground-level chambers. One portion of the ground level is typically divided into stalls for a few head of stock—the draft animals, a milk cow or two, or a sow and her litter. The barn is generally sided with vertical planks (*planches debouts*), though the sections where farm animals are stabled during the cold seasons are covered with an additional sheathing of shingles. The barns of Acadian farmers who owned more stock have shed additions which often contain stalls for milk cows or other animals. Several *granges acadiennes* were razed during the summer of 1991.



JOHN COLLIER

*Track-side potato warehouses at Bangor & Aroostook Railroad yards in Fort Kent, Maine, August 1942.*

The arrival of the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad at the turn of the twentieth century greatly altered farming. Improved transportation opened national markets, and the expansion of the market encouraged farmers to put more land into potato production. In the pre-mechanized days of the early twentieth century, the need for more tilled acreage was met with an increase in draft horses. The added feed requirements of these animals encouraged the construction of huge hay and grain barns. Some surviving examples of these two- and three-level barns have gabled structures (*pignons simples*) like the earlier *granges acadiennes*, while others feature a gambrel (*comble-cassé*) roof.

The early twentieth-century expansion of potato farming also contributed to the development of an intriguing feature of Upper St. John Valley material culture—the twin barn (Konrad 1982), a pair of rectangular Acadian barns placed one next to the other with their ridges parallel and a roof that encloses the intervening space. A beautiful



HOWARD W. MARSHALL

*Twin barn at  
St. Agatha, Maine,  
owned by Danny Labrie.*

example of this form existed in the Hamlin area before it burned to the ground during the summer of 1991. Like the *granges acadiennes*, these twin barns have become rare.

The transformations wrought by the railroad are also visible today in the variety of potato houses adorning farmscapes and rail sidings. Before the boom in potato farming, potatoes were typically stored in the basements of houses. This practice continued among small farmers into the 1940s (Doty 1991). But farmers who could speculate in potato futures began to build large storage houses soon after the railroad arrived. Beginning early in the twentieth century, potato houses were built on larger Acadian farms, and those farmers who could afford them acquired potato houses at sidings along the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad.

Potato houses on farmsteads often are built partly into a hillside in order to insulate the potatoes from freezing and temperature changes. Prime storage conditions must be maintained from harvest in September until shipment the following spring or when market conditions are favorable.

Today the transportation of potatoes is done by truck instead of train. As a result, many railroad potato houses have been abandoned, and no new ones are being built. The traditional potato houses of the farms are being replaced by large Quonset-type buildings used for both potato and equipment storage. Large eighteen-wheel tractor-trailer combinations have become part of the typical farmscape in the Valley, and the trucking of produce is presently one of the most common farm-related occupations.

Farming in the Upper St. John Valley has traditionally been labor-intensive, though mechanization has altered older patterns. The hand-harvest of potatoes, which involves the temporary employment of school-age children who pick potatoes by hand, continues at only a few farms. Following tradition, Valley schools continue to recess for a two-week period during the September potato harvest, though there are claims that a relatively small number of children participate in the harvest. Those who do are paid according to the number of barrels of potatoes they pick. This piece-work involves the hand-loading of split-ash baskets which are emptied into the 15-peck (165-pound) cedar potato barrels called *quarts*. The barrels continue to be built on a part-time basis by potato farmer and cooper Adrien Morin and his sons, who live at

family, *ployes* apparently diminished somewhat in popularity as a new generation of consumers was enticed by nationally advertised products. Today, *ployes* are on the rebound. They can be ordered for lunch at area restaurants. Bouchard's Acadian Ploye Mix, manufactured by Alban and Rita Bouchard of Fort Kent, is being marketed throughout the Valley, all over Maine, and beyond. And, as the popularity of buckwheat flour increases, so does the need for buckwheat mills. Buckwheat flour is presently ground at small mills in New Brunswick. The Bouchard family and others look forward to the day when buckwheat milling facilities are again available in Maine.

Soon after his arrival in 1817, Nathan Baker was operating a hydraulic sawmill on Baker Brook (Albert 1982:220). Since that time, the business of lumber milling has been important in the Valley. The railroad was extended to serve the St. Francis mill. Industrial lumber mills were established in Fort Kent, Madawaska, Edmundston, Keegan, and elsewhere during the nineteenth century. The impact of the demise of the Keegan mill is apparent today in the abandoned older town properties and churches in communities where large numbers of millworkers once lived, namely Lille, Grand Isle, Keegan, and Van Buren. Three lumber mills operated in Eagle Lake until the recent economic recession.

The largest single employer in the Valley today is Fraser Paper Ltd., located both in Madawaska, Maine, and across the river in Edmundston, New Brunswick. It presently employs approximately 1,800 workers. Fraser Ltd. has exercised a great influence on the local economy since it purchased the James Murchie & Sons Mill in 1916 and opened business the next year (Lang 1987:11). The Murchie Mill, which began operations in 1888, was one of several large sawmills operating on the Upper St. John River during the nineteenth-century industrialization of the area.

## Self-Employment and Independence

Self-employment and family-operated businesses are characteristic features of the Valley's economy. Many farming and forest-related occupations are owner-operated or self-contracted. The contract lumbering of pulpwood, firewood, and saw logs, and the contract hauling of forestry and farm products are popular wage-earning strategies for independent-minded Valley residents. Small, individually owned and operated sawmills continue to be part of the Valley economy. The Tardiff Mill in Fort Kent Mills, for example, produces custom sawn and rough-cut lumber from logs brought in by local farmers and woodlot owners. The smaller mills provide some local employment and encourage farmers and independent contractors to embark upon projects that would otherwise be too costly. The do-it-yourself approach encouraged by the smaller sawmills exemplifies the independent, self-sufficient ethic prevalent in the Valley.

Large and small-scale family gardening of table potatoes, *échalotes* (shallots), and other vegetables is common. Trade occupations like carpentry, woodworking, specialized and custom sawing, roofing, small machine mechanics, plumbing, electrical contracting, tin work, and general contracting are generally practiced by home-based, self-employed craftsmen. Small family grocers and family-operated restaurants are the rule. The many cottage industries include knitting, sewing, weaving, basketmaking, axe-handle carving, hair-cutting and styling, candy-making, catering, cake-decorating, maple syrup-making, and bric-

*Businesses operated out of homes, such as Plourde's Grocery on Route 11 south of Fort Kent, illustrate a common economic strategy employed by independent-minded Valley residents.*



HOWARD W. MARSHALL

## Religion and Identity

*Notre Dame du Mont-Carmel, Lille, Maine.*



HOWARD W. MARSHALL

Public and private images and expressions of religion abound among the Acadians. The strength of Catholicism is clearly demonstrated throughout the Valley by the many beautiful churches and associated buildings, statuary, wayside crosses, and shrines. Devotion to the Virgin is everywhere visible. Some elaborate, privately owned shrines are brilliantly lighted each night. The Acadian flag, with its prominent star—a symbol of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin or the North Star guiding Acadian mariners, depending on the informant—located on the French *tricolor*, is prominently displayed throughout the Valley. It reaffirms Catholicism and links it with Acadian identity.

Private expressions of folk Catholicism are also prevalent. The blessing and distribution of holy water has long been an important function of local parish priests. But the actual use of this holy water is often established by tradition and custom. Because many believe in its power to protect the home, holy water is kept and often prominently displayed in Acadian homes. Don Cyr of Lille shared an insight concerning the importance of holy water to his family. According to Cyr, his grandfather, Fred Albert from Saint-Hilaire, New Brunswick, would say that “when there was a bad storm and thunder, it would be raining harder inside than outside.” The elder Albert was referring to the quantities of holy water sprinkled throughout the house to protect it from the ravages of a storm. Cyr and others also told survey researchers about *Eau de Pâques* (Easter Water). At the first ray of light on Easter Sunday, Acadians collect water from a spring and bring it to a priest to be blessed. *Eau de Pâques* is considered a powerful holy water that will never go stale.

Another religious object prominently displayed in houses and barns throughout the Valley is blessed palm (*les rameaux*). The palm is distributed annually during Catholic ceremonies on Palm Sunday. Sometimes it is braided into a decorative pyramidal form. Blessed palm is believed to protect a building from fire caused by lightning. It is used in a similar manner by Cajuns of Louisiana and French Creoles of Missouri.

*Interior of Notre  
Dame du Mont-Carmel.  
This former church is  
listed on the National  
Register of Historic Places.*



HOWARD W. MARSHALL

A form of folk healing practiced among the Acadians of the Valley involves the use of special prayers to heal specific sicknesses or stop bleeding. The secret prayers are passed from older person to younger, from one generation to the next, and across genders. In other words, older males pass it to younger females, or older females pass it to younger males. This form of healing is also prevalent among the Cajuns of Louisiana.

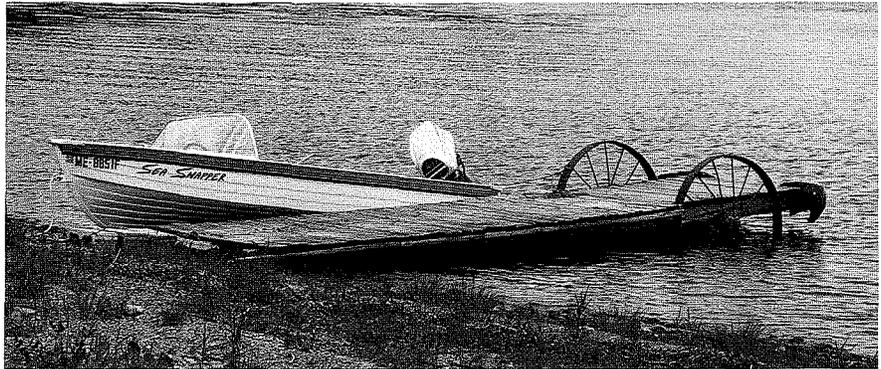
## **Water-Related Traditions**

It is not surprising, given the nautical heritage of the Acadians, that water-related expressive cultural features abound in the Upper St. John Valley. The maritime legacy certainly lives on in the Acadian French language, and a few maritime features are related to Acadian building traditions. The molding that decorates the interior of the Daigle-St. Jean House in Clair, New Brunswick, as well as the interior columns of Ste. Luce Church in Frenchville, Maine, is carved to resemble ship's line (rope). A retired Acadian carpenter from Van Buren builds wooden birdhouses that resemble lighthouses. While these cultural features reflect maritime influences, the fact remains that Valley Acadians have lived away from the sea for at least two centuries. Accordingly, the local focus is primarily on the field and farm, and perhaps the woods.

However, the canoe, a legacy from the local Native Americans, remains popular in the area. During the summer of 1991, Jerry White of Frenchville built a strip canoe with the help of experienced canoe builder Mark Jalbert. Strip canoes are built of narrow cedar strips nailed and glued together over a mold which provides the classic shape of the canoe. The strip hull is then covered with fiberglass and painted. Mark had previously built canoes using the older planking method, and he knows how to fit a curved plank into an odd place in the bilge of a canoe. But he prefers working with strips, arguing that planking requires more work than the strip method and does not produce sturdier or better-performing canoes.

Although there are classic wooden flat-sterned and double-ended plank canoes in the Valley, generally built by the Old Town or White canoe companies in Maine earlier in this century, the most common canoe is a fiberglass-hull, factory-built model, usually outfitted with a trolling motor. Other common local boats include aluminum lake skiffs and fiberglass ski boats. All are used for recreational boating and fishing.

*Wheeled dock,  
locally called a quai,  
at Eagle Lake, Maine.  
The wheels enable the  
dock to be removed  
from the water before  
the winter freeze.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

A distinctive local artifact, the rolling wharf or *quai*, is found along the shores of local lakes. The *quai* is often 20 feet long or longer and approximately 40 inches wide. Its structure generally consists of two long, round cedar runners averaging 6 inches in diameter with planking nailed across them to form a wharf. On one end of the rolling wharf is an axle that most often sports two steel wheels from old farm equipment. On the other end, a short length of line is generally nailed to the deck to facilitate moving the *quai*. The rolling *quai* is well suited to local conditions. The solid icecap that forms on the lakes each winter would smash any permanent wharf, but the mobility of the *quai* allows it to be pulled out of harm's way.

Recreational fishing is popular in the region. Lake trout and landlocked salmon are the favored catches. A great assortment of trout flies are tied by local fishermen like Pat Roy of Eagle Lake. Some of the most popular forms include the "black fly" and the "mosquito," both of which closely resemble their all-too-common natural counterparts.

During the winter, smelt houses are pulled out onto the ice and holes are sawn or drilled in the ice for fishing. The houses are lightly built boxes approximately 5 feet wide by 3 feet deep by 6 feet tall. Some smelt houses are nicely appointed with heaters, grills, and iceboxes. Local fishermen say that the activity of smelt fishing has as much to do with getting away from the house and socializing with friends as with catching fish.

## Foodways

“Foodways” are the patterns of food procurement, preservation, and preparation examined by scholars for cultural meaning. The foodways of the Upper St. John River Valley reflect both a distinctively Acadian tradition and a more general regional tradition. Both traditions are apparent in the food served in restaurants and in private homes. Indeed, with so few ethnic, specialty, and fast-food chain restaurants in the Valley, the difference between the foods eaten at home and eaten at restaurants is not great.

“Family-style” restaurants are common and offer full menus at both lunch and dinner. Lunch specials often include soup, a generous main dish, and a dessert. One regional lunch favorite is *pâté chinois* (shepherd’s pie), a casserole of mashed potatoes, ground meat, and corn. A wide variety of sandwiches is also offered, including the “hot hamburger” common in Canada, a hamburger steak on sliced white bread covered with a thick brown gravy. Dinner selections include a variety of chicken, beef, pork, and seafood dishes. In addition to their “American” menus, several restaurants also offer pizza, spaghetti, lasagna, and other Italian foods.

The few fast-service food stands in the Valley also tends to offer extensive menus with a regional flair. For example, the Tastee Freeze in Van Buren offers several types of hamburgers, chicken burgers, pizza burgers, BLTs, hot dogs, chicken and tuna sandwiches, clam and lobster rolls, the “hot hamburger” plate, fried chicken, fried clams, shrimp, and scallops. The Madawaska Tastee-Freez offers a similarly wide variety of items, but also serves spaghetti. Both places serve *poutines*—French fries served with melted cheese and gravy.

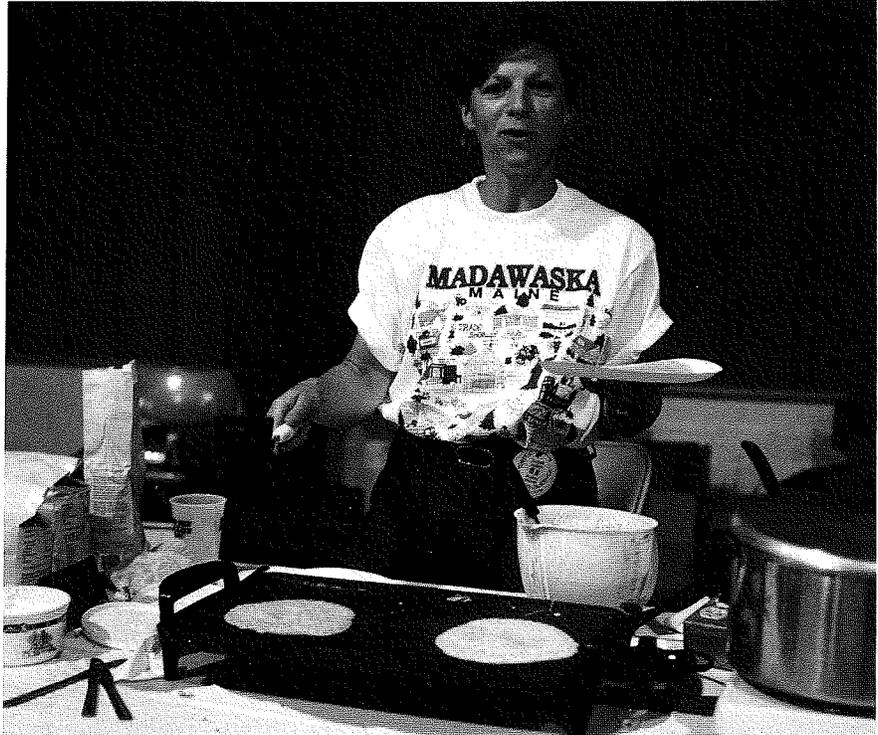
It should not be surprising that potatoes—French-fried, mashed, baked, or otherwise—figure prominently in almost every meal. Restaurants in Frenchville and Madawaska serve “JoJo potatoes,” which are large potato slices cut lengthwise and batter-fried. Potato helpings are large, and they are the standard side order with every entree; rarely is there a substitute. At one Fort Kent restaurant, survey researchers were served French fries with spaghetti.

*Emma Gagnon  
making ployes in  
the kitchen of her  
Frenchville, Maine,  
home, August 1942.*



JOHN COLLIER, JR.

Rachel Walsh of  
Madawaska, Maine,  
prepares ployes  
during the 1991  
Acadian Festival.



DAVID A. WHITMAN

In Acadian homes, the potato is prepared in many ways—baked, creamed, mashed, hash-browned, fried, stuffed, and boiled. It is prepared in *au gratin* and *soufflé* dishes, and used in stews, soups, and many types of casseroles and salads. Potato doughnuts, potato cookies and muffins, potato custard pie, several varieties of potato cake, and a few kinds of potato candy are also made by Acadians in the Valley.

At least two family-style restaurants, Dolly's in Madawaska and Brookside Manor in Van Buren, regularly serve *ployes*, or *plogues* (buckwheat pancakes) with meals. The *ployes* served at these restaurants vary a great deal with regard to texture, thickness, and color. This sort of sub-regional variation is the source of a good deal of discussion about the features that the archetypal *ploye* should possess. This distinctively Acadian food is apparently not prepared daily in local Acadian homes to the degree that it once was. *Ployes* are nevertheless linked to local Acadian identity, and they stir a certain nostalgia among locals and among those Acadians who have moved away from the Valley and return as summer visitors. *Ployes* were publicly prepared and served several times during the 1991 Acadian Festival in Madawaska.

