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Le FORUM



“AFIN D’ÊTRE EN PLEINE POSSESSION DE SES MOYENS”

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Franco-Americans of Maine, Then and Now:

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Le Forum et son staff — Universitaires, gens de la communauté, les étudiants — FAROG,

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Le FORUM



Lettres/ Letters

Où se trouvent les francos ?

By Timothy St. Pierre

Who is allowed to speak for an identity, culture, or ethnicity? Who gets to present Franco-Americans to the world - our own distinct customs, our own unique history, our own peculiar way of speaking? When we think of who and what counts as “Franco-American” - whether the food, the cultural traits, the music, the identity itself - what are the parameters we set and who gets to set them? Where is the boundary between “gatekeeping” - arbitrarily barring others from our community according to our own personal standards - and simply respecting ourselves enough to say that we should speak for ourselves?

The answers to these questions are not clear and I know that I am far from the first to ask them. David Vermette has questioned why some academics studying Franco-Americans - who are not themselves Franco-American - feel that they have the authority to accurately describe us to others or dominate discussions about us. Rhea Côté Robbins has recently brought attention to the fact that the Penobscot Theatre’s *Je ne suis pas Évangéline*, highlighting the “resilience of Franco-American women,” was put on by a theatre company from Georgia, helmed by an Anglo-American woman, and dominated by an Anglo-American cast.

But despite the many voices asking these questions, we have yet to settle on an appropriate answer - and we have yet to garner much of a response from those who feel emboldened to speak on our behalf. At what point are we perhaps over-sensitive and at what point are we robbed of our own voice and agency? Why would someone who is not Franco-American feel empowered to present our identity and history to the world, or to weave our historical pain and suffering into their own art or performance? What if, instead, we were simply allowed to speak for ourselves and present our work on our own terms?

Much of this debate stems from the portrayal of Franco-Americans in

academia and media, two fields that most Franco-Americans have not been able to access until relatively recently. Across the years, intergenerational poverty defined our community and continues to define many Franco-American families. Accordingly, most Franco-Americans were not able to reach college or even graduate high school until the latter half of the twentieth century. Even today, just 20% of Francos in Maine hold a college degree - compared to 33% of the rest of the state - diminishing our presence in academia. This low socioeconomic status means that career choices, either with or without a college degree, often have to be “practical.” With the potential exception of La Bolduc, a life dedicated to music, poetry, art, or performance has often seemed an unrealistic fantasy for many Francos. Accordingly, most Franco-Americans were (and to an extent, still are) absent in either field - leaving space for others, frequently Anglo-Americans, to step in and tell our stories for us. While this might seem innocent, or perhaps even kind in a certain light, this pattern becomes more complex when we realize that this has given others significant power and authority over our own narrative. Many academics, writers, and artists with no personal Franco-American identity have tried to define who we are to the rest of the world, instead of Franco-Americans speaking for ourselves.

Further complicating this problem of narrative is the fact that many people, especially Anglo-Americans, often approach Franco-Americans and our culture with a viewpoint tinged by bias. Our poverty and inability to access institutions of higher learning - and thus our inability to enter into positions where we could frame our own narrative - were frequently the byproducts of the discrimination we experienced from Anglo-Americans and the exploitation we endured in their mills and factories. Throughout much of the twentieth century, at least in Northern New England, Franco-Americans were a distinct and undesirable “other” - dumb, uneducated, backwards, working-class. This prejudice unmistakably worked its way into narratives of Franco-American culture and history. Various pieces of academia and media produced throughout the twentieth century portrayed Franco-Americans as everything from somehow innately suited to manual labor to lazy, greedy, and stupid to insular, suspicious, and inbred. Even if less overt today than in times past, these narratives still

expose themselves from time to time and form key foundations of many onlookers’ understandings of who we are. Otherwise put, we have ample reason to be wary when we see non-Francos discussing us in front of a public audience or presenting themselves as authorities on who we are. They may have once read a blurb online; we were raised with stories, traditions, and memories passed on to us since birth.

Therefore, when these same people dismiss Franco-American concerns of voice, agency, and authority, it is difficult to hear the underlying message as anything other than “although I do not belong to your culture or history, I believe that I am in a position to tell you who you are and to define your identity on your behalf.” When these same people are selected to teach others about who we are, to share with others their superficial understandings of our values and traditions, it is difficult to not feel insulted that we are not being allowed to simply speak for ourselves. It is difficult to not feel as though Franco-Americans are once again being told to be quiet and take a seat. It feels similar to how I imagine our grandparents’ generation might have felt being told by anglophone French teachers that they could not even speak their own language correctly.

It feels similar to Anglo-American French teachers who instruct classrooms of Franco-American children in their own language, but who do so with a forced Parisian accent and a tiring emphasis on impressionist painters and *Le Petit Prince*. Even in a space where we should feel at home, where our unique history, culture, and identity might find a voice, we are told either directly or indirectly that our ancestors, our cultures, our linguistic quirks are peripheral to the metropolitan French, because this is and has always been the viewpoint of Anglo-American commentators. The metropolitan French were civilized, cultured, respectable, romantic; we were backwards, idiotic, crass, and impoverished.

Denied its own space, Franco-American identity thus collapses into the nebulous label of “French,” erasing our unique identity and telling us that we are simply one minor and insignificant offshoot of the metropolitan French. Despite most of our ancestors not being “French” as in “from France” since the 1600s, people with no personal link to our culture or identity decide otherwise and take away our authority to define ourselves, telling us that only

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Nés pour un petit pain? A Class Analysis of Maine's Franco-American Community

By Timothy St. Pierre

Introduction

On New Year's Day, 1976, a local Maine photographer by the name of Lynn Franklin published *Profiles of Maine*. The book circulated a limited audience, chiefly within the state, and included dozens of candid portraits accompanied by moving stories told from the point of view of those photographed. From fishermen in the ports of York County to isolated farmers in Aroostook; from the urban residents of Portland to Wabanaki reservations Downeast, *Profiles of Maine* offered a geographically and culturally diverse sampling of the state's population. However, a portrait unique among these profiles was that belonging to Julian Cloutier. The sole profile within the book's pages that explicitly emphasized a Franco-American or French-Canadian, Cloutier recounted the poverty of his immigrant family and their work in the mills of Lewiston, a city long-associated with its Franco-American population.¹ In his story, Cloutier spoke of the poor working conditions in the mills, discussed the importance of unions, and expressed his admiration for the labor movement, with which he identified himself and the other Franco-Americans of Lewiston.²

The portrait and text of Lynn Franklin offered a brief glimpse into the socioeconomic conditions known to Maine's Franco-American population. However, the status of Julian Cloutier as the only Franco-American within the book reinforced an old image of this same group, conflating Franco-American identity and a low socioeconomic status. To be Franco-American or French-Canadian in the state was synonymous with being poor, being uneducated, being a worker. This conflation is neither an accident nor a coincidence, nor is it particularly incorrect. The poverty of French-Canadians in Québec, which propelled them to find jobs on the other side of the border, did not leave the population when they left the Province. The same socioeconomic conditions that produced centuries of poverty in Canada were also

perpetuated in the United States, particularly in Maine and greater New England. Just as in Québec, the economic system in Maine was dominated by Anglo-Protestants, who possessed the majority of economic resources and who directed the majority of mills and factories - the workers in which were largely French-Canadians.³ These Anglo proprietors exploited the poverty of their Franco workers in order to pay them poor wages, keep them in dismal working conditions, and house them in rundown tenements,⁴ denigrating their culture, language, religion, and identity to justify their low wages, poor treatment, and working-class status.⁵ This trapped thousands of French-Canadians and their Franco-American descendants in a cycle of intergenerational poverty from which many - even today - have not been able to escape.^{6,7,8}

Approximately a quarter of Maine's population is of French-Canadian origin,⁹ one of the highest percentages of Franco-Americans in the United States.¹⁰ A minority of Maine's Franco-Americans are the descendants of French colonists in Acadia, who were able to escape the British Deportation and whose capital was once Castine, Maine. However, the majority of these Franco-Americans, who find themselves concentrated around the milltowns of the Kennebec and Androscoggin Rivers, are the descendants of an immense wave of French-Canadian immigration from Québec to New England between 1870 and 1930. Nearly a million French-Canadians came.

Some did eventually return to the other side of the border, but those who opted to permanently settle in their *Petits Canadas* - French-Canadians' ethnic neighborhoods in the States - contributed to a new francophone identity in North America, characterized by their language, their faith, their customs, and a widespread poverty.

But why did they come and why did they leave Québec? Why did they keep their language in the States for more than a century? Why are there so few who still speak it today, despite Franco-Americans' well-documented resistance to assimilation? Why were Franco-Americans so poor in comparison to many other ethnic groups and why do they often remain so? More specifically, who and what made Francos so poor? This essay aims to answer these questions, to explore this historical process, and to explain the reasons why the historical socioeconomic gap between Maine's Anglo-American and Franco-American residents continues to exist.

To arrive at this goal, we will trace the socioeconomic history of French-Canadians on both sides of the border, beginning with the start of French-Canadian immigration to the States towards 1870 and focusing on the socioeconomic reality known to French-Canadians during this same era. The sixty years between 1870 and 1930 marked a period where more than a third of Canada's francophone population left the country in order to work in New England.^{11,12} To understand the reasons behind this exodus (and the poverty of these immigrants), we must understand the economic relationship between the French-Canadian population and the Anglo-Protestant population in Canada as well as New England, especially Maine. We must also understand the nature of poverty, the factors which perpetuate it, and the importance of Maine's textile mills as a key industry and cultural touchstone for French-Canadians.

"La Grande hémorragie" and Emigration From Québec to New England

"They are a horde of industrial invaders, not a stream of stable settlers. These people have one good trait. They are indefatigable workers and docile. To earn all they can no matter how many hours of toil ... and to take out of the country what they can save: this is the aim of the Canadian French in our factory districts."

- Carroll D. Wright, *Labor Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts*, 1880

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(Nés pour un petit pain? A Class Analysis of Maine's Franco-American Community continued from page 4)

To fully understand the reasons behind this socioeconomic gap, we must first understand the reasons that so many French-Canadians left Québec and opted to settle in New England. What could push so many people from their homes, the land that they had worked for centuries, where their grandparents had lived and been buried? Why would they want to leave their family, their friends, the parish they had known since their childhood - all for a foreign, hostile, and industrial land where their language and faith were scorned and where the traditions and rhythms of agricultural life were threatened, if not destroyed? Emigration is never easy, especially when it may be permanent and we have to leave all that we know.

These reasons are first and foremost economic. It is difficult (if not impossible) to fully separate economic developments from social or political issues, but the pressures leading to this exodus directly stem from the poverty and hunger of French-Canadians during the period. From the beginning of French colonization in the seventeenth century, these French colonists and their French-Canadian descendents had formed a society that depended on natural resources and that had always tied itself to the land. The fur trade had dominated the economy under the French regime, but French-Canadians had adapted to a largely agricultural existence after the British Conquest of the eighteenth century. As opposed to commerce or finance, agriculture remained one of the only industries free from English domination once French-Canadians were placed under the political and economic reign of a foreign power.¹³ In the 1800s, from the start of the century through the 1870s and the beginning of mass-emigration from Canada, life was decidedly rural and daily routines moved between work on the farm and the local church.¹⁴

Families were large, a dozen or more children was not uncommon,¹⁵ and everyone, whether grown or small, man or woman, participated in the daily work.¹⁶ The little formal education received, if received at all (which was relatively common),^{17, 18} came from a local priest or nun and largely focused on the Catholic faith.¹⁹ The land owned by a single family was often limited in size and fertility; it was worked for a meager subsistence and only a little profit.²⁰ When they could not earn enough from their own land,

rural families often rented out their labor to work on others' farms or left to the north of the Province or the forests of Maine to work seasonally in the timber trade.²¹

Rural life and the poverty that accompanied it defined the existence of French-Canadians in Québec. Despite an urban, affluent francophone minority, the majority of French-Canadians lived in the countryside, where despite local innovations and an isolated petite bourgeoisie,²² they remained a population characterized by a widespread poverty. In 1871, at the beginning of the immense wave of emigration from Québec deemed "*la Grande hémorragie*"²³ - the Great Hemorrhage - 77% of Québec's population lived in towns of less than 1,000 people.²⁴ If we ignore the anglophone presence in Québec,

The "typical" life of French-Canadians was both rural and poor.

concentrated in and around Montréal, and exclusively analyze the French-Canadian population, this percentage is even higher. In 1871, Montréal had a population a bit higher than 100,000 people, but only 53% were French-Canadians and 43% were English. This latter population dominated the financial institutions and economy of the city,^{25, 26, 27, 28} which depended chiefly on French-Canadian labor.²⁹ The "typical" life of French-Canadians was both rural and poor. In the countryside, they were farmers; in the city, they were workers.

For those in the city, they could earn enough to get by, even if it meant leading a relatively poor and difficult life. However, for those in the countryside, the difficulties of this impoverished, rural existence become more pronounced towards 1870 and began to push thousands of French-Canadians out of their country. The French-Canadian population struggled with a surplus of population to feed and an insufficient amount of food produced on their farms, whose fields often were not large enough to support their entire family. Even when there were local jobs available outside of farmwork, these jobs offered much lower wages than those offered in urban centers.³⁰ Large families provided more labor to work on the farm and affirmed

the Catholic faith, but they also produced more mouths to feed. For the majority of these *habitants*, this elevated birth rate diminished the possibility of escaping their rural poverty, especially when the limited land they possessed divided itself between the children of each generation, an heir's holdings diminishing with each new birth.³¹ This forced young men and women to leave for industrial centers where there was the opportunity to earn a higher wage. Even the wages of a low-status job, complete with long hours and awful working conditions, would be an improvement in comparison to economic conditions in the countryside.

The fact that capital and credit in Québec were largely controlled by a minority of wealthy Anglo-Protestants in urban centers^{32, 33} rendered this French-Canadian class of *habitants* more disadvantaged and less technologically advanced than their Anglo-Protestant peers in the other provinces of Canada.³⁴ The most powerful and widespread financial institutions were those run by the English,³⁵ who often discriminated against the French-Canadian population, refusing them loans or demanding extreme interest rates.³⁶ For those in the countryside, at least in Québec, there often was not a bank present at all. Without a loan, without credit, without access to a bank, these French-Canadian *habitants* frequently did not have the possibility or capital to purchase new machinery or modern tools.³⁷ When they were able to, it was frequently only through a loan that pushed them further into debt and poverty. Agricultural families often had to use the same methods and infrastructure as their parents and grandparents, a reality which decreased agricultural production and diminished potential profits.

This "backwardsness" of the French-Canadian population, as allegedly demonstrated through their outdated machinery and "old-fashioned" way of life, led to widespread stereotypes of an illiterate peasant who refused to enter into modernity and who instead turned himself towards a romanticized past.³⁸ In numerous cases, this stereotype stemmed from an ethnic, paternalistic disdain towards French-Canadians, despite the many examples of rural communities in Québec that started building local schools and innovating machinery in the nineteenth century.³⁹ However, this stereotype arose from a documented truth, exaggerating real conditions. Despite contemporary efforts to reform and modernize

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(Nés pour un petit pain? A Class Analysis of Maine's Franco-American Community continued from page 5)

French-Canadian society, literacy rates in Québec were alarmingly low at the time and the machinery owned by French-Canadians was often outdated.

However, this reality was not the result of a preference or innate trait - as the stereotype often suggested or outright claimed - it was the consequence of a sustained lack of investment.⁴⁰ The English capital available to farmers in Ontario was absent for farmers in Québec; the wealth of Anglo-Protestants in Montréal remained largely concentrated in their own circles. In the countryside, French-Canadians did not have access to the wealth of this dominant group⁴¹; in the city, this group paid exploitative wages to French-Canadian workers whose labor produced their wealth.⁴² This reinforced a profound and asymmetrical power dynamic between either ethnic group;⁴³ one was wealthier and the other poorer, one led and the other followed, one gave orders and the other was expected to listen.

The industrialization of New England to the south of the border seemed to offer an escape from this existence marred by poverty and lack of opportunity. There were not exceptionally high wages, but at least there were new jobs in the textile mills of the region, an industry that developed with shocking speed following the American Civil War.⁴⁴ In the States, French-Canadians had the ability to earn enough to feed their family, send a bit back to those still in the Province, and even repay debts from back home. This chance for financial advancement attracted hundreds of thousands of French-Canadians from Québec. Despite the difficulty and sorrow of leaving home, these emigrants could earn enough to improve their standard of living, if only marginally.

For some, this voyage to the south was only a temporary stay, if not a prolonged one. They took the money they needed in order to repay debts or buy new machinery and then they returned home.⁴⁵ But for many others, these textile mills in the States offered a higher standard of living than that which they could find in Québec, and the States were frequently the place young emigrants found a spouse and where they started a family.⁴⁶ French continued to be spoken in the *Petits Canadas* surrounding the mills, the Catholic faith continued to be practiced, and they were relatively close to their families in

Québec.⁴⁷ They could save a bit of money and the *survivance* of French-Canadian culture and identity persevered. Québec, at least the social idea that is Québec, found itself transplanted to the other side of the border alongside these emigrants and formed the basis of a new society that was not so culturally different than that which had been left behind.

It was this experience that inspired the first Franco-American novel: *Jeanne la fileuse* by Honoré Beaugrand, a liberal journalist and mayor of Montréal (1885-1887). Written in 1878, *Jeanne la fileuse* offers a fictional account of immigration to the States, but which anchors itself in precise history and in which Beaugrand intertwines his own political commentary.^{48, 49} The novel follows the story of the Montépél and Girard families, both of which try to find their place in a traditional, agricultural Québec dominated by the Church and British government. The Montépéls supported the English during

*...these emigrants
found themselves sur-
rounded by a foreign,
anglophone, often
hostile culture.*

the Rebellion of 1837 and find themselves wealthy years later; the Girards supported the *Patriotes* during the same conflict but remain poor in the following decades. During the 1870s, the young adults of the Girard family, Jeanne and Jules, work seasonally on the Montépéls' farm, where Jeanne falls in love with their son Pierre. However, farmwork does not provide enough of a profit to get by, and Pierre and Jules head to the forests of northern Québec to work in the timber trade. Jeanne, left on her own, is forced to leave the Province for a textile mill in Fall River, Massachusetts.⁵⁰

This storyline humanizes and sensitizes the difficult experience of emigration, but what is perhaps more relevant and valuable from *Jeanne la fileuse* (at least for this essay) is Beaugrand's own political analysis of this mass-emigration, hidden in a separate chapter between the first and second parts of the book. Here, Beaugrand lists plainly the reasons he believes so many French-Canadians had left the country. Beaugrand

speaks of "[French-]Canadian peasants" who had been "chased from their farms by poverty and hunger."⁵¹ He speaks of an "uprooted" (*dépaysé*) people suddenly finding themselves in a great American mess of "energy, industrial progress and 'go ahead,'" perceived as contrary to the values and customs of French-Canadians.⁵² According to Beaugrand, these emigrants left because their material needs had been ignored by the economic elite of their Province and the government of their country. French-Canadian statesmen had "sold themselves"⁵³ to the British for "titles and decorations,"⁵⁴ neglecting the plight of the French-Canadian people and scorning the poverty that defined them. George-Étienne Cartier (George and not *Georges*, named after the English king), a "Father of Confederation," infamously said that these French-Canadian emigrants were "the dregs" (*la racaille*) of society and that Québec and Canada "would only be better" without this impoverished population.⁵⁵ In Beaugrand's view, these emigrants left their country because they had been neglected, abandoned, and despised by those with the political and economic power to help them.

The idea of being "uprooted," or more precisely to Beaugrand's choice of words, *dépaysé* - torn from one's country - might seem drastic, but in many ways it remains a fair claim. Despite the long presence of French-Canadians on either side of the border,⁵⁶ and despite the fact that the idea of a border itself was contrary to the traditional, transnational conception of French-Canadian identity,⁵⁷ these emigrants found themselves surrounded by a foreign, anglophone, often hostile culture. The transition towards industrial life in the textile mills was surely a grand and disorienting departure from rural existence in Québec. The landscapes of the Beauce or the Mauricie found themselves replaced by the interior of a dirty and deafening textile mill. Although these French-Canadian immigrants were in the habit of working long, hard hours on their farms in Québec, the need to work twelve cramped hours a day, six days out of seven, in dim and dismal brick buildings represented a major cultural uprooting.

We must not confuse the fact that socioeconomic conditions in the States were better in comparison to standards of living in Québec with a false belief that these socioeconomic conditions in New England were necessarily of a high quality. At least for immigrants in the mills, a poor and rural

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existence was exchanged for an exploited and industrial one. They earned a bit more money, but seldom escaped the lower classes. The same socioeconomic conditions and the same ethnic relations that led to poverty among French-Canadians in Québec led to poverty among Franco-Americans in New England. In Québec, industry was dominated by a wealthy, Anglo-Protestant elite that employed and exploited a French-Canadian working class⁵⁸; in New England, it was this same ethnic group that directed the economy of the region⁵⁹ and French-Canadians and Franco-Americans formed the backbone of labor in their mills.⁶⁰ The same cultural disdain expressed by Anglo-Protestants in Québec towards French-Canadians, particularly French-Canadian workers, also developed in New England and framed manual labor as the only proper status of French-Canadian immigrants.⁶¹ As Carroll D. Wright, Labor Commissioner of Massachusetts, said in 1880 - the "one good trait" of French-Canadians was that they were "indefatigable workers and docile."⁶²

In Southern New England - Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut - this French-Canadian diaspora was one ethnic group among many and the conflation of French-Canadian origin and working-class status, although present, was not as concrete a belief as it was in Northern New England. Here - in Maine, New Hampshire, and Vermont - this influx of French-Canadian immigrants were largely the only ethnic "other" present in sufficiently high enough numbers to provoke a widespread nativist reaction specifically targeting this one group in particular. In Massachusetts (and Connecticut and Rhode Island), French-Canadians were present (and scorned by Anglo-Protestants), but the Irish, the Italians, the Polish, and the Portuguese were as well. They all were ethnic "others" and were perceived as a collective foreign threat to Anglo-Protestant hegemony in the state. In Maine (and New Hampshire and Vermont) French-Canadians found themselves more or less alone, surrounded by an almost universally Anglo-Protestant, English-speaking society. The perceived threat was not a vaguely foreign one, the perceived threat was explicitly French-Canadian and these immigrants endured the consequences of it.