Chicken stew is a favorite meal among Upper St. John Valley Acadians. Small, rolled *poutines* (dumplings) are added to the boiling stock. The use of *poutines* is a regular part of traditional maritime Acadian cuisine. In Louisiana today, a similar repast would be called "chicken and dumplings," but the term *poutines* was in common usage among some Cajun families into the twentieth century.

Herbs and spices used to season chicken stew and other dishes are important elements of local cuisine. Summer savory, for example, is commonly used. Researchers observed bunches of the fresh herb hanging from the kitchen wall at Doris's Café in Fort Kent Mills. *Les herbes salées*, the chopped tops of *échalotes* (shallots) cured in salt, are also commonly used. Jars of this salty ingredient are put up during the summer and used throughout the year to season many dishes.

Some traditional Acadian food is normally prepared only for special occasions. The 1991 Lavertu family reunion, for example, featured roasted pig. The young pig was butchered and prepared by Jesse Michaud, owner of a small general grocery store built onto the side of his home in Frenchville. The pig was roasted by the men whole on a grill made from a large heating-fuel tank (of the sort in common domestic use), outside the large Quonset-type potato house in which dining tables were set up. The meal also included baked beans, several types of potato salad, and other salads.

Different kinds of meat pies are also prepared for special occasions, including Christmas and New Year's festivities. These pies are called *tourtières*, and their ingredients may include chicken, pork, beef, veal, or a combination of these, and sometimes potatoes. For special large holiday gatherings, *pot-en-pot* is prepared. It is a very large, layered, meat pie baked in a roasting pan. Layers of sliced potatoes, four or more different meats, strips of dough or dumplings, and seasonings are covered with a pie crust and baked for hours. A hole is left in the dough covering so that water can be added during cooking. The traditional *pot-en-pot* usually has venison, wild birds, rabbit, or other game, as well as pork and beef. Allspice, cloves, and cinnamon are commonly added. During the 1991 Acadian Festival, *pot-en-pot* was served at the Sirois-Duplessis Family Banquet.

Today, the fall and early-winter *boucheries des cochons* (hog butcherings) are not as important social events for Acadian families as they were in the past (Lindsay 1983). However, a number of special products of the *boucherie* remain part of the foodways of the Valley. Locally made *cretons*, a pork pâté, is served in restaurants and is available at most grocery stores. *Boudin*, a blood sausage, is also sold at grocery stores. Upper St. John Valley *boudin* is similar to the *boudin* made by the French Creoles of Missouri and Illinois, but it differs from Louisiana *boudin rouge*, which often has rice as an important ingredient. Nothing analogous to the *boudin blanc* (white *boudin*) of the Louisiana Cajuns appears in the Valley. *Gortons*, pork cracklings, continue to be made by Acadians. The Creoles of Missouri also use the word *gortons* to refer to cracklings, though the Louisiana Cajuns call them *gratons*.

The pastries and breads prepared by Valley Acadians are similar to those of Louisiana Cajuns. *Crêpes* (thin pancakes), for instance, are still popular in the Valley. *Croquecignols* (twisted pastry) are similar to those served in Louisiana. *Beignets* are found in Louisiana and in the Valley. However, the Louisiana version is fried in deep fat, while the Valley version is cooked in maple syrup.

The Acadians of the Upper St. John Valley also take advantage of wild plants and berries. During early spring, *pissenlits* (dandelion greens) and *la poulette grasse* (goose foot; chenopodium) are harvested and eaten as a vegetable or used in soups. *Les fougères* (fiddlehead ferns) are also gathered during the spring. A locally invented rotating, cylindrical, screened device helps in the washing and preparation of the fiddleheads. Strawberries, raspberries, blueberries, and highbush cranberries are also harvested in their turn. Another important traditional wild harvest is taken from the sugar maple tree. The winter tapping of maple trees continues to be an exciting time for many Acadians. Maple syrup, taffy, and sugar are produced annually along with a variety of confections and sweet treats.

## Oral Traditions and Beliefs Among the Acadians

Acadians brought oral traditions to the New World from France during the seventeenth century. Some beliefs and oral forms from this period have passed from one generation to the next and survive today. The co-occurrence of traditions among the Acadians of the St. John River Valley and of Louisiana strengthens this assertion. Since the two populations have been separated for nearly 250 years it is reasonable to assume that traditions they share derive from similar Old World sources.

For example, Acadians of the Valley share with the Cajuns of Louisiana some stories about mythical creatures. The *lutins* who ride a farmer's horses at night and plait the horses' tails exist among both Acadian populations. One informant told a survey researcher about *lutins* who live in caves and come out only at night. He explained that they are so small that a locked door cannot keep them out; they can pass through a keyhole. Along with tales about *lutins*, tales about the *feux-follets* (spirits) and *loups-garous* (werewolves) occur both in Louisiana and in the Valley.

Ancelet (1987:277–288) refers to these Old World forms as “vestiges.” Included in this repertoire could be animal tales, magic tales (*märchen*), fables in the French *fabliaux* tradition, and long epic tales of heroic deeds. These older forms of oral tradition seem to be as rare today in the Upper St. John Valley as they are in Louisiana. Ancelet argues that because these forms generally lack currency, they may not belong to an active oral tradition. While data collected during the survey suggests that some elements of these older forms exist today in the Valley, additional research is required to determine their vitality and prominence in the Valley's oral tradition.

The persistence of elements of oral tradition within a group may provide clues about the self-perceptions of its members. Consider, for instance, the legend of Malobiana that derives from the Malecite Indians of the Upper St. John Valley. In 1920, the Abbé Thomas Albert, in his *Histoire du Madawaska* (1982:63–68), recounted the tragic story of the Indian maiden, Malobiana. According to the legend, on the day of her wedding, a group of Mohawk raiders began to sack the Malecite villages along the St. John River. Malobiana's family and betrothed were killed and she was captured. Her captors forced her to guide them to other Malecite villages in order to continue their pillage. Instead, Malobiana guided the Mohawk canoes over the waterfall at Grand Falls. Though she sacrificed her life, the Mohawk invaders were killed, and her action saved the lives of many of her fellow Malecites. Today, Malobiana's legendary deed is memorialized in the tourist center located at Grand Falls/Grand-Sault, New Brunswick. Over the years, her story has been retold and recast in song, poetry, and dramatic performance.

Another legend with the theme of self-sacrifice is the legend of Tante Blanche. According to oral tradition (Anon. 1973:86), the harvest of 1796 was ruined in the fields by an early snow. By the turn of the year 1797, famine hit the Acadian communities along the St. John River. During this time of hardship, Marguerite-Blanche Thibodeau performed many remarkable acts of charity. Wearing snowshoes, she brought extra clothing and provisions to people suffering from hunger and cold. Tante Blanche, as she was known, became legendary for her selflessness. She is memorialized at the Tante Blanche Museum at St. David, which was created by the Madawaska Historical Society.

It is not surprising, given a history of sacrifice and hardship, that Acadians should revere legendary characters who sacrificed their own

well-being in times of hardship. Longfellow's heroine of the epic poem "Evangeline," who endured tragedy and spent her last years caring for the sick, fits the category.

The "Acadian Saga," as transmitted by local Acadians, is very much alive. Because of its apparent importance to the self-identity of Acadians, it may be the most important body of legend and myth in the area. During the summer of 1991, the survey's researchers heard stories about Acadian pioneers erecting a cross at the point of arrival in the Valley, and stories about pioneers who arrived without possessions—not even tools—and proceeded to establish villages and build houses. And they heard a story about two brothers who, after following long and separate routes to the Upper St. John Valley, ended up settling and completing their lives at different locations in the Valley. Neither one ever realized that his brother lived so near. These and other stories have become part of the institutionalized history of the Valley.

Although some of the stories would probably not withstand strict scrutiny on the basis of historical accuracy, their function in the local context goes well beyond questions of historical fact. Such legends, passed down orally through the generations, reflect values from the past that continue to have meaning for Acadians. For example, the ability to survive in the face of adversity is still highly valued. Unquestionably, the body of lore that pertains to the "Acadian Saga" of deportation and eventual resettlement in the Upper St. John Valley is large and important.

Although stories which make up the saga serve as revealing windows onto values of contemporary Acadians, it would be inaccurate to say that they are accepted by all. Some French-speaking residents of the Valley do not identify with them (Le Clerc et al. 1979; Bérubé 1979). Some French-speakers identify themselves as *les Brayons*, a term supposedly linked to an ancestral custom of breaking flax (Massignon 1962, Vol. II:731; Simard 1988:9-25). Others see themselves as part of a mythical "Republic of Madawaska," which exists only in the legend of the rebellious John Baker (Albert 1982:248). Clearly, in addition to the Acadian saga, other myths and legends have meaning with respect to personal and group identity in the Valley.

The Acadian oral traditions of the Upper St. John Valley include many other forms. One genre consists of traditional sayings used by adults to control their children. For instance, one informant remembered his parents telling him about *Bonhomme Sept-heures*, a fearful character who would visit unpleasant deeds upon young children if they did not go to bed at the designated hour. A female informant was told in her youth that when a mother gives birth an Indian visits and breaks her leg. The informant conjectured that such a story would help explain the pain involved in birthing and why the mother would stay in bed for the customary extended postpartum.

A host of Acadian sayings are repeated and passed on through time. For example, Julie Albert (1969) recorded that it is said of an angry Acadian that "*il mord dans le fer*" (he is biting iron). This expression is also used among the Cajuns of Louisiana. Albert also recorded a blessing traditionally provided by the patriarch of the family on New Year's Day: "*Bonne, sainte et heureuse année, et le paradis la fin de vos jours*" ("Good, holy, and happy new year, and Paradise at the end of your days"). This precise blessing was also handed down in Cajun and Missouri Creole tradition.

Another form of oral tradition is the *avertissement* (portent or prediction). Albert (1969) recorded a list of these, such as: "If a bird hit a window in flight, someone has passed away" and "The weather on the third day of the month predicts the weather for the month."

Strong beliefs relative to the cycle of the moon persist among many Acadians. One informant assured survey researchers that potatoes must be planted in the *décroît de lune* (waning of the moon). A longtime farmer, he believes that the lunar cycle affects birthing, planting, treecutting, and many other aspects of life.

There are tall tales and other humorous tales. Many are about smuggling, including stories about smuggling five-gallon tins of concentrated rum bearing the label of the White Hand. In most of these tales, the cunning and trickery of the smuggler is emphasized, but some reveal his ignorance or naïveté in dealings with customs agents.

The personal-experience narrative is another important oral form in the Valley. For example, one informant tells stories about the process of moving houses with a team of horses, smuggling rum, using elm wood for making ox yokes and barn rails, selling patent medicine in the Valley, and other experiences.

## Music, Song, and Dance

*A dance at the  
Forever Young Club,  
Madawaska, Maine.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

During the summer of 1991, the town of Van Buren, Maine, held a celebration to commemorate the centennial of the arrival in the Valley of the Good Shepherd Sisters. The significant role of the Catholic sisters in the Valley as educators and cultural emissaries, especially with regard to music and singing, was evident at a concert held on June 21, 1991. At this event, nine full choirs from Catholic churches located on both sides of the St. John River sang selections in three different languages: English, French, and Latin.

A number of the selections performed that night had specific cultural meaning to Acadians. To give a few examples, "Ave Maris Stella," dedicated to the foremost symbol of Acadian nationalism, was sung by the choir from Saint Gerard Church in Grand Isle, Maine; the choir from Saint Michel's in Drummond, New Brunswick, sang, "Au Dela de Toute Frontière"; and "La Rivière Saint-Jean" was sung as a finale by a combination of all attending choirs. One of the choirs, from Saint Bruno's in Van Buren, has recorded albums. One of their albums, entitled *Hommage à L'Acadie*, includes selections entitled "Le Pêcheur Acadien," "Evangeline," "Les Trois Cloches," "Partons, la Mer est Belle," and several others that seem to have Acadian references. Such choirs exemplify the florescence of choral singing brought to the Valley by the members of the Catholic religious orders.

In 1955, Sister Henriette Raymond of College Maillet in Edmundston formed the dance "Troupe folklorique du Madawaska." Richard Therrien, one of Sister Raymond's former students, subsequently assembled the "Danseurs de la Vallée," who through their international performances have become Acadian ambassadors of the Upper St. John Valley (Picard 1989:42). However, it should be noted that the group's repertoire, while inspired by folk dance traditions of the Valley, does not represent the Valley's active contemporary dance tradition.

In assessing the impact of the Catholic Church, other cultural effects must be taken into consideration. For example, there is evidence that the influence of the Catholic Church has discouraged the root

traditions of Acadian music and dance in the Upper St. John Valley. Informants report that during much of the twentieth century, they were taught by members of the Catholic religious orders that dancing was a sin that required the absolution of confession.

Acadian dance, music, and song traditions have also been greatly affected by popular trends. Jazz and the Big Band sound were popular in the Valley from the 1930s to the 1950s. Country music has also had a great impact upon the musical traditions of the Acadians. When Jeannette Cyr Daigle moved from the Valley to Lewiston in the late 1930s, she listened to Hal Lonestone's live country-and-western music radio show. After her singing talent came to the attention of Lonestone, she was invited to sing on his show. In 1938-1939, she adopted the radio name of "Daisey" and made a mark as a singer of American country songs. Today her son, George Daigle, organizes the annual Green River Bluegrass and Country Music Festival in Rivière-Verte, New Brunswick. The popularity of country music has undoubtedly been supported by the French-language country-and-western television show "Votre Soiré Country," which has been broadcast on a local community cable television channel since the early 1980s.

There are some older Acadian music, song, and dance forms in the Valley. Alfred Parent of Van Buren, for instance, continues to play fiddle in a special regional style. In 1988 his music was recorded on a cassette entitled *Traditional Music of Maine, Vol. 1*, produced by the Northeast Archives of Folklore and Oral History at the University of Maine at Orono. His recorded repertoire, including "Rag Time Annie," seems to be related more to a broader old-time repertoire than to any set of specifically Acadian tunes. The same can be said about most of the fiddlers documented by the survey during the summer of 1991.

Some very fine fiddling took place at the 1991 Acadian Festival's "Violons d'Acadie" program. Interestingly, the most accomplished Acadian musicians who performed at this event were from Fitchburg

*Finale of multi-choir concert held at St. Bruno Catholic Church in Van Buren, Maine, to celebrate the centennial of the arrival of the Sisters of the Immaculate Heart of Mary (the Good Shepherd Sisters), June 21, 1991.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

and Leominster, Massachusetts. The performances of fiddler Leo LeBlanc and his harmonica-playing friend, Arcade Richard, both originally from Saint Paul, New Brunswick, were exceptional. Other outstanding young fiddlers, like Bobby Kelly, Terri Charrette, and Clare Morris, were from the Valley. Their repertoire is representative of old-time Anglo-American fiddling. Lionel Doucette is a well-respected local fiddler.

There were several fine performances by jig dancers, some quite spontaneous, at the "Violons d'Acadie" program. This evidence, along with observations made at a Fort Kent dance and at a house party in Fort Kent, suggests that a localized jig-dancing tradition continues in the Valley.

Group dances—square, round, and line dances—continue to be performed at the Forever Young Club in Madawaska and at L'Age d'Or Clubs in New Brunswick. Survey researchers observed the following dance steps performed by a crowd of mostly elderly citizens: "Lady of the Lake," several "sets carré," "Le Pinto," "Ton 'ti Chien Madame," the "Continental," "Paul Jones," and the "Tucker."

Acadian ballad singing continues in the Upper St. John Valley as a living tradition. The survey recorded two fine Acadian ballad singers. Perhaps the best known of the two is Ida Roy of Van Buren. Her enormous repertoire includes old ballads and lays, locally composed songs and *complaintes* (turn-of-the-century sentimental parlor ballads) comic music-hall ditties, and original commemorative songs. Because of her tremendous repertoire and her efforts to keep the song tradition alive, Mrs. Roy was recently nominated for a National Heritage Award by the Maine Arts Commission. The other singer recorded is Constance "Connie" Morin Derosier of St. Agatha, Maine. Mrs. Derosier inherited her love of singing and her songs from her father, Eddie Morin, an Acadian singer of local notoriety. Of the sixteen children in her family, Connie is reportedly the only one to have learned her father's songs.

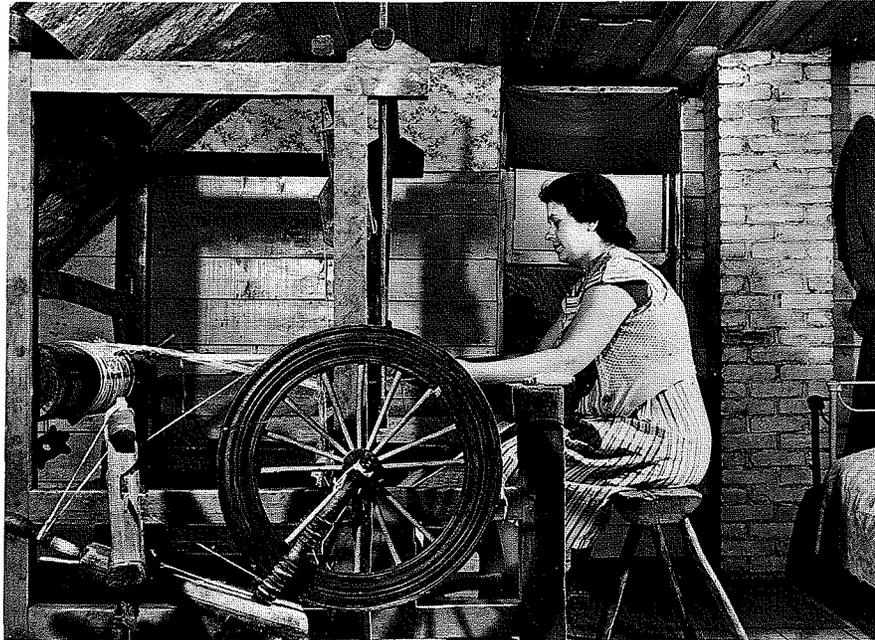
## Some Acadian Domestic Features

One of the most distinctive Acadian traits of the Upper St. John Valley is weaving. The Farm Security Administration photographs of the 1940s reveal a surprising amount of hand-spinning and weaving at that time by Acadians of the Upper St. John Valley. (A collection of some of the photos is contained in Doty 1991 and some are reproduced in this report.) Traditional weaving and spinning, passed down from one generation to the next, is rare in the United States. Almost all hand-weaving and spinning one sees today is the result of the revival or historical reconstruction of older techniques. Today's weavers are generally hobbyists who may have great enthusiasm for the tradition but no direct community ties to it. But an Acadian weaving tradition still exists in the Valley.

There are important collections of older textiles representing the local tradition at the Acadian Village, a nonprofit museum near Van Buren, and in the Albert House at St. David, as well as in locally held private collections. A few appear to be the products of Jacquard looms (mid-nineteenth century), but many were produced on typical two- or four-harness looms. The examples include linen and wool blankets, sheets, and bed covers. Spinning wheels, looms, and related artifacts abound in private attics and public museums throughout the Valley.

But more important, the skill and knowledge of Acadian spin-

Marie Albert Dumond weaving on an old loom in one of the upstairs bedrooms of her home in Lille, Maine, October 1940. Hand-woven blankets made by Mrs. Dumond and her mother-in-law are now on display at the Acadian Village in Van Buren.



JACK DELANO

ning and weaving still exists. Survey researchers visited Leona Coté Cyr of Madawaska, Maine, who was born at St. David in 1907. She learned most of what she knows about weaving from her mother-in-law, Delina Gendreau of St. David parish. Mrs. Gendreau had a loom that produced material around 32 inches wide.

Today, Mrs. Cyr does not own a loom. However, she continues to buy and save material which she cuts (*tailler/couper*) into strips (*guenilles*) and rolls into balls weighing approximately five pounds apiece. She takes these balls to an acquaintance in Saint-Jacques, New Brunswick, who arranges the colored strips into aesthetically pleasing stripes and weaves them on her loom.

An interview with Mrs. Cyr yielded the following lexical items related to the Acadian weaving tradition:

- brin de coton*—warping thread
- catalogne*—rag-woven coverlet
- couper (tailler) guenilles*—process of preparing strips for weaving
- diviseur*—device to measure spun yarn (horizontal)
- fil*—thread
- guenilles*—strips of material used for weaving rag pieces
- lame*—heddle of a loom
- monter le coton*—the process of warping the loom
- navette*—shuttle for a loom
- palette*—wooden device with drilled holes that separate threads during the warping process
- pla(i)tonner*—process of plaiting spun yarn
- quatre-pédal*—four-pedal loom, the most common Acadian loom
- rouet*—spinning wheel; Mrs. Cyr had only seen small ones, no large wool-spinning “walking” wheels
- row*—cane or reed of a loom
- tournette*—device to wrap spun yarn (vertical)
- tricoter*—knitting
- verge*—yard of spun yarn

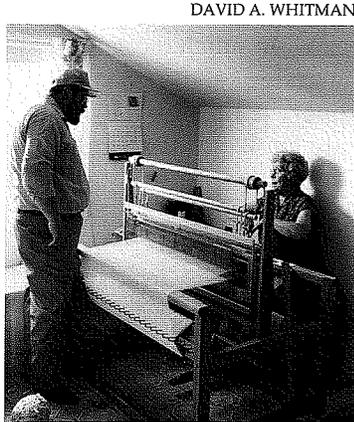
A later visit to Anita Albert of Saint-Jacques, New Brunswick, confirmed that the Acadian weaving tradition is alive. Mrs. Albert also learned to weave from her mother-in-law. She has woven hundreds of *catalognes* and continues to produce them in the attic of her home. Her husband, Gilbert Albert, has designed and built a machine that allows her to cut rag strips quickly.

As with weaving, local furniture is well represented in the collections at the Acadian Village, at the Albert House, and in private hands. Many pieces share the hallmarks of Acadian furniture in Louisiana:

- raised-panel doors with the beveled (raised) side of the panel facing inside, and a smooth-planed or sawn surface (unraised side of panel) facing outside of the door;
- raised-panel doors flawlessly joined by through-cut mortise and tenons with tenons often held in place by two wooden pegs per joint;
- predominance of short pieces such as *armoires*, *armoires*, chests of drawers, *garde-mangers*, and buffets;
- simple curved trim between the feet of the piece;
- painted surfaces, often red, called *gros rouge* in Louisiana and *sang de boeuf* in the Upper St. John Valley;
- use of local softwoods—cypress and pine in Louisiana, pine and cedar in the Upper St. John Valley—rarely in combination with hardwoods; and
- older drawers or chests joined with small, widely spaced, hand-cut dovetails, many of which have been tightened by the addition of thin wooden shims or wedges.

While some of these features are found in non-Acadian cabinetry of the eighteenth century, when they co-occur on the same piece they seem to represent a pattern of features uniquely selected by Acadian joiners. Furniture pieces bearing these characteristics in Louisiana are distinct from other Louisiana furniture in the same ways that Upper St. John Valley Acadian furniture appears to be distinct from contemporary pieces made in Québec or elsewhere in French-speaking America.

This Acadian pattern evidently lasted into the twentieth century in the Upper St. John Valley, as it has in Louisiana. The following two conditions may be pertinent: (1) many Acadians were skilled in woodworking and joinery and built their own furniture; and (2) woodworking skills were often passed down from grandfather to grandson.



DAVID A. WHITMAN

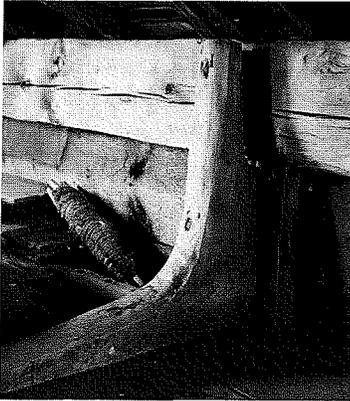
Survey researcher C. Ray Brassieur interviews weaver Anita Albert at her home in Saint-Jacques, New Brunswick.

## Acadian Houses: A Preliminary Sketch

The salient features of Acadian dwellings derive from traditional techniques, skills, and aesthetic values passed down and shaped by successive generations of craftsmen. They were not generally professional carpenters, nor did they work from architectural plans. The construction details of Acadian houses indicate a high level of woodworking skill, and, though they are generally hidden by exterior Greek Revival or Georgian features, provide points for identifying the special qualities of Acadian architecture.

Most of these features have been identified as significant by Acadians of the Upper St. John Valley. Local efforts to nominate properties to the National Register of Historic Places, as well as the conversion of private residences like the Fred Albert House, the Morneau House, and others to public museums by local citizens, indicate a strong local

*Ship's-knee brace  
in the attic of the  
Fred Albert House,  
St. David, Maine.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

appreciation of distinctive architectural features. Local authors (Michaud 1974, Albert 1969) have drawn attention to features of Acadian architecture—ship's knees, the use of ladders instead of stairways, the caulking of log walls with oakum.

Yet the average resident of the Upper St. John Valley is not necessarily aware of these material hallmarks of Acadian cultural heritage. And the salient features of Upper St. John Valley Acadian architecture are virtually unknown outside the study area. The glossary of Acadian French terms related to "vernacular architecture" and cultural landscape compiled as part of the survey (see page 71) provides a point of entry for understanding a wide range of material culture features both inside and outside of the study area. In much the same way that the term "vernacular" refers to the language "of the people," buildings of all types and periods built by ordinary people for the purposes of daily life, work, and community are known as vernacular architecture.

The cultural meaning of architectural features, of course, cannot be derived apart from their social and historical context. As the survey began to notice certain patterns of form and construction in Acadian houses in the Valley, a number of houses were selected for additional historical and sociocultural analysis. The histories of eight houses are described later in this report in the section, "Background of Selected Historic Properties."

The first Acadian houses were built on the flats, often facing the St. John River. They were built of logs, and many were built *pièce-sur-pièce à tenons en coulisse*, a traditional construction technique which builds up layers of hewn or sawn logs. If the typical eighteenth- and early-nineteenth-century dwelling resembled the Alexis Cyr House of Saint-Basile, New Brunswick, and the Roy House in the Acadian Village, Van Buren, they were small and simple. The form of the houses corresponds closely with standard Anglo-American single-cell houses with gable roof, centered front door, and chimney in the gable. It is not surprising that a blending of British and French material traditions had already taken place among the Acadians by the late eighteenth century, for the Acadians had been subjects of the British Crown since 1713.

Settlement near the river apparently continued until around the middle of the nineteenth century, when the St. John began to flood with more frequency and severity. It is possible that the removal of stands of timber in the Upper St. John Valley, a process virtually complete by this period, affected the river's hydraulic regime. At any rate, around the middle of the nineteenth century many houses were moved away from the river and established along the principal road. Of the eight properties described later in this report, the Daigle-St. Jean House, the Fred Albert House, the Val Violette House, and the Ernest Chasse House were all apparently moved from the flats along the river.

When these houses were moved, there was a tendency to increase the living space within the house by adding one or more vertical levels, as in the Val Violette House; by extending the walls laterally, as may have been the case in the Albert House; or by expanding both vertically and laterally, as in the Daigle-St. Jean House. The alteration of these *pièce-sur-pièce à tenons en coulisse* houses apparently offered little challenge to Acadian carpenters. In those cases of alteration that the survey observed, the same precise axe and adze work and careful joinery employed in the original construction were used.

The typical middle-nineteenth-century Acadian house has an essentially Georgian plan: two rooms deep (double pile), a central hallway, central chimney, one or one-and-one-half stories high (rarely two stories), under a simple gable roof. The exterior resembles standard large New England houses of the nineteenth century—white frame with Greek Revival detailing (cornices and pilasters). Ceilings are often paneled, and interior molding and finish often echo the classical exterior stylistic elements.

New Acadian houses built during this period by well-established farmers and merchants continued to be constructed of hewn logs, though some pit- and sash-sawn material also occurs. The survey documented three corner-joining techniques in log (*pièce-sur-pièce*) construction of the nineteenth century: *tenons en coulisse*, half-dovetail (*tête de chien*), and the previously unreported “stacked and pegged” treatment found at the Vital Violette House in Van Buren and the Roy House at the Acadian Village in Keegan. Log walls were generally covered on the exterior with vertical planks (*planches debouts*), and many were finished with clapboards. The roof frames included massive, relatively wide-spaced, square, hewn, white-pine rafters. The rafter couples are half-lapped and joined with through-trunnels at the peak. There is no ridgepole.

There was a practice of fitting “ship’s-knee” braces (one informant calls them *coudes*, or “elbows”) between centrally located upper ceiling joists and top plates of Acadian houses of this period. The shape of these ship’s knees is analogous to those supporting the deckbeams of ships, but the function differs. In a ship, the braces are positioned below the deckbeams, while in an Acadian house they are fitted above the ceiling beams. The application of these substantial braces above the ceiling joists is unusual in house carpentry and warrants further investigation. It has not been determined when the last ship’s knees were fit into houses in the Valley; however, the Sacred Heart Church in North Caribou, built around 1881, has at least seventy ship’s

*Some of the historic buildings at the Acadian Village, an open-air museum in Van Buren, Maine. The Morneault House, built in the mid-nineteenth century, is in the center.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

knees attached to the load-bearing wooden columns supporting its vaulted ceiling.

The construction of Acadian houses changed as the nineteenth century progressed. The use of thick pit- or sash-sawn planks (*madriers*), set vertically or horizontally, came to replace the use of logs (*pièces*). However, documentation of the Philius Caron House in the Lavertu Settlement, Maine, indicates that walls built of horizontal *madriers* were sometimes joined using the *tenons en coulisse* method as late as the turn of the twentieth century. Sawn cedar *madriers* comprise the walls of this house. A short segment of one of them, removed during a recent modification of the house, has a tenon carefully cut into the end that fit into a vertical door frame.

Probably near the end of the nineteenth century, balloon-frame houses began to be built in greater numbers than solid-wall log and *madrier* houses. But it was apparently not easy to replace the locally proven Acadian carpentry techniques. This transformation appears to have occurred at a much later point in the Valley than elsewhere in the United States, and many Valley residents live in solid-wall houses today. The later nineteenth-century variants seem more square and a little taller than the mid-nineteenth-century solid-wall houses.

Many Greek Revival houses were built throughout the Valley during the middle to late nineteenth and the early twentieth century. A number of houses built in Fort Kent, Maine, west of the Fish River, have fine scroll-sawn barge boards and Gothic and Victorian detailing. Some have the appearance of the earlier Acadian timber-framed houses with gables turned to the street. The identification of distinctively Acadian architectural features becomes more difficult with those houses of the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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## HISTORIC PROPERTIES

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### Nationally Recognized Properties

Eight properties within the study area are currently listed on the National Register of Historic Places. Some have direct relevance to Acadian culture and others reflect the social context of Maine Acadians.

**Fort Kent Memorial.** Located at the confluence of the Fish River and the St. John River in Fort Kent, this state memorial is the only extant fortification of the Aroostook "War" of 1838–39 which resulted from border disputes between Great Britain and the United States. The signing of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty in 1842 settled the boundary dispute between Maine and New Brunswick and reduced the need for a fort. The Fort Kent blockhouse has been preserved as a state memorial since 1959. In addition to being listed on the National Register of Historic Places, it is a National Historic Landmark.

The blockhouse is a two-story structure set on a shale foundation. Its walls are built of square-hewn cedar logs, some of which measure over 19 inches in width. Although a few minor changes have been made to the structure, including some related to its present use as a museum, it remains a good example of early-nineteenth-century military architecture.

Care and public presentation of this site is currently provided by local Eagle Scouts, in cooperation with the Bureau of Parks and Recreation, Maine Department of Conservation. It should be noted that despite the fact that Acadians began settling on both banks of the St. John River fifty years before Fort Kent was constructed, they are not generally included in the interpretation of this site (cf. McDonald 1990). The site, which includes a gift shop, is open to the public daily from Memorial Day to Labor Day. Many local schools sponsor field trips to this site, and its actual and potential use by locals and tourists is considerable.

**Fort Kent Railroad Station.** This former railroad station opened in 1902 as the northern terminus of the Fish River Railroad and was later used by the Bangor & Aroostook Railroad. It remained in use until 1979. The station is a one-story, one-room-deep, seven-bay frame building. Its gable-on-hip roof and wide overhanging eaves are typical features of other Bangor & Aroostook Railroad stations. The building presently houses the Fort Kent Historical Society Museum and receives occasional visits from tourists and local school groups. The property has no particular Acadian cultural affiliations, although Acadian farms and farmers were greatly affected by the railroad, and local Acadians may now participate in museum programs hosted at this facility.

**Acadian Landing Site.** Located in St. David parish, Madawaska, Maine, this site commemorates the landing of the Acadian settlers in the Upper St. John River Valley. A large marble cross recently replaced a wooden cross erected in 1922 approximately where the first cross was erected in 1785. Religious and ceremonial services are occasionally held at the site. For example, during the 1991 Acadian Festival,

*Log blockhouse in Fort Kent, Maine (built 1839-40), located at the confluence of the St. John and Fish rivers.*



HOWARD W. MARSHALL

following a special Acadian mass held at St. David Catholic Church, descendants of the founding Acadian families walked from the church to the Acadian Landing Site in a procession of the Blessed Sacrament. This site retains a high level of symbolic significance relative to local Acadian identity. It is privately owned.

**St. David Catholic Church.** This church is in St. David parish, Madawaska, Maine, on property adjacent to the Acadian Landing Site and properties owned by the Madawaska Historical Society. It was built in 1911-13 from designs by Chickering and O'Connell, a Boston architectural firm. The overall plan of the structure incorporates a large sanctuary and a two-story facade with a central tower. Its form and details are derived from Renaissance and Baroque Italian architecture.

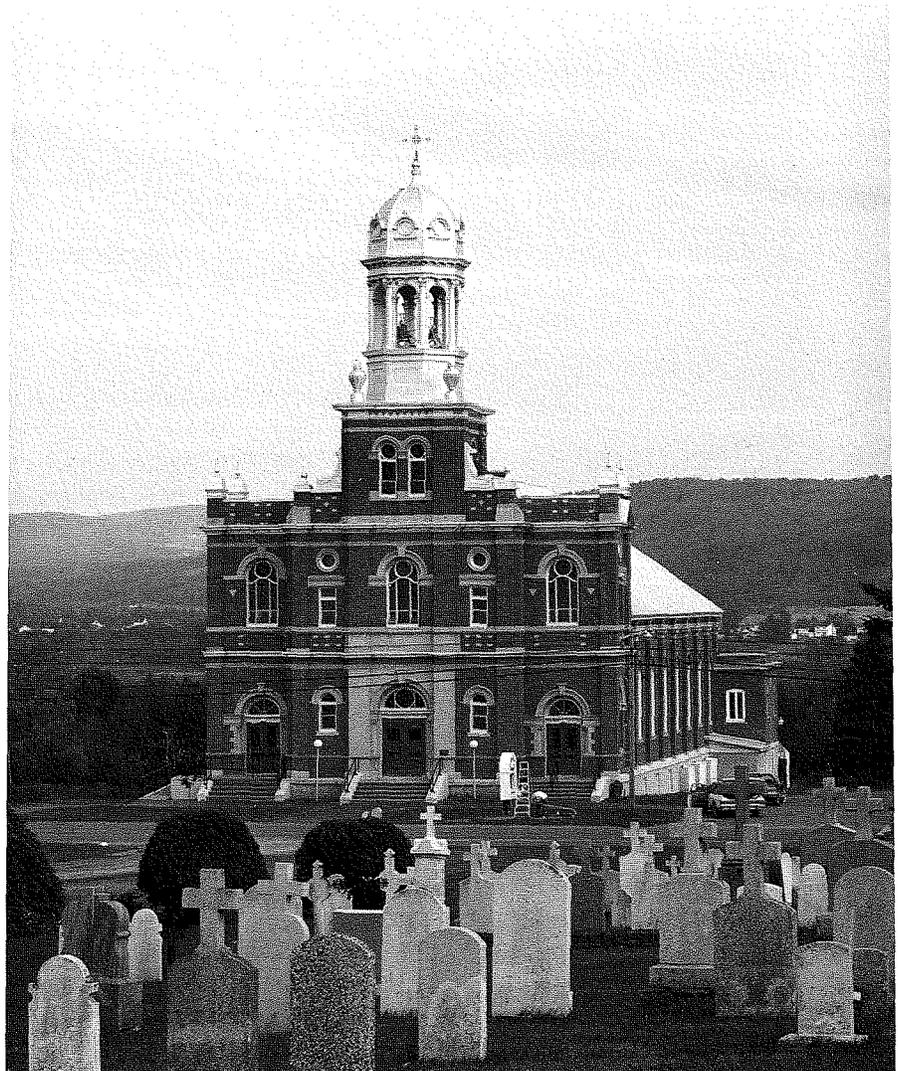
St. David Catholic Church is significant to the local Acadian population for a number of reasons. The original church at this location, built in 1871, marked the successful conclusion of Madawaska Acadians' long struggle for their own parish and priest. Prior to the completion of the church, they were members of a parish in Saint-Basile, New Brunswick. Therefore, the church is a memorial to those who created a parish on the south bank of the St. John River. At the same time, the present brick and stone structure serves as a symbol of rising affluence among early-twentieth-century Acadians. Earlier Acadian ecclesiastical architecture, typified by Notre Dame du Mont-Carmel in Lille, Maine (see below), tended to be smaller, less expensive, wooden, and vernacular in design.