"Un Canadien errant": The French-Canadian Émigré in the American Mills

"On se plaint à Montréal / Après tout on n'est pas mal / Dans la province de Québec / On mange notre pain ben sec / Y'a pas d'ouvrage au Canada / Y'en a ben moins dans les États /

Essayez pas d'aller trop loin / Vous êtes certains de crever d'faim"

- *La Bolduc, "Ça va venir, découragez-vous pas," 1930*

"Oh yes, back working in the mill. The bosses would call you stupid, work harder, you idiot. That was a normal day at the mill."

- *Anonymous respondent, Contemporary Attitudes of Maine's Franco-Americans, 2012*



In her book *The Cry of the Children* (1908), the journalist and reformist Bessie McGinnis Van Vorst dedicated several chapters to the State of Maine's textile mills, noting the heavy presence of French-Canadians in the industry. She described one unnamed, thirty-three-year-old man, "bowed and broken," who had worked in the mills for nearly twenty-five years.⁶³ Van Vorst wrote that this anonymous man "bore the disfiguring marks of hopeless toil, multiple lines traversed his face, scarring the flesh which was wilted with years of slow starvation."⁶⁴ This man spoke of his childhood in the mills, where he "started in at five in the morning" and "didn't lay off until till six and sometimes till ten o'clock at night."⁶⁵

The practice of child labor was widespread among working-class and immigrant communities, especially French-Canadians.^{66, 67} A carry-over from the norms of farm life, in which children were expected to contribute to daily chores for the benefit

of the family, French-Canadians' poverty encouraged the continuation of this practice and the prejudice and profits of English bosses allowed it. As a mill-owner from Saco, Maine explained, he "didn't have much conscience about using French 'little help,'"⁶⁸ meaning children, some as young as eight-years-old. French-Canadians were deemed worthy of this working-class status and overt exploitation. According to many who held socioeconomic power in Maine - chiefly wealthy Anglo-Protestants - these workers did not deserve better. Being French-Canadian was synonymous with being working-class and many Anglo-Protestants at the time viewed this low-class status as French-Canadians' proper station.

Among these French-Canadian workers, life and daily routines adapted themselves to the rhythms of the mill, especially in the period stretching from the beginning of *la Grande Hémorragie* through the

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reforms of the New Deal Era and Second World War. Across these decades, life and work were not easily separated and there was very little that remained untouched by the mill, the boss, and the mill-owner. In many milltowns, we can still find clocks in the middle of town that used to ring out shift changes at the mill,⁶⁹ workers often lived in shabby tenements built and owned by the mill,⁷⁰ the workforce often bought food from a company store run by the mill, and they often paid there with scrip disbursed by the mill.⁷¹ Several generations of the same family often worked together in the same building;⁷² each member of the family, woman or man, young or old, often worked there;⁷³ and the churches and schools founded by these immigrants were often located in the same neighborhood as their place of work.⁷⁴

For the majority of French-Canadians and Franco-Americans in Maine (and New England), their socialization, cultural expression, and experience of work were all tied to one building: the mill. It was very difficult, if not impossible, to separate them. These huge brick buildings, their smokestacks, the deafening noise of the machinery, and the clocks of the mill entered into the ethnic imagination of Franco-Americans as symbols of the ethnic identity itself. It is impossible to analyze a collective Franco-American past without considering this industry and it is difficult to imagine a future that is not built on the foundation of this memory.

In 1900, the French-Canadian and Franco-American population of Maine made up more than 70% of the mills' workforce in the state.⁷⁵ An article from 1898 states that more than 70% of the Franco-American population was employed in mills or factories.⁷⁶ Several statistical studies on Franco-Americans between 1870 and 1940 found that across decades, the Franco-American population remained notably less paid than other ethnic groups, were more frequently renters, and had a vast majority of its members living in poverty.⁷⁷

This working-class hardship forced children to join their parents in the mills, a practice emphasized by some Anglo observers to denigrate French-Canadians as selfish and greedy people who "make [their] children work for [them]" and their own financial well-being.⁷⁸ This point of view ignored the economic need perpetuating

these circumstances, the inaccessibility of (anglophone) public schools to (francophone) Franco-American children, and the discrimination from those with socioeconomic power - Anglo-Protestants - who often refused to hire Franco-Americans for better-paying jobs than manual labor.⁷⁹ According to their Anglo-American peers, these French-Canadian immigrants were "the meanest scum of the earth,"⁸⁰ and according to Anglo commentators, "it is not doing the mill children anything but harm to raise ideas in their minds that they are not in their proper station."⁸¹

From childhood onwards, Franco-Americans of the period found themselves in an environment that reinforced the belief that they had been born to work, that

...pitiful wages and lack of socioeconomic mobility were the result of an ethnic bias and economic exploitation in Maine and New England, just as in Québec.

the mills were the natural framing of their existence, that dreams of anything bigger or nicer were misplaced. In oral history interviews with older Franco-Americans, we repeatedly run into this sentiment and these same Franco-Americans often share that a similar perspective was held by their parents and grandparents.^{82, 83} Many Franco-Americans and their French-Canadian forebears had been raised with the mentality that they had been *nés pour un petit pain* - that they should not expect to receive, nor ask to receive, anything grander than the little they already had.

According to some contemporary commentators from this period between 1870 and the New Deal Era, French-Canadians possessed inherent traits that made them well-suited to manual labor. The historian William MacDonald, a professor at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine (itself a milltown with a large Franco-American population), "the French-Canadian has many of the qualities of an ideal 'hand.'" French-Canadians are "quick to learn, active and deft in [their] movements." They are "contented

with [their] work" and "with [their] wages, [they] do not expect undue compensation." According to MacDonald, "docility is one of [the French-Canadians'] most marked traits" and they do not try to "do something higher than that in which [they are] at present engaged." In MacDonald's view, it was for this reason that "comparatively few became competent and reliable foremen or overseers" and for this reason that "the French-Canadians are likely to work best under the supervision of someone not of their own race."⁸⁴ MacDonald uses this last word, "race," in the sense that we would use "ethnicity" today.

Of course, despite MacDonald's claims, we can easily see that these words reflect clear prejudices on behalf of MacDonald and many other Anglo-Protestants; they describe social inequities, not actual inherent traits. What MacDonald tries to do is find a natural excuse for the pronounced socioeconomic gap between English bosses and French-Canadian workers. If workers "like" their exploitation, if it appears that their role and status are natural or that they are incapable of doing anything else competently, those who have put them in this lower status can soothe their conscience. They can try to convince themselves that the poverty of a marginalized group is not the consequence of the actions, practices, and beliefs of a dominant group. They can try to persuade themselves that the ease and affluence they enjoy are the products of their own merit and not the underpaid labor of stigmatized others.

In truth, we can conclude that Franco-Americans' pitiful wages and lack of socioeconomic mobility were the result of an ethnic bias and economic exploitation in Maine and New England, just as in Québec. In Maine, those with economic power, who held capital, who dominated culture and politics, were nearly universally Anglo-Protestants. Those whose labor supported this economic power, who made this capital grow, who made the mills run, those whose culture and language became identified as those of the working class, were French-Canadians. This is not to say that every Anglo-Protestant in Maine was wealthy or ran a mill, nor is it to say that every Franco-American was living a miserable, impoverished existence. On the contrary, there were without a doubt many poor Anglo workers and farmers a hundred years ago in Maine, just as there are today. *(Continued on page 9)*

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Similarly, there were many Franco-Americans who managed to escape their poverty and became doctors, lawyers, and local politicians. However, this essay does not discuss specific individuals, it describes and analyzes the tendencies of groups as a whole. An individual aberration from the collective norm does not discredit the collective reality or expectation. For every Franco-American who “made it,” there were thousands behind him, trapped in the mills, paid poverty wages, denied an education, sporting calloused hands and maimed fingers.

Until the reforms of the New Deal, many French-Canadian and Franco-American workers spent at least sixty hours per week on the job, working six days out of seven.⁸⁵ Safety precautions for employees were often nonexistent and there was little leeway to pursue legal action against an employer for injuries received while working. Witnesses of dismemberments or even deaths in the mills, especially of children - were not rare.⁸⁶ In 1940, the average annual income for a man in the United States was \$946.⁸⁷ During this same period, Franco-Americans working in Maine's textile mills were often paid between \$7 and \$9 per week for an annual income between \$364 and \$468. At the Longwood Mill in Waterville, Maine, unionization in 1945 led to a wage increase of \$13 per week. This annual income of \$676, despite the fact that it was barely two thirds the national average, was viewed by the mill's Franco-American workers as a good wage.⁸⁸ The bosses in the majority of mills were Anglo-Protestants who directed the daily life of their Franco-American workers, at times harassing them when they spoke to each other in French and requiring that they speak in English.⁸⁹ Contemporary observers often noted the loud noise of the machinery, the oppressive heat within the mills, and the suffocating presence of cotton dust in the air.⁹⁰ Franco-American workers in the mills were often placed in the hottest rooms or offered the more dangerous jobs.⁹¹

Outside the mills, even when far from the power looms, Franco-Americans found themselves targeted by the Anglo-Protestant majority. In the 1890s, the Maine Legislature amended the state constitution to deny suffrage to anyone who could not read or write in English, a direct response to French-Canadian immigration.⁹² A large percentage of French-Canadians at the time,

especially those who had to emigrate, were illiterate - and most of those who could read and write could not do so in English. This left large segments of an entire population without a formal political voice, without the opportunity to use the political system to force changes in labor standards or to protect their language and culture. This literacy test remained in the Maine Constitution until the 1980s.⁹³

Among the Anglo-nationalist hysteria of the First World War, the Maine Legislature decided in 1919 to prohibit the French language in public schools.⁹⁴ The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Meyer v. Nebraska (1923)* that such laws violated the Due Process Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment⁹⁵; however, Maine ignored this judgment and



Ku Klux Klan, Hodgdon, ca. 1924
-Maine Memory Network

kept this law in place until 1960.⁹⁶ This marked forty years in which generations of Franco children were forced to endure corporal punishment from Anglo teachers for having spoken French at school, endured the mocking of their classmates, were forced to write “I will not speak French” over and over on the blackboard.⁹⁷ Scores of children decided to no longer speak their language because of the shame they were made to feel. These children decided to no longer speak French even at home and never with their own children, so that this new generation would not know the same experience of shame. This unconstitutional and xenophobic law contributed to a pronounced and relatively rapid decline of French in Maine and helped rob a key marker of identity from

an entire ethnic group.⁹⁸

During the 1920s, Franco-American communities in Maine found themselves targeted by the Ku Klux Klan, whose nativist, Anglo-Protestant base scorned and despised their French-Canadian neighbors for their Catholic faith and their organized resistance to anglicization. The first daylight Klan parade in the entire country took place in 1923, largely in reaction to Franco-Catholic immigrants.⁹⁹ Republican Owen Brewster won Maine's 1924 gubernatorial election with the support of the Klan.¹⁰⁰ When the vast majority of the state's Franco-American population voted against Brewster and for the Democratic candidate, the Klan set off bombs in Lewiston's *Petit Canada* and Franco-American homes and farms were the site of cross-burnings.¹⁰¹ According to the Klan, these French-Canadian immigrants were involved in a Catholic conspiracy to conquer Protestant New England and recreate New France, unifying Franco communities on either side of the border.¹⁰² Their language, their faith, and their values - each integral component of French-Canadian *survivance*¹⁰³ - were incompatible with American society. Even when the Klan's popularity diminished throughout the decade, the sentiments motivating the organization remained. They anchored themselves as norms within Maine's society and continued to express themselves for decades, including the 1930s, when hundreds of Franco-American women were forcibly sterilized by New England states, notably Vermont.¹⁰⁴

These French-Canadians and Franco-Americans remained distinct “others” - “frogs” or “papists” or “dumb Frenchmen”¹⁰⁵ who should never have been welcomed in the United States and who should only have been tolerated as a source of cheap labor. The language they spoke was not the “true” language of “true” Americans and their French was not even “good French.”¹⁰⁶ At least the metropolitan French had their own language, culture, literature, and a civilized respect acknowledged by the English, but these French-Canadians were viewed as so backwards that they could not even speak their own language correctly.¹⁰⁷ (Anglo) French teachers mocked Franco children and told them that their vocabulary and accent were outdated, unintelligible, ugly, or incorrect. We still hear people calling Lewiston “the Dirty Lew,”¹⁰⁸ a play on words coming from the English slang “loo” for “toilet,” an old joke whose origin

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lies in the Franco-American character of the city and the poverty that accompanied it. Jokes will ask “how many pallbearers do you need for a French funeral” - the punchline will be “you need two, trash cans only have two handles.”¹⁰⁹ When someone in Maine performs a simple task in an unnecessarily difficult way, or answers an easy question incorrectly, they will tell you that they are “being French.” This sense of ethnic and cultural inferiority, promulgated by Anglo-Protestants and internalized by Franco-Americans, justified the low socioeconomic status of Franco-Americans and encouraged the population to abandon its language, traditions, and beliefs - out of socioeconomic necessity if not choice.

All this led to a pronounced socioeconomic gap between Anglo-Protestants and Franco-Americans in Maine. An initial poverty, worsened by generations of economic exploitation in the mills and a lack of education, hardened over the course of a century. The mills began to close after the Second World War, a process that accelerated between the 1950s and 1980s, and the bad labor practices of mill-owners continued until the end.¹¹⁰ However, despite their faults (and there were without a doubt many), these mills sustained an entire population, thousands of people. When they began to shut down, these workers were all without a job and there were not necessarily other economic opportunities for these workers, most of whom were without degrees or relevant experience outside of the mills.¹¹¹ They did not have the capital to pay for college and now the little financial stability that they had known had been taken from them. The jobs and bosses that kept Franco-Americans in poverty through poor wages, discrimination, and lack of mobility had finally disappeared, but there were no ladders available to climb out of the poverty they had produced. Anglicization and the surrender of the language and culture seemed to offer a viable strategy for socioeconomic mobility, but becoming “Anglos” did not change the fact that actual Anglos already had a head start of several generations, with the intergenerational wealth and capital to prove it. It is for this reason that this history remains relevant, because it is this history that has led Franco-Americans to their current, residual, low socioeconomic status.

Class and Maine's Contemporary Franco-America

“J’ai un fils dépouillé / Comme le fut son père / Porteur d’eau, scieur de bois / Locataire et chômeur / Dans son propre pays”

- Félix LeClerc, “*L’alouette en colère*,” 1972

“I bought [the Cadillac], because for once in my life I am going to be as good as a goddamn plant manager.”

- Fred LeTourneau, *power loom repairman at the Bates Mill, 1976*

For more than a century, approximately a quarter of Maine’s population has identified as Franco-American or French-Canadian. This population formed (and continues to form) an integral component of the state’s cultural, political, and religious life. However, throughout all of Maine’s history, there has only ever been one openly Franco-American politician elected to federal office, Mike Michaud, and this only occurred in 2002. Franco-Americans account for a dominating share of the state’s Catholic population, but Maine has never had a Franco-American bishop. A Franco-American was not elected as governor until 2010.

Despite the fact that a clear majority of Franco-Americans belong to or align with the Democratic Party¹¹² - due to its historical links to the labor movement and the Maine GOP’s nativist history - this first Franco-American governor, Paul LePage, was a staunch Republican. Unfortunately, the historic significance of this Franco-American “first” was eclipsed by the LePage administration’s far-right stances on most issues. In his eight years as governor, LePage used slurs, insulted people of color and the LGBTQ community, threatened the life of a Democratic representative, refused to expand Medicaid for low-income Mainers, fought against labor and environmental regulations, and vetoed more than 650 laws passed by the Maine legislature, most of which were popular with the public. One of LePage’s first acts as governor was his decision to remove a mural from Maine’s Department of Labor building that depicted striking workers - including Franco-American millworkers - claiming that the mural was unfair to the “entrepreneurs” who provided jobs to these workers.¹¹³

This pattern of behavior might be shocking, or at least confusing, regardless of who promoted it, especially in a blue state like Maine. However, the

fact that these policy decisions came from a Franco-American, the first Franco-American to be elected governor, makes them perhaps even more surprising. An ethnic group whose popular imagination is still tied to the mills and a collective memory of hardship produced a governor whose political beliefs seemed to align with those who had sought to profit from this historic hardship. LePage’s identity seemed only to be useful when he could use his faith as an excuse to discriminate against LGBTQ persons or when he could exploit Franco-Americans’ historical discrimination to minimize the contemporary oppression of people of color. Instead of following Franco-Americans’ established tradition of labor solidarity or using their ethnic struggle to find empathy for others facing similar and worse struggles, LePage opted to repeat the same arguments historically used by Anglo-Protestants against Franco-Americans to denigrate Maine’s poor and marginalized. When we analyze LePage’s childhood and adolescence, this personal and political development represents a clear break from what we might otherwise expect of someone from his same ethnic and class background.

LePage’s life growing up is almost a caricature of the Franco-American experience discussed in this essay. He was born in a shabby apartment next to the Lewiston mill his father worked at, and his mother stayed home to look after LePage and his seventeen siblings. They all lived on his father’s paycheck in resolute poverty. Among his parents and siblings, LePage was the only one to even go on to high school. Church was a central foundation of their life and a common component of the formal education they received. French was spoken at home, at (Catholic) school, and in town, and LePage only began speaking English when he went to college. His father drank heavily and beat his children. It was this abuse
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that led LePage to leave home at the age of eleven, the age that he started to work and get by on his own - at least according to his own story.¹¹⁴

As opposed to the generations of French-Canadians and Franco-Americans who had found relief from this widespread poverty in unions and the labor movement - Franco-Americans like Julian Cloutier - LePage used the example of his own childhood poverty to explain his right-wing politics and to delegitimize the left and its pro-labor reforms. In his own perspective, people born into poverty remain poor due to their own choices and lack of ambition. If they worked as hard as LePage, they might also be able to escape their intergenerational poverty. They could get a good job, start a nice family, or even reach the same status as LePage. If he could do it - why couldn't they? At least according to LePage's ideology, the supports in place to aid Maine's poor and working-class were barriers that kept them in poverty, that encouraged them to remain complacent with their lot. They had become dependent on social aid and no longer felt the pressure or motivation to do better.

The truth, of course, is much more nuanced than that. With very few exceptions, no one is poor because they have chosen to be poor. Poor people are not poor because they do not work hard enough. Among Maine's Franco-Americans, it would be difficult to find someone who would say that Francos are not distinctively hard-working. Even today, when so many Francos have lost their language (or had it taken from them), when fewer and fewer young Francos identify with the Church, when relatively few Francos personally remember the mills - the work ethic of Franco-Americans remains a recognized cultural trait and a point of pride.¹¹⁵ Very few, if any, Francos are poor because of their work ethic. On the contrary, Maine's Francos - including LePage and his family - were and are disproportionately poor in spite of their work ethic. The reasons that this group have remained disparately low-income in the state for more than a century are systemic and not individual.

From the 1870s until the Second World War, a wide majority of Maine's Franco-Americans inhabited *Petits Canadas*

and were characterized by a widespread poverty and lack of formal education. Most worked in the mills or factories - working elsewhere, though not unheard of, was an aberration from the norm. Even if one individual was not working at the mill, they almost certainly had a family member or friend who was. This was seventy years of poverty and exploitation - less so than rural Canada in the late 1800s - but a distinct poverty and exploitation nonetheless. Seventy years of poor wages, seventy years of being nicked-and-dimed by the boss, seventy years of tenement-living and hours spent in front of a power loom every day. This was seventy years of socioeconomic stagnation among an entire population, denied an education by economic need and paid such low wages that it would be unfeasible for most workers to accumulate enough savings or a degree to get ahead. Of course, some uniquely fortunate and exceptionally frugal Francos did manage to do so, but poverty and working-class status remained the expectation of the majority. Generations were born and died without surpassing the socioeconomic status of their parents and grandparents. After the Second World War, largely due to New Deal reforms and opportunities like the GI Bill, Franco-Americans began little-by-little to leave the mills and their poor working conditions, a transition that quickened with the closing of the mills throughout Maine and New England between 1950 and 1980.¹¹⁶

For many, though, the closure of the mills was a net loss. The jobs had left and there were none similar to replace them. They did not have the money to go to college, if they had even finished high school, which was the case for many Francos in the state. Without the mills, Francos had to find work in the service industry or in manual labor - restaurants, construction, sanitation - a socioeconomic niche whose labor was often unorganized and which did not necessarily offer higher wages or higher status. Discrimination and dislike for Franco-Americans throughout the state did not improve these workers' odds of upward mobility. Many of Maine's Franco-Americans did not even start receiving high school degrees until the 1960s, '70s, and '80s.

In 1970, among all of New England's Franco-American population, nearly 70% belonged to the working class and the majority of the rest belonged to the petite bourgeoisie, largely as small business owners.¹¹⁷ Francos were forced to leave the mills and

factories as they closed, but many Francos lacked the capital to fund or actualize any potential socioeconomic mobility. If a significant percentage of the population lacked degrees, lacked work experience outside of the mills and factories, and the mills and factories themselves were disappearing - what exactly were Francos supposed to do? For the generation of Franco-Americans following the Second World War, so-called "Boomers," assimilation and anglicization became a practical strategy for upward mobility.¹¹⁸ If they were to be scorned or discriminated against for being Francos, they would simply no longer be Francos. This assimilatory process was quickened as the mill closures dispersed Francos from their adjacent *Petits Canadas* and life *en français* became less feasible. However, as we can see in data from 1970, assimilation and anglicization did not necessary help as much as we might have expected. Francos dropped the language, gave their children English names, distanced themselves from the Church, but their low socioeconomic status remained. Becoming "Anglos" offered the opportunity to be in direct economic and social competition with actual Anglos, but intergenerational poverty and familial ignorance of higher education are enormous weights to lift on our own. Anglicization was a risk, a risk that was never truly voluntary and a risk that never fully paid off. It cost Francos their language, many of their traditions, large portions of their identity, but it never truly delivered the anticipated result of financial success. Even today, when so few Franco-Americans still know the language or continue to speak it, when so few Franco-Americans can pronounce their own names, when so few Franco-Americans are even fully aware of what being Franco-American means, they remain notably poorer than Anglo-Americans in the state.