Many activities at St. David Catholic Church are important to the identity of local Acadians. For example, St. David's, along with Ste. Luce's, in Frenchville, are the only Catholic churches on the Maine side of the river that regularly hold services in French. During the 1991 Acadian Festival, St. David Catholic Church was the scene of a blend of religious and civic activities. A traditional Acadian banquet, sponsored by the Madawaska Chamber of Commerce, was held in the basement of the church, and an Acadian Mass was held in the church.

**Notre Dame du Mont-Carmel.** This church building, built in 1909, is in the parish of Lille, in Grand Isle Township. Official Catholic religious services ceased in 1978, and the church was acquired by l'association culturelle et historique du Mont-Carmel in 1984. Built by Edmundston contractor Léonide Gagné from plans by architect Theo. Daust, the building is one of the best surviving Acadian French Catholic churches in the St. John River Valley. The National Register nomination describes the church as "a structure reflecting a high style form which has been expressed in a vernacular manner." The reference to high style form includes its nave with adjacent aisles, towering clerestory, elaborately fenestrated facade, and twin Baroque-style belfries. The vernacular aspects of the church include its wooden structure, clapboard exterior, simple wooden moldings, and hand-marbleized interior columns.

While not listed on the Register, the former presbytery, a two-story Italianate wood-frame structure, is located beside the church, and an Acadian barn, used for decades by the church's priests, is located on property adjacent to the presbytere. A large private collection of religious artifacts, as well as Acadian textiles and furniture, is stored in the church, the presbytere, and the barn. The religious items consist of statuary—including two large wooden angels carved by Québec sculptor Louis Jobin (1845-1928)—candles, pews, altar dressings, banners, altar stones,

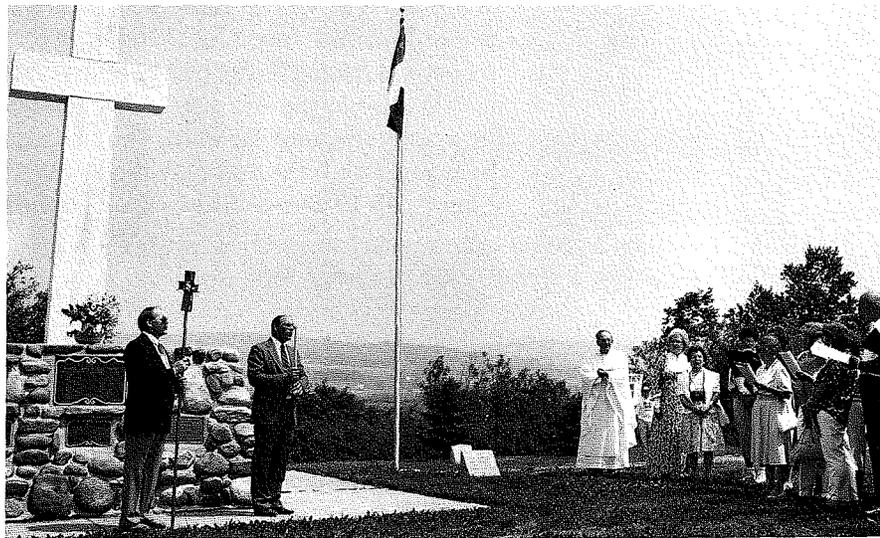
*St. David Catholic Church,  
St. David, Maine.*



STEVEN YOUNG

reliquaries, tabernacles, monstrances, and furniture designed for religious functions. Most of these items are particularly significant to the location for the following reasons:

- the workmanship in each medium appears to represent either the best craftsmanship and artistry in the region or the best materials and work the church could import;
- due to the post-Vatican II reorganization of Catholic ritual, many such religious materials and ceremonial items will probably never be manufactured or used again;
- many of the ceremonial materials in the church facilitated rituals performed by and for French-speaking Catholics; and
- the religious items, as well as the church itself, are closely linked with the memories and experiences of the surrounding population.



LISA ORNSTEIN

*Monseigneur Chalut (center) addresses parishioners at the Acadian Cross following the Acadian Mass at St. David Church, June 27, 1991.*

**Fortunat O. Michaud House.** Presently known as the Farrell-Michaud House, this Van Buren, Maine, property is currently operated as a bed-and-breakfast inn. Tradition holds that a portion of the house was built around 1880 by the owner (Farrell) and was eventually transferred to his daughter, Emily Farrell Michaud. The majority dates from 1912-17. This Queen Anne style, wood-frame house features a tower with bell-shaped roof. The original tin covering of the tower roof has been replaced with composite (tar-based) shingles. The style and construction of the house have no particular relevance to Acadian history and culture.

**Notre Heritage Vivant/Our Living Heritage (Acadian Village).** This site, located in Keegan, a few miles west of Van Buren, opened to the public in February of 1976 as a Bicentennial project. On the National Register nomination form the site is described as a "multiple resource site" consisting of seven buildings that form a "folk museum complex." Today, it consists of over a dozen buildings that have been moved to the Acadian Village or built at the site. A number of dwellings moved to the Acadian Village are significant in terms of their distinct Acadian construction. The Morneau House, originally built in Grand Isle, Maine, in 1857 (Michaud 1974), and the Levasseur-Ouellette House, originally built in Cyr Plantation, Maine, in 1859, are typical of houses

built during the mid-nineteenth century by successful Acadian farmers and merchants. In form they are characteristic of the "Georgian massing" style popular on both sides of the Atlantic by the early nineteenth century. The walls of both these one-and-a-half-story dwellings are built of square-hewn logs (*pièce-sur-pièce*) covered by clapboard siding.

The Roy House, a log structure moved to the Village from a location near Hamlin, Maine, is another example of nineteenth-century Acadian house construction. Its hewn log walls (*pièce-sur-pièce*) have been corner-joined with trunnels in the same fashion as those of the Maison Heritage (see below). While one publication contains a sketch of this rare construction method drawn from memory (Bourque 1971:8-9), an extant example apparently has never been documented. Although the Roy House has been damaged considerably during disassembly and reconstruction, it provides an extraordinary opportunity to examine this method of wall construction.

Two other important nineteenth-century structures in the Acadian Village collection include the Hammond-LaPlante Building, a worker's quarters from the William Hammond farm in Hamlin Plantation; and an Acadian barn (*grange acadienne*) from the Hamlin area. The Willie Sirois House, the Morin House, the Saint Amand School, a blacksmith shop, a shoe shop, a barber shop and general store, and a railroad station are also located at the Village. For the most part, these are reconstructions of razed historical structures which, unfortunately, often fail to reproduce the demolished buildings accurately.

The various structures in the Village house an enormous quantity and variety of artifacts. Among the most significant are textiles woven of homespun wool, and the looms and spinning wheels that produced them. There are also extensive collections of furniture, domestic appliances, woodworking and metalworking tools, farm equipment (including a complete horse-powered mill with tilted treadmill), and prints and other decorative items. These collections are valuable and are in great need of professional conservation.

Apart from its primary museum functions, the Village is an important staging ground for local cultural events. For example, during the 1991 Festival de La Grande Rivière, it hosted "Acadian Day," "Multicultural Day," and "Native American Day" celebrations. To a certain degree, each of these events succeeded in honoring local populations and bringing tourists and locals together.

**Maison Heritage (Vital Violette House).** The Vital Violette House, built during the mid-1850s in the town of Violette Brook (now Van Buren), shares many characteristics of form and construction with other Acadian dwellings. At the time of its nomination to the National Register of Historic Places, it was owned by the local historical society, Notre Heritage Vivant/Our Living Heritage. The house has since been carefully disassembled and its parts stacked neatly behind the Notre Dame du Mont-Carmel presbytere in Lille. Don Cyr, president of l'association culturelle et historique du Mont-Carmel, has expressed interest in reassembling the house on the l'association property in Lille.

Although the Vital Violette House has been taken apart, it is possible to describe its original form, style, and construction details. In fact, its disassembled condition allows for a level of analysis that standing structures almost never allow. The Vital Violette House was a two-and-a-half-story log house with clapboard exterior finish. Though it was

larger than most others of its type, this rectangular, simple, gabled structure displayed roughly the same Georgian massing as other Acadian houses of its day. The facade was marked by a strong central bay extending from the ground to the eaves. This two-tiered bay consisted of a ground-level entrance and a double window at the second-story level. Each of these features was flanked by pilasters and crowned by a wide architrave and projecting cornice with dentil molding. These Greek Revival and Georgian features were characteristic of period trends popular throughout New England and New Brunswick during the mid-nineteenth century. But the construction was distinctively indigenous and Acadian. Ship's-knee braces secured the top plate of the structure to the upper ceiling joists. The walls consisted of squared, hewn logs (*pièce-sur-pièce*), covered on the exterior by thick, vertical planks (*planches debouts*) and finished with clapboards. The vertical planks were not only nailed to the log wall, but also secured edge-to-edge at regular intervals by diamond-shaped metal splines.

The dressed wall logs were held in place by trunnels and "caulked" with buckwheat fibers that had been twisted into lengths resembling oakum (the material used to caulk boats and ships). The logs were sawn flush at the corners and alternately stacked one on top of the other. Each corner joint was secured by two trunnels. This unusual corner-joining technique, the same one employed in the Roy House at the Acadian Village, appears to be a uniquely Acadian feature.

## Background of Selected Historic Properties

Local historian Guy Dubay collected data relative to eight important Acadian houses: Maison Heritage and the Val Violette House in Van Buren, Maine; the Morneault House, originally in Grand Isle, Maine; the Fred Albert House and the Ernest Chasse House in Madawaska, Maine; the Pelletier-Marquis House in Saint Agatha, Maine; the Eloi Daigle House in Fort Kent, Maine; and the Daigle-St. Jean House in Clair, New Brunswick. For each of these properties, Dubay collected information about the succession of ownership, the family history and genealogy of residents, and the business and civic dealings of the owners. Several of these are now owned by local historical societies, and others remain in private ownership. Several hundred transactions were reviewed utilizing various land and family records. (All deeds are located in the Northern Registry of Deeds, Fort Kent, Maine.) Charts showing the succession of ownership and genealogies of most associated families were prepared (Dubay 1992). The following summarizes the survey's findings.

**Maison Heritage (Vital Violette House).** Listed on the National Register of Historic Places when it stood on Lot 298 in Township M, Range 2 (Van Buren), the Vital Violette House is currently preserved in a dismantled state in the parish of Lille, in Grand Isle, Maine, by l'association culturelle et historique du Mont-Carmel. The original lot has gone through a succession of ownership which does not always follow family lines. The original land grant from the states of Maine and Massachusetts has not been located.

The first recorded owner of Lot 298, Thomas Didime ("Dedime," "Dydime") Morin, was baptized at St. André de Kamouraska, the son of Michel Morin and Genevive Collin. He married Julie-Natalie Marquis at Saint-Basile, New Brunswick, on February 23, 1835. At that time, St. Bruno's chapel in Van Buren was still a mission of Saint-Basile and all

records were entered at Saint-Basile, New Brunswick. Census data suggests that Dedime Morin migrated into the Van Buren area in 1837. A search in British records at Fredericton and Woodstock, New Brunswick, would be necessary to confirm a property transfer.

In the 1872 census of St. Bruno parish, "Dedime" Morin is described as "*rentier de Isaie Morin*"—that is, he was the pensioner of his son, Isaie Morin. Isaie Morin married Marguerite Lepage at Van Buren on January 6, 1866. He married his second wife, Anastasie Cyr, on March 8, 1878.

At the turn of the twentieth century, considerable development occurred on Lot 298 in response to the opening of mills owned by the Van Buren Lumber Company, which were located nearby. These mills ground to a halt during the Depression. In 1931, Vital Violette (b. 1893) acquired more than one piece of property from the old Lot 298 farm. On one of these parcels he began a meat business, and on another he established his residence.

Vital Violette was raised on a farm on Alexander Road in Van Buren. His father, Exeas Violette (b. 1858), served as a selectman of the town of Van Buren and also worked to create a school district for that section of town. Vital Violette represented Van Buren in the state legislature, as did his son Elmer. Elmer also became a justice of the Maine Supreme Court.

**Val Violette House.** According to family tradition, the Val Violette house has stood on its present site in Van Buren, Maine, since 1850. At that time, Belonie Violette (1817–1879) was the owner of the property upon which the house was erected: River Lot 301 in Township M, Range 2 (Van Buren). It is believed that the house contains parts of an older residence that was moved from a location closer to the St. John River. The Val Violette House has been passed from father to son over the course of four generations to the present-day owners. The genealogy of the Violette family originates in Angoumois, France, and traces family movement to Saintes, France; Louisbourg, Cape Breton Island, Nova Scotia; then to the St. John Valley.

Belonie Violette (1817–1879), builder of the Val Violette House, was a third-generation owner of what in the American era became Lot 301. In 1831, when both Maine and New Brunswick claimed the territory, Maine agents John G. Deane and Edward Kavanaugh were sent north to determine the demographics of the disputed area. When they interviewed Belonie Violette's father, François Violette (1770–1856), he told them that his father, François Violette, Sr. (1744–1824), built a gristmill on the site "forty years ago." He also told them that he had taken up residence there "three years ago." He explained that his family owned a larger estate, some 90 rods in width, at the mouth of Grand Rivière, in what is now Saint-Leonard, New Brunswick. And he noted his family's receipt of a British grant to that site in 1826.

The report of a magistrate from Fredericton, New Brunswick, who visited the area in 1833, includes an entry on François Violette, Jr. His status was as follows.

- Family: 1 woman, 2 boys, and 0 girls.
- Stock: 3 horses, 0 oxen, 3 cows, 5 young cattle, 25 sheep, and 4 pigs.
- Quantity of hay cut in tons: 7.
- Seed sown last spring in number of bushels: Wheat 9, barley 1½, oats 7, buckwheat ½, peas 3½, and potatoes 30.

- Crop raised in bushels: wheat 15, barley 1, oats 12, buckwheat 6, peas 20, and potatoes 275.
- Average crop past five years: Wheat 50, Barley 30, oats 30, Buckwheat 20, peas 20, and potatoes 500.

Aside from the Deane and Kavanaugh report, the earliest American document concerning the property upon which the Val Violette House stands is an 1844 mortgage of Belonie Violette to François Violette in which the son gains title to what would soon become Treaty Lot 301 in Township M, Range 2. Later, this lot, consisting of 307.14 acres, would be deeded to Belonie in connection with the work of land commissions established by the states of Maine and Massachusetts to deal with settlers' claims.

In 1844 "Paul Cire, Joseph Cire and Bellonie Violette," assessors of the plantation of Van Buren, addressed a "Census of the Males and Females in Van Buren taken 31 May 1844." Covering the territory from the middle of Grand Isle to Hamlin and Cyr Plantation, the census reported 82 families that comprised 509 individuals. Belonie Violette's family consists of five members.

Shortly after acquiring title from his father, Belonie Violette sold the property's gristmill privilege to Vital Thibodeau of Saint-Basile who would further develop it. In 1846 he deeded the first of the sawmill sites to Isaac Mace. Realizing the lumber potential of Violette Stream, which flows from Violette Pond, in 1855 Belonie Violette sold the site of a second sawmill to George W. Smith and Charles Crosby of Bangor. Later, Smith and Crosby drove cedar logs downstream to the mill site and manufactured shingles—the first to be sent out of the Upper St. John Valley area to American markets. In 1860, Smith and Crosby sold their mill to W. C. Hammond, whose family had been associated with the lumber industry in New Brunswick.

Apparently, Belonie Violette preferred not to become involved in lumber milling, which was considered a risky business. Instead, he farmed Lot 301 and sold land. In addition, he maintained an interest in civic affairs. In 1856 he served as one of three Aroostook County Commissioners, and in 1866 he was elected to a term in the state legislature.

Eventually, Belonie Violette's family grew to fourteen children—seven boys and seven girls. Instead of diminishing the value of the homesite by parceling it among his children in equal shares, Violette bought farms in newly developed sectors of the plantation, and turned them over to his sons when they attained maturity. Thus, the eldest son, Frederic, would have a farm in Cyr Plantation and the next son, Dennis, raised his family in nearby Hamlin. His daughters were given dowries when they married.

In 1875, Violette consigned the family estate to his spouse on the understanding that whenever she decided to become a pensioner of an inheriting son, that son would provide for his younger siblings in the manner that the elder sons had been provided. Therefore, when the middle son, Ambroise (1850–1911), agreed to take his mother as pensioner after Belonie's death four years later, he also agreed to provide dowries for his unmarried younger sisters and to provide his younger brothers with farms of their own. Until they attained maturity, the younger brothers were bound to work for their supporting brother and mother on the original homestead.