If we look at Maine's contemporary economy, we will find ongoing divisions between the state's Anglo and Franco populations. There are very few formal studies on Franco-Americans' current socioeconomic conditions, but it is not difficult to find anecdotal accounts or analyze different institutions ourselves. At schools in towns with large Franco-American populations, we will often find an abundance of English names when we meet teachers and administrators, but a high number of French-Canadian names when we speak to janitors, groundskeepers, and lunch ladies. We will

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not necessarily find many French-Canadian names when visiting the doctor or looking for a lawyer, but if we want to find a mechanic or need some construction done, we will stumble across plenty. This is the contemporary socioeconomic reality of many Franco-Americans in Maine, but the state's residual labor division goes unseen and thus unspoken.

The most recent formal study of Maine's Franco-Americans is the University of Maine's 2013 *Contemporary Attitudes of Maine's Franco-Americans*. According to this study's data, we find 35% of Franco-American households earning less than \$20,000 per year - a third of today's average yearly income in Maine.¹¹⁹ Of the roughly 30% of respondents who declined to disclose their income, it is unsure how many more also live in poverty or belong to the working-class. 16% were lacking health insurance,¹²⁰ two times Maine's current rate.¹²¹ Only 20% had a college degree, in comparison to the third of Maine's population that holds one today.¹²² 80% were the children of parents without college degrees. Many Franco-Americans doubted that a college education was necessary or even valuable, especially younger Franco-Americans.¹²³ The alienating experience of first-generation Franco students at the University of Maine led to the creation of the campus's Centre Franco-Américain in 1974.¹²⁴ Data show that Franco-Americans in Maine and elsewhere in New England are underrepresented in the legal and health professions and underrepresented at high-end schools.¹²⁵ If we acknowledge the fact that the majority of Franco-Americans inhabit York, Cumberland, Androscoggin, and Kennebec Counties¹²⁶ - which are among the wealthiest and most educated in Maine¹²⁷ - and relatively few Franco-Americans inhabit the counties with the lowest rates of income or education,¹²⁸ such as Washington or Piscataquis¹²⁹ - this disparity between Franco-Americans and their direct Anglo-Protestant peers grows even more pronounced.

This is not an accident, and contrary to the perspective of people like Paul LePage, this is not because Franco-Americans are lazy. As discussed in this essay, and as demonstrated in several studies,^{130, 131} the poverty of one generation is often inherited by the next. It is not a question of individual

capacity, nor of personal value or morality, but of available family resources and existing familial role models. If we are born with little - *né pour un petit pain* - we will not have the same opportunities or advantages as those born with more, who have the opportunity to go to school (and go to the "right" school), who are able to focus on their studies and not the need to be working, who have the chance to talk with parents who went to college, who are raised with the expectation that they will go on to gain a degree and earn high figures. If we have to choose and forge that path on our own, if we do not have the model of a family member to follow, if we have no intergenerational wealth with which to pay for college without incurring massive debt, then education and higher earnings became a much more difficult question to ask and much harder goal to achieve. But without a degree, earning enough to enter the middle or upper classes is a much heavier burden, and we will not have much, if any, familial wealth to leave our own children. Many Franco-Americans know this first-hand and have known it for centuries.

When we are poor, we need to work as soon and as quickly as possible. There often is not the opportunity to dedicate ourselves to our studies or to learning skills that will bring us higher wages. We are focused on the immediate needs of ourselves and our families. When we are so underpaid that we are never able to save enough to achieve the financial security necessary to quit our low-paying job and to find another, to take out a mortgage for a nicer home, to maybe even set aside some money to make things easier for our children one day, we will be caught up in the same economic troubles for quite some time. Franco-Americans know this, even if they do not know the reasons that they experience it, even if they have never thought to ask themselves why they were born into the socioeconomic class they were. Despite efforts to frame personal wealth as the result of personal effort, ability, or morality, poverty and self-doubt are not easily cast aside, particularly when they are the product of centuries.

Conclusion

It is in this difficult position that Franco-Americans have found themselves for more than a century in the United States - and for centuries prior in Québec and Canada. Without a doubt, our current

socioeconomic conditions are significantly better than they were one hundred or two hundred years ago; the relative twenty-first century comfort we live in would be a fantasy to Franco-Americans even seventy years ago. However, in comparison to our Anglo peers, we remain socially and economically stunted, a socioeconomic gap that denies education, insurance, and good wages to thousands of persons.

Anglo-Protestant dominance (or domination) in Québec and the States, which pushed French-Canadians to the social and financial margins of society, still echoes today. It is no longer necessarily noisy, we no longer find bombs in French-Canadian neighborhoods or laws forbidding the use of French in school, but we can hear it still when we find an Atwood who was once a Dubois, when we meet someone who hates Lewiston but isn't quite able to articulate why, when we greet an old lady at Mass who can hardly read. We find it when we call neighborhoods once inhabited by French-Canadian immigrants "the bad part of town" without knowing where the reputation comes from. We find it when we recognize that one hundred fifty years after the start of "*la Grande hémorragie*," there is an entire ethnic group that still lives disproportionately in poverty in a little state in New England.

So why did Pépé leave school at thirteen to go work in the mill? Why do we find so few Franco-Americans with money? Why do we no longer speak French? Why are we so ill at ease pronouncing our names the way they were supposed to be pronounced? It is not my goal to fixate too heavily on the past, nor is it my aim to suggest that the past and the present are identical and our historical struggles remain fully intact. However, we must recognize that the present we know and live is the direct consequence of our past. We must address the fact that the inequities of the past have resulted in residual issues that affect our immediate social and material reality. We are not poor from nowhere and no one; we do not speak English by chance or whimsy. There are reasons underlying most things we might take for granted - the class we were born into, the language we were raised to speak, our relationship to religion, our desire to be other than what we are - and most are waiting to be uncovered if only we are invested enough to look. What we find will tell us what we need and why

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we need it. But if we will not discuss it for our own well-being, for the chance that at last we might be able to move beyond, then we should at least discuss it for the sake of those who suffered and labored their entire lives so that we would not know the same hunger that they did. We were perhaps *nés pour un petit pain*, just as our parents and grandparents were, but we should not be afraid of asking for more, expecting more, demanding more.

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The Most Socially-Distanced Village in Maine

February 19, 2021 Home, Maine, Quebec

By James Myall

On October 11 2002, Michael Jalbert was arrested when he went to gas up his car. Well, it was a little more than just getting gas. Jalbert had crossed from Canada into the United States without presenting himself to us customs and while in possession of a firearm. Still, Jalbert's trip across the border was routine in many ways. He was visiting the tiny hamlet of Estcourt Station, a smattering of houses and a gas station best known for cheap fuel and lower sales taxes. Canadians like Jalbert from the neighboring town of Pohénégamook had long been hopping over the frontier to fill up. Jalbert's arrest was ultimately the result of some over

zealous border officials in the jittery months after the September 11 attacks, but it was symptomatic of changes on the border, and



*Canadian Customs Station, Estcourt, Quebec, 1952.
Image: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales de Québec*

The Canadian town of Pohénégamook sits at the the corner of two provinces – New Brunswick and Quebec – and along the international border between the US and Canada. The municipality is made up of several villages which were consolidated in 1972. One of these, Saint-Pierre d'Escourt, sits nestled between lake Pohénégamook and the US border. Except that the Canadian town spills over onto the US side. Not only are there a few buildings completely on US soil, but several houses on the Rue de la Frontière

("Border Street") straddle both sides of the boundary. Some residents have kitchens in Canada and living rooms in the United States. This unusual situation has given Estcourt a history that includes disputes, smuggling, and grey areas of international law.

The first thing to know about Estcourt is how isolated it is. From the Canadian perspective, Pohénégamook is rather remote. On the eastern edge of Quebec, it's 145 miles from Quebec City. But the situation on the other side of the border is even bleaker. Estcourt Station is completely cut off from the
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(Où se trouvent les francos ? continued from page 3)

they have such power. Our 400+ years of relatively independent social and historical development are ignored, our unique dialect is called bastardized and ugly, our own catalog of food, art, and folklore go unknown, unrecognized, and untaught. The fact that we occupy a distinct ethnic, cultural, and class positionality to Anglo-American culture and other ethnic groups goes unacknowledged.

Instead, for many non-Francos, whether teachers or journalists, high school interns or professional authors, Franco-American culture is simply "French culture" and vice versa. Nuance and complexity are sacrificed for a lazy Franco-American ethnography that matches what the non-Franco public finds easiest to consume. Monet, lavender fields, and excessive depictions of the Eiffel Tower replace the much more valuable lessons that could be learned from focusing on our labor history or folk culture. This again reinforces the same old stereotype that Franco-Americans (and French-Canadians) are unimportant and backwards and that the only Franco group worthy of study or praise is the metropolitan French. This once more takes away our own voice and replaces it

with someone else's perspective - often an Anglo-American's.

Even when such external voices acknowledge our distinct identity, it raises the question of how and why these same external voices can decide which aspects of our history and culture truly define us. It leaves unanswered the question of why those not belonging to our identity and culture feel emboldened to control its distribution, or why we as a community allow it. What does it mean for an Anglo-American to direct a Franco-American heritage center? What does it mean for a team of Anglo-American interns to run a Franco-American social media presence, deciding who and what gets highlighted - or doesn't? What does it mean for people with no familial or cultural knowledge (or even studied knowledge) of Franco-American identity to have narrative power over actual Franco-Americans when showcasing our culture to the world? Why is there an article every other year announcing with a shock that Franco-Americans still culturally exist when Franco-Americans have been trying to speak for ourselves for a century and a half?

There is a very long-standing trope of the "docile" Franco-American. Never an onlooker wanting to stir up trouble, never

the worker willing to join a strike, never a parishioner ready to question the clergy. Of course, this trope is just that - a trope. Although Franco-Americans' generalized politesse often seems to hold true (which is not necessarily a bad thing), it is also true that we have a very long history of protest, self-assertion, and push-back. Narrative authority is not the biggest struggle we have ever faced, but it seems nonetheless worthwhile to insist that we have our own voice, our own right to say who we are without someone else trying to decide for us, our own control over our own history, story, and pain. It is a loss of identity and a loss of self-assurance to have someone else tell you who you are, to have someone else dictate the terms of your own presence and culture. It should be addressed when we see it and corrected when we can. Others may study our identity, maybe even try to envelop themselves within it, but only we know the heartfelt details of who we are, the intimate moments within our own families' traditions, the delicacies of our own grandparents' accents. We know quite well who is best-suited to tell our own stories, et nous savons bien que c'est nous autres.

(The Most Socially-Distanced Village in Maine continued from page 17)

rest of Maine. With the exception of some logging roads, it's impossible to reach it without driving for a couple of hours through Canada.

When the first houses were built on the US side of the border, the boundary line was less of a problem. It's quite possible that no one even realized they were building in the United States for many years.

According to local history, the first family to settle in the area was that of Pierre Blier, who was reportedly drawn to the remote region in 1868 because he was in some legal difficulties. The settlement he founded was originally named for him, and known as Blier (its later name, St-Pierre-d'Estcourt pays homage to him through his first name. Escourt is taken from Sir James Escourt, one of the boundary commissioners who first laid out the border in 1842).

Gradually, more families joined Blier, including, in 1902, a collection of Franco-American families from Providence, Rhode Island. They were invited to settle the village of Saint-Euthème by the Crédit Foncier Canadien or land bank., as part of a long running and mostly unsuccessful series of efforts by the Canadian authorities to "repatriate" Franco Americans to Canada. The Crédit Foncier dissolved in 1912 and most or all the Franco American families left.

The spillover of the town into US territory presumably occurred before the treaty of 1925, which required the International Boundary Commission to enforce a three-mile exclusion zone on either side of the border. It may even be that before regular demarcations of the border were conducted, residents did not even know they were living

astride the international boundary. Before then, the entire US-Canada boundary was poorly laid out, and there were multiple instances of buildings straddling the border. In some of these cases, people took advantage of the ambiguity in legal jurisdiction by engaging in smuggling, or getting around US laws like prohibition.

Like other settlements in the region, the economy of Estcourt depended on lumbering, including the harvesting of timber on the Maine side by Canadian loggers. Even once customs stations were established along the border, it was generally a straightforward process to cross between the two friendly nations.

Still, the situation was inconvenient for those living on the American side. They potentially faced tariffs on anything they bought in Canada to bring home, and they were not guaranteed services their Canadian neighbors enjoyed, like the local public schools.

In 1938, residents on the Canadian side had had enough. Members of the Union Catholique des Cultivateurs (Union of Catholic Farmers) sent a petition to their local member of parliament, calling for the annexation of the sliver of land on the American side into Canada. Amongst their concerns, they noted that it was "ridiculous" for residents on the American side of the border to have to procure US goods to avoid import duties, and that farmers struggled to get their goods to market due to the same duties. Noting that the residents were "practically Canadians, whether or not they happened to have been born on one side or the other of the American border," the petition also claimed that "American officials who come to visit often subject [residents] to unjustified annoyances, which they seem to delight in."

Not only did the "natural geography" of the territory suggest it should be part of Canada, but "the territory has been, all-in-all, stolen from the Canadians."

In the end, the petition was unsuccessful. In fact, the Canadian parliament refused to even debate it, deciding that it was "too inflammatory."

Nonetheless, accommodations were made to resolve some of the problems faced by the residents of the divided town. The Maine legislature passed a law in 1961, to pay for residents on the American side to attend school in Canada. Homes in Estcourt Station are supplied with electricity by Hydro Quebec and have Canadian telephone numbers.

Meanwhile, residents on both sides of the border made the most of their peculiar situation. In addition to the aforementioned gas station, the community once housed a small general store, and a drive in movie theater (perhaps to get around Canadian censorship laws, which were especially strict in Quebec before the Quiet Revolution).

Estcourt Station was never home to a large number of people, but the changes to border security probably made life there even less appealing. The gas station closed in 2003, not long after the Jalbert incident, and the last full-time resident reportedly left in 2015 (though some of the houses are owned as holiday homes).

The situation of Estcourt is unusual but also a microcosm of the dynamic all along the world's longest undefended border. From a largely invisible and sometimes overlooked frontier, the border has become much less fluid in the last couple of decades. Increased security has not come without cost.



About James Myall:

While I currently work for an Augusta-based non-profit, I spent four years as the Coordinator of the Franco-American Collection at the University of Southern Maine. In 2015, I co-authored "The Franco-Americans of Lewiston-Auburn," a general history of that population from 1850 to the present. I was also a consultant for the State Legislative Task Force on Franco-Americans in 2012. I live in Topsham with my wife and two young daughters.

<https://myall.bdnblogs.com>

The Ghostly Prophetess of Jonesboro

October 24, 2016 Acadians, French and Indian Wars, Fur Trade, Home, Maine, Native Americans, Revolutionary War

By James Myall

It is the early hours of a March day in 1812, and the pre-dawn light is just beginning to clear the fog on Passamaquoddy Bay. Two Jonesboro fishermen, Charles and Edgar Wass, are heading out for a day's work; only the sound of their oars pulling against the ocean breaks the morning stillness. Until, out of the blue, they hear a blood-curdling cry. Almost certainly neither of them recognizes it – it's a sound not heard in Maine for fifty years or more – but there can be no mistaking the intention of the wacry of the Passamaquoddy. Turning, they see a long-haired middle-aged woman standing atop a large rock. As the sun crests the horizon, they realize they have seen the ghost of Nell Hamilton, Jonesboro's own prophet of war. Three months later, the United States declared war on Great Britain.

That, at least, is the story as recounted in the *New York Sun* in 1898. Hilton's spirit would return to warn the townspeople again in 1861, though she was reportedly absent the March of the Sun article, despite the imminent onset of the Spanish-American War.

In life, as well as death, Nell (Helen) Hilton is said to have accurately predicted the onset of war. But whatever the truth of her powers of prediction, her life story, as remembered in her legend, is fascinating unto itself.

Born on Cape Cod at an unknown date, perhaps around 1720, Nell is said to have persuaded her father to move to Jonesboro, "to escape the restraint that the Plymouth colony placed upon the conduct of women," some time before 1746. Equally likely, Pa Hilton, a fisherman, relocated the family to Maine to gain access to new fishing waters. Nonetheless, Jonesboro would have been a good place to evade any overbearing authorities. The frontier settlement (the town was not even incorporated until 1789) was on the edges on British North America, sandwiched between the Acadians of New

France and the Passamaquoddy Indians.

The Hiltons and their neighbors were likely interacted with both the French and Indians on a regular basis. This would explain how the young Nell formed a romantic relationship with a Passamaquoddy man. Her father discovered the two lovers together and, enraged at the discovery, shot and scalped the Indian. Only then did Nell's father discover that the two youngsters had been engaged. The heartbroken Nell's reaction was to run away from home, to live with the Passamaquoddies.

Among the Indians, Nell found a new



Susan Neptune, Deering Oaks Park, Portland, 1920. Susan was the mother of Passamaquoddy Chief William Neptune; she and many other members of the Indian Nation participated in a Maine Centennial celebration in Portland. Image: Maine Historical Society.

purpose. Fluent in three languages (English, French and Passamaquoddy), the young woman acted as an agent and negotiator the Indians with the French and British. As the story goes, she "never married [but] was looked upon as a queen of the tribe, and her wishes had more influence with the braves than an edict from the council of chiefs." Like most native peoples at the time, the Passamaquoddy bargained with both European nations, and her travels between the two probably allowed Nell to deliver her first "prophecy." In 1746, she is said to have forewarned a group of Acadians of an

impending British attack during the Louisbourg campaign. Since British forces for that campaign mustered in southern Maine before the attack, Nell could have been in a good position to deliver such a "prophecy."

Nell's association with the Acadians continued at least through 1755, when she is said to have been living in Grand-Sault (Great Falls, NB) as a teacher. She may well have been part of the exodus of Acadians who settled in the area following their expulsion from Nova Scotia.

On the 1st of March, 1775, however, Nell made a dramatic return to her hometown for a second, and final, foretelling. This time she warned her former neighbors, family and friends about the impending conflict with Great Britain, just before the Battles of Lexington and Concord. Again, it is possible that Hilton came by her knowledge through her network of contacts, rather than any supernatural gift (King George had effectively declared war on the patriots in February of that year). Less explicable is the tradition that she proceeded to predict the entire course of the war, right through the surrender at Yorktown.

Eventually it seems that Nell's talents were her undoing. Just two years after her return home, in 1777, she was hanged as a patriot spy. Although the story does not specify this, it seems likely that she was implicated in the actions of John Allan, a Nova Scotian patriot who had fled to the United States, and been authorized by Congress to raise a company in Maine to invade Western Nova Scotia. Allan's force, which never amounted to much, was based in Machias, adjacent to Jonesboro, and Nell's familiarity with both Nova Scotia and the Indians (who supported Allan against the British), would have been a great asset to the patriots.

Standing before the gallows, Nell delivered one last prediction to the assembled crowd. Speaking in English, French and Passamaquoddy, she recounted her life story before promising to return to the people of Jonesboro to warn them of any future conflict. They were to look for her every March 1st, atop the big rock on Hilton's Neck. She would announce herself with the Passamaquoddy war cry – just as the Wass brothers encountered her nearly forty years later.

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(N.D.L.R.: Orono: University of Maine Franco-American Programs, Dr. Susan Pinette welcomed the group. Prof. Raymond Pelletier presented the Acadian History and provided resources and materials and Lisa Desjardins Michaud helped in preparation of the gathering. Betsy Arntzen of the Canadian-American Center also participated.)

Just my opinion: Can the Acadian Institute become an annual program?

August 6, 2021 Franco-American News and Culture
Cynthia Matthews, Saint John Valley

By *Juliana L'Heureux*

American Association of Teachers of French- Summer 2021 Acadian Institute

“Wonderful group of French teachers were welcomed by the Frenchville Historical Society,” Alice Collin Carpenter, president of the Frenchville Historical Society, posted this greeting to the American Association of Teachers of French, during their July visit.



Many thanks to AATF-Maine Vice-President Cynthia Matthews for sending this photograph with the names of the AATF-Maine travelers, who went to visit Maine's Acadian historic sites!

AATF-Maine at the Fort Kent Blockhouse: L to R – Randa Thomas, Leah LePage, Cathy Varela, Jocelyne Tusquellas, Lynda Millar, Michelle Emery. In front: Nathalie Gorey and Cynthia Matthews

On behalf of the Maine Chapter of the American Association of Teachers of French (AATF) Maine Chapter, Vice President Cynthia Matthews wrote to me. “Usually, the AATF members travel each summer to a different French-speaking location

for our Annual National Convention, but this year, for the second year in a row, our convention was virtual. We missed out on Trois-Rivières, Quebec last year and New Orleans this year. Unfortunately, the border with Canada is closed. Having visited the Saint John Valley before, and having a great interest in the French-speaking communities in Maine, I suggested to AATF-Maine President Nathalie Gorey that we explore “Acadie.” Nathalie had never visited the Saint John Valley, and we realized that many Maine French teachers did not know much about the history of the Acadians or about the vibrant culture that exists today. So, with Nathalie's assistance, I planned a one week Institute for French teachers in Maine, to visit the Acadians in Maine.”

Thirteen participants, 12 from Maine and 1 from Vermont, joined the week long program. They visited the Acadian Archives for a presentation with Lise Pelletier, and wrapped up with presentations by James Myall and Jean Claude Redonnet.

Leah LePage, of AATF-ME wrote:

“Wow! What an experience. I've learned so much about French Acadia and how it fits in with Franco-American and Maine history. I've lived in Biddeford my whole life, but before this week hadn't been to northern Maine, Castine or Machias. I loved all the places we visited and want to return to them. I'm inspired to get involved in the historical societies local to my area, and to learn more about my own French-speaking ancestors. I'm looking forward to sharing my new understanding with my students at Wells Junior High School, and with my family in Biddeford.” – Leah LePage (Carrier).

A social media post from the Madawaska Historical Society said: “What a

pleasure to welcome a delegation of teachers during their Summer Acadian Institute. As members of the American Association of Teachers of French (AATF), the group visited a number of Acadian sights in Maine's Saint John Valley. Their stay encompassed much sharing about the French language, culture, artifacts, foods and much more. Local expressions were enjoyed by all, notably how a person's stubbornness is often called “tête de pioche”. Here, they are pictured at the Acadian Cross while enjoying the beautiful Acadian Landing Site in St. David, Maine.



American Association of Teachers of French – Maine visit to the Acadian Cross in Madawaska, Maine.

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(The Ghostly Prophetess of Jonesboro continued from page 19)

Even without the supernatural elements to her tale, it's easy to see why Nell Hilton's life became a legend. An independent woman who broke societal norms, she broke cultural taboos by falling in love with an Indian man and then by choosing to live with his people after his death. She was fluent in three languages when education was a rarity for women of her station. She rose to a position of influence in two societies that she was not born into, yet died as a patriot for the country of her birth. Nell Hilton may be one of the most remarkable Mainers you've never heard of.