The tract of land Belonie Violette had taken at Violette Brook

contributed to the development of a village which grew up around the mill sites. By mid-century, merchants, a tavern keeper, and blacksmiths had moved into the region.

**Morneault House.** Listed on the National Register of Historic Places, the Morneault House is believed to have been built in 1857 by Charles Morneault on River Lot 197 in Grand Isle, Maine. A merchant trader, Morneault provided space for a post office in his home when members of his family served as postmaster. In 1973, following a period of disuse, the house was donated to Notre Heritage Vivant/Our Living Heritage (Acadian Village) by Mrs. Normande Beaupré, a Morneault descendant. Notre Heritage Vivant/Our Living Heritage subsequently moved the house to its present location in the Acadian Village in Keegan, near Van Buren, Maine, and it is listed on the National Register as part of the multiple resource listing of the village.

Charles Morneault, who was of Canadian (i.e. Québécois) stock, settled in the Upper St. John Valley in 1856. On July 18, 1859, he married Flavie Thibodeau, daughter of Benjamin Thibodeau and Barbe Cormier, both of whose family names can be directly traced to Acadia. Morneault is representative of immigrants from Québec who advanced themselves by marrying into the established Acadian community of the Madawaska territory.

While Morneault's connection to the Thibodeau family was socially advantageous, he acquired his land in Grand Isle by purchase rather than by inheritance. He purchased Lot 197 in Township 18, Range 3 (Grand Isle) on November 3, 1857. He received the 432.73-acre piece of land from Jean Baptiste Souci (b. 1783) and Rose Thibodeau Souci (1802–1886) for \$240 and a promise of life support.

**Fred Albert House.** The Madawaska Historical Society maintains several properties near the site of the National Register Acadian Landing that are open to the public. The Fred Albert House, which has been moved to St. David from elsewhere in Madawaska, is the most significant. Built near the middle of the nineteenth century, it has many features of form and construction that may be considered distinctively Acadian. Like the Morneault House and the Levasseur-Ouellette House at the Acadian Village, it was built by a successful Acadian farmer. This one-and-a-half-story dwelling shares with the other houses the typical Georgian proportions and square-hewn log (*pièce-sur-pièce*) wall construction. In the Albert House, *pièce-sur pièce à tenons en coulisse* wall construction is combined with half-dovetail joinery at the corners. Such a combination of construction methods has been documented at the Morissette House/Maison Morissette (circa 1830) in Québec (Lessard and Vilandr  1974:395–409). However, the Morissette House has a ridgepole, while the Albert House, like other Acadian houses of its type in the Valley, is constructed without one. In addition, the Morissette House features two internal chimneys placed against the opposite external walls of the house, while the Albert House appears to have had only a central chimney. Like many other Valley Acadian houses of the mid-nineteenth century, the Albert House has ship's knees fitted into the attic.

Prior to being moved by the Madawaska Historical Society to its present site on Treaty Lot 146, at a spot behind the Society's Tante Blanche Museum, the Fred Albert House stood in Madawaska, on

St. John River Lot 138. While it is possible to trace ownership of Lot 138 within the Albert family back to 1806, there is no documentary evidence linking the house itself to the specific deed of that date. Its architectural characteristics suggest that Luke Albert (1818–1888) or his father, Anselme Albert, was the builder. Statements elicited from Anselme Albert in 1831 by Maine agents Deane and Kavanaugh suggest that Anselme Albert's father, François Albert (1744–1829), bought the lot from Augustin Dubé in 1786. Last occupied in 1970, the house was dedicated as a museum in 1990. At the Historical Society dedication, a family member, Renaud Albert, recalled that at a family gathering in 1958 an aunt stated that the Albert home was then 100 years old. Albert also stated that architectural historian Rudolph Bourque of Fredericton, New Brunswick, suggested that the house consisted of two sections, one of which may be even older than 1858.

Fred E. Albert, unmarried, the last occupant of the home, resided in it with his sister Catherine (1879–1965), also single, who was a long-time school teacher in Madawaska. The residence became the property of Elmo Albert from a provision of Fred E. Albert's will which required Elmo Albert to pay a specified sum to each of Fred's remaining brothers and sisters.

The genealogical data compiled indicates that the Albert family name was brought to Madawaska, Maine, by a member of the third generation of the family to reside in North America. Following the conquest of New France there was considerable population growth in Québec. The growth of the timber trade, among other factors, led to population shifts. For example, young people and new families moved from the St. Lawrence River area in search of new opportunities. François Albert (1744–1829) and his wife, Marie Anne Paradis (b. 1755), took part in that burgeoning movement. According to a 1762 census, his father, François Albert, Sr., lived in Kamouraska and was a member of the 2nd militia company. His family consisted of: one man, one woman, one male child over fifteen, four male children under fifteen, and six female children. The Albert homestead is described as one-and-one-half arpents of river frontage, with twenty arpents under cultivation. The family owned four cows, three oxen, ten sheep, two horses, and nine hogs or swine.

Because François Albert, Jr., was neither the eldest nor the youngest son, his opportunity of inheriting the family farm may have been limited. In any case, shortly after it became known that an Acadian settlement in Madawaska was being supplemented by migrants from Québec, he opted to move his family from Kamouraska to the Madawaska territory. The earliest settlers had an opportunity to choose the land, and Albert was able to secure property along a brook that had potential as a mill site.

Rev. Thomas Albert's *Histoire du Madawaska* lists François Albert among the south-shore pioneers of the St. John River Valley. The first church record concerning the Albert family notes the baptism of François and Marie Anne's daughter Euphrosine in 1792. Church records also note the birth of a son, Louis, in 1795.

The 1806 deed that transfers the property from François Albert to Anselme Albert makes it clear that the family was living on Lot 138. And the details of the life-support mortgage that was a provision of the transfer of property seems to confirm that the family was fairly prosperous. According to the terms of the mortgage, Anselme was expected to

annually provide his parents with 25 pounds of good beef, 12 pounds of butter or hog's lard, 12 pounds of tallow, 12 pounds of maple sugar, half a pound of pepper, one bushel of salt, three gallons of rum, five pounds of good tobacco, one suit of homespun clothes, one linen shirt, one flannel shirt, five pairs of shoe-pacs, one silk neck handkerchief, one pocket handkerchief, and various other goods.

Two reports, one American and one British, help describe Anselme's situation during the era of the international boundary dispute. In 1831, Maine agents Deane and Kavanaugh wrote the following about the Albert property in their report to the Governor of Maine: "Next, south shore, Anselme Albert, practically facing the mouth of the Madawaska River. He marked this lot twenty years ago for his children. Occupies 60 rods frontage with 18 acres cleared. He lives further down stream." Deane and Kavanaugh also note: "Anselme Albert [native of] Canada. He came to region with his father who bought the lot 45 years ago of Augustin Dube. The lot measures 50 x 670 rods. Albert has a house a barn and 40 acres under harvest. There is a brook on the lot and a mill privilege. The mill privilege was sold several years since and a sawmill and a grist mill have been erected there on."

In 1833, British magistrate James MacLaughlin came to Madawaska from Fredericton to investigate calls of local distress owing to an alleged crop failure. In his survey of local conditions, he gives the following statistics about Anselme Albert's farm.

- Family: 1 woman, 6 boys, and 4 girls.
- Stock: 2 horses, 2 oxen, 5 cows, 6 young cattle, 25 sheep, and 7 pigs.
- Quantity of hay cut in tons: 25.
- Seeds sown last spring in number of bushels: wheat 16, barley 2, oats 13, buckwheat 0, peas 5, and potatoes 15.
- Crops raised in bushels: wheat 50, barley 6, oats 4, buckwheat 0, wheat 160, and potatoes 200.
- Average crop of past five years, number of Bushels: wheat 160, barley 50, oats 60, buckwheat 0, peas 45, and potatoes 600.

After the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842 settled the boundary question, a land commission was appointed to assist in resolving settlers' claims. The Philip Eastman map of 1843 clearly identifies Anselme Albert as occupant of Lot 138.

Two structures owned by the Madawaska Historical Society are located next to the Fred Albert House on the Society's property at St. David: the nineteenth-century one-room schoolhouse, which has been moved to its present location, and the Tante Blanche Museum, constructed in 1976. Collections of artifacts, especially related to Acadian textile manufacture and domestic furnishings, are located in the Albert House, the museum, and the schoolhouse.

**Ernest Chasse House.** The National Register Acadian Landing Site is located on the property of the Ernest Chasse House, and the National Register St. David Catholic Church along with the properties of the Madawaska Historical Society are adjacent. The Ernest Chasse House, located on River Lot 146 in St. David parish, Madawaska, Maine, has been in use for several generations. However, until its precise age can be determined, it is not possible to ascertain which of the succeeding property owners of Lot 146 built the house. Currently the house is the residence of its owners, Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Chasse.

This property has been abstracted from 1845, which is as far

back as American land titles go. However, the region within which it is located was occupied in 1785, and the lot was awarded to its first occupant in 1790 by a British land grant. In 1831, during the period when ownership of the area was disputed by American and British authorities, Maine agents Deane and Kavanaugh listed the occupant as Guillaume Fournier.

The British numeration of lots began with the lower numbers downriver and worked up to higher numbers as one headed upstream. The American numbering system was arranged in an opposite fashion, with numbers increasing as one headed downstream. It is not always possible to match lots number-for-number from one system to the other since some lots in the British system were later divided after the initial grants were issued and map lines drawn. Thus, these transfers cited by Deane and Kavanaugh which occurred in the era of British documentation create some differences in the lot lines of the two systems. Similarities do exist, however. The treaty grants of 1845, issued by virtue of a provision of the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), bear a relationship to the British grants of 1790. Obviously, coordination of New Brunswick archival sources with Maine archival sources is needed to illuminate the early history of Maine Acadians more fully.

The succession of the property upon which the Chasse House sits is further complicated due to errors made in the numbering of this lot and nearby lots. A record of succession of ownership was compiled from for the period from 1846 to the present. The confusion that resulted is apparent in the following excerpt from a deed:

This land has sometimes in the making of deeds and mortgages been described on Lot 142 and sometimes Lot # 144 but we think that was an error. We believe that the correct lot is No. 146.

On October 3, 1815, François Durepos (whose parents were married at St. Thomas de Montmagny, Québec) married Susanne Hebert (b. 1791). She was the daughter of Madawaska pioneers Simon Hebert and Joseph Daigle Hebert, who, according to local tradition, were the first Acadian couple married in the chapel at Saint-Basile (1788). Susanne Hebert's brother, Simonette Hebert, was an early lumber mill operator who imported the first horse-drawn wheeled vehicle to be used on the St. John River side roads.

Susanne died on May 10, 1848. Within a year, François married Lea Pelletier, the daughter of Celestin Pelletier, a blacksmith from St. Paschal de Kamouraska, Québec, who had established himself in that trade at Saint-Basile. Apparently successful in business, Pelletier saw to the education of his children. One son, Joseph (1828–1916), became a priest. Another, Thomas (1845–1921), earned a degree in medicine from at Université Laval in Québec, and later practiced in Van Buren, Maine. A third son, Remi, established sawmills in St. François, New Brunswick, in the 1880s, and was elected to the New Brunswick House of Assembly. François Durepos owned considerable acreage in Madawaska including river frontage traditionally called the "Dufour flats," which includes the purported site of the 1785 Acadian landing.

François died in 1865, and four years later his wife Lea married Ephrem Michaud. Michaud's parents were from L'Islet, Montmagny County, Québec. According to the census of 1860, Ephrem had been the hired hand on the Durepos farm. The couple occupied the old Durepos homesite, presently the Ernest Chasse home.

On June 26, 1871, the newly established St. David parish secured a portion of Lot 146 from Ephrem and Lea Michaud. In exchange for the property, the Michauds were given a free pew in the new church. When the bishop presided at the blessing of the church bell, the Michauds acted as sponsors.

Ephrem Michaud passed away on September 25, 1886, at the age of fifty-three, leaving his spouse twice widowed. Joseph Pelletier, a nephew, came back from Pincher Creek, Alberta, to take care of the elderly widow. Lea Michaud died on December 11, 1891. The presence of several members of the clergy at her funeral (including priests from Saint-Basile, Edmundston, Sainte-Anne, and Saint-Leonard, New Brunswick) indicated that she was held in high esteem by church leaders.

The property was inherited by Joseph Pelletier, the son of Cyprien Pelletier and Dorument Thibodeau. He was born on June 1, 1862, at Saint-Basile, New Brunswick. He inherited the property on February 28, 1888, and held it until his death on September 23, 1921. The property was then passed on to his son George. Ernest Chasse, who acquired the property in 1943 from Ernest Chasse, Sr., deeded a portion to the Madawaska Historical Society in 1971.

**Pelletier-Marquis House.** Built by farmer André Pelletier in 1854, the Pelletier-Marquis House in St. Agatha, Maine, is owned by the St. Agatha Historical Society, which maintains it as a public museum. Unlike other properties reviewed by the Maine Acadian cultural survey, the Pelletier-Marquis House is not located on a "treaty lot" or a "river lot." Instead, the lot on Long Lake is on land locally known as "*les concessions*." This name derives from a provision of a homestead act of the State of Maine. Under the terms of the act, homesteads could be secured fairly cheaply, but the new owners were required to settle duties and perform road labor before land certificates were issued. Each certificate or grant was called *une concession* by local French-speakers.

In an attempt to encourage railroad development, the Maine state government issued a land grant of a million acres to the European & North American Railway in 1869. This grant created conflicting claims, and the Commission on Claims of Settlers on Proprietors' Lands in the County of Aroostook was established in 1873. The commission issued a report in 1874. Among the claims listed in the report is one made by André Pelletier of Township 18, Range 4. The report indicates that Pelletier "took up" the property in two pieces in 1853 and 1871. In the year of the report, the first parcel was improved with a house, barn, and stable. While the original state grant for this lot has not been located, the oldest portion of the Pelletier-Marquis House is believed to date from 1853.

In 1875, André Pelletier received an eviction notice from an agent of Thomas N. Egery and Daniel B. Hinckley of Bangor, bond holders from the European & North American Railway. Because the railway defaulted on its notes, Egery and Hinckley sought to recover their losses by attaching the railroad's property. Because the railroad's claims conflicted with settlers' claims, Pelletier and 127 rear-lot farmers received eviction notices. Documentary evidence indicates that Pelletier continued to occupy his homestead despite the challenge to his ownership.

André Pelletier's family can be traced back eight generations in

Québec to Guillaume Pelletier and Michelle Mabile. They were married at St. Aubin de Tourouvre, Perche, France, on February 12, 1619. They immigrated to Québec, where Guillaume died in 1657 and Michelle died in 1660. André Pelletier was the son of Alexandre Pelletier and Angélique Lebel, who had married at St. Louis de Kamouraska on April 25, 1814. André married Scholastique Chamberland at Ste. Luce Church in Frenchville on November 23, 1847. They had twelve children.

Later owners of the Pelletier-Marquis House included two families living in it at the same time: Horace Sylvain and Nere Picard and the Jules Marquis family. Consequently, the succession lines became extremely complex. For example, in the succession of ownership, Damas Pelletier, André's son, deeded his interest to Henry A. Gagnon, a businessman from Van Buren, Maine. Gagnon then deeded it to Horace Sylvain, who occupied half of the house. Widowed in 1896, Sylvain then married Odelie Laplante in 1898. When Horace Sylvain died in 1903, his widow remarried in the following year to Denis Chasse. (In the deeds, she surfaces as Odelie Chasse, who deeded the portion of the house to Nere Picard.) Thus, while the Marquis family occupied half of the house, the Sylvain, Chasse, and Picard families each in turn occupied the half that descended from Damas Pelletier's interest. Meanwhile, Ozithe Pelletier's portion was passed down through the Marquis family into which she had married.

In 1927 the home came into the hands of the Marquis family. And in 1978 the St. Agatha Historical Society acquired it from a member of the family.

**Eloi Daigle House.** The Eloi Daigle House in Fort Kent, Maine, sits on its original site on River Lot 53. The land was deeded by the Commissioners of Maine and Massachusetts to Jean Baptiste Daigle (1791–1846) on July 12, 1845. Daigle was the cousin of Daigle- St. Jean of Baker Brook, New Brunswick, whose home, the Augustin Daigle House, was also studied by the Maine Acadian cultural survey. The current owners of the Eloi Daigle House are residents of Massachusetts, who use the house as a summer home.

Jean Baptiste Daigle was the grandson of Joseph Simon Daigle (1738–1814), who headed the Acadian migration to Madawaska in 1785. Like his grandfather, Jean Baptiste Daigle initially resided at Saint-Basile, New Brunswick, where the family received British grants in 1790. His nine sons fanned out from the early settlement site and established residences from Fort Kent to Van Buren. Deane and Kavanaugh note the presence of three of Jean's sons on Daigle Island, between Baker Brook and Fort Kent, by 1810. The same report notes that one son, Jean Baptiste Daigle, Jr., owned the point of land formed at the junction of the Fish and St. John rivers. This is confirmed by a later grant of the land, identified as Lot 32, that he received in 1845 from the states of Maine and Massachusetts.

Jean Baptiste Daigle, Jr., married Emilienne Morin (d. 1877) at Saint-Basile, New Brunswick, on January 13, 1818. The couple had seventeen children. In order to provide for his offspring, Daigle took up several lots in Fort Kent, including Lots 51 and 53. However, he died a little over a year after receiving the grants, which apparently went unrecorded at the registry of deeds until 1924.

About three months before Daigle died, local merchant trader A. & S. Dufour of Saint-Basile noted that Daigle had been asked to

deliver seventy-one bushels of oats to James Perley's lumber operation. This indicates that Daigle was working as a supplier to the lumber operation.

In 1858, in a deed signed by Jean Baptiste Daigle's widow and thirteen other family members, Vital Daigle (1836–1899) received title to the family homestead on Lot 53. Vital Daigle also went to develop new land in Township 17, Range 6, the township immediately south of the original family settlement now known as New Canada Plantation.