(Just my opinion: Can the Acadian Institute become an annual program? continued from page 20)

Their journey was a packed schedule, between July 25-31, 2021, beginning in Orono, Maine.

July 25, at Orono they received an introduction to Acadian history. Check the included links in the schedule below, to read about the historic sites they visited during their tour.

On July 26, they traveled to Castine, the former Acadian capital of Pentagoet. They learned about Baron de Castin, from France, who was governor. “We learned SO much about him!”, said Cynthia Matthews.

They traveled to Acadia National Park to learn about Samuel de Champlain’s travels and the sources of the French names in the park. They stopped in Addison, where they saw the dikes (aboiteaux) built by Acadians.

On July 27, they visited Saint Croix Island in the morning (historic site of the 1604 first French colony) and then a visit to the Patten Lumberman Museum on the way to Aroostook County.

On July 28, they visited the Acadian Village in Van Buren, Musée Culturel de Mont Carmel in Lille, and the Grand Isle Historical Society.

July 29, Madawaska historical society (Tante Blanche Museum and Acadian landing site), Frenchville Historical Society and Ste Agathe Historical Society.

July 30 Acadian archives at University of Maine Fort Kent and the Fort Kent Historical Society.

July 31 back at Orono to conclude with James Myall, Jean-Claude Redonnet and Cynthia Matthews. July 25-31.



AATF-Maine in Castine

The Fort Kent Blockhouse is located at the confluence of the Fish River and the Saint John River in Fort Kent, Maine. The Blockhouse is the only fortification relating to the “Bloodless” Aroostook War, of 1838-1839, and the border dispute 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, although federal troops remained there until 1845, to protect Maine’s and the United States’ interests in the region.

The Blockhouse is a two-story structure. Its walls are built of square-hewn cedar logs, some of which measure over 19 inches in width. It is an excellent example of early 19th-century military architecture. The Blockhouse serves as a museum and is maintained by local Eagle Scouts in cooperation with the Bureau of Parks and Recreation, Maine Department of Conservation. The state-owned Blockhouse is on the National Register of Historic Places, as well as being a National Historic Landmark.

This was certainly a very impressive historical itinerary! Merci beaucoup!

Can this Acadian Institute, created by Cynthia Matthews with the AATF-Maine, become an annual program?

C’est juste une idée.



AATF-Maine Fort Kent Blockhouse Acadian Institute visit.



AATF-ME visit the Acadian Archives, University of Maine, Fort Kent: L to R- Front row: Lise Pelletier, director, Michelle Emery, Cynthia Matthews, Cathy Varela, Randa Thomas. Back Row: Leah LePage, Jocelyne Tusquellas, Lynda Millar, Jonna Boure, Robert Daigle and Nathalie Gorey. Group photo at the site of Fort Pentagoet, (below) once the capital of Acadie: from L to R counter clockwise – Randa Thomas, David Adams of Castine Historical Society, Nathalie Gorey, Sandra Dumont, Lynda Millar, Cynthia Matthews, Jonna Boure, Jocelyne Tusquellas, Michelle Emery, Cathy Varela, Mary Kate Small, Leah LePage, Karen Bruder.

What does French literature have to do with being a priest?

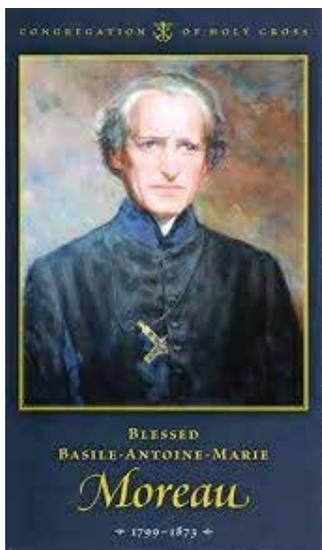
August 24, 2021 Franco-American News and Culture Congregation of Holy Cross,
Father Greg Haake, Notre Dame University

By *Juliana L'Heureux*

I was delighted to hear from Father Greg Haake, a priest with the Congregation of Holy Cross, about teaching French and Francophone Studies at the University of Notre Dame, in Indiana.

My contact was motivated because my husband and I have been watching the televised Sunday Masses broadcast live from Notre Dame University, held at the Basilica of the Sacred Heart, in Indiana. They have been spiritual refuge for us while we have been protecting ourselves from risk of exposure to the COVID virus. We continue to watch Notre Dame's Sunday broadcast from the Basilica, even while we are wearing masks when attending Mass in local churches, on Saturday afternoons. Each Sunday, the schedule of Mass celebrants rotates among the Congregation of Holy Cross priests who are associated with the University. They include the Rector Father Brian Ching, C.S.C., and others who are scholars, professors, administrators and associates of the University of Notre Dame. Although Notre Dame University is known as the "Fighting Irish", the founder of the Congregation of Holy Cross Fathers and Brothers was Blessed Basil Moreau, C.S.C. (February 11, 1799 – January 20, 1873) who was a French priest. Notre Dame University is a Congregation of Holy Cross University.

In fact, Notre Dame is French.



Founder of the Congregation of Holy Cross

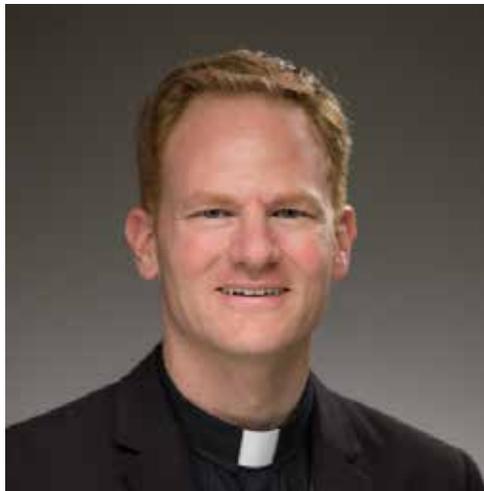
I recently contacted Father Greg Haake, C.S.C., at the University of Notre Dame. His biography and one of his essays are posted on the University's website. This particular essay couldn't help but catch my attention:

Revealing God's Truth and Love in the Classroom

Father Haake's website article is published in this blog with his permission.

Dear Juliana, You are most welcome to republish that article, with my permission and blessing. I love the blog, by the way. I will recommend it to our students! With warm regards, Fr. Greg, csc

By Fr. Greg Haake, C.S.C.* **Scholarship values above all the ability to question.**



Father Haake is Assistant Professor of French and Francophone Studies at the University of Notre Dame.

#Truth

However, scholars struggle to find answers, or at least, they hesitate to declare an answer as truth. Modeling such skills of critical thinking are essential to a life in scholarship and in teaching, for they allow students to grow, to discover, and maybe even to teach something to those responsible

for forming them.

For a priest, teacher, and scholar, the academic atmosphere takes on another layer of action that is by no means afraid to pose questions, but actively seeks and is willing to proclaim Truth.

When people ask me what I study, I immediately prepare myself for the curious looks that say, "What does French literature have to do with being a priest?"

In my mind, of course, it has everything to do with it! It is through French literature that I discover truths about how people communicate, about how words, organized into a harmony of images and metaphors, convey beauty, or about how and why people love each other and God. Even when writers of literature reject the Truth, they proclaim truths about the mysteries of human existence.

If the Church and her priests are about the formation of the human person in the Gospel, the Truth of Jesus Christ, what better place than in the classroom to help students discover it in themselves and in the world? When I first began my teaching career at the secondary level, I was teaching the basics of the French language, a lesson in self-expression and in the importance of language, communication, and culture. At the university level, such goals present no less of a challenge. At every level, however, a priest in the classroom offers his ability to question, his comfort with answers, and his leadership in navigating the two. In short, he offers himself, as he would at any other moment of his priestly ministry, in order to lead his students to discover how this wonderful created world, in which we have such a large and creative part, reveals God's Truth and His love for us.

Beyond the classroom, my perspective on teaching, focused as it is on my priesthood, has left me all the more open to pastoring students in other ways. Since secondary and higher education occurs at what can be a tumultuous time in the lives of students, my interaction with them in the classroom has led to more personal encounters where students are hoping for someone to point out the grace of Truth at work in their lives.

Amidst all the elements that make up an academic environment, I struggle often to make explicit the unity of my life as a Holy Cross priest, teacher, and scholar, but in leading with a dedicated presence and relying on my faith in Christ the Teacher,

(Continued on page 23)



Mike Gravel

By Michael Guignard

One of my daily habits is to check the obituaries in the Washington Post. Last June I saw that Maurice "Mike" Gravel had died at the age of 91. I remembered him from Pentagon Papers days when he read from the highly-classified files that Daniel Ellsberg made public. The Post and the New York Times had been enjoined by lower courts not to make the Papers public. That decision was reversed by the Supreme Court and the two newspapers published verbatim accounts.

I had met Mike Gravel in 2008 when he was making a long-shot run for the Democratic nomination for President. I asked about his French name and he responded saying that his parents were indeed Francophones.

The third of five siblings, Maurice Gravel was born in Springfield, MA. on May 13, 1930, to Alphonse Gravel and Maria Bourassa Gravel.

His parents were French Canadian immigrants from Quebec, and Mr. Gravel did not speak English until he was in elementary school. On his website, he said that years later he realized that as a boy he had "suffered from severe dyslexia; the flipside to that disability was a focus on memory development and a talent to speak extemporaneously."

After graduating from Assumption, a prep school in Worcester, Mr. Gravel spent his freshman year at Assumption College, supporting his studies with work as a janitor and a golf course caddy. He served in the army in French and Germany from 1951 to 1954 and finished college at Columbia Univ.

He moved to Alaska at the urging of a brother and worked his way up the political ladder. In 1968, he defeated incumbent Senator Ernest Gruening in the Democratic primary and winning the seat in November. I find it ironic that Gravel, anti-war himself, defeated one of only two Senators who voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution.

His run in 2008 for the Democratic nomination was short-lived because funding and support simply was not forthcoming. He did, however, manage to try to score political points against the eventual nominee:

"Tell me, Barack, who do you want to nuke?" he asked Barack Obama, then a US senator from Illinois.

"I'm not planning on nuking anybody right now, Mike," Obama replied.

"Good," Mr. Gravel said, "then we're safe for a while."

There have been few Franco-American in Congress. Kelly Ayotte from New Hampshire and James Langevin from Rhode Island come to mind along with our own Michael Michaud. Margaret Chase Smith's mother was of French Canadian origin. Her maternal grandfather's name was Lambert Morin but he changed his name to Murray to avoid anti-French Canadian and anti-Catholic prejudice. I remember Margaret Chase Smith and her political career and never saw a mention of her French-Canadian ancestry. She kept it well hidden. Mike Gravel did not emphasize his French-Canadian roots when running for political office but he did not hide them either. I trust that future Franco-Americans seeking office in Congress will be more forthright about their family background than was Senator Smith.

(What does French literature have to do with being a priest? continued from page 22)

I hope that my priesthood raises questions in the academic world while still pointing to the Truth.

Education:

D., Stanford University, 2015
A., Middlebury College, 2009
Div., University of Notre Dame, 2006
A., University of Notre Dame, 1999

Research and Teaching Interests: Politics and Literature, Renaissance, Rhetoric, Religion and Literature, Lyric Poetry

Biography: Fr. Haake works on the intersection of literature, politics, and religion in sixteenth-century France. *His current research focuses on the image of the stranger and how its use—and the reaction to it—helped to form and shape French identity in the early modern period and beyond.* Poets, authors, and polemicists took advantage of this particular image to incite a nascent xenophobia, but it was also an opportunity for solidarity or as a political tool to help define and refine cultural and religious identity. He maintains an interest in lyric poetry, namely that of Joachim Du Bellay and Maurice Scève.

Representative Publications

The Politics of Print During the French Wars of Religion: Literature and History in the Age of "Nothing Said Too Soon." Leiden: Brill, 2021. Brill's Faux Titre series

"The Mémoire of the Advocate David and the Discrediting of the Guises." *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 50, no. 2 (2019): 421–448

"A Holy Exchange: The Dedicatory Epistle of Clément Marot's Translation of the Psalms." *Renaissance and Reformation* 42, no. 2 (2019): 81–104

"Loving Neighbour Before God: The First Commandment in Early Modern Lyric Poetry." *The Ten Commandments in Medieval and Early Modern Culture*. Edited by Youri Desplenter, Jürgen Pieters, and Walter Melion. Brill: Leiden, 2017. 75–89.

Merci beaucoup Father Haake!



My Mother-in-Law

Part 2

Her Husband, Jovite Salvas

By
Gerard Coulombe

My father-in-law, Jovite Salvas, was a bon-vivant about town, in my estimation. While I do not know exactly why or when it started, «being a man about town,» but he had had the experience both as a local, Biddeford, Maine, politician of sorts, at one time, and a big Realtor, to me, even if he was not generally known for that, as far as I am concerned, as a I am, simply, the last of four sons-in-law, for the site of the real estate packages that he had sold at one time, at least, in my view, had been the largest in our part of the State. That's my reference, and not his; this is just from what I had heard for knowing of him. And, once I had gotten to know him, indirectly, because of her, whenever I saw him about town, it was interesting to learn how much he loved the nightlife, whatever there was of it in Biddeford, Maine, not then, by no means, before, or after, as far as I am concerned. And my knowledge, once I had met him, was indirect, and not because we necessarily agreed to meet downtown somewhere, because we hadn't. At the time, it was just happenstance that we had met, downtown, he on a coffee-bar stool, and I who had sat on another, altogether by chance, as it, the coffee shop/diner had not been something that I did. I just happened to be home on furlough, and one weekend night, I happened to drop in for a «cup of joe»: Please, do not do as I did, look up its etiological meaning, as I did; If you do you will find in the on line dictionary, Not its meaning, per say, for, you will not find its origins, as it was what I looked for, but you might like a lot of other things if you do look up the often used term, in my day, at least, specifically, « cup of joe ».

As mysterious as it was, we hardly said a word to one another. That's the way it seemed.

As he no longer drove a car by then; he took the bus downtown. That was easy enough to do, as the bus was regular, like a clock, going up from the downtown-end of

Main Street, at the corner of Main and Alfred where the « Puritan » was and is still located, went up Alfred Street to the «Corner» of roads that intersected, Alfred and Elm Streets, the latter also being U.S. Route One, North, South, while Alfred Street became the Alfred Road that went on to Alfred, Maine,

...and to the juncture of the Puritan, at the juncture of Maine and Alfred, one of two hang-outs for kids on any night, but, especially week-end nights.

home of a state prison. The other interceding roads, were West Street, which headed East, to the Coast of Maine, and to Route 9, which bordered the Saco River, North, South, separating Saco which was North of the River from Biddeford which was South from Camp Ellis on one side of the Saco River to the other side, via, Saco Island, up Alfred a ways, to turn East along the Saco to Biddeford Pool Street, where it made a right turn as the Pool Road, continued as Route 9 into Kennebunk Port.

When I was a kid, I recall riding an electric driven car/coach to Old Orchard Beach, might have been with a parent, to go sit on the beach and try, first, putting a foot in the water, and, then, only, bathing by taking a quick dunk in the cold water as waves rolled in all the time, one after another, each wave diminishing in size, allowing us kids, to lie down and be rolled around some in the frothing surf as it picked up sand that got into bathing trunks and the grit of the sand irritated our genitals—which was terribly bothersome, and required walking in, again, carefully, tentatively, up to our hips so as to allow for a wave or two to cleanse the creases between our thighs and bathing trunks of these irritants.

In any case, it had to have been a bus that my father-in-law took to ride downtown,



Jovite Salvas

where he had to have gotten off and at the Elm Street end of Main Street to start his intimate walk, down town with, what had to have been, a first stop at the diner where he could get a cup of coffee, for starters, and where, by happenstance, I got to see him, my future father-in-law, and from there, he would walk the sidewalk, on by the closed shops, on his way downtown, slowly, as he favored some favorite haunts, such as the Thatcher Hotel, opposite City Hall on Maine, with which he certainly must have been familiar, as he had worked in City Hall in some political capacity for a Democratic Mayor or more, over the years; in any case, with the wet-bar familiarity that appealed to bon vivants, and that, also happened to appeal to his tastes, imaginary or real, as it were. Mind, this was not something that which or was, or more precisely, that I ever heard bandied about where he, my future father-in-law is concerned. It, Biddeford, a City, was still a small town, and one, even a kid, one could not help noticing, as one got about at night, as a teen-ager, who, soon, as one were going to enlist, but still had hopes of going to college out of Saint Louis High School, the communal high school for boys from the three parishes in town, were it possible that he could.

I have or had no idea what my father-in-law was looking for at night. I was still very wet behind the ears, as the expression goes, and all too young and inexperienced to speculate. That it was not something my father would have done, evenings, simply, leaving my mom, his wife, at home and walking down Clifford to Water and, later,
(Continued on page 25)

(My Mother-in-Law Part 2 continued from page 24)

near to the Saco Island Bridge, walk up Maine toward town, and to the juncture of the **Puritan**, at the juncture of Maine and Alfred, one of two hang-outs for kids on any night, but, especially week-end nights, where they could sit, by themselves, to order and then drink a « Coke, » by sipping on it near all night with an entourage of friends, male, and female, all waiting for something to happen, something, that rarely did, Thank goodness, but, after which, everyone processed out, eventually, to get home, however which way that we had come « to town » to meet and visit with our friends, all of them, age eligible and from the town walking or riding the bus home.

And, I have no explanation as to why it was, that his wife, my mother-in-law to be, let him, her husband of years go out, alone, as was his habit. It might have been for her own peace of mind, as she was so, forever, busy that she might not have minded at all his absences, evenings, when he departed, and, I assume this practice was just exercised on Friday evening and maybe Saturday evenings, as that is when people, by and large, were and went about town for purposes other than, simply, shopping, for, in those days, there were a great many, say, at least four or five major stores opened selling all kinds of things that people wanted. I, for one, just loved the bulk cookies sold by Fishman's, and, in those days, a lot of people enjoyed the food counters in, I think, nearly all of them. Those were the days when the whole of downtown was lit, and people were on it. But, I do not know how it happened, all of those things slowly disappeared, including «Ames,» the bulk butter and peanut butter store, which, in its heyday, as a kid, just watching a salesperson scoop up peanut butter into a large cup for my mother to take home, that was pure joy—no label, just pure joy.

I guess, my father-in-law to be, was, long before I got to know him, in love with «pure joy.» And while I never truly learned how my mother-in-law to be, felt about this, I don't care to learn, now. It's over.

There are many other parts about my father-in-law, this, in retrospect. It is that my wife, the youngest of his four daughters, has said to me that her father enjoyed driving into the country, and she, my wife, recalls this as wonderful adventures. I do not think that she was exaggerating when she said this, as it is, rides in the country, that is, are

not things that I recall because we never had a car to ride in into the country with. That would have been nice, and I am sure that my mother, our mother, my two younger sisters and I, would have enjoyed tremendously, having had a car, but we did not, so there was no reason for any one of us to drive. But I, for one, once, at least, enjoyed a ride to Hartford, CT., with my dad, no, my father, in a car that he rented with the driver, to travel with my uncles who were visiting from Canada, all to visit their sister who had married and lived there across from a hospital and just a few blocks from the Capitol building, which I saw, because I could walk down the block and turn right for a view of the dome. Little did I know, that years later, I would take a job in Darien, CT; because the high



Joseph Salvus and Joe Jr. circa 1943

superintendent of schools, was a graduate of the same University as I was, and delighted to have me take the job.

Meanwhile, my father-in-law and I were not conversant at the time, or at any time. It was nothing that we did. While my future-mother-in-law did say when we first met that her daughter might better be suited for a gentleman doctor, I never let that warning affect my intents, even as they might have been, only, tentative, at the time, as such things are always a bit nebulous, as they are contractual.

I must say, parenthetically, that dating was never easy in Biddeford—not for me, at least.

But that's another, long story.

But, still, I want to advance my story by saying that even though we Catholic, Franco-Americans, that is, French speaking, boys, had had cohort girls attending school, I may have mentioned, before that, as far as I am concerned, even today, the girls, all of them, were well hidden behind the walls of our high school, Saint Louis, separating us from there's, Saint Joseph, having been

assigned each half of a building, nominally, called, Saint Louis, which, in fact, was all about boys and none of the girls. I say this with a good heart and no foreknowledge of what was going on. Being from another parish myself, although I had been born in that one, in the first place, we had returned, with my father to his parish, Saint Andre's, which, for a great part, extended all the way to Biddeford Pool, along the Saco River, at the time, and was property, along the River, partly or in great part due to the Fathers Decary our pastor and his brother, the brother having later been put forward for beatification, which, he was, I think, his remains having been interred, on the grounds of the college that they, the brothers-priest, Zenon and Arthur Decary had founded, which was named, at the time, Saint Francis college, and lead by an order of Franciscan, although I do not know which. In any case these brother priests were highly regarded, to repeat myself, it could not have been otherwise, that with prayer and hard work, invoked and supported by parishioners and, evidently, had « inherited » the family money, my guess, they were allowed to purchase a lot of the properties along the Pool Road, in Biddeford, bordering the Saco River, which is important, and which permitted them to found all kinds of, let us say, subsidiary institutions along the River which, all in all, was a capital accomplishment for two priest and all of the good works that, altogether, they were able to accomplish.

But, I digressed a lot with the paragraph above, for I was about to say, that, if boys like myself continued to attend a parochial school, which in my family and in other families would never have a approved of a public one. For, as evil abounded everywhere, it would not have made sense to voluntarily thrust Catholic boys and girls into the warrens of the devil, public schools; I say this last only in jest, because it is what. The pastor preached, but, here, this is about boys, and it was because Saint Andre's did not have a Catholic high school for boys, while it had one for girls, the small number of them, notwithstanding, because one of my sisters graduated, while I do not know about the younger one because, by that time, the summer of 1950, I had enlisted, and rarely furloughed home, mainly because of the locations of my posts, although, never overseas, for the four year enlistment that I had signed up for, it was not as if I could have taken a quick, bus ride home, to keep

(Continued on page 26)

Silent But Visible? French Canadians on Stage and Screen

Patrick Lacroix

In early nineteenth-century Michigan, a Chippewa couple adopted four-year-old Leah Campeau, whom they had found wandering alone in the wilderness. After the War of 1812, Campeau, raised as an Indigenous girl under the name Neamata,

fell in love with Bruce Marshall, an employee of the American Fur Company. Marshall, however, fell for her white sister, who had grown up in their biological parents' household and had no knowledge of Neamata. A "giant trapper" named Jacques Cautier (yes, Jacques Cautier)

was jealous of Marshall and vied for Neamata's affection, but the two men won each other's esteem and Cautier began to connect the dots. With this French Canadian lay the moment of recognition between the Campeau girls as well as the solution to the love triangle.¹

If this sounds like the plot of a soap opera, that's because it is. Neamata, Marshall, and Cautier were fictional characters in *The White Squaw*, a play that made its stage debut in New England in 1909. Its author and lead actress, Della Clarke, contributed to the myth of the "vanishing Indian," a longstanding trope anchored by the literary fiction of Cooper and Longfellow. But Clarke's work helped blaze a trail in other regards: like a pair of contemporary plays, it placed French Canadians front and center and enhanced their visibility across the United States.²

Playing to the Northern Mystique

We often read back in time the sense that Franco-Americans are invisible. That was not the case in the early decades of the

twentieth century. Beyond the sheer number of French Canadians and their economic significance in the U.S. Northeast, immigrants from Quebec and their children attained positions of influence at the municipal and state levels. Their annual June 24 festivities

were noticed and they increasingly took part in labor activism. The controversies that pitted them against Roman Catholic bishops won widespread coverage in the mainstream U.S. press.

French Canadians also found representation across the United States through theater and film productions. The Ontario-born novelist Gilbert Parker spurred a whole cottage

industry from French Canadians' frontier experiences, with Della Clarke quickly capitalizing on the emerging genre. From novel to stage to screen, *canadien* characters populated Americans' artistic universe.

In these productions, French Canadians provided exoticism; collaboration and conflict across cultures enriched the plot. The setting mattered just as much. The stories were not set in the sooty mill cities of New England or on quiet farms along the St. Lawrence River. With the exception of *The White Squaw*, playwrights also turned away from the Western frontier, which long captured the American imagination. By the 1890s, experts were claiming that the frontier had closed. From the Plains to the Pacific, Americans had, it seemed, tamed the environment and conquered the original inhabitants. The apparent triumph of "civilization" offered few romantic visions. Another frontier would supplant the West.³

Perhaps due to the Klondike gold rush (1897-1899), writers and audiences became enthralled by the mysteries and perils of the great Canadian North. It was in this era that Jack London won acclaim not least as an exponent of the Northern mystique. In these

(*My Mother-in-Law Part 2* continued from page 25)

up with the happenings in town.

All together, if I had not been directly aware of the girls in our school, because, here, I repeat myself, we did not mingle socially, at least I did not to begin to, really, until I was a junior in high school, and in part, it was also because I had had jobs that opened doors that would not have been opened, otherwise, or available. I'll say again, my two sisters meant nothing to me, as I did not hold on to them in mind. . . Sure, they were girls, but it was not as if I kept tabs on them. I did not. Furthermore, at the time, in high school, girls were interesting,, but, strange.

Earlier, I had been trying to define my father-in-law, as I had gotten to know him over time. I do not believe that we ever talked much to each other. I had occasion to listen to him as he spoke at family gatherings in his home. That, revealed one side of himself, at the table, particularly, for family dinner, where he acted as the person in charge at the head of the table, his sister-in-law by his near left, elbow, around the corner. Some near twelve guest at a time on some Sundays for dinner, the wife, my future mother-in-law at the other end, never really sitting, as I recall, because she was always busy about, the kitchen behind her; she, doing this or that. I have no inkling how my mother-in-law to be or who after we, my wife and I had married, felt about her husband of many years, about his habits, or about their relationship, the one that they had, these, their five children, that the eldest had married, followed by the next, and so on, their son, he son, going off to war. The experience that he had had, the relatives, the one that lived in the room upstairs, her sister-in-law in the house, always, except when she left for work, but, then, she was back. My mother-in-law had already had a long life when I met her, as my mother had, but my mother had not raised her siblings, as my mother-in-law to be had to. There was so much to discern from their lives, that of my father-in-law and that of my mother-in-law which I never got to learn. I just got to know or learn vignettes, and so much more was lost to me. So much more, Those sources, the children have all passed except for my wife, and she has said to me, when she gave me her permission to tell this, she said, go ahead, in a sense, she was saying, it's your story, not mine, So, dear reader, take it for what it is.

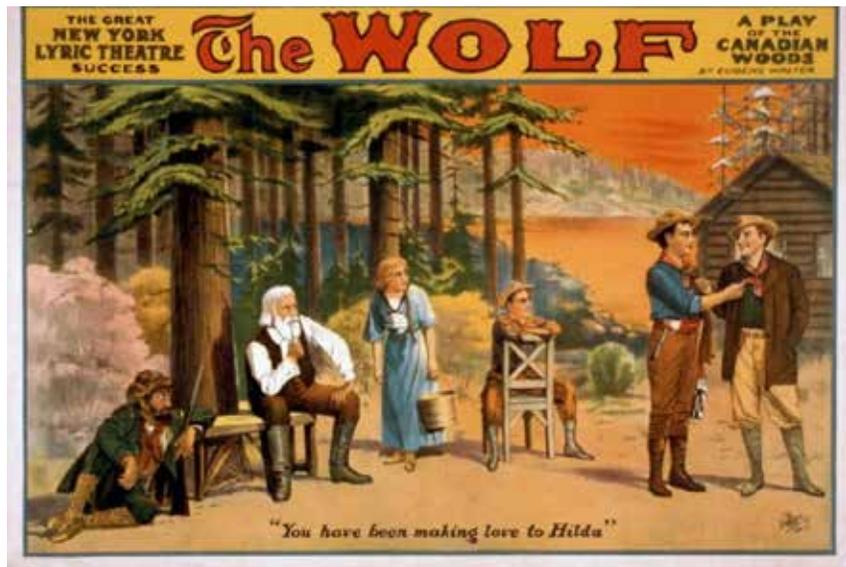
(*Silent But Visible? French Canadians on Stage and Screen* continued from page 27) wilds, writers implied, the culture and claims of “Indians” were yet to be extinguished; the people of European descent who penetrated those endless expanses were often trappers or miners and lived by their own code of justice. Stories set in this imagined Canada also brought the Mounted Police and the trading posts of the Hudson’s Bay Company into the American cultural landscape.

Playwright Eugene Walter’s *The Wolf*, which made it to the stage in 1908, helped establish both the genre and the fictional setting. Walter was even called the “Columbus of a new field of drama,” which, considering the treatment of Indigenous peoples both historically and in literature, was a little too on-the-nose. A critic stated that *The Wolf* “was brought out after playwrights [sic] of all degrees had dipped their pens into vast avenues of explorations, at a time when it was thought there were [but] a few worlds to conquer in the matter of locale, color, atmosphere and theme. There had been a flood of Western dramas, filled with action and virility of the wild plains and hills, there had [been a] dainty offering from the drawing room, there had been society plays and problem plays, and search was turning to the other side.”⁴

Defining the French

French-Canadian characters occupied this literary landscape. In many parts of the continent, people of French descent had blazed a trail for other European agents of empire. Fur traders had overcome considerable natural challenges and established relations—not always cordial—with the Indigenous nations of the West. Well-read Americans would have been acquainted with the *voyageur* character thanks to the historical work of Francis Parkman. Novelists and playwrights expanded that image for a wider public.⁵

As Jason L. Newton has argued, ideas about French Canadians’ *inherited* suitability for certain types of work were prevalent in the economic field.⁶ This was not perfectly mirrored in the performing arts. *The White Squaw* and *The Barrier* evinced a fascination with racial identity—specifically Native peoples’ relationship to whiteness. But early twentieth-century plays did not establish that French Canadians were a people inherently of the wilderness, for the wilderness.



The range of attributes of French-Canadian characters suggests that playwrights were more interested in successful plays involving dramatic tension, action, and romance than in ethnic commentary. Male figures were often trappers or miners, but they were more likely to be heroes than villains and they were more complex than we might expect. This is not to say that these ethnic representations on stage and screen were without the “cultural shortcuts” that nourish stereotypes and even prejudice. But, at the same time, these depictions formed a relatively bright spot in a long arc of Anglo-Protestant exclusion.

Gilbert Parker dedicated *The Lane That Had No Turning*, a novel published in 1900 and later a film, to Prime Minister Wilfrid Laurier. He praised Laurier for his efforts towards amicable English-French relations in Canada. He added, “In a sincere sympathy with French life and character, as exhibited in the democratic yet monarchical province of Quebec, or Lower Canada (as, historically, I still love to think of it), moved by friendly observation, and seeking to be truthful and impartial, I have made this book and others dealing with the life of the proud province, which a century and a half of English governance has not Anglicised.” The praise continued: Parker celebrated the frugality, industry, and domestic virtue of French Canada.⁷ These were not empty words; Parker’s approach was lauded by Quebec elites. Université Laval awarded him an honorary degree in literature in 1912 and with reason. The stage adaptation of his *Pierre and His People* (retitled *Pierre of the Plains*) had won the plaudits of the francophone press, which recommended it

to its readers.⁸

What’s more, of the lead character in *Pierre*, Parker explained, “[h]is faults were not of his race, that is, French and Indian, nor were his virtues; they belong to all peoples.” Parker could not escape the language of race, and we cannot exonerate him fully from ethnic preconceptions, but he seemed to reject a racial essentialism that was then quite prevalent.⁹

The theatrical success of *Pierre* and *The Wolf* inspired other plays in the same vein—*The White Squaw*, for instance. Although the story unfolds in Quebec, Eugene Presbrey’s adaptation of Parker’s *The Right of Way*, first performed in 1907, preceded all of them and helped steer character development across the genre. The character of Joe Portugais served as a template for French Canadians who would be transplanted, fictionally, in the Northwest. Portugais, a critic opined in 1910, “is a type that might easily be burlesqued, but of whom intelligent representation is extremely difficult.” Actors’ search for a fair portrayal of the French Canadian had begun.¹⁰

Authenticity in Representation

We are currently in the midst of a fierce debate about ethnic representation in literature and the performing arts. Should characters of a certain culture only be played by actors who share their background? Can artists produce an authentic and respectful depiction of other ethnic groups? One of the great virtues of art is to enable creators to explore different identities and to nourish empathy for other cultures. At the same

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(*Silent But Visible? French Canadians on Stage and Screen* continued from page 27) time, minority groups may feel that their story is being misinterpreted, distorted, or commodified. When deploring their lack of visibility, some Franco-Americans cite the representation given to other groups in, say, *The Godfather* or *Gangs of New York*. We may, however, justly wonder how a French-Canadian equivalent to these films would be received, for these rely on well-worn ethnic tropes.

We can raise this question retrospectively because few people of French descent had creative input in early twentieth-century productions, even if characters were molded by the real-life encounters of English-Canadian artists (Parker, Edgar Selwyn, Nell Shipman). Annette de Foe (born Gertrude Aucoin in Louisiana) played a French-Canadian girl opposite Mitchell Lewis in *The Timber Wolf*. The Detroit-born Frank Campeau played a secondary role in the 1922 film adaptation of *The Lane That Had No Turning*.¹¹ They were exceptional.

Actors at least strived for verisimilitude. Theodore Roberts, who long played Joe Portugais, crossed the border specifically to study French Canadians and master the role.¹² Helen MacKellar, who became Mannette Fachard in *The Storm*, a Broadway sensation of the late 1910s, also gave serious thought and study to her role. She had learned French in school in Spokane and Chicago, but soon realized her accent was all wrong for the role she had accepted. She spent a summer in French-Canadian circles to master the language, its idioms, and its intonations.¹³

Stage and screen actor Mitchell Lewis probably played more French-Canadian characters than anyone else and developed the Portugais figure. He played Cautier in *The White Squaw* and took on French-Canadian and Métis figures in *The Barrier*, *Sign Invisible*, *Code of the Yukon*, and *The Timber Wolf*.¹⁴

From one role to the next, Lewis was the quintessential rugged but friendly giant. His part in *The Barrier*—a novel by Rex Beach published widely in newspapers in 1909—is informative. Beach set his story in Alaska in the era of the gold rush. A main character was ‘Poleon Doret, who instantly earned the admiration of a blue-eyed Southerner for whom breeding was everything. Doret “stood a good six feet two, as straight as a pine sapling, and it needed no second glance to tell of what metal he was made. His

spirit showed in his whole body, in the set of his head, and, above all, in his dark, warm face, which glowed with eagerness when he talked, and that was ever—when he was not singing.”¹⁵ The film version was released eight years later, with Lewis starring as the “lovable” Frenchman. It was through this character’s “nobility and self-sacrifice” that the girl for which he cared could find love and happiness.¹⁶

We have yet to unearth signs that Franco-Americans took issue—if in fact they did—with *Pierre of the Plains*, *The Wolf*, *The White Squaw*, and other productions where cultural others depicted them. Theirs was a different historical moment when



Ruth Hussey, John Carroll, Evelyn Ankers and Bruce Cabot in PIERRE OF THE PLAINS, at the Riviere Thursday through Saturday.

representation by English Canadians and Anglo-Americans was an honor of sorts. Additionally, stories about innocent French-Canadian girls torn between two lovers, or about tough, resourceful men, appealed as much to people of French heritage as they did to the wider audience. These plays and films also served as a point of entry to the culture, the beginning of a conversation. In the U.S. Northeast, where nativist prejudice persisted, a Jacques Cautier could highlight French people’s historical presence on the continent and offer mill workers exotic and noble parentage.

The French—Far and Wide

We cannot underestimate how prevalent these images were. *Pierre* debuted in Toronto; its cast played in Montreal, then under the bright lights of New York City, and the tour went on. By 1911, it was being performed in San Francisco. In 1914, it became a widely-distributed film with actor Edgar Selwyn reprising the role that he had made famous on stage.¹⁷ *The Wolf* was played at least as far as Conway, Arkansas.¹⁸

That visibility grew with film. In 1917, movie goers in Oklahoma turned out to watch Lewis as Doret. Like Lewis, silent-era superstar Monroe Salisbury more than once played a *Canadien*. A star of *The Flame of the Yukon* (1917), Dorothy Dalton then became Colette Brissac, the orphaned “daughter of a French-Canadian miner” in *The Idol of the North* (1921). Nell Shipman played “a beautiful, brave French Canadian girl” in *The Girl from God’s Country* (1921).¹⁹

These are but a small sample of a cultural craze that began in 1907-1908 and endured to the mid-1920s. The copycats were such that as early as October 1908, one critic had had enough of tales of the Canadian Northwest. Unimpressed with *Pierre of the Plains*, Charles Darnton complained: “The same old habitant, the same old accent, the same old girl whom two men love, the same old mounted police who seem to be kept busier than the local contingent, and the same old runaway and fight all go to make up the same old story. Canada never was an alluring region for stage purposes, and now that it has become the stamping ground of two-dollar melodrama it is a weariness to the spirit.”²⁰ Darnton’s was a voice in a different kind of wilderness. Thriving stage production that toured the country and countless films are evidence that audiences felt differently about the genre.²¹

Historical Questions

As noted, widely-travelled plays and films furthered ethnic visibility. Those portrayals were at odds with the lived experience of French Canadians of the day; they also skewed history for dramatic effect. The use of the type of French dialect speech popularized by William Henry Drummond was not always flattering. On the other hand, these films and plays do not fit neatly in our received narrative about U.S. nativism; in many respects, they redeemed French Canadians and they matter because they were culturally ubiquitous and more widely accessed than the mythmaking of a small intelligentsia. How they may have counteracted xenophobia requires further exploration.

People of French descent were not merely fictional participants in these productions; they were also consumers of a

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(*Silent But Visible? French Canadians on Stage and Screen* continued from page 28)

genre that could be viewed in New England as in any other region of the country. They must have been eager to see themselves on the big screen. Like political involvement and sporting events,²² Hollywood cinema reminds us that Franco-Americans did not live in a cultural silo that suddenly burst after the Second World War. French-Canadian immigrants and their descendants engaged, even in limited ways, with American mass culture in the early twentieth century. The intersection of ethnic and “mainstream” culture demands greater exploration.

At last, to circle back to *The White Squaw*, we must also continue to delineate the representation of French-Canadian, Métis, and Indigenous characters in all of these works. We may notice, as initial evidence suggests, that these characters were subjected to far different literary treatment. That the French Canadians benefitted from a kinder portrayal than Native peoples indicates that the former had acquired certain cultural privileges as a colonizing people that could be fully white.

(Endnotes)

- 1 . *Knoxville Sentinel*, February 23, 1910; *Tacoma Sunday Ledger*, magazine ed., June 26, 1910.
- 2 . *The Journal* [Meriden, Conn.], September 14, 1909; *Fall River Daily Evening News*, September 24, 1909; *Bangor Daily News*, October 16, 1909.
- 3 . Frederick Jackson Turner made this argument about the end closing of the Old West in “The Significance of the Frontier in American History” in 1893.
- 4 . *Quebec Chronicle*, January 22, 1909.
- 5 . Parker was in fact classed alongside Parkman and William Henry Drummond, whom he knew personally, as a popularizer of French-Canadian history and culture. Prosper Bender, who straddled the cultural line, would have been another such figure. See “The Pioneers of Eastern Canada,” *Educational Record of the Province of Quebec*, May 1912, 184-188.
- 6 . Newton, “‘These French Canadian of the Woods are Half-Wild Folk’: Wilderness, Whiteness, and Work in North America, 1840-1955,” *Labour/Le Travail* (2016).
- 7 . Gilbert Parker, *The Works of Gilbert Parker: The Lane That Had No Turning*, Imperial Edition, Vol. XI (New York City: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), v-vii, xi.
- 8 . “Doctorats honoris causa,” Université Laval, 2021, <https://www.ulaval.ca/notre-universite/prix-et-distinctions/doctorats-honoris-causa?tid=40> (accessed 2021-08-21); *La Presse*, September 26, 1908; *Le Samedi*, October 3, 1908. See, on later cinematic depiction of Franco-Americans in Quebec, Pierre Lavoie, “Moi, c’est l’Autre: L’histoire des Franco-Américains dans la culture populaire télévisuelle et cinématographique au Québec (1949-1992),” *Revue d’histoire de l’Amérique française* (2018).
- 9 . Parker, *The Works of Gilbert Parker: Pierre and His People – Tales of the Far North*, Impe-



rial Edition, Vol. I (New York City: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1916), xv-xvi. John C. Stockdale explores the blind spots in Parker’s mental landscape in “The French Canadian According to Gilbert Parker,” *Modern Language Studies* (1973).

10 . Whereas other plays offered a more complex depiction of French Canadians, Portugais was “child-like, brutal, half-bestial man, simple-minded, full of a joyousness which had too few chances to show itself, loving with almost reverent awe, Charley Steele, the man who had saved his life.” It may be of some solace that Steele was an “unscrupulous lawyer” leading a life of dissipation, and each man had his turn at redemption by saving the other. See *San Francisco Examiner*, March 23, 1909; *East Oregonian* [Pendleton, Or.], evening ed., January 12, 1910.

11 . Fifi d’Orsay (the stage name of Yvonne Lussier) had yet to begin her career. See *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1921; *News and Observer* [Raleigh, N.C.], August 13, 1922; *New York Times*, December 4, 1983.

12 . *Examiner*, March 23, 1909.

13 . *New York Tribune*, November 9, 1919.

14 . *Fitchburg Sentinel*, October 28, 1909; *Tulsa Democrat*, August 6, 1917; *Spokane Chronicle*, March 30, 1918; *Norwich Bulletin*, June 14, 1920; *Los Angeles Times*, May 15, 1921.

15 . *Fort Worth Star and Telegram*, January 1, 1909 and January 2, 1909.

16 . “‘Barrier’ Proves Gripping Film,” *Tacoma Daily Ledger*, May 13, 1917, 6.

17 . *The Gazette* [Montreal], September 23, 1908; *The Sun* [New York City], October 13, 1908; *San Francisco Examiner*, alternate ed., August 1, 1911; *Alaska Citizen* [Fairbanks], July 13, 1914.

18 . *Log Cabin Democrat* [Conway, Arkansas], March 9, 1914.

19 . *Tulsa Democrat*, August 6, 1917; *Washington Herald* [D.C.], September 22, 1918; *Dallas Express*, August 16, 1919; *Los Angeles Times*, July 2, 1917; *Norwich Bulletin*, July 9, 1921; *Courier-Post* [Camden, N.J.], December 15, 1921.

20 . *Evening World* [New York City], October 13, 1908.

21 . “Canuck chic” did survive in some form; many plays and films became standards that were remade. *Pierre of the Plains* was adapted to the radio in the 1920s and inspired a second movie of the same name in 1942. See *Quebec Chronicle*, April 10, 1924; *Brooklyn Daily Eagle*, July 30 1942.

22 . See, on sports’ impact on acculturation, Richard Sorrell, “Sports and Franco-Americans in Woonsocket, 1870-1930,” *Rhode Island History* (1972).

First Ever - Young Franco Americans Summit



L to R: Melody Desjardins, Daniel Moreau (Standing), Jessamine Irwin, Claire-Marie Brisson, Timothy St. Pierre, Patrick Lacroix, seated on the floor: Anna Faherty, Julia Rhineland, Jason Schoeller, Camden Martin

On October 16th, Franco American Programs held the first ever conference for young (which we defined our age range to be 18-35) Franco-Americans; the Young Franco-American’s Summit. The event was held both in-person, and over Zoom.

There were presentations by fellow Francos, a keynote presentation by Ryan Fecteau, Timothy St. Pierre presented, Nés pour un petit pain: a class analysis of Maine’s Franco-Americans; Camden Martin, The Franco-American parish schools, and their roles in maintaining the French language; Anna Faherty & Julia Rhineland, The Franco-American Pathways podcast. Archives at the University of Southern Maine, Lewiston-Auburn College; Daniel Moreau, Dawson, and Dawson: Revisited. The 500-year story of New England Mill Cities; Melody Desjardins, Moderne Francos. A blog all about the Franco-American experience; Claire-Marie Brisson, Identity, Place, and (In-)Visibility in the Francophone North Atlantic. The afternoon ended with a Trivia Kahoot game and music by the band Gnocchi.

The recording of the Summit can be found at: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLAX5gzY2aFDG1G8QeOlb-Ka3w3XLL3vEuc>



A Grotto Created, A Grotto Restored

Part II: Transition and Transformation

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Article written by Pilot Staffer Jacqueline Tetrault

Lead photo and caption: Jacqueline Tetrault

Additional photos and captions: Suzanne Beebe



The Lourdes grotto in Lowell is pictured in 2021. The building that was the former Franco-American School is seen in the background.