The entry for New Canada Plantation in the Maine Register for 1882 lists Docite Daigle as assessor, Alcime Daigle as tax collector, John B. Daigle as treasurer, Mrs. Arthemise Daigle as school committee member, and Vital Daigle as lumber manufacturer. The prominence of the Daigle family at that time may suggest the reason why New Canada Plantation became known locally as Daigle, Maine.

In 1888, long after Vital Daigle and his wife Julie Cyr Daigle brought twelve children into the world, Vital deeded the old St. John River Lot 53 to his son Raymond (1858–1952). As if in keeping with family tradition, Raymond and his wife raised a dozen children of their own. One child, Arthur Daigle (1887–1952), went into the car sales business in Fort Kent. Another son, Eloi Daigle (1904–1963), went to Bates College in Lewiston, Maine, graduating in 1929. In 1950, Eloi was elected principal of the new Madawaska High School. His wife, Lillian St. Pierre (1913–1987), taught school after graduating from Madawaska Training School in 1931.

In 1934, Eloi Daigle succeeded into ownership of the east half of Lot 53 which contained the Daigle homestead. After Eloi's death, his wife deeded the property to her daughter, Eulalie Mae Daigle-Martin. In 1972, she deeded the old homestead out of the family.

**Daigle-St. Jean House.** The Daigle-St. Jean House sits by the St. John River next to the Catholic Church property in Clair, New Brunswick. It is a property of the Clair Historical Society and houses nineteenth- and twentieth-century furnishings and other artifacts from the local area. According to a material culture survey ("Perspective-Jeunesse") conducted in 1974, the house originally stood on River Lot 82 in the Caron Brook section of the town of Baker Brook, New Brunswick. The construction date for the house is ca. 1850.

*Maison Daigle-St. Jean,  
Clair, New Brunswick.  
This mid-nineteenth-century  
house was moved to its  
present location.*



DAVID A. WHITMAN

Data collected in connection with the Perspective-Jeunesse survey list the house's proprietorial succession as follows: Augustin Daigle, Hector Daigle, Albert Daigle, Joseph St. Jean, Léville St. Jean. It is believed that the builder of the Daigle-St. Jean House was Augustin Daigle, Jr. (b. 1831).

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## CONCLUSION

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The United States Congress based passage of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act principally upon the significance of Maine's Acadian cultural resources, and the risk of loss of or erosion to these resources. Both arguments were presented by the sponsors and supporters of the Act.

Congressional testimony posits that Acadian history and cultural features are significant to the people of Maine and the nation. Testifying before a House subcommittee (July 17, 1990), Congresswoman Olympia Snowe stated, "... these very ethnic cultures ... have given to this country the richness and diversity that makes America unique among nations. And it is the Acadian culture which, for three centuries now, has enriched, and helped shape the character of ... Maine." At the same hearing, Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives John L. Martin argued that Acadian heritage must be "preserved for the next generation of Maine and American citizens—and not just for those of French ancestry." He further remarked that the Acadian story is exemplary of the "contributions of French-speaking Americans to our history and to the fabric of American society."

Advocates of the bill also pointed out that Acadian heritage is presently endangered. Senator William Cohen, for instance, remarked at the March 28 Senate Subcommittee hearing: "... older members of the [Acadian] community fear that their children and grandchildren will eventually lose touch with their heritage as buildings decay and community members move or pass away. So there is real concern about the future of the Acadian culture among the Acadian community in Maine." He continued, "Once a facet of our history is lost, it cannot be retrieved, and we are diminished as a consequence."

The source of danger to the continuity of Acadian heritage was described by Congresswoman Snowe before the House subcommittee: "Traditional cultures ... face substantial pressures in modern-day America. Mass communication, mass media, increased individual mobility—all of these facets of our society make the very survival of traditional cultures difficult." Senator Mitchell concurred in his statement before the Senate subcommittee (March 28, 1990): "[Acadians] are at a crossroad. Their enemy now is not deportation but the possible loss of customs, oral history, folksongs to a modern age that all too often sacrifices the tradition of the past to the immediate."

The Act does not prescribe the geographical reach of the Maine Acadian culture project, except to specify the state of Maine. Public testimony related to the federal legislation focused on the Upper St. John Valley in northern Aroostook County, generally accepted as the hearth of Acadian culture in Maine. Cultural research confirms that the Valley is strongly influenced by Acadian culture and is bounded in the United States by regions which are, to a large extent, culturally distinct. The Acadian settlements of the Upper St. John Valley also represent a cultural area distinct from others in Canada. The area's heritage is distinguishable from that of the large French-speaking province of Québec. And the inland location of the region, its land-based economy,

and its historic relationship with the United States distinguish it from the Acadian-influenced areas in the Maritime Provinces. The history of the Valley and the people who settled there provides an important key to our understanding of the settling of North America and the historical development of the United States. Furthermore, the inclusion of the words "Acadian settlers and their descendants" in the Act does not dictate the interpretation of the Acadian story in any particular historical period. The wealth and significance of cultural resources in the region's communities, and the need for preservation and conservation efforts, support the partnership underway between the local entities and the National Park Service.

The interpretation of Acadian historical sites and properties in the Valley can provide unique and significant information relating to the development of American material culture and society. Material culture features in the Upper St. John Valley, mostly vernacular, are largely unknown outside the Valley and too often under-appreciated by the local community. Graceful and historically significant Catholic churches, associated religious buildings, and shrines stretch along the Valley like a string of jewels. There may be as many solid-wall (log and heavy sawn timber) wooden structures remaining in the Valley as anywhere in the United States. Many Acadian houses of the nineteenth century were built *pièce-sur-pièce à tenons en coulisse*, a form of log construction rare in the United States. A range of other material culture items, from barns to weaving, possess distinctive features and warrant public recognition.

But just as important as preserving artifacts and historical properties, is the distinctive living, expressive culture of Maine Acadians. For instance, St. John Valley French is distinct in some ways from all other Old World French forms. This living heritage contributes to the cultural diversity of Maine and the United States. Many aspects of contemporary culture in the Valley—songs, customs, figures of speech, dance styles, foodways, aesthetic values, and so forth—are not simply historically significant but vital to Acadian identity. Cooperative cultural conservation efforts in the Valley require a program that encourages the maintenance, transmission, and public presentation of living Acadian heritage. Such a program could validate and energize local traditional life, and at the same time be of inspirational, educational, and recreational value to visitors from throughout North America.

The mission of the North Atlantic Region's Maine Acadian culture project flows from the mandates and the spirit of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act. Three mandates are spelled out in the legislation: (1) recognition of the significance of Maine Acadian history and culture; (2) assistance to state, local, and private entities in interpreting the Maine Acadian story, as well as preserving Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore; and (3) assistance in identifying, gathering, and preserving sites, historical data, artifacts, and objects associated with the Acadians of Maine. Fulfilling these mandates requires attention to cultural resource management, historic preservation, acquisition and conservation of collections, and interpretive presentation of cultural materials. But the mandates may also guide the National Park Service and its cooperators toward strategies for conserving living culture.

Cultural conservation is a strategy designed to recognize and encourage the diversity of traditional lifeways in plural societies. The concept of cultural conservation has grown out of concern about the erosion of traditional community life (Loomis 1983). Expressing an

integration of folklife studies with the historic preservation movement (Jabbour and Marshall 1980), its strategy is to document and conserve intangible as well as tangible cultural expressions vital to the heritage of traditional communities. Much as environmental and historic preservation efforts protect the diversity of natural resources and historic properties, cultural conservation helps safeguard the variety of cultural expressions throughout the nation and the world.

The National Park Service supports cultural conservation objectives such as those mandated in the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act. For instance, since 1973 the National Park Service has cosponsored, along with the Smithsonian Institution, the Festival of American Folklife, an internationally acclaimed model for research and public education involving American folklife. In an introductory statement published in the program book for the 1991 festival, James M. Ridenour, Director of the National Park Service (Ridenour 1991), provided the following comments with regard to the agency's role in conserving cultural heritage:

We have worked with numerous local, state and regional agencies throughout the United States to promote the preservation, understanding, and interpretation of folklife and grassroots cultural traditions. We have cooperated closely with the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress in developing cultural conservation policies and specific research projects with Lowell National Historical Park and now an Acadian Cultural Center in Maine. Ongoing festivals, performance programs and skills demonstrations such as the National Folk Festival held at America's Industrial Park in Johnstown, Pennsylvania, and others at Jean Lafitte National Historical Park in Louisiana, Golden Gate National Recreation Area in California, Hawaii Volcanoes National Park, Chamizal National Memorial Park in Texas, Blue Ridge National Parkway in Virginia and North Carolina, Cuyahoga National Recreation Area in Ohio, and Virgin Islands National Park on St. John testify to our commitment.

## Recommendations for Further Research

The initial folklife survey has documented much of cultural importance—especially given that field work was limited to two months—but this report must not be regarded as a sufficient base for future programming and preservation efforts. Much has yet to be discovered and understood about Acadians in Maine. For instance, the survey does not give an overview of the worldview that Acadians share as a subcultural group. Their institutions and what they mean to Acadians have not yet been systematically studied or analyzed. Historical context has been given for certain physical manifestations of material culture, but there is no data about what changes occurred, the mechanisms for change, and how the change has been incorporated into the worldview of the people. The geographic scope of the survey was limited to a few communities in the St. John Valley; a broader scope is needed in the Valley, northern Aroostook County, and other areas of Maine.

It is tempting, with programming in mind, to mount research keyed to specific arts or forms of cultural expression. But a systematic, extended, in-depth documentary survey of the culture would be more productive in the long run. Based on a clearly stated research design, the methodologies employed should include literature reviews, participant observation, mini-surveys, life histories and other oral history, analysis of census data, archival research, and in-depth interviews. Research

should include members of the Acadian community as research associates and others from the community as reviewers, providing feedback on the end products. The following are some specific areas which warrant serious research.

**Archaeology.** Archaeological resources are an integral part of the investigation into Acadian culture. A "walk-over" survey is needed to document and describe sites, and assess their potential to provide data on the material culture and cultural adaptations of the early Acadian settlers in the study area. The overview should be followed by specific site investigations and documentation, as called for.

**Architecture.** Vernacular architectural resources warrant a complete architectural survey of properties over fifty years in age. Such a survey could enlist the skills and resources of the state historic preservation officer or the Historic American Buildings Survey of the National Park Service. The geographic area of this survey should include St. John River settlements, villages, and towns between Allagash and Hamlin; settlements along Maine Route 11 from Winterville north to Fort Kent; and back settlements, especially in the townships of St. Francis, St. John Plantation, Fort Kent, Wallagrass, Eagle Lake, New Canada, St. Agatha, Madawaska, Grand Isle, Van Buren, Cyr Plantation, and Hamlin. The towns of Caribou and Presque Isle are also rich in architectural features associated with Acadians.

Some of the most important properties fall within the following categories: (a) dwellings: Acadian log farmhouses and village houses from the early to late nineteenth century; early- to mid-twentieth-century farmhouses; seasonal lake camps; (b) farm buildings: Acadian *pignon-simple* (simple-gable) barns; twin barns; *comble-cassé* (gambrel-roof) barns; large, early-twentieth-century, simple-gable grain and hay barns; potato houses; tool and equipment sheds; (c) religious properties and sites: all churches over fifty years old; presbyteries; convents; roadside and memorial crosses and shrines; cemeteries; sacred springs; (d) school buildings: Catholic Church schools; older wood-frame public schoolhouses; early- to mid-twentieth-century brick buildings; (e) mills and historical mill sites: buckwheat, carding, lumber, and others; (f) historical sites associated with the railroad: Frenchville Starch Factory; railroad potato warehouses; train depots and stations. These properties are presently falling into disuse and are thus endangered cultural resources.

**Cultural land use survey.** All lands in the Upper St. John Valley have been utilized and/or modified by Euro-Americans to some degree, even portions that appear to be pristine. A comprehensive knowledge of the geological, ecological, and cultural history of the area is a prerequisite to understanding Acadian culture. A cultural land use study from the cultural/historical geography approach—utilizing geography's emphasis on discovering patterns—will best lay the foundation for understanding some of the present land formations, land boundaries, exploited/exploitable natural resources, extant cultural resources, and potential archaeological resources. Defining patterns, developing a context for the patterns, and assessing the resources within that context will provide the necessary background for understanding the features of the Upper St. John Valley landscape.

Subjects to be addressed by the land use survey include: (a) land

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property systems, such as the arpent system of land allotment utilized during early settlement, in relation to natural features; (b) land ownership and land exchanges such as sale, lease, and inheritance systems; (c) extractive industries, such as logging and mining, with associated land modifications and infrastructures; (d) agricultural systems, land modifications, and associated infrastructures; (e) animal husbandry practices and associated infrastructures; and (f) transportation systems and associated infrastructures.

**Ethnic ascription/group identity.** The subject of group identity is complex in the Upper St. John River Valley. Dr. Adrien Bérubé of the Centre Universitaire Saint-Louis-Maillet, in Edmundston, New Brunswick, surveyed northwest New Brunswick to gauge groupness and identity among the French-speaking population. His extensive questionnaire explored a range of regional attitudes correlated with identity labels like "*Brayon*," "*Acadian*," "*Canadian*," and "*Madawaskan*." A similar sociological/geographical study on the Maine side of the Valley would be helpful to cultural programmers trying to tailor interpretive commentary to the realities of the region.

**Folklife.** Additional documentation of the region's expressive culture is required for adequate development of programs of many kinds, including performances, exhibitions, publications, and apprenticeships. Areas of expressive culture to be documented should include foodways, music, dance, oral traditions, occupational lore, material culture, religious traditions, and family and community celebrations.

**Historical documents.** Copies of property records, successions, deeds, vendor/vendee records, and other documents pertaining to early Acadians must be gathered and made available to researchers of Maine Acadian history. Existing documents recorded prior to United States ownership of a portion of the St. John River Valley (1785–1842) are presently in Canada (mostly in New Brunswick). Records pertaining to the early histories of the oldest known Acadian structures and sites in the Valley are generally not available in Maine.

**Linguistics.** Linguistic study in the Upper St. John Valley and vicinity should include: (a) basic phonological analysis, documentation, and comparison with other New and Old World French forms; (b) applied socio- and psycholinguistic study to determine the character and depth of attitudes about language use; (c) ethnolinguistic study to identify significant Acadian French lexical domains and to collect lexical items associated with farming, logging, carpentry, weaving, folk ritual, plants, animals, the weather, and other areas of traditional knowledge; (d) French place-name study.

**Material culture.** The purposes of the Act clearly call for the preservation of tangible cultural resources. Fulfilling these purposes will call into play the strategies of historic preservation, and the need for architectural, archaeological, and landscape surveys are discussed above. Many other material forms of expression provide insight into Acadian culture, however. A survey of collections held by institutions in Maine and New Brunswick is needed. A telephone and/or questionnaire survey will provide a basic level of knowledge about the collections

known that relate to Maine Acadians. It should be noted that "identifying, gathering, and preserving" Acadian material culture requires special expertise in Acadian vernacular traditions.

**Natural resources.** The Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act authorizes the National Park Service to enter into cooperative agreements with owners of properties of natural significance associated with the Acadian people of the state of Maine. Natural resources, the St. John River being chief among them, have had a profound influence on life in the Valley. A literature review and basic overview of the area's biotic and abiotic resources will help define the cultural context of Acadians in Maine. The identification of specific sites of interest should be included in the overview. Given that natural resources do not respect political boundaries, the effort should be conducted in cooperation with entities in Canada.

## What Next?

The National Park Service will conduct planning activities to determine how to assist local and state governments and other public and private entities in telling the story of Maine's Acadian settlers and their descendants; to facilitate coordination with other agencies and interests; to assist in identifying, gathering, and preserving tangible Acadian resources for the benefit and education of the public; to assist in preserving Acadian music, arts, and folklore; and to involve the public in decisions about National Park Service activities, Acadian resources, and potential facilities development. The Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission will advise the National Park Service throughout the planning process. A three-step process will be followed:

- 1 Alternatives/environmental assessment
- 2 Implementation strategy
- 3 Implementation

Step One will involve the development and analysis of a range of alternatives to accomplish the preservation and public programming mandates of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act, while assessing the environmental impacts of each alternative, as required by the National Environmental Policy Act (42 USC 4371 et seq.). The alternative futures document that will result from Step One will address issues of significance, the suitability and feasibility of proposed National Park Service activities, and an appropriate range of management alternatives. Innovative, practical, and cost-effective solutions to the issues will be contained in the alternatives. At the conclusion of Step One, the North Atlantic Regional Director will, with the involvement of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission and the public, select the alternative that best accomplishes the purposes of the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act.

A strategy to implement the selected alternative will be developed in Step Two. An interdisciplinary team of planning professionals will develop interrelated proposals for resource protection and management, cooperation with local interests, interpretation and public programming, visitor use, Native American activities, accessibility for disabled visitors, carrying capacities, and operations; along with a general indication of the location, size capacity, and function of physical developments. A schedule and cost estimates will be included. Specific

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plans that might be contained in the implementation strategy include development concept plans, land protection plans, resource management plans, concession management plans, interpretive prospectus, historic structure reports, and exhibit plans. These plans will be prepared in accordance with guidelines developed by experts in the respective program areas.

Step Three will involve implementing the strategy developed in Step Two. It will constitute the ongoing National Park Service program to recognize and interpret the important contribution made to American culture and history by Maine Acadians. At this stage the National Park Service may enter into cooperative agreements with the owners of properties of natural, historical, or cultural significance associated with the Acadian people in the state of Maine.

Throughout the planning process, opportunities will be provided for the public at the national, regional, and local levels to voice their concerns about planning and implementation of the Maine Acadian culture project proposals. Certain consultations with specific parties and agencies are required by law, regulation, and National Park Service policies. In addition, positive actions will be taken to identify and involve the public as individuals and through public interest groups and organizations at the earliest possible stages in the planning process and before planning decisions have been made. Those involved will include federal agencies, state and local governments, regional planning commissions, Native Americans, the state historic preservation officer, Acadian cultural groups in the United States and Canada, the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission, and other interested parties. Opportunities for public participation may include public workshops and meetings, informal work sessions on particular issues, and public review and comment on draft documents.

The National Park Service will develop, gather, compile, store, analyze, and update information about natural and cultural resources and regional demographic, ethnographic, and socioeconomic data relevant to planning and implementation. These data will serve as an information base for formulating proposals, evaluating alternatives, and making decisions during planning. The survey of Maine Acadian culture presented in the preceding pages, with its recommendations for further research, is the first step in providing an adequate information base about Acadian culture in Maine.

Three points will be borne in mind during planning. First, the cultural traditions of the Valley are shared and extended by communities scattered throughout Maine and New England to which Acadians from the Valley have migrated during the past century. Such communities retain links to the Valley and thus represent a sort of cultural diaspora (not unlike the earlier diaspora which brought Acadians to the Valley in the first place). Considering them in plans for cultural programming, despite their dispersion, makes good cultural sense.

Second, the Valley is divided by the boundary between Maine and New Brunswick; but the boundary is primarily political rather than cultural. It would be a cultural disservice to ignore the Canadian side of the Valley in programming and interpretation.

And, third, the culture of the Upper St. John Valley is plural, including historical influences as well as contemporary representatives from other cultural groups. The French-language cultural heritage includes Québécois as well as Acadian French traditions, and the

English-language traditions are also varied. Further, there are historical and contemporary cultural features which are neither Francophone nor Anglophone in origin, ranging from American Indian tribal traditions to the traditions of ethnic groups like the Swedes. Many traditions (including those regarded as Acadian) reflect multiple origins and influences, to the point that they may be as much regional as ethnic in character. One cannot understand the Valley without taking these complexities into account, and programming which seeks to avoid them in order to feature only "pure" Acadian traditions will not only distort cultural reality but stir contemporary resentment. Though Acadian culture may comprise the chief focus of joint National Park Service/community programming, responsible cultural presentation and conservation will require proper acknowledgment of all the cultural strands that have created the fabric of the region.

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## GLOSSARY

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This preliminary glossary of Acadian French terms related to vernacular architecture and cultural landscape was prepared from field research conducted during the summer of 1991 in the Upper St. John River Valley of northern Maine by Howard W. Marshall. It makes no attempt to be historical, and, since it is based on short-term fieldwork, it cannot be definitive. Most of the terms given below can be located in standard dictionaries of the French language. However, some terms are found (heard) only in the living context of spoken French used in the Valley.

Although there are studies of French vernacular building traditions in North America (see Gowans 1964, Kniffen and Glassie 1965, Moogk 1977, Edwards 1987, and Upton and Vlach 1986), data collected during the course of the Maine Acadian cultural survey indicates a need to rethink the features of the technology and the houses, barns, and other features related to architecture and landscape.

Studies of the French-derived architecture of Louisiana (Kniffen 1965, Edwards 1987), Missouri (Thurman 1984, Peterson 1940–41), and Québec (Gowans 1964, Moogk 1977) contain architectural terms supplied by scholars as well as terms elicited from residents of areas where examples of this architecture's features are found. This is also the case with studies of Acadian buildings in the Upper St. John Valley.

There is, not surprisingly, disagreement among Acadian scholars on these terms. Most terms are not found in standard dictionaries of architectural history and technology. Scholars who have explored documents such as travelers' accounts, diaries, and legal records encountered a variety of spellings and glosses. In addition, a researcher familiar with published studies of French Creole or Cajun building traditions in Louisiana will not necessarily know the permutation of a French word in northern Maine. In Louisiana, the term *colombage*, for example, is generally used in the published scholarship to denote heavy frame or box construction with in-fill (*fachwerk* in German; half-timbering in English), but in the Upper St. John Valley, people understand it to refer to a particular kind of *pièce-sur-pièce* (piece-on-piece) construction in which vertical grooved columns receive the ends of the flush horizontal *pièces* (*madriers*).

Still one of the best works, although about French settlers in a different region, is McDermott's 1941 monograph, *A Glossary of Mississippi Valley French 1673–1850*. McDermott, who taught French at Washington University and was knowledgeable about the Acadian experience in North America, based his glossary on French terms found in early documents. In the present glossary, terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's study are noted with an asterisk (\*).

Some historic terms in McDermott were not heard in Maine, such as *boulin* for "log used in building houses or fences" (McDermott 1941:33), and *bousillage* (used in Missouri today) for the chinking between logs in a building (McDermott 1941:34). Also, some terms in McDermott have a different meaning in St. John Valley spoken French. For example, *carré* in McDermott is explained as the small space beneath

a roof (McDermott 1941:43), but in the St. John Valley the word *grenier* is used for this (the loft or attic level); Valley French-speakers use the word *carré* only for the space below the plates (loft level). In other words, *carré* is the structural square that the roof sits upon.

Equally important, but more closely connected to the survey's study area, is the outstanding collection of essays about the history and construction technology of vernacular houses in Québec found in *La maison traditionnelle au Québec*, edited by Lessard and Vilandré (Lessard and Vilandré 1974).

The following preliminary glossary is based primarily on conversations with scholars of Acadian culture, and on discussions with French-speakers in the Upper St. John River Valley during field recording of vernacular buildings undertaken during the summer of 1991. A number of terms related to Acadian building and buildings are English instead of French. Those which are especially important keys to the vernacular architecture in the Valley are given below. French terms are shown in italics; English terms are not italicized. It is assumed that the average reader will know, or can easily learn the meaning of terms such as: rafter, decking, plate, girt, collar beam, brace, mortise, tenon, sill, sash, auger, broadaxe, adze, frow, plank, tongue-and-groove, joinery, spline, roof pitch, whitewash, and oakum. If words have synonyms or relevant definitions in the standard Cassell's French Dictionary, and if this information appears helpful, this is indicated in parenthesis following the entry. (See, for example, the entry for *planche*.) Words or definitions contributed by survey researcher C. Ray Brassieur which are related to Louisiana French are noted by "CRB."

**armoire** \* A tall wooden cupboard made to store household material such as dishes (if in the dining room or kitchen) or clothing (in a bedroom). The American English terms that can be substituted, depending on size and function, are "wardrobe," "chifforobe," "press," and "sideboard." *Armoire rouge* (*gros rouge*) is sometimes used to denote the special flat, deep red color (also called *sang de boeuf*, "oxblood") historically painted on armoires and other kinds of furniture in the Acadian household. (see *sang de boeuf*)

**armoiette** (CRB) A shorter, more typical Acadian armoire.

**arpent** \* (*arpent* = acre; equivalent to about one-and-a-half English acres / *Cassell's* 49) The official system of French "long lot" land division brought to North America with the first Acadian settlers. An

arpent is a unit of measure, roughly 192 English feet in width; there are different interpretations of its precise dimensions historically. For example, Lessard and Vilandré give the measurement as 191.835 English feet.

**baluster** A vertical post, turned or rectangular, supporting handrails.

**batterie** \* (*batterie* = threshing floor; *batter en grange* = thresher; *batteuse* = threshing machine / *Cassell's* 83) The middle bay (hall, passage) of a three-bay Acadian barn (with large opposed doors) used as a threshing and winnowing area.

**bay** An area between the principal structural members of a building, especially a barn.

**bergère** (*berger* = shepherd; *bergerie* = sheepfold / *Cassell's* 87) The low outbuilding where sheep were kept on the Acadian farm.

\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

**brace** A 45-degree-angle support placed between vertical and horizontal beams to increase stability. The French term for this is *lien*.

**camp** A temporary shelter used by lumbermen and hunters, or, as often today, a vacation or leisure-time cottage or dwelling. The French term for lumber camp is *chantier*.

**carr** The space below the plates (loft level) of a house; in other words, the structural square that the roof sits upon; moving vertically, the *carré* is the sills, walls, girts, and plates. (see **square of the house**)

**cave** (*caveau* = small cellar; *caver* = to hollow out / *Cassell's* 136) The cool, damp, dug-out potato barrow or cellar beneath a farmhouse where potatoes were stored before the coming of railroads in the late nineteenth century led to the construction of special potato houses at the railheads.

**cavereau** The entrance (outside, ground-level) to the *cave* (cellar), usually covered with a shed or gable roof.

**chinking** Insulation or in-fill between the horizontal logs in the bearing walls of a house. Peat moss, birchbark, and buckwheat chaff all served the Acadians very well as chinking in their *pièce-sur-pièce* houses. This chinking is rather more like marine "caulking" than chinking (of the sort familiar in other regions of the United States where logs are laid up with distinct gaps between them that require substantial in-fill or chinking) in cases where the logs or *pièces* fit tightly. Since the logs fit flush, the peat moss and other materials work well as chinking material.

**comble cassé** (*comble cassé* = broken comb / CRB) St. John Valley French words for the "gambrel roof" familiar in the region, on twentieth-century barns especially.

**concession** \* Grants of lands to early settlers of means and position. In later settlement, this refers to the "back settlements," lands granted or sold to settlers or the offspring of original settlers coming after the initial lands were taken up along the main areas bordering the river; to be from one of the "back settlements" (away from the river in the interior) still means that one is not of the best social class, and the term still carries derogatory connotations (e.g., *Ils viennent des concessions*).

**coude** (see **Ship's knee**)

**coulisse** This is the groove cut in the edge of a board to receive the tongue of the adjacent board in *planche debout* Acadian construction. *Coulisse* is also taken to be the term for the principal vertical groove cut into the columns for *pièce-sur-pièce* construction.

**couverture** \* (alternately *comble*) The roof of a building.

**clôture de pieu** (CRB) Split post-and-rail fences with wire fastenings. The historical term, in McDermott, is *barrière*. *Pieu* historically, in McDermott (117), means a split or hand-riven post, rail, or stake.

**colombage** In Moogk (1977), *colombage* refers to wall construction featuring closely set vertical structural members. Elsewhere this term is sometimes used for what is called half-timbered construction (with heavy frame) for British Isles and British-American instances, and for what is called *fachwerk* in German-speaking European countries and in most Germanic communities in the U.S. However, in the St. John Valley *colombage* has been applied to the columns that are one of the vital identifying features of *pièce-sur-pièce* or log construction in which the horizontal hewn logs or thinner sawn planks (both flat on all four sides) are fitted very closely together in the Acadian

\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

tradition. In Moogk (1977), *en colombage* refers to wall construction featuring closely set vertical structural members.

**dépanneur** A quick-stop/convenience store. *Dépanneurs* are the local variant of the American convenience stores, but they are privately owned. They sell many kinds of homemade local foods and a wide variety of materials. Many offer video rentals. *Dépanneur* is the word used on storefronts in New Brunswick.

**deuxième rang** (*deuxième* = second) The second rank of landholdings in the Acadian land-division system based on the arpent tradition of division and alignment. These were often of lesser quality, but they were developed prior to the "back settlements" (*concessions*); they were located well back from the St. John River's more sought-after lands.

**échelle** Gauvin (1965) suggests that the Acadian *échelle* derives from the maritime connotation of the word as a "gangway" or "ship's ladder," but the inspection of a number of nineteenth-century Acadian homes in the Valley leads one to believe that *échelle* best describes the set of steep steps used to access attics of Acadian houses. Interestingly, the word *échelier* (another form of *échelle*) is used in Louisiana to designate precisely the same sort of steep stairway leading to the attics of Acadian houses.

**English barn** A barn type that in plan is composed of, usually, three bays in width and one or more bays in depth; the principal doors are located in the central bay and are opposed. This barn type is called an "Acadian barn" (*grange acadienne*) in the Upper St. John Valley.

**flats** The low-lying floodplains attractive for the earliest Acadian agriculture, commerce, and settle-

ment, which begins at the bank of the St. John River and runs gently inland to the rise of the hills beyond.

**garçonnière** (*garçonnière* = bachelor's rooms / Cassell's 371; CRB) The term used in Louisiana for the separate upstairs sleeping quarters for males.

**"le grand ménage"** (*ménage* = housekeeping; *ménager* = to save, take care of; thrifty, frugal / Cassell's 481; glossed by one informant as "the big housekeeping"; "the big upkeep" / CRB) This is the annual cycle of spring cleaning of one's house, barns, outbuildings, yard, etc. The Acadian tradition of spring cleaning here goes far beyond the standard American concept of "spring cleaning." It means to clean anything, includes re-tarring driveways and demolishing ("cleaning up") old buildings that have fallen into disrepair. This tendency or custom has significant ramifications for historic preservation. When an old shed or outbuilding is disused and falls into a state of neglect, the force of the spring-cleaning tradition pressures people to get rid of their old buildings.

**grange** A barn. The typical Acadian barn (*grange acadienne*) of the early period is a three-bay, side-opening, gable-roof barn much like the so-called "English" barn in its floor plan. There is a central passageway through the middle of the structure, and often a shed addition on one gable end. At least some parts of this barn are sided with shingles, particularly the areas (inside the barn as well as outside) where farm animals were stabled during the cold seasons.

**grenier** *Greniers* are the commodious sleeping and living spaces under the roof. Many are quite large and nicely finished, some being made into two rooms by the addition of a vertical board partition/divider wall. Some *greniers* are

\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

insulated with birchbark, newspaper, or other materials. In Louisiana, this space is called *garçonnière*; elsewhere, this space is called a "loft" (if it includes sleeping spaces) or an "attic" (if the purpose is essentially for storage and utility purposes).

**gris** A light gray color, commonplace on early furniture and used today in combination with *sang de boeuf* (*gros rouge*, oxblood color) by Acadians of the Upper St. John Valley. It occurs frequently in a two-tone combination with *sang de boeuf*.

**half-dovetail** (see *tête de chien*)

**king's broad arrow** A mark used by agents of the King of England to blaze or identify the best of the old-growth white pine trees; reserved by the English Crown, they were mainly harvested and shipped out of the region and used for ships' masts and spars by the Royal Navy in colonial times. There were severe penalties for cutting a tree marked with the king's broad arrow.

**lien** A diagonal wooden brace between vertical and horizontal framing members or timbers in a barn.

**log building** For the Acadian vernacular buildings in the St. John Valley, "log building" may describe any kind of structure in which logs or timbers are used in the bearing walls of the structure. During the early phase of settlement, log buildings of the Anglo-American variety as well as log buildings that exemplify the finest Acadian tradition of horizontal log construction (frequently with vertical posts anchoring the horizontal *pièces* in the *en coulisse* treatment) were predominant. Thus, in the study area, a *pièce* is simply a log or plank used in a bearing wall of a building. In this region, therefore, and in contradistinction to the description

in the seminal essay by Fred Kniffen and Henry Glassie (Kniffen and Glassie 1966), any log building with logs placed horizontally to provide a bearing wall, regardless of corner-notching or corner-timbering methods, may be thought of as *pièce-sur-pièce* construction. Thus the Acadian tradition in the Upper St. John River Valley is to describe these buildings as being either "log" or *pièce* construction. A *pièce* is a log or plank. (see *madrier*)

**madrier** A thick plank. This is a dialect term (CRB) that is sometimes difficult to distinguish from *pièce*. Any Acadian carpenter will distinguish between *madrier* and *pièce*, but, from a lexicographer's perspective, confusion often results from the fact that different carpenters define the terms variously with respect to precise dimensions. A *madrier* measures about 2 inches by 8–10 inches by about 16 inches; a *pièce* measures about 3–4 inches or greater in thickness and is variable in height and length.

**maison** A house.

**oakum** Loosely twisted hemp or jute fibers used to caulk seams of ships and boats; in the Upper St. John Valley, oakum is sometimes found as caulking (insulation) between the horizontal *pièces* or logs of a log house and is sometimes made of buckwheat fibers.

**perche** (CRB) A long pole.

**paneling** Many of the Acadian dwellings have paneled ceilings inside; these are often painted white.

**pegs** Carved wooden pegs or "trunnels" that secure mortise-and-tenon and other kinds of joints in the framing of Acadian buildings. (see **trunnels**)

**pièce-sur-pièce** \* In the Valley, the shorthand term *pièce* is often used

\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

instead of the entire term. Local citizens frequently say *pièce* when referring to the construction of hewn log walls of houses like the Fred Albert House. *Pièce-sur-pièce* construction involves developing a wall by building up layers of horizontal hewn or sawn, shaped logs or planks. The effect is not entirely unlike that of a log building, and, in fact, some people call these buildings "log buildings."

Sometimes the term is replaced by "American-style log cabin." The logs are sometimes hewn into rectangles with a broadaxe and they are sometimes pit-sawn by hand or sawn at a local sawmill. They fit flush and are often caulked with a local material fetched from the field or forest such as flax, buckwheat chaff, birchbark, or oakum.

The logs are laid atop each other until they reach from the sill to the plate. In a standard "American-style" log house (that of the German-speaking and Anglo-American builders), the *pièces* are notched at the corners. In the Acadian tradition, they are often built *en coulisse*; along the way of their rise they are set into the vertical column's groove (*coulisse*) that receives the tenon or tongue at each end of the log (*pièce*) or plank (*madrier*). One of the virtues of *pièce-sur-pièce* construction *en coulisse* is that the builder is able to use short pieces (logs, planks) instead of requiring longer lengths needed in the standard Anglo- or Germanic-American log building.

It is important to note that *pièce* is used to refer to more than one type of log construction.

***pignon simple*** (*pignon* = gable end / Cassell's 563) Literally, "simple gable." In the Upper St. John River region, the term refers to the Acadian barn type with gabled roof, the barn of the early generation.

***planche debout*** (*planche* = board or shelf / Cassell's 568; *planchette* = small board; *plancher* = floor) This

Acadian term refers to the method of placing vertical boards (about 2 inches by 8–17 inches, hand-planed or sash-sawn) flush on the exterior and interior walls of a house. The *planche debout* provides the insulation and finishing for a wall, when the system is employed here along with *pièce-sur-pièce* bearing-wall construction. The vertical boards are usually tongue-and-groove construction and fit tightly together side by side from sill to plate.

In a house like the Fred Albert House, the *planche debout* is itself covered on the exterior by lapped horizontal weatherboarding. This "siding" serves to dress up the building and also provides an additional layer of protection and insulation against the cold. The historical term for standing timber in McDermott is *bois-debout*.

***planche galbée*** (*galbée* = plank with a jointed edge, usually tongue-and-groove). This is a tongue-and-grooved vertical board that in assemblage makes the *planche debout* (vertical flush board walling).