Group Works to Preserve Lowell Lourdes Grotto

It's not actually Lourdes, France, or the praetorium in Jerusalem, or the hill of Golgotha. But looking up at the scale replica of Our Lady of Lourdes' grotto, lined with a "scala sancta" and Stations of the Cross, and topped with a crucifix that can be seen from a distance, one could easily imagine being in any of those places.

The grotto and its statuary are set between the Merrimack River and the former Franco-American School, which closed in 2016. The school building was recently purchased by Brian McGowan of TMI Property Management and Development. While the building is being converted into condominiums, McGowan agreed to preserve and restore the grotto, which will be open to the public in perpetuity.

The history of the grotto is intertwined with that of the Franco-American School, which was originally founded as the Franco-American Orphanage in 1908. It was established by the Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate and run by the Sisters of Charity of Quebec. The school took in chil-

dren from as far away as New York.

"A lot of what was built here was as a result of the French Catholic children that were here," Kevin Roy said on May 1, walking around the grounds of the grotto and its nearby statuary.

The grotto was constructed in 1911 by Jean-Baptiste Morin, a local contractor who directed the construction of an additional brick building for the orphanage. Water from the miraculous spring at Lourdes and two stones extracted from the grotto were added to the replica, along with a one-of-a-kind statue of Our Lady of Purgatory that was given to the orphanage.

In 1912, more additions were made: 14 statues representing the Stations of the Cross, and a replica of the "scala sancta," the steps Jesus descended as he carried his cross out of the praetorium in Jerusalem. A wooden crucifix was also added, but the cross was later replaced with a metal one. In the 1940s, houses were constructed for the Stations of the Cross to protect the statues from weathering; the houses were redone in 2012.

Even into the 21st century, new features were added. When a local family lost

their son, Brian Kinney, in the Sept. 11, 2001 attacks, they donated black marble engravings of the Seven Sorrows of Mary leading up to the cross.

Sister Jane Holland of the Sisters of Charity of Quebec spent 50 years working at the Franco-American School, first as a teacher and then as principal. "The grotto was always very special to me, and I noticed that a lot of people came and they found solace. For a lot of people, this was Church," she said.



Sr. Jane Holland, former vice-principal of the Franco-American School, stands beside the 8th Station of the Grotto's Way of the Cross: 'Jesus console les filles d'Israel.' The station is dedicated to her religious community, the Sisters of Charity of Québec.

Cecile Provencher, a member of the grotto restoration committee who has lived in Lowell for most of her life, recalled how important the grotto was when she was growing up. She attended St. Jean Baptiste Church down the street, which has since closed. People used to come in processions carrying a statue of Mary to the grotto.

"It's important that it remains, not only for the history but for the people to come that still are bringing their grandchildren here and so forth," she said.

Groups from different churches and communities still come to pray at the grotto. Many people come to pray at the Stations of the Cross on Good Friday. The grotto has even attracted a handful of famous visitors over the years, including author Jack Kerouac, First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy, and singer Bob Dylan.

Sister Jane recalled one man who came to the grotto immediately after losing
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his son to suicide. The bereaved father said he found “a lot of solace,” like Mary was taking care of him. “I really wanted this to remain, because this was very, very important to me,” Sister Jane said.

Roy had a hand in restoring the grotto’s statuary in recent years. He works for the sheriff’s department but paints and repairs statues as a hobby. His children attended the Franco- American School, and his wife convinced him to volunteer his services to repair and repaint the statues of the Way of the Cross for the 100th anniversary of their installation. He also repainted the statue of Christ for the crucifix.



In addition to serving on the Grotto restoration committee, Kevin Roy is 10-year president of Lowell’s Franco-American Day Committee, which has planned and implemented Lowell’s annual Franco Festivals for over 50 years.

Roy visited Lourdes, France, himself in 2005. “Knowing what it really is like, this has special meaning for myself and my family,” he said. According to Roy, two minor miracles have taken place as a result of people praying to Our Lady of Lourdes

or to St. Bernadette at the Lowell grotto. There used to be “ex voto” markers that people could leave there after their prayers were answered.

Roy said it is “a place of tranquility,” not only for Catholics but for Christians of other denominations, as well as people of other religions -- or no religion at all. “Some of them who have never known religion or had a faith, they come here and they find something that helps them through their trials and tribulations,” he said.

Roy noted that often when churches or religious institutions close, “it really hurts the parishioners and faithful.” In contrast, the decision to maintain the grotto alongside the condos is “a nice way that shows a religious setting can coexist with a secular setting.”

After the sale of the school, a restoration committee was formed and began fundraising efforts to restore the grotto. They also received a grant from the Coalition for a Better Acre for this purpose.



Cecile Provencher, a member of the Grotto restoration committee, also serves as treasurer of the Franco-American Day Committee, and worked at the Franco-American School before it closed in 2016.

Some changes have already been made: the Stations of the Cross were moved behind the grotto, and the grotto itself has been enlarged. The faux rock formation includes a pulpit that can be used for Masses and other gatherings.

Some work still remains to be done, however. Statues of Our Lady of Lourdes and St. Bernadette will be restored and re-installed. There will be a fountain like the spring that St. Bernadette dug in the Lourdes grotto. The committee plans to have donors’ names listed in a bronze book and on stones of a nearby wall with a fountain.

The committee members said they hope the restoration will be done by September, and that they can hold a blessing and rededication of the beloved grotto. More information about the grotto’s history and options for supporting its restoration and maintenance can be found at <https://www.stationsandgrottofund.org>



<https://thebostonpilot.com/index.asp>

(Corrections and update: the former Franco-American Orphanage/School has been converted to rental units rather than condominiums; Sr. Jane Holland is former vice-principal rather than former principal of the school; work delays have pushed back the planned rededication to 2022.)



Encouraging French Phrases:

Tu peux le faire ! You can do it!

Continue comme ça ! Keep up the good work!

N’abandonne pas ! Don’t give up!

Crois en toi ! Believe in yourself!

Vas-y ! Go for it!



GÉNOCIDE ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE*

Par Janet Hudgins**

AVANT-PROPOS

De toutes les horreurs commises par les Anglais lors de leur ascension raciste au pouvoir, l'une des moins connues et des plus accablantes pour ses victimes est le génocide commis contre les Acadiens et les Mi'kmaq, en Nouvelle-Écosse, aux 17^e et 18^e siècles.

Abritées sous des siècles de propagande habilement élaborée, les cicatrices profondément ancrées dans les populations pacifiques ont échappé à l'inculpation, tant sur le plan national qu'international. Et, quoi que ces souffrances aient été rapportées par les Français et les Premières Nations, la Couronne a fait une déclaration générale refusant toute responsabilité. « ...Notre présente proclamation ne constitue en aucun cas une reconnaissance de responsabilité juridique ou financière de la part de la Couronne... »¹ Parallèlement, le gouvernement canadien a suggéré avec arrogance aux Acadiens de simplement « tourner la page ». C'est la seule reconnaissance de l'expulsion des Acadiens par la Couronne et elle a été obtenue lorsque la Société nationale de l'Acadie a fait appel à l'Angleterre, en 2008, pour qu'elle reconnaisse qu'il s'agissait tout au moins de nettoyage ethnique, pour employer un terme plutôt indulgent.²

En fait, il s'agissait bel et bien d'un génocide tout au long de son déroulement.³ Les Anglais ont payé la somme exorbitante de 100 livres sterling pour les scalps des Acadiens et des Mi'kmaq, morts ou vifs, ils les ont affamés en volant leurs récoltes et leur bétail pour nourrir les militaires, ils les ont forcés à quitter leurs propriétés pour ensuite brûler tous leurs biens et, pire que tout, ils leur ont arraché leurs enfants pour les envoyer en servitude chez des colons anglais, laissant leurs parents les chercher pour le reste de leur vie.

Les chercheurs ont établi que la souffrance extrême est transgénérationnelle⁴, que tous les descendants de toutes ces familles ont subi le supplice de la mémoire, de l'indigence et de l'enlèvement forcé, en plus d'un désespoir insupportable, alors que des enfants ont été enlevés pour devenir victimes de la traite des êtres humains sans qu'aucun membre du Parlement canadien ou anglais, et encore moins de la Couronne, n'ait manifesté le moindre remords ou une quelconque intention de réparation.

**NDLR: Janet Hudgins, vivant à Vancouver, au Canada, est militante depuis de nombreuses années et travaille pour plusieurs ONG. Elle écrit des nouvelles, des ouvrages non fictionnels et un ouvrage créatif sur l'histoire coloniale de la côte est, intitulé « *Treason, The Violation of Trust* ». Elle a obtenu deux diplômes au cours de la dernière décennie : en création littéraire et en sciences politiques. Elle est maintenant à la retraite, depuis un bon moment, suit régulièrement des cours dans le cadre des programmes MOOC en politique, relations internationales, langues et piano jazz.

Son essai, « Génocide » est un essai de recherche approfondi qui vise à ouvrir le dialogue entre les gouvernements canadien et anglais dans le but de trouver une solution satisfaisante pour les Acadiens et les Mi'kmaq qui ont souffert de façon indescriptible aux mains des Anglais.

GÉNOCIDE ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE

Ce n'était certainement pas le fait des premières civilisations d'être toutes

civilisées. Les monarques anglais, les colonisateurs, ont définitivement prétendu être le summum du raffinement - ce qui, comme certains le disaient à l'époque, faisait rire les Italiens - alors qu'ils se sont avérés de véritables sauvages au-delà de tout entendement. Tout au long du deuxième millénaire, ils ont commis un génocide, et ce dans tout ce que cela comprend, conformément à ce qui est énoncé par les Nations unies dans l'article 2 de la Convention pour la prévention et la répression du crime de génocide (1948) :

« ...de l'un quelconque des actes ci-après, commis dans l'intention de détruire, ou tout ou en partie, un groupe national, ethnique, racial ou religieux, comme tel : meurtre de membres du groupe ; atteinte grave à l'intégrité physique ou mentale de membres du groupe ; soumission intentionnelle du groupe à des conditions d'existence devant entraîner sa destruction physique totale ou partielle ; mesures visant à entraver les naissances au sein du groupe ; transfert forcé d'enfants du groupe à un autre groupe ». ⁵

Le génocide historique et non résolu perpétré contre les Mi'kmaq des Premières Nations et les Acadiens francophones, en Nouvelle-Écosse, au cours des 17^e et 18^e siècles, a été ordonné par la Couronne britannique sans qu'aucun dirigeant n'ait jamais accepté la responsabilité ou été tenu de rendre compte des massacres qui ont été commis. Le gouvernement canadien a présenté de vagues excuses aux Premières Nations, en 2008, mais uniquement en ce qui concerne les pensionnats, dont la mise en place n'a commencé qu'en 1874. La seule reconnaissance par la Couronne de l'expulsion des Acadiens est intervenue (suite page 33)

1 John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2005), 474

2 John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2005), 474

3 Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG)

www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/osapg_analysis_framework.pdf (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

4 Ruth Buczynski, *The Impact of Trauma on Future Generations*

<https://www.nicabm.com/trauma-the-impact-of-trauma-on-future-generations/>

5 Office of the UN Special Adviser on the Prevention of Genocide (OSAPG)

www.un.org/en/preventgenocide/adviser/pdf/osapg_analysis_framework.pdf (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

(GÉNOCIDE ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE suite de page 32)

après une pression considérable de la Société Nationale de l'Acadie⁶ qui a fait appel aux autorités de l'Angleterre, par l'intermédiaire du gouvernement canadien, pour qu'elles reconnaissent qu'il s'agissait pour le moins d'un nettoyage ethnique, terme pour le moins modéré que l'avocat-professeur Benjamin Ferencz qualifie d'euphémisme alors qu'il désigne clairement un génocide.⁷ En 2004, il fut proposé de proclamer le 28 juillet comme *Journée de commémoration du Grand Dérangement*, d'abord par la gouverneure générale de l'époque, Adrienne Clarkson, qui déclarait en fait que la Couronne avait pris la décision de retirer physiquement le peuple acadien de ses terres, mais «Attendu que Nous espérons que le peuple acadien pourra tourner la page sur ce chapitre sombre de son histoire», ou, tout simplement l'oublier.⁸ Elizabeth II a reporté sa proclamation à l'année suivante et a ajouté un avenant :

«Attendu que Notre présente Proclamation ne constitue d'aucune façon une reconnaissance de responsabilité juridique ou financière de la part de la Couronne du chef du Canada et des provinces et qu'elle ne constitue d'aucune façon une reconnaissance d'un quelconque droit ou d'une quelconque obligation d'une personne ou d'un groupe de personnes, ni n'a d'incidence sur un tel droit ou une telle obligation.»⁹

Il ne fut nulle part mention des Mi'kmaq.

Dans la mêlée de la barbarie anglaise, le génocide était un des éléments de sa longue histoire d'esclavage, ce qui a été communément admis et relaté pendant des siècles, mais jamais véritablement condamné par la communauté internationale. On mentionne rarement le résultat de l'interdiction définitive de l'esclavage. Sur les 3 100 000 esclaves qu'ils ont arrachés

à l'Afrique entre le 15^e et le 19^e siècle, principalement à destination des Amériques, 800 000 appartenaient encore aux Anglais au moment où ils ont été officiellement libérés par Whitehall, en 1833. Parmi les esclavagistes, 3 000 d'entre eux, qui détenaient 760 000 Africains, ont refusé de les laisser partir. Ils ont exigé une compensation pour la perte de la main-d'œuvre gratuite, source de leur richesse ; et le gouvernement anglais a payé : environ 16,5 milliard de livres sterling en valeur actuelle.¹⁰ Ce n'est qu'un siècle plus tard, en 1930, que l'Organisation internationale du travail a tenu une conférence sur l'abolition du travail forcé.¹¹ Même à cette époque, cette question était toujours à l'ordre du jour concernant la Couronne et elle n'a accepté de ratifier la convention qu'en 1957.¹²

Le politologue Adam Jones définit le colonialisme appliqué aux territoires des Autochtones, visant à les supprimer et à les remplacer par des ressortissants britanniques, comme étant le *colonialisme des colons*.

Trois principes idéologiques ressortent pour justifier et faciliter tout ce qu'on entendait par conquête (à l'époque de la colonisation), «pacification» et «colonisation» européennes. Le premier... était une justification *juridico-utilitaire* selon laquelle les peuples autochtones n'avaient aucun droit sur les territoires qu'ils habitaient en raison de leur «incapacité» à les exploiter de manière adéquate.

Le deuxième principe, la colonisation, était appelé en Amérique du Nord «*vacuum domicilium*», ou habitation vide. Et le troisième, *l'élimination raciale*, le «... remplacement des peuples primitifs par des peuples avancés et «civilisés»... élaboré à partir de conflits militaires entre les peuples indigènes et les Européens mieux armés», et l'atrophie. «Le génocide commença à être considéré comme le sous-produit inévitable du progrès,... même si ses auteurs et ses partisans se sont mis à loucher au cours du processus.»¹³

L'Angleterre a effectivement entrepris de s'imposer comme une guerrière remarquablement petite, mais tellement héroïque, prodiguant son altruisme à une vaste partie du monde, afin d'apporter la civilisation en imposant la crainte de son Dieu à tous et partout. En fait, tous les pays colonisateurs qui rivalisaient dans le but de former des empires étaient petits par rapport aux pays qu'ils envahissaient, et ils ont tous brutalement occupé, pillé, subverti, enlevé et assassiné des centaines de millions d'indigènes ; la race maîtresse dictait, elle réitérait, pour le bien de la population qui débarquait. L'Angleterre dirigeait soixante-quatorze états et pays qui étaient tous des sources de richesses, de ressources naturelles et de travail forcé et gratuit.¹⁴ Les souverains britanniques n'ont jamais envahi les endroits où il n'y avait personne à exploiter, et les autres peuples envahisseurs non plus ; tous suivaient le modèle.

C'était une chose d'expulser une population de ses terres et de la déposséder, mais c'en était une autre de lui voler son identité et son pouvoir social, l'essence même de ce qu'est un génocide.¹⁵ En 1996, Gregory Stanton, le président de Genocide Watch, a suggéré qu'un génocide se développe en huit étapes «prévisibles sans être inexorables».

1. Classification : «eux» et «nous».
 2. Symbolisation : combinés à la haine, des symboles sont imposés aux parias réticents.
 3. Déshumanisation : comparés à des animaux, à la vermine, à des insectes ou assimilés à des maladies.
 4. Organisation : Le génocide est toujours organisé... Il est fréquent que des unités spéciales de l'armée ou des milices soient formées et armées.
 5. Polarisation : Les groupes haineux diffusent une propagande polarisante. Une condition préalable à la propagande est de dévaloriser un groupe de personnes spécifique.
- (suite page 34)

6 John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme*. (New York: W.W. Norton & Company Ltd., 2005), 474

7 Benjamin Ferencz, *New Legal Foundations for Global Survival: Security Through the Security Council*. (Dobbs Ferry, NY, Oceans Publications Inc., 1994), 28

8 Faragher, 478

9 Canada. Justice - Site Web de la législation. <https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/fra/reglements/TR-2003-188/page-1.html>

10 Sanchez Manning, 24 Feb 2013. *Britain's colonial shame: Slave-owners given huge payouts after abolition* <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/uk/home-news/britains-colonial-shame-slave-owners-given-huge-payouts-after-abolition-8508358.html>

11 ILO Forced Labour Convention, 1930 (No. 29) http://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/asia/@ro-bangkok/documents/genericdocument/wcms_346435.pdf

12 Ratification of C-105 – Abolition of Forced Labour Convention. http://www.ilo.org/dyn/normlex/en/f?p=NORMLEXPUB:11300:0::NO::P11300_INSTRUMENT_ID:312250

13 Adam Jones, *Genocide: A Comprehensive Introduction, 2nd Ed.* (New York, NY, Routledge, 2011), 106

Combien de pays étaient gouvernés par l'Empire britannique ? <https://www.quora.com/How-many-countries-were-ruled-by-the-British-Empire>

14 Combien de pays étaient gouvernés par l'Empire britannique ? <https://www.quora.com/How-many-countries-were-ruled-by-the-British-Empire>

15 Jones, 29

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6. Préparation : Les victimes sont identifiées et mises à l'écart en raison de leur identité ethnique ou religieuse.

7. Extermination : Les tueurs procèdent à une « extermination » puisqu'ils ne considèrent pas que leurs victimes soient pleinement humaines.

8. Dénî : Les auteurs... nient avoir commis quelque crime que ce soit.¹⁶

George Monbiot affirme que les Anglais désavouent les crimes liés à leurs exploits monumentaux, ou ils les ignorent tout simplement.¹⁷ « Les auteurs de génocides creusent des fosses communes, ils brûlent les corps, tentent de dissimuler les preuves et menacent les témoins. Ils nient avoir commis des crimes et rejettent souvent la responsabilité de ce qui s'est passé sur les victimes. ... »¹⁸

LE MODÈLE DE DÉPLACEMENT FORCÉ AU CANADA A PRIS NAISSANCE DANS LES ÎLES BRITANNIQUES

La Couronne anglaise a recours depuis très longtemps à des moyens détournés pour s'emparer de biens immobiliers se trouvant au-delà de ses frontières, c'est ce qui constitue son modèle de colonisation. Elle a soigneusement fait passer le vol pour de l'*expansionnisme*, pour ensuite forcer les habitants établis de longue date à quitter leurs terres, en saisissant tous leurs biens et en exploitant toutes leurs ressources. Et lorsqu'il a fallu déporter les occupants, les affamer ou les assassiner carrément afin de se débarrasser d'eux, une rationalisation présentée de manière suffisamment vague servait à dissiper les opinions divergentes des bienfaiteurs de principe qui ne comprenaient pas la nécessité de l'impérialisme anglais dans le monde, mais c'est ainsi. Où serions-nous tous sans cela ?

La devise de tous les conquérants européens imposait à leurs victimes de changer, de s'intégrer et de s'assimiler, ou alors de souffrir énormément. Ceux qui se sont opposés ont été abattus. Charlemagne a décapité 4 500 Saxons en un seul jour ; les Croisés ont massacré 8 000 Juifs ; les Normands ont tué les Gallois et les Britanniques par milliers.¹⁹ Et ils ont tous saisi les biens qui s'y trouvaient, réduisant en esclavage quiconque restait en vie.

Au 13^e siècle, l'État anglais en tant que structure était tellement figé dans son moule en termes d'institutions, de mécanismes, d'idéologie, d'idiome et d'hypothèses, et tellement centralisé dans son format, qu'il était incapable de prendre en charge les sociétés qui ne pouvaient pas facilement être intégrées dans sa configuration politique et gouvernementale. Il a soit établi un gouvernement de style anglais ou des « English-ries » pour ses colons (comme il l'a fait en Irlande et dans le sud et le nord-est du Pays de Galles respectivement), soit créé l'apparence d'un régime institutionnel anglais tout en réservant tous les principaux postes aux Anglais... l'anglicisation politique était le prix de l'inclusion politique. Il n'y a eu aucune convergence de vues.²⁰

Depuis la première occupation normande du Pays de Galles, au 12^e siècle, et pendant les sept siècles suivants où les Anglais ont annexé un tiers du monde, la pauvreté des masses y a été constante jusqu'au milieu du 20^e siècle, lorsque les colonies ont commencé à réclamer leur indépendance. Elles ont réalisé que sans se libérer de l'Angleterre, elles ne seraient jamais libérées de l'idéologie de la suprématie blanche qui était indispensable au maintien de la suppression, de l'ignorance et de la pauvreté. Depuis lors, le taux de pauvreté dans l'ancien Empire (et dans le reste du monde) a diminué de moitié - même si personne ne peut se féliciter du fait que deux milliards de personnes vivent encore avec moins de deux dollars par jour.

La pauvreté est la conséquence du pillage. Derrière chaque forme moderne de pauvreté, on constate l'usage de la force.²¹

L'Irlande se révèle être la parfaite illustration de ce pillage avec les famines meurtrières créées artificiellement par les Anglais. Ces derniers ont industrialisé les ressources irlandaises avec la main-d'œuvre locale puis les ont exportées en Angleterre, y compris ce qui assurait la subsistance même des travailleurs. On estime qu'un million de personnes sont mortes de faim en Irlande, tandis qu'un autre million a réussi à s'enfuir en Amérique.