***porche*** A term that some people apply to a low lean-to addition to a *grange acadienne* (Acadian barn, see *grange*), often built onto the gable end.

***porcherie*** (*porc* = pig) A swine stable (pigsty) within a lean-to of a barn; a building used as a swine stable.

***potato house*** This is the large barn that individual potato growers (farm owners) built adjacent to the railroad tracks for the temporary storage and preparation of harvested potatoes prior to their shipment to market centers. The French term is *cave à patate*. Often two or more potato houses were attached end-to-end with concrete fire walls between them. Potato houses at the railheads do not, of

\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

course, predate the coming of the railroad to particular locations.

Another type of potato house is the barn on the potato grower's farm where potatoes and equipment are stored. Many of these farmstead potato houses were built partly into a hillside in order to provide insulation that helps maintain the potatoes at a more-or-less constant temperature. A third type of potato house is the metal, Quonset-style building that is not built into a hillside.

**poutre** (*poutre* = beam, girder / Cassell's 585) A principal vertical or horizontal timber in a heavily framed Acadian barn.

**premier rang** The first rank of landholdings in the Acadian land division system based on the arpent tradition of division and alignment. These were the first lands settled and aligned facing the St. John River, and they typically included the low-lying "flats."

**sang de boeuf** (*sang de boeuf* = oxblood; the color called *gros rouge* in Louisiana CRB) The deep red "oxblood" color that continues to be popular among Acadians of the St. John Valley. *Sang de boeuf* occurs as the painted color on early-nineteenth-century furniture (particularly *armoires* and chairs) in Acadian houses. Today it occurs in many places, often in a two-tone combination with light gray. Light gray (*gris*) was also commonplace on early furniture. The colors are seen now in combination on two-tone pickup trucks and cars throughout the region, and they are found on modern commercial buildings and houses as well as on older houses.

In New Brunswick, the combination of light gray and red is also fairly common. But in New Brunswick, across the St. John River, the red today tends to be a glossy and bright red instead of a muted *sang de boeuf* as in Maine.

**ship's knee** The ship's knees are situated opposite each other in the loft or roof area and provide a stout additional bracing to stabilize the framework both horizontally and vertically. In nautical usage, a ship's knee is defined by its function and location, such as "stern knee" or "hanging knee," vital to a vessel's strength. Ship's knees are made by bisecting the lower trunk and root system of a whole tree to give a piece of wood with the grain running with the curve of the knee, for strength. They are often fastened by drift pins (wrought-iron pins hammered through drilled holes).

Ship's knees are an important detail that marks and identifies the construction technology of the St. John Valley Acadian houses. It is possible that they represent a kind of remembered architectural feature, employed not so much in the nineteenth century for necessity (these frameworks are extremely stout as they are) as for their reflection of older, European timber-framing habits that were established (briefly) in this region of Maine and New Brunswick. Some Valley residents use the French term *coude* (elbow) instead of the English "ship's knee."

**square of the house** The local term for the primary or original section of an Acadian house, often made of some type of log construction; the large, square space is often remodeled by adding rooms and fixtures. The French term is *carré*.

**tête de chien** (*tête de chien* = head of the dog) This term refers to the manner of joining hewn-log bearing walls at the corners in a carefully sawn-joint reminiscent of a cabinet-making joint in which half of a full dovetail is used. The practice is familiar to students of log construction traditions throughout North America as "half-dovetailing." *Tête de chien*, along with V-notching, are the two most prevalent log-building cornering traditions in the United

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States when hardwoods are employed. (There are examples of full dovetailing on log houses in New Sweden, Maine, built by Swedish immigrant farmers and builders in the late nineteenth century.)

**trunnels** Wooden pegs that secure mortise-and-tenon and other kinds of joints in the framing of Acadian buildings. The French term is *cheville*. Trunnels (wooden pegs, *chevilles de bois*) appear to be the preferred device in this region for locking joints in buildings. They provide a flexible but stout lock for important joinery, such as the rafter couples and all manner of bracing and framing members. A trunnel is simply a carved wooden peg that tapers gently throughout its length. It is made from a sawn and rounded piece of pine or other wood and used in a round hole made with an auger. Trunneling is an ingenious technique that solves a critical problem: how to secure difficult joints without benefit of nails or iron spikes.

**twin barn** A nineteenth- and twentieth-century barn type that is an important feature in the Upper St. John Valley's repertoire of vernacular structures. It includes spaces for hay and grain storage, threshing (if need be), and stalls for draft animals and livestock. The

twin barn is a balanced, symmetrical composition of three structural elements: a similar if not identical pair of rectangular three-bay, gabled-roof Acadian barns (comparable to the "English" barn type) placed one behind the other with their ridges parallel; the third element is a framework (its roof transverse to the parallel roofs of the two main sections) that encloses the intervening space. Viewed from above, the barn has an "H" shape.

Twin barns observed during the survey are all frame built, usually with a strong framework of mortise-and-tenon construction employing large hand-hewn sills, posts, beams, braces, girts, and plates. Many are sheathed with weatherboarding, which is in turn sheathed with shingles to provide additional protection. Twin barns are generally painted red or left unpainted. The D. L. Labrie twin barn in St. Agatha, Maine, is an outstanding example of this historically important structural type.

**wainscoting** Paneling (usually of vertical boards) on the lower part of interior walls, with a baseboard and a chair rail as a cap. Wainscoting, like paneled ceilings, is most often found in the finer rooms of a dwelling, such the front hall, best parlor, and best bedroom.

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\*Terms found in the Valley that are identical to those in McDermott's 1941 study.

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# APPENDIX

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**Maine Acadian  
Culture Preservation  
Act**

PUBLIC LAW 101-543—NOV. 8, 1990

104 STAT. 2389

Public Law 101-543  
101st Congress

**An Act**

To provide for the preservation and interpretation of sites associated  
with Acadian culture in the State of Maine

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United  
States of America in Congress assembled,*

**SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.**

This Act may be cited as the "Maine Acadian Culture Preserva-  
tion Act".

**SEC. 2. PURPOSES.**

The purposes of this Act are to—

- (1) recognize an important contribution made to American culture and history by the Acadian immigrants from France who settled in Nova Scotia and, following expulsion by the British in 1755, resettled in various North American colonies, including the territory that eventually became the State of Maine;
- (2) assist local and State governments and other public and private entities in the State of Maine in interpreting the story of the State's Acadian settlers and their descendants as well as preserving Acadian music, arts, crafts, and folklore; and
- (3) assist in identifying, gathering, and preserving sites, historical data, artifacts, and objects associated with the Acadians in Maine for the benefit and education of the public.

**SEC. 3. MAINE ACADIAN CULTURE PRESERVATION  
COMMISSION.**

(a) ESTABLISHMENT.—There is hereby established the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Commission (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Commission"), which shall consist of 11 members appointed by the Secretary of the Interior (hereafter in this Act referred to as the "Secretary") not later than 6 months after the date of enactment of this Act, as follows:

- (1) One member, who shall serve as Chair, appointed from among recommendations submitted by the Governor of the State of Maine.
- (2) One member appointed from among recommendations submitted by the Speaker of the House of Representative of the State of Maine.
- (3) One member appointed from among recommendations submitted by the President of the Senate of the State of Maine.

(4) One member appointed from among recommendations submitted by the Chancellor of the University of Maine System.

(5) Three members appointed from among recommendations submitted by the State and local historic, cultural or historic preservation organizations.

(6) Four members who are nationally recognized experts in fields of history, historic preservation, anthropology, and folklore, appointed by the Secretary.

(b) TERMS.—

(1) Members of the Commission shall be appointed for terms not to exceed three years.

(2) The Secretary may stagger the terms of initial appointments to the Commission in order to assure continuity in operation.

(3) Any member of the Commission may serve after the expiration of his or her term until a successor is appointed. A vacancy in the Commission shall be filled in the same manner in which the original appointment was made.

(c) VOTING.—The Commission shall act and advise by affirmative vote of a majority of its members.

(d) COMPENSATION.—Members of the Commission shall receive no pay on account of their service on the Commission, but while away from their homes or regular places of business in the performance of services for the Commission, members of the Commission shall be allowed travel expenses, including per diem in lieu of subsistence, in the same manner as persons employed intermittently in Government service are allowed expenses under section 5703 of title 5, United States Code.

(e) EXEMPTION FROM CHARTER RENEWAL REQUIREMENTS.—Section 14(b) of the Federal Advisory Committee Act (5 U.S.C. App.) shall not apply to the Commission.

(f) TERMINATION.—The Commission shall terminate 10 years from the date of enactment of this Act.

(g) SUPPORT.—The Directory of the National Park Service is authorized to provide such staff support and technical services as may be necessary to carry out the functions of the Commission.

**SEC. 4. DUTIES OF THE COMMISSION.**

The Commission shall advise the Secretary with respect to—

(1) the selection of sites for interpretation and preservation by means of cooperative agreements pursuant to section 6; and

(2) the development and implementation of an interpretive program of the Acadian culture in the State of Maine pursuant to section 7(d).

**SEC. 5. STUDY.**

Within 1 year after the date of enactment of this Act, the Secretary shall prepare and transmit to the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the United States House of Representatives and the Committee on Energy and Natural Resources of the United States Senate a comprehensive study of Acadian culture in Maine.

**SEC. 6. COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS.**

(a) IN GENERAL.—In furtherance of the purposes of this Act, the Secretary is authorized, after consultation with the Commission, to enter into cooperative agreements with the owners of properties of

natural, historical, or cultural significance associated with the Acadian people in the State of Maine, pursuant to which agreements the Secretary may mark, interpret, restore, and provide technical assistance for the preservation of such properties and pursuant to which the Secretary may provide assistance, including management services and program implementation.

(b) **RIGHT OF ACCESS.**—Each cooperative agreement shall provide that the Secretary, through the National Park Service, shall have the right of access at all reasonable times to all public portions of the property covered by the agreement for the purpose of conducting visitors through such properties and interpreting them to the public.

(c) **ALTERATION OF PROPERTIES.**—Each cooperative agreement shall provide that no changes or alterations shall be made in the property covered by the agreement except by mutual agreement between the Secretary and the other party to the agreement.

#### **SEC. 7. ACADIAN CULTURAL CENTER.**

(a) **IN GENERAL.**—The Secretary is authorized, after completion of the study required by section 5, to establish a center for the preservation and interpretation of Acadian culture within the State of Maine.

(b) **ACQUISITION OF LAND.**—The Secretary is authorized to acquire lands and interests therein, not to exceed 20 acres in total, by donation, purchase with donated or appropriated funds, or exchange and to develop, operate, and maintain facilities and to develop and operate programs at the center in furtherance of the purposes of this Act.

(c) **OPERATION.**—The Secretary may contract with public and private entities for the operation of the center in accordance with program standards approved by the Secretary.

(d) **INTERPRETIVE PROGRAM.**—In coordination with the Commission, the Secretary shall develop an interpretive program of the Acadian culture in the State of Maine.

(e) **STATUTORY AUTHORITY.**—The Secretary shall administer properties acquired and cooperative agreements entered into pursuant to this Act in accordance with the Act entitled “An Act to establish a National Park Service, and for other purposes”, approved August 25, 1916 (16 U.S.C. 1 et seq.) and other statutory authority for the conservation and management of natural, historical, and cultural resources.

#### **SEC. 8. AUTHORIZATION OF APPROPRIATIONS.**

(a) **COMMISSION.**—For the purposes of carrying out the functions of the Commission, there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, not to exceed \$250,000.

(b) **OTHER PURPOSES.**—

(1) To carry out the other purposes of this Act, there are authorized to be appropriated such sums as may be necessary, subject to the limitations of paragraph (2).

(2) With respect to cooperative agreements entered into pursuant to section 6, and the provisions dealing with the Acadian Cultural Center in subsections 7(a) through (c), the Secretary is authorized to expend not more than 50 percent of the aggregate cost of performing those functions. The remainder of such cost shall be paid by non-Federal funds.

## Development of the Legislation

**October 16, 1989**—The Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act was introduced as bill S. 1756 before the U.S. Senate by Senators George J. Mitchell and William S. Cohen of Maine.

**February 20, 1990**—Senator Mitchell support the bill in the Senate.

**March 28, 1990**—Senators Mitchell and Cohen; John L. Martin, Speaker of the Maine House of Representatives; and James M. Ridenour, Director of the National Park Service, testified concerning S. 1756 at a hearing of the Subcommittee on Public Lands, National Parks and Forests of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources.

**May 23, 1990**—The Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources approved the bill.

**June 7, 1990**—The Senate Committee recommended that the Senate pass S. 1756 as amended. (Amendments are described in Senate Report 101-308.)

**June 14, 1990**—The bill was considered and passed by the Senate.

**July 17, 1990**—The Subcommittee on National Parks and Public Lands of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs heard testimony concerning the bill by Congresswoman Olympia J. Snowe of Maine, John L. Martin, and James M. Ridenour.

**September 13, 1990**—The House subcommittee held a mark-up hearing and approved the bill.

**September 19, 1990**—The House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs approved the bill.

**September 24, 1990**—The House Committee recommended that the House pass the bill as amended. (Amendments are described in House Report 101-742.)

**September 27, 1990**—The bill was considered and passed, with amendments in the House.

**October 16, 1990**—The Senate concurred in the House amendments, with amendments.

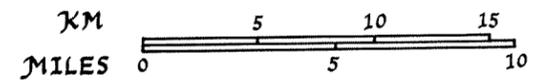
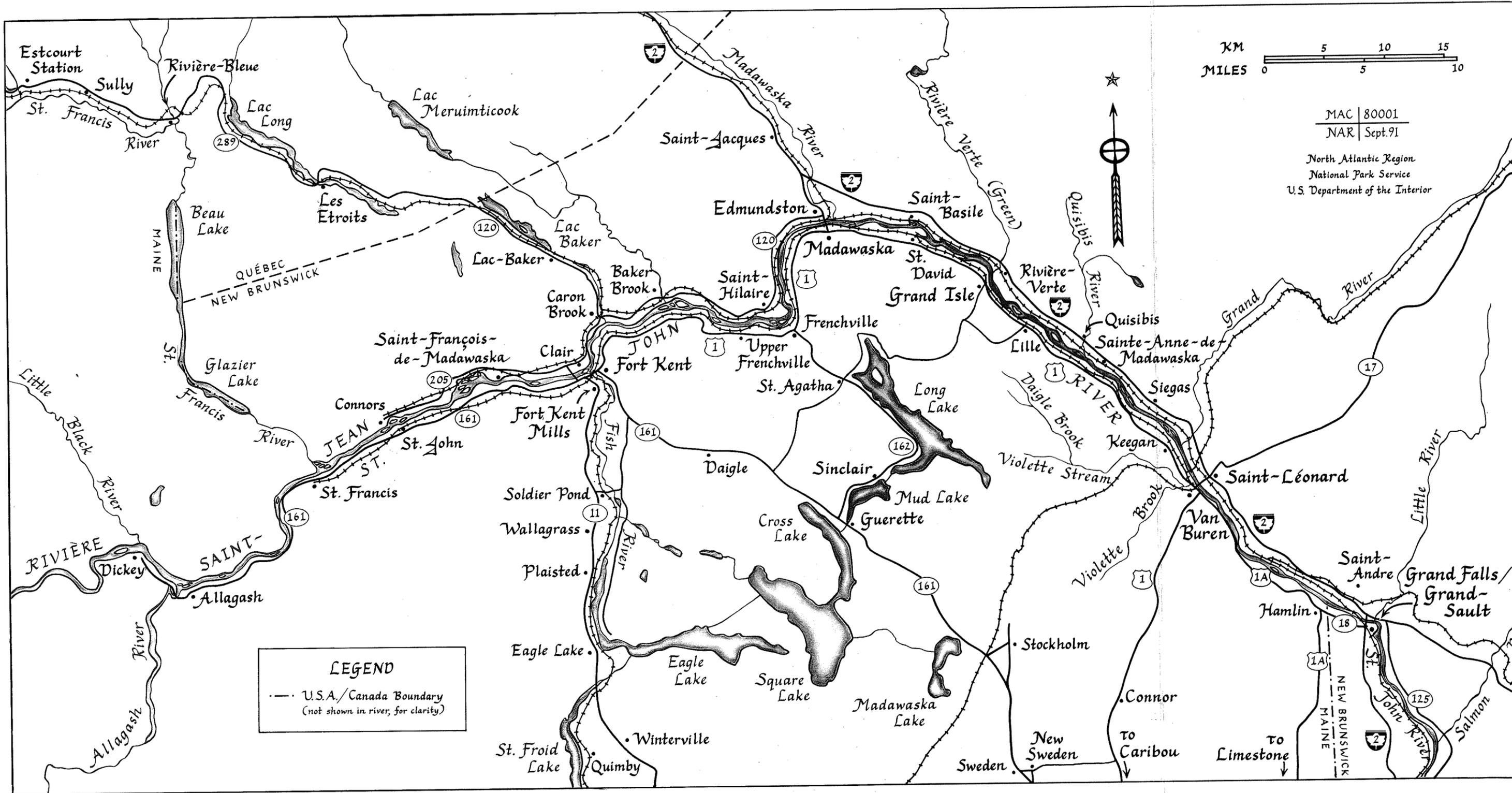
**October 16, 1990**—The House concurred in certain Senate amendments but disagreed with others.

**October 23, 1990**—The Senate receded from its amendments.

**November 8, 1990**—The Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act was enacted by the Senate and House of Representative of the U.S. Congress as Public Law 101-543.

**December 20, 1990**—The President signed Public Law 101-543, the Maine Acadian Culture Preservation Act. (Due to the adjournment of the 101st Congress before the bill could be signed by the President, this public law was not published in the Congressional Record; reference to signing of the bill can be found in the Federal Register.)

# Upper Saint John Valley La vallée du Haut-St. Jean



MAC | 80001  
 NAR | Sept. 91  
 North Atlantic Region  
 National Park Service  
 U.S. Department of the Interior

**LEGEND**  
 - - - U.S.A./Canada Boundary  
 (not shown in river, for clarity)