Les Normands ont vaincu les Saxons et ils sont passés à autre chose, la bourse royale fut remplie du labeur de ses voisins insulaires et d'un bon pot-de-vin des esclavagistes nouvellement incorporés, ce qui, soit dit en passant, n'était rien de nouveau pour les îles britanniques. « Au Pays de Galles, au 12^e siècle... en Irlande et dans les îles, le pillage des biens et la capture de personnes - une forme virtuelle d'esclavage - étaient la règle, presque annuelle, de la concurrence politique et de l'accumulation de richesses. »²²

L'esclavage anglais, industriel et mondial, a commencé lorsque le marchand d'esclaves John Hawkins a formé un syndicat, en 1562, avec des marchands partageant ses vues. Grâce à leur contribution, il a mis en mer trois navires, dont il fut capitaine, pour ensuite aborder des esclavagistes portugais afin de les décharger de leur cargaison. Il jouait le rôle d'intermédiaire. Le détournement de cargaisons en mer était couramment le fait des barons brigands ainsi que des nobles qui pillaient les objets de valeur des voyageurs de grand chemin. Ces raccourcis permettaient d'économiser beaucoup de temps et de déplacements ; et dans le cas du transport d'esclaves par bateau à travers l'Atlantique, cela permettait d'accroître des profits déjà considérables.²³

C'est Hawkins qui a compris l'effi-
(suite page 35)

16 Genocide Watch <http://www.genocidewatch.org/aboutgenocide/8stagesofgenocide.html> (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

17 Monbiot, George. Deny the British empire's crimes? No, we ignore them <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2012/apr/23/british-empire-crimes-ignore-atrocities>

18 In Jones. Richard Hovannisian, 517

19 Sandra Alvarez, *Killing or Clemency? Ransom, Chivalry and Changing Attitudes to Defeated Opponents in Britain and Northern France, 7-12th centuries*, 15 July 2014 <http://deremilitari.org/2014/07/killing-or-clemency-ransom-chivalry-and-changing-attitudes-to-defeated-opponents-in-britain-and-northern-france-7-12th-centuries/>

20 R. R. Davies, *The First English Empire: Power and Identities in the British Isles, 1093- 1343* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2000) 115

21 Dr. Oscar Guardiola-Rivera, *Causes of Poverty: The Impact of Society, Colonies and Discrimination*, September 25, 2015 <http://www.poverties.org/blog/causes-of-poverty>

22 Davies 123

23 John Hawkins (navigateur) [https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Hawkins_\(navigateur\)](https://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Hawkins_(navigateur))

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capacité de l'empilage de cargaisons humaines pour maximiser l'espace. Il a également formé le triangle commercial entre l'Afrique de l'Ouest, les Antilles ou l'Amérique, et l'Angleterre, en fonction de l'endroit où les esclaves survivants devaient être livrés. Un jeune marin du nom de Francis Drake était en formation sur les navires d'Hawkins. Malgré la piraterie et l'esclavage, tous deux seront faits chevaliers en temps voulu.²⁴

L'EXPANSION ANGLAISE EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE, LES MI'KMAQ ET LES ACADIENS

Après avoir soumis et éliminé sélectivement la population au Pays de Galles, en Écosse et en Irlande, l'Angleterre a traversé l'Atlantique, en 1607, pour faire subir le même sort aux Acadiens et aux Mi'kmaq de Nouvelle-Écosse, son génocide colonial étant en pleine expansion. Dix mille colons français sont morts lors de l'expulsion des Acadiens. Toutefois, les archives contenant les dépêches de la Couronne sur les Autochtones n'ont jamais été jugées nécessaires ; il s'agissait de sauvages et c'était, après tout, le siècle des Lumières de l'Angleterre. En fait, les Mi'kmaq étaient l'une des cinq principales Premières Nations de la Confédération Wabanaki, ou Peuple de l'Aurore, et ils se trouvaient dans les Maritimes depuis des milliers d'années. Ils furent, à vrai dire, les premiers colons de la Nouvelle-Écosse.²⁵

Les leaders Mi'kmaq ont fait une déclaration percutante dans la presse coloniale au nom des « sauvages », leur race distinctive, et de toutes les Premières Nations. « *Je suis issu de la terre tout comme l'herbe. Moi qui suis sauvage, je suis né ici, et mes ancêtres avant moi. Cette terre est mon héri-*

tage, je le jure, la terre que Dieu m'a donnée pour qu'elle soit mon pays pour toujours. »²⁶

Bien après les faits, en 1763, George III a décrété par proclamation que les terres autochtones non cédées devaient être reconnues comme telles. Cette déclaration arbitraire a permis d'atténuer le vol pur et simple de millions d'acres de terres appartenant tant aux tribus autochtones qu'aux Acadiens ; et dont aucun n'a été restitué ou acheté. Cependant, cette déclaration a été faite beaucoup trop tard, ce qui était le but recherché. « Les diverses nations ou tribus qui vivent sous notre protection ne doivent pas être molestées... car, n'ayant pas été cédées ou achetées par Nous,... Et Nous exigeons en outre... que toutes les personnes... installées sur quelque terre que ce soit... se retirent immédiatement de ces colonies. »²⁷

La relation entre les Mi'kmaq et les Acadiens était unique en son genre parmi les premiers contacts, car les Français ont été les premiers parmi les colonisateurs à « accepter de tout cœur » les Autochtones.²⁸ Les mariages mixtes ont commencé avant 1635.²⁹

La reine Anne a tenté à trois reprises de s'emparer de Port Royal ; en 1713, les Acadiens en avaient assez de la guerre, ce qui a permis aux Anglais de revendiquer une conquête héroïque. Par le traité d'Utrecht, le gouvernement français fut toutefois contraint de céder « les colonies de Saint-Christophe, la baie d'Hudson, Terre-Neuve et toute la Nouvelle-Écosse ou l'Acadie comprise dans ses anciennes frontières. »³⁰ Le Cap-Breton, le Québec et les îles du golfe du Saint-Laurent devaient être laissés aux Français et non molestés. Les Acadiens (ils se consacreront aux Mi'kmaq plus tard et différemment), ont déclaré les ministres de la reine, pouvaient partir volontairement ou rester en jouissance de leurs « terres et tènements » pour servir la garnison et sous serment au roi d'Angleterre.³¹

Les Acadiens n'étaient cependant pas

disposés à prêter ce serment qui pouvait, et allait, leur ordonner d'assassiner au combat les Mi'kmaq ainsi que des ressortissants français ; et les Mi'kmaq d'assassiner les Acadiens, leurs amis, leurs alliés et leurs frères de sang. « *Nous ne prêterons jamais le serment de fidélité à la reine de Grande-Bretagne, au détriment de ce que nous devons à notre roi, à notre pays et à notre religion.* »³²

Plusieurs hommes, habiles à pacifier les résistants, furent enrôlés pour changer le paysage de la Nouvelle-Écosse.

Samuel Vetch, un Écossais aux principes commerciaux douteux – c'était un contrebandier – fut récompensé par sa reine pour avoir l'honneur de mener la première expédition de trente-six navires et deux mille hommes, de Londres à la Nouvelle-Écosse, afin de « décimer » les Acadiens et, « Les hommes qui auront conquis et déplacé les résidents acadiens auront préalablement détruit leurs fermes. »³³

Francis Nicholson, qui fut tout d'abord capitaine militaire à Boston, puis gouverneur de la Virginie et du Maryland, fut nommé par Vetch, en 1710, pour partager le commandement de l'invasion de l'Acadie ; Vetch devenant gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Écosse et du Canada après la conquête.³⁴

William Shirley, le gouverneur du Massachusetts, prévoyait de déporter les Mi'kmaq et de les remplacer par une population pacifiée et une culture modifiée pour gérer à la fois l'ancien et le nouveau pays. Il a offert des primes pour les scalps. « Le 20 octobre 1744, le gouvernement du Massachusetts a officiellement déclaré la guerre aux Mi'kmaq.³⁵ Cinq jours plus tard, la Cour générale du Massachusetts a offert une prime de 100 livres (monnaie provinciale) pour le scalp de tout homme adulte de la Nation Mi'kmaq. Pour le scalp des femmes et des enfants, le législateur offrait 50 livres sterling.³⁶ Des récompenses similaires étaient (suite page 36)

24 David Childs, *Pirate Nation: Elizabeth I and Her Royal Sea Rovers*. (Annapolis, Maryland, Naval Institute Press, 2014). <https://books.google.ca/books?id=rF1gDAAAQBAJ&pg=PA18&lpg=PA18&dq=william+hawkins+pirate+convicted?&source=bl&ots=kjkGEMhOj&sig=kJPZ1Zu-lzyM-34GQGFICbF1g1E&hl=en&sa=X&ved=0ahUKEWi00427s-rPAhUhs2MKHQALC5wQ6AEIjAB#v=onepage&q=william%20hawkins%20pirate%20convicted%3F&f=false> 119

25 *Native Languages of the Americas*. <http://www.native-languages.org/wabanaki.htm>

26 Faragher, 129-130

27 Proclamation, 1763. University OF British Columbia, Indigenous Foundation.Arts.ubc. http://indigenousfoundations.arts.ubc.ca/royal_proclamation_1763/

28 Faragher, 46 - 48

29 Faragher in *Thoughts on the Expulsion of the Acadians*. <https://journals.lib.unb.ca/index.php/Acadiensis/article/view/5726/11196>

30 Faragher, 136

31 Ibid, 137

32 Faragher, 281

33 Faragher in Queen Anne's Instructions for Francis Nicholson [Vetch's 2 IC], 18 March 1710, 120

34 Faragher 118, 9

35 In Geoffrey Plank, *An Unsettled Conquest*, (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001). Boston Evening Post, November 11, 1744, 110

36 In Plank. *Journals of the House of Representatives of Massachusetts* 21: 99, 106-7; (Boston Evening Post, November 5, 1744), 110

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offertes pour les prisonniers Mi'kmaq pris vivants. »³⁷

Shirley offrait 100 livres françaises par scalp, une fortune à une époque où les soldats gagnaient environ 10 livres par an.³⁸ Bien que toutes les factions aient récolté ces trophées : Anglais, Français, Premières Nations,³⁹ il n'y a que les Anglais - Cornwallis - qui n'ont fait aucune distinction entre le scalp d'un ennemi mort ou d'un ennemi vivant.⁴⁰

«Le scalpage était également utilisé comme un moyen de torture. La victime était attachée à un arbre. À l'aide de la pointe d'un couteau, et en partant du front, la peau était marquée tout autour de la tête, puis le cuir chevelu était arraché du crâne. La victime pouvait mettre jusqu'à deux jours pour mourir.»⁴¹

Les officiers supérieurs que la Couronne envoya en Nouvelle-Écosse furent poussés à occuper et à conserver une place dans la classe dirigeante anglaise. Chacun d'eux avait une réputation de brutalité sans compromis et on leur attribue «l'invention des institutions politiques par lesquelles ils ont partagé le pouvoir entre eux tout en le refusant aux autres groupes ethniques.»⁴² Charles Lawrence a rejoint l'armée dès son adolescence, en 1727, et a gravi les échelons militaires grâce à Lord Halifax, un parent éloigné et président du Board of Trade, pour devenir major en 1749.⁴³

Edward Cornwallis était également officier dans l'armée anglaise et il a contribué à la pacification des Écossais. Il a ensuite participé énergiquement à l'élaboration de la politique britannique en Nouvelle-Écosse dont il demeure une figure sombre de l'his-

toire.⁴⁴ Après une carrière dans l'armée et comme palefrenier de la chambre royale, Cornwallis a été nommé gouverneur de la Nouvelle-Écosse, en 1749, et on lui attribue la fondation de la ville de Halifax.⁴⁵ Il avait chassé les Écossais des Highlands et, fort de cette expertise, fut envoyé au Canada en tant que spécialiste de l'expulsion des premiers occupants et des plus récents colons, tous considérés comme les autres.⁴⁶ Cornwallis provenait d'un milieu particulièrement aisé, il a été page du roi et son régiment a empêché le prétendant catholique écossais, Charles Stuart, d'accéder au trône d'Angleterre. L'étape suivante vers la gloire fut de superviser l'incendie de chapelles catholiques et la torture de prêtres catholiques dans les Highlands écossais. Il fut considéré comme une aide à la pacification en Nouvelle-Écosse.

Shirley, établi à Boston, expert en droit maritime et commercial, dont le bénéfice politique a augmenté avec la guerre - il était donc dans son intérêt d'«éviter la paix» - a complété les dispositifs de prise de contrôle.⁴⁷

Les trois hommes partageaient de nombreux points communs et, une fois réunis, ils étaient tout désignés pour l'exécution finale du plan anglais visant à forcer les Acadiens français à quitter la Nouvelle-Écosse et à soumettre et assassiner le plus grand nombre possible d'autochtones Mi'kmaq.

Le manque de preuves est un facteur qui contribue à la propagande. «Les documents publiés à Halifax ont été choisis avec soin afin de justifier la déportation des Acadiens par le gouvernement de la Nouvelle-Écosse». Un ministre de Halifax, Andrew Brown, a entrepris les premières recherches sur l'Expulsion dans les années 1790. Ses documents, et certaines transcriptions qui avaient été retirées des archives de la Nouvelle-Écosse, ont été sauvés du

dépotoir en 1852, soixante ans plus tard. Parmi ces documents figurait le «plan opérationnel d'expulsion rédigé par l'arpenteur provincial». D'autres documents ont été «tronqués» afin de dissimuler les preuves les plus incriminantes. L'historien québécois Henri Casgrain a déclaré que «les autorités de la Nouvelle-Écosse... avaient conspiré pour dissimuler les preuves les plus accablantes de la déportation des Acadiens.»⁴⁸

*L'article de Brown a été publié en 1791.... «À l'exception du massacre de Saint-Barthélemy, je ne connais aucun acte aussi répréhensible que la déportation des Acadiens, rien de comparable qui pourrait être imputé à la nation française. Dans les colonies françaises, rien n'a jamais été fait qui s'en approche sur le plan de la cruauté et de l'atrocité.»*⁴⁹

LA SOLUTION FINALE

Ce n'est qu'au printemps 1755 que Lawrence et Shirley ont élaboré un plan pour expulser les colons afin que John Winslow, un commandant de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, puisse le mettre en œuvre.⁵⁰ Ils ont commencé par désarmer les Acadiens de Grand-Pré et ils ont confisqué leurs bateaux et leurs canoës pour empêcher toute fuite.⁵¹ Par la suite, en juillet, le conseil des militaires du lieutenant-gouverneur Lawrence s'est réuni et a élaboré une stratégie pour contraindre physiquement les «habitants français» de la colonie de la Nouvelle-Écosse.⁵²

Les gouverneurs ont entamé le processus de privation en forçant les Acadiens à subvenir à leurs propres besoins et à ceux des fonctionnaires anglais. En juin 1755, ils ont désarmé les troupes françaises du Fort Beauséjour, empêchant ainsi l'ensemble des Acadiens de se procurer du gibier. Ceux qui *(suite page 37)*

37 In Plank, Beaumont, Les Derniers jours, 248-53, 251, 110-111

38 The Value of French Currency in the 17th & 18th Centuries.

http://www.vt-fcgs.org/french_money.htm

39 Dianne Marshall. Heroes of the Acadian Resistance. The Story of Joseph Beausoleil Broussard and Pierre II Surette 1702 – 1765. (Halifax, Formac Publishing Company Limited, 2011), 16

40 Marshall, 81

41 Ibid, 44

42 Jennings, 333

43 Faragher, 281

44 CBC News. Halifax to consider scrubbing city of Edward Cornwallis. May 05, 2016.

<http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/nova-scotia/halifax-edward-cornwallis-council-mcneil-waye-mason-mikmaq-1.3568904>

45 Plank, 120

46 Faragher, 281

47 Ibid, 283

48 Ibid, 464

49 Archives de la Nouvelle-Écosse. Archives de la déportation et du Grand Dérangement, 1714-1768 <https://novascotia.ca/archives/deportation/archives.asp?Number=NSHSII&Page=150&Language=English>, 150

50 Sally Ross, J. Alphonse Deveau, The Acadians of Nova Scotia: Past and Present, (Halifax, Nimbus Publishing, 1992), 61

51 Ibid, 60

52 Ibid, 61

(GÉNOCIDE ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE suite de page 36)

s'y sont opposés se sont présentés à Halifax pour récupérer leurs armes et ont de nouveau été invités à prêter le serment inconditionnel. En cas de refus, on leur proposa simplement l'incarcération à l'île George où ils passeraient l'hiver avec peu, voire rien, pour les garder au chaud. Un abbé a écrit que Lawrence avait confronté les députés de l'île Georges. L'un d'eux s'avança et dit : «Frappez, Monsieur, si vous l'osez. Vous pouvez tuer mon corps, mais vous ne tuerez pas mon âme.» Quelque peu étonné, Lawrence a demandé s'ils préféreraient la mort. «Oui, Monsieur ! Oui, Monsieur ! »⁵³

Le colonel Robert Monckton, un jeune officier qui a également gravi les échelons grâce à des liens familiaux, a rédigé les spécifications du plan directeur. Il ordonna à tous les hommes de plus de seize ans de se rendre au Fort Cumberland, le 10 août, «pour prendre des dispositions concernant la restitution de leurs terres » ; un mensonge flagrant visant les personnes qui avaient été dépouillées de leurs maisons et de leurs moyens de subsistance.⁵⁴ Ils n'étaient cependant qu'un tiers environ à se rendre à Winslow pour la lecture succincte de la « proclamation du gouvernement » : «Ils sont déclarés rebelles. Leurs terres, leurs biens meubles et immeubles appartiennent à la Couronne et leur corps sera emprisonné.» C'est alors que «les portes du fort ont été bloquées, les enfermant tous.» Impuissants, ils ont été contraints d'accepter qu'il leur était impossible «d'habiter dans un pays contre la volonté du souverain.»⁵⁵

Ils avaient répondu de bonne foi à la convocation de Monckton... Ils n'avaient apporté aucune nourriture, aucune couverture, aucun vêtement de rechange ; et Monckton n'avait pris aucune disposition pour leur prise en charge. Ils étaient entassés dans des quartiers humides, forcés de dormir sur les planches, dévorés vivants par la vermine et menacés de maladie... Terrifiés, leurs

femmes et leurs enfants s'étaient enfuis dans les bois, où ils allaient périr faute d'un peu de lait... Monckton annonça que les hommes seraient enfermés jusqu'à l'arrivée des transports, moment auquel leurs familles devaient se présenter pour être déportées. Si elles ne se présentaient pas, elles seraient traquées, et les hommes seraient envoyés sans elles.⁵⁶

Cinq jours plus tard, Winslow appareille pour Grand-Pré avec trois navires armés et il rejoint Lawrence, à Pisiquid, où il passera la nuit. Ils décidèrent rapidement que la trahison du Fort Cumberland avait été si rapide et si vilainement efficace qu'ils referaient la même chose à Grand-Pré. Winslow s'embarque sur le Gaspereau le 19 août et déclare : «J'ai été envoyé ici par ordre du roi pour prendre le commandement de cet endroit.» Les Acadiens qui s'y trouvent n'ont aucune idée des événements survenus au Fort Cumberland et, bien sûr, aucun moyen de connaître les intentions perfides du gouverneur et du commandant. Et ils n'en sauraient rien avant que leur récolte ne soit terminée.⁵⁷

Tout reposait sur la récolte, qui fut d'abord réquisitionnée pour nourrir les troupes de Winslow, et les restes pour approvisionner les bateaux qui emmenaient les Acadiens expulsés. Les Anglais ne se contentaient pas de chasser les Français de leur maison et de leurs terres, ils utilisaient leurs récoltes pour se nourrir ; et ce qui restait était destiné au voyage des Acadiens, on ne sait où, à supposer qu'ils survivent.⁵⁸

Trois cents soldats de garnison de la Nouvelle-Angleterre ont débarqué et ont occupé la ville.⁵⁹ L'église fut transformée en caserne pour les troupes et la maison du prêtre fut occupée par le commandant, Winslow. Les Acadiens ont été désarmés, leurs chefs emprisonnés, les prêtres ont été arrêtés et renvoyés, et un ordre a été affiché : «Les députés et les notables doivent rencontrer le commandant dès demain.» Les leaders ont été autorisés à retirer les objets sacrés et à recouvrir l'autel sans être conscients de leur sort imminent. Personne

d'autre que Winslow n'était au courant jusqu'à ce qu'il fasse jurer le secret à trois de ses capitaines, le vendredi 29 août 1755, en leur disant qu'il prévoyait de tendre un piège le vendredi suivant.⁶⁰

Trois sloops et une goélette, installés en haute mer, sont arrivés à Minas. Les capitaines ont reçu l'ordre de dire, si on le leur demandait, qu'ils devaient rejoindre Winslow. Après avoir repéré les hameaux et préparé sa déclaration, il ordonna à ses troupes de dresser un campement afin de nettoyer leurs armes. Il ordonna également à un chirurgien flamand, Alexandre de Rodohan, de traduire et de lire la convocation, «publiquement, dans toute la campagne.»⁶¹ «Son propos était frustrant en raison de son imprécision. ... Il ordonnait à tous les hommes de la communauté, y compris les garçons de dix ans et plus, «de se rendre à l'église de Grand-Pré, le vendredi 5 de ce mois, à trois heures de l'après-midi, afin de leur transmettre ce que nous avons reçu l'ordre de communiquer.»⁶²

Le 5 septembre, Winslow ordonna aux hommes de Pisiquid, aujourd'hui Windsor, de se rendre à Fort Edward où ils furent informés que leurs possessions, terres, maisons, bétail, allaient être saisis et qu'eux et leurs familles seraient envoyés ailleurs.⁶³

Quatre cent dix-huit hommes et garçons, quatre générations issues de plus de soixante-dix familles élargies, remplissaient les bancs. Winslow et le chirurgien entrèrent dans l'église, «les portes furent barricadées et les troupes entourèrent le bâtiment.»⁶⁴ L'ordre d'expulsion anglais a été traduit et lu en français par de Rodohan. «La Commission du Roi que j'ai en main et sous les ordres de laquelle vous êtes convoqués tous ensemble est pour vous signifier la résolution finale de Sa Majesté concernant les habitants français de cette province de Nouvelle-Écosse.»⁶⁵

La même ruse a été largement exploitée partout, d'Annapolis à Chignecto, jusqu'en novembre où... une flottille de *(suite page 38)*

53 Ibid, 319

54 Ibid, 338

55 Ibid, 338-9

56 Ibid, 339

57 Ibid, 340

58 Faragher, 336

59 Ibid, 340

60 Ibid, 342

61 Ibid, 343

62 Ross, 61

63 Faragher, 343

64 Ross, 63

65 Ibid, 45

(GÉNOCIDE ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE suite de page 37)

vingt-deux navires marchands reconvertis est arrivée.»⁶⁶ Winslow a ordonné qu'il y ait «deux personnes par tonne marine» ou quatre-quatre par six pieds de long,⁶⁷ et tandis que l'hiver s'installait en Nouvelle-Écosse, 7000 Acadiens furent entassés à l'intérieur.⁶⁸ Sur l'un des navires, la cale était tellement pleine que, pour éviter la suffocation, par rotation, six d'entre eux étaient autorisés à sortir sur le pont, de peur qu'ils ne surgissent eux-mêmes de cet espace à bout de souffle.⁶⁹ Entre octobre et décembre, 2 200 personnes additionnelles ont été embarquées de Horton's Landing, Wolfville, Canard et Grand-Pré et forcées de monter sur des bateaux sans rien d'autre que les vêtements qu'elles portaient sur le dos, après quoi tous leurs bâtiments ont été brûlés par les 2 000 soldats de la Nouvelle-Angleterre stationnés dans la province.⁷⁰

Une fois les habitants chassés de leurs maisons, Minas devint le domaine des vautours. Leurs biens abandonnés sont devenus l'objet de pillages et de destructions. Des soldats et des marins hors service, ainsi que des colons anglais et allemands de Halifax, Lunenburg et d'autres colonies protestantes de la côte atlantique, ont pillé des maisons et des entrepôts, tué des poulets, abattu des porcs et fouillé des jardins à la recherche d'objets de valeur enterrés. Le chaos a régné pendant plusieurs jours.⁷¹

Deux navires partis de Chignectou, avec 582 Acadiens dans leurs cales, n'ont jamais été revus et sont présumés avoir chaviré.⁷²

Un témoignage de première main, relatant la destruction post-déplacement, par une Acadienne qui s'est échappée dans la confusion et qui est retournée dans son village :

Le souvenir de l'horreur qu'elle a vue a permis rapporter en détails la destruction d'un mode de vie. Des maisons pillées, des meubles et des poteries brisés et éparpillés sur les chemins de traverse; du bétail au pâturage dans les champs de blé; des porcs en train de fouir dans les jardins; des bœufs, toujours attelés aux charrettes que les Acadiens avaient conduites jusqu'au débarcadère, hurlant de faim; des hordes de chevaux qui courent frénétiquement dans les décombres. Debout devant sa maison abandonnée, elle se sentait en proie à un délire d'épuisement et de détresse. La vache de la famille s'est approchée d'elle, suppliant d'être traitée. Elle s'est assise sur le pas de sa porte, a tiré son lait et elle a bu, puis elle s'est sentie régénérée. Tandis qu'elle était assise là, un Mi'kmaq s'est approché d'elle. Il lui montra du doigt le bassin. «Regarde la fumée s'élever, ils vont tout brûler ici ce soir.» Il l'a aidé à rassembler quelques affaires qui subsistaient. «Viens avec moi, lui dit-il. Les Acadiens sont partis, tous partis.»⁷³

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Environ 6 000 Acadiens ont été déplacés en 1755,⁷⁴ pour atteindre 10 000 en 1763,⁷⁵ sans compter qu'un nombre indéterminé a péri en mer. Ils étaient environ 1 800 sur l'île George cet été là,⁷⁶ et un grand nombre étaient encore emprisonnés dans le port d'Halifax où la sanction de Lawrence pour leur refus de signer l'omniprésent serment d'allégeance à la Couronne britannique consistait en une réduction des rations pour ses prisonniers à moitié morts de faim et de froid qui se trouvaient à l'extérieur, dans un acre de prairie, tandis que les prisonniers de guerre français, capturés sur des navires, étaient logés dans le confort et recevaient des rations complètes à l'autre bout de l'île.⁷⁷

Cinquante familles étaient également détenues à Fort Edward en 1762, sept ans après qu'un millier de personnes aient été

expulsées de Windsor.⁷⁸ Bien que destinés à rejoindre les colonies américaines, la plupart ont été repoussés et n'ont pas même été autorisés à débarquer du fait que Lawrence n'avait pas informé les gouverneurs de son plan et que ces derniers se méfiaient des étrangers et des maladies. Lawrence n'a informé le Board of Trade que quelques mois après la fin de la première étape de l'expulsion.⁷⁹

La question de la responsabilité des autorités de Londres dans le grand dérangement a fait l'objet d'une attention particulière. Lawrence n'a reçu une réponse à sa demande d'autorisation d'expulsion qu'en janvier 1755. Le bureau colonial a refusé de l'approuver ou de le désapprouver, mais l'a chargé d'agir seul. À mon avis, la conclusion est évidente : en transférant la responsabilité aux autorités locales, les fonctionnaires londoniens prenaient leurs distances par rapport à ce qui allait se produire, se dotant ainsi d'un «démenti plausible». Il valait mieux laisser Lawrence prendre le risque - chose qu'il s'est avéré plus que disposé à faire. Ce n'est qu'une fois le sale boulot accompli - après que des milliers d'Acadiens aient été arrachés à leurs communautés et embarqués sur des navires de transport, après que des milliers d'autres se soient enfuis dans les bois où ils ont souffert du froid, de la famine et de la maladie, et après que les biens des Acadiens aient été pillés et les communautés acadiennes incendiées - que les responsables britanniques ont offert leur soutien. Le ministre des colonies a écrit au roi que l'opération avait été «couronnée d'un succès bien au-delà de nos attentes et presque égal à nos espérances.» L'expulsion des Acadiens avait mis à disposition, écrit-il, «une vaste quantité des terres les plus fertiles, en état actuel de culture, et dans les parties de la province les plus avantageusement situées pour le commerce.»⁸⁰
(suite page 39)

66 Faragher, 361

67 Christopher Hodson, *The Acadian Diaspora*, (New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2012), 45

68 Faragher, 372 (pourquoi y a-t-il 4 références pour le 68 ?)

68 Ross, 63

68 Faragher, 360

68 Faragher, 360

69 Ibid, 370

70 In Faragher. Thomas Miller, 364

71 Ross, 63

72 L'encyclopédie canadienne. La déportation des Acadiens <https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/fr/article/la-deportation-des-acadiens>

73 Hodson, 181

74 Marshall, 151, 184, 185

(Il manque 75, 76 et 77)

78 Ross, 64

79 Faragher, 365

80 Ibid, 410

(GÉNOCIDÉ ANGLAIS EN NOUVELLE-ÉCOSSE suite de page 38)

Ses commentaires indiquent clairement que la responsabilité ultime incombe à l'État britannique.⁸¹

Plus d'un millier d'Acadiens ont été envoyés en Virginie où ils ont été repoussés, redirigés vers l'Angleterre où ils furent détenus comme prisonniers de guerre sans être traités comme tels ; puisque les Anglais ne leur ont jamais déclaré la guerre en Nouvelle-Écosse, ils ne se sentaient pas tenus d'appliquer les règles relatives aux prisonniers de guerre.⁸² Ils ont été entassés dans un entrepôt abandonné à Bristol, un atelier abandonné à Liverpool et une vieille caserne à Southampton, chaque famille recevant quelques pence par semaine pour se nourrir et s'abriter. De plus, « à peine arrivés, ils ont été frappés par des épidémies de variole. »⁸³ Des centaines de personnes ont été rassemblées sur des bateaux et ont été laissées à la dérive en mer, pendant l'hiver, sans ravitaillement ; bien d'autres attendaient dans les ports, et des centaines de personnes sont mortes de faim, de maladie et de froid.⁸⁴

Mais, bien pire encore, les Anglais ont retiré aux parents leurs enfants pour les mettre au service de colons importés. Dans certains cas, les Acadiens ont cherché toute leur vie à retrouver leurs enfants, l'idée de la séparation leur étant tellement étrangère et dévastatrice.⁸⁵ De plus, sous la bannière de l'acculturation, les enfants autochtones ont été enlevés de leurs foyers par la police locale, emmenés dans des pensionnats et des foyers d'accueil gérés par des blancs dans le but de les assimiler. L'éducation à l'anglaise devait ainsi rendre les peuples autochtones acceptables, mais seulement acceptables, dans cette société anglaise et blanche.⁸⁶

Au cours de l'été 1755, un correspondant de la New York Gazette, établi à Halifax, écrivit ce que l'on croyait être le premier

avis public de l'expulsion des Acadiens.

Nous nous trouvons maintenant devant un grand et noble projet de chasser de cette province les Français neutres, lesquels ont toujours été secrètement nos ennemis... et qui ont incité nos Indiens à nous trancher la gorge. Si nous procédons à leur expulsion, ce sera l'une des meilleures choses que les Anglais aient jamais faites en Amérique, car au dire de tous, cette partie du pays qu'ils possèdent contient d'aussi bonnes terres que n'importe où dans le monde... nous pourrions faire venir de bons fermiers anglais chez eux.⁸⁷

DES GENS ORDINAIRES COMMETTENT UN GÉNOCIDÉ

«Ceux qui peuvent vous faire croire en des absurdités pourront vous faire commettre des atrocités.»

- Voltaire⁸⁸

Les nazis allemands ont assassiné pas moins de six millions de personnes d'une même ethnie par des moyens extraordinaires lors de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et on considère cela comme le génocide le plus odieux de l'histoire récente. Cet holocauste révèle quelques aspects de la sauvagerie de la suprématie blanche et c'est pourquoi une grande partie des travaux écrits sur les droits de l'homme et le génocide y sont désormais consacrés. Ces concepts et ces termes n'ont toutefois pas fait partie du langage courant anglais avant la fin de la Seconde Guerre mondiale et le début d'une nouvelle ère avec les Nations unies. La Déclaration universelle des droits de l'homme a été proposée lors de sa première session, en 1947⁸⁹ (elle fut notamment rédigée par l'avocat et diplomate canadien John Humphrey, Eleanor Roosevelt et d'autres représentants originaires de l'Inde, de la France, de la Chine et du Liban). L'année suivante, l'ONU a défini le concept

de génocide, en a confirmé la véracité et l'a criminalisé.

La privation des droits de l'homme tout comme le génocide étaient clairement attribuables à la colonisation, quoi que les Nations unies n'aient réussi à accorder l'indépendance aux pays colonisés qu'en 1960 - par conséquence, à en bloquer tardivement l'industrie⁹⁰ - à cause du droit de veto accordé à l'Angleterre (et à la France qui maintenait encore quelques pays en état de colonies). Avec la proposition de se libérer de l'impérialisme, les pays colonisés pouvaient désormais se retirer ; et la plupart de ceux qui l'étaient encore l'ont fait. L'Australie, la Nouvelle-Zélande, l'Inde, le Canada, Israël, l'Irak et plusieurs autres pays avaient depuis longtemps formé leur propre constitution.⁹¹ Les pays qui ne l'ont pas fait sont presque uniquement constitués de petites îles qui dépendent du soutien de la nation dirigeante. Ironiquement, c'est dans bon nombre de ces îles que l'histoire anglaise barbare de l'esclavage s'est déroulée. Il est étonnant que, même si on a attribué la responsabilité au gouvernement et à la Couronne britanniques pour tout ce qu'on peut imaginer comme génocide envers des millions de personnes de toutes autres races et croyances, les criminels anglais responsables de violations des droits de l'homme et de génocides aient pu s'en sortir en toute impunité ; ce qui atteste, comme le constate le psychologue social James Waller, « de la réalité troublante selon laquelle le génocide l'emporte sur la justice. »⁹²

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La stratégie du commerce lié à l'exploitation humaine fait partie de la culture du viol. Les prédateurs parasites qui accumulent capital et pouvoir à chaque conquête sont probablement le summum de l'ambition (suite page 40)

81 Faragher in Thoughts on the Expulsion of the Acadians

82 Ross, 64

83 Faragher, 383

84 Marshall, 151

85 "Warren A. Perrin, et al. versus Great Britain, et al." <http://1755.ca/perrin/perrin.htm> Appendix 35. (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

86 Mark Aquash, UBC, First Nations in Canada: Decolonization and Self-Determination. <http://ineducation.ca/ineducation/article/view/142/617> Aquash, Vol. 19, No 2 (2013)

87 Le Canada. A People's History. Une Histoire Populaire. Deportation. <http://www.cbc.ca/history/EPCONTENTSE1EP3CH4PA3LE.html>

88 What did Voltaire mean when he said, "those who can make you believe absurdities, can make you commit atrocities"?

<https://www.quora.com/What-did-Voltaire-mean-when-he-said-that-those-who-can-make-you-believe-absurdities-can-make-you-commit-atrocities>

89 UNHR. History of the Document <http://www.un.org/en/sections/universal-declaration/history-document/>

90 The United Nations and Decolonization. <http://www.un.org/en/decolonization/declaration.shtml> (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

91 List of countries that have gained independence from the United Kingdom. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_countries_that_have_gained_independence_from_the_United_Kingdom

92 James Waller, *Becoming Evil: How ordinary people commit genocide and mass killing*. (New York, NY, Oxford University Press, 2002), 14

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brute et de l'orgueil où rien ne compte sauf le but, les vies humaines et les biens personnels ne deviennent que des victimes, ou l'un des nombreux autres euphémismes que les propagandistes professionnels inventent à chaque nouvelle escarmouche. Il s'agit également d'un *génocide hégémonique*.⁹³

Pour qu'un génocide ait lieu, il faut que certaines conditions préalables soient réunies. La plus importante d'entre elles est une culture nationale qui accorde peu de valeur à la vie humaine. Une société totalitaire, qui comporte une idéologie supposée supérieure, est également une condition préalable aux actes génocidaires. En outre, il est essentiel que les membres de la société dominante perçoivent leurs victimes potentielles comme des êtres moins qu'humains : comme des « païens », des « sauvages », des « grossiers barbares », des « non-croyants », des « dégénérés effarouchés », des « hors-la-loi religieux », des « inférieurs sur le plan racial », des « antagonistes de classe », des « contre-révolutionnaires », etc. En soi, ces conditions ne sont toutefois pas suffisantes pour que les auteurs de ces actes commettent un génocide. Pour ce faire, c'est-à-dire pour commettre un génocide, les auteurs doivent s'appuyer sur une autorité forte et centralisée, une organisation bureaucratique ainsi que des individus pathologiques et des criminels. Il est également nécessaire qu'une campagne de diffamation et de déshumanisation des victimes soit lancée par les auteurs du génocide, ce sont généralement de nouveaux États ou de nouveaux régimes qui tentent d'imposer la conformité à une nouvelle idéologie et à leur modèle de société.⁹⁴

Thomas Hobbes a déterminé que les humains sont tous profondément égocentriques et malveillants, sinon nous n'aurions aucun besoin d'une force de police. Cependant, Waller fait comprendre à ses lecteurs que les hommes qui ont été mis en place

pour gérer les colonies étaient, dans leur état naturel, majoritairement discrets et tout à fait ordinaires. Il a étudié les « hommes de troupe assassins » qui, selon lui, « sont tellement ordinaires qu'après les tueries, à quelques exceptions près, ils se sont facilement intégrés à la société civile pour mener une vie paisible et sans histoire » ; et il convient de le répéter, « ce qui atteste de la réalité troublante selon laquelle le génocide l'emporte sur la justice. »⁹⁵ Il affirme également qu'il ne peut y avoir de génocide sans auteur. Nos peurs ne nous permettent pas de comprendre la malveillance humaine, puisque nous tentons de la justifier si nous y prenons part, et nous devenons contaminés, faisant de chaque personne consciente un auteur.⁹⁶ Ervin Staub convient que tout individu simplement ordinaire peut être protagoniste d'un génocide, et cela inclut l'auteur de la propagande qui renforce sa propre croyance en persuadant les autres.⁹⁷

Waller souligne qu'il ne faudrait pas en arriver à croire que les malfaiteurs sont nécessairement des sadiques et des psychopathes, mais accepter que des gens très ordinaires puissent être amenés à suivre des ordres, quels qu'ils soient, et à commettre les pires horreurs. C'est toutefois un concept abstrait. Il considère que nous avons à nous éduquer et il utilise un « modèle à quatre volets » pour démontrer notre réaction à l'autorité et à ses objectifs : notre ethnocentrisme étant le seul qui soit juste ; la xénophobie ou la peur de tous les étrangers ; le désir de domination sociale ; et le cadre perceptif « nous - eux », la *déshumanisation* de la victime.⁹⁸ Le côté psychologique du « collectif » peut également, selon Waller, engendrer soit la violence, soit l'héroïsme.⁹⁹ La clé du succès des tueries de masse repose sur une propagande comportant des preuves simples que les gens acceptent facilement.

Les récits de brutalité d'une race envers une autre sont récurrents tout au long de l'histoire, mais au cours de la colonisation, c'était une affaire de routine partout dans le monde, pendant des siècles ; et elle était dépeinte par la publication d'images

de généraux anglais qui se pavanaient. Le premier exemple de massacre génocidaire dans les colonies d'Amérique du Nord remonte toutefois à la guerre des Pequots (1636-1637), dans lequel des colons puritains ont réagi à un raid indien en lançant une campagne d'extermination. Cela « a créé un précédent pour les guerres génocidaires ultérieures. »¹⁰⁰

Avec la répétition et l'expérience, les gestionnaires coloniaux sont devenus démentiellement obscènes. En 1864, un ministre méthodiste du Colorado, le colonel John Chivington, a ordonné à ses soldats volontaires de tuer tous les Cheyennes, y compris les enfants. « Tuez et scalpez-les tous... petits et grands... Les lentes font des poux. » Le massacre a donné lieu à une enquête et aux témoignages suivants.

Je n'ai pas vu le corps d'un seul homme, d'une seule femme ou d'un seul enfant qui n'a pas été scalpé, et dans de nombreux cas, leur corps était mutilé de la manière la plus horrible qui soit - les parties intimes des hommes, des femmes et des enfants étaient tranchées... J'ai entendu un homme dire qu'il avait coupé les parties intimes d'une femme et qu'il les avait exposées sur un bâton... J'ai également entendu parler de nombreux cas où des hommes avaient coupé les parties intimes des femmes et les avaient étendues sur l'arçon de leur selle ou les avaient portées sur leur chapeau...¹⁰¹

Gregory Gomez, un vétéran de la guerre du Vietnam, a raconté à l'auteur Sebastian Junger l'histoire de son grand-père apache qui a été assassiné par un ranger de l'armée afin de s'emparer de la terre de l'ainé Gomez. « Il l'a pendu à une branche d'arbre, lui a coupé les parties génitales et les a fourrées dans sa bouche. »¹⁰²

Au fur et à mesure de l'expansion de leur colonialisme, l'orgueil démesuré des Anglais s'est accru jusqu'à ce qu'au milieu du 20e siècle, ils commettent des atrocités tellement monstrueuses qu'il est à peine (suite page 41)

93 *Different Types of Genocide and Politicides*. https://clg.portalxm.com/library/keytext.cfm?keytext_id=193 (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

94 *The Story of Genocide in Afghanistan*. (University of California Press, UC Press E-Books collection, 1982-2004). <http://publishing.cdlib.org/ucpressebooks/view?docId=ft7b69p12h&chunk.id=d0e5195&toc.depth=1&toc.id=d0e5195&brand=eschol>

95 Waller, 14

96 Ibid, 16

97 Ervin Staub, *The Roots of Evil. The Origins of Genocide and Other Group Violence*, (New York, NY, Cambridge University Press, 2007), 82

98 Waller, 18-20

99 Ibid, 35-6

100 Waller, 114

101 *The Sand Creek Massacre*

<https://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/easyrider/data/The%20Sand%20Creek%20Massacre.htm> (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

102 Sebastian Junger, *Tribe: On Homecoming and Belonging* <https://www.vanityfair.com/news/2015/05/ptsd-war-home-sebastian-junge> (ce lien ne fonctionne pas)

<p>• Les Acadiens : -Faragher, John Mack, A Great and Noble Scheme. New York, NY, W.E. Norton & Company Ltd., 2005. 471 (Pertes en mer non comptabilisées)</p>	10 000
<p>• Les Irlandais : Le génocide de l'Angleterre par la famine organisée 1845-49. -https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Great_Famine_(Ireland)</p>	1 000 000
<p>• Cromwell et les Irlandais : entre 1641 et 1653 -http://www.globalresearch.ca/the-irish-slave-trade-the-forgotten-white-slaves/31076 (Cromwell a également réduit 300 000 adultes irlandais en esclavage, auxquels s'ajoutent 100 000 enfants âgés de 10 à 14 ans.)</p>	500 000
<p>• Les Mau Mau: -https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mau_Mau_Uprising#Mau_Mau_war_crimes (Les chiffres ont été mal enregistrés, il manque entre 130 000 et 300 000 Kikuyus)</p>	200 000
<p>• Les Africains : (Les esclaves anglais ne font que passer. La Grande-Bretagne a transporté 3,1 millions d'Africains, dont 2,7 millions sont parvenus à destination.) -http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf</p>	400 000
	<u>37 116 000</u>

Dans tous les cas, les victimes ont été chassées de leurs terres et la politique de la terre brûlée a été appliquée. On a ordonné aux habitants d'Irlande, d'Écosse, d'Acadie, d'Inde, d'Australie, de Nouvelle-Zélande et d'Afrique de laisser leurs récoltes en terre. Les Anglais ont saisi les récoltes, le bétail et les terres pour les réaffecter à des métayers, à des fins lucratives ou personnelles, ce qui a entraîné la mort par famine de millions de propriétaires et de métayers légitimes. Aucune tentative n'a été faite pour enregistrer les décès et les tortures des aborigènes canadiens et australiens, ou des esclaves africains en Amérique.

POSTFACE

Bien que plusieurs auteurs aient abordé en profondeur la question du génocide, ils ont tous évité les horreurs commises par les Anglais lors de l'occupation des provinces maritimes canadiennes aux 17e et 18e siècles. Qui plus est, la vaste propagande élaborée par le gouvernement britannique pour couvrir ces atrocités est vraiment sous-estimée. À notre grande honte, les gouvernements canadiens de toutes les tendances ont accepté la dissimulation, le moralisme et l'héroïsme ; et sont peut-être tout aussi coupables par omission que la Couronne lorsqu'elle a ordonné des stratégies terroristes totalement inconcevables pour envahir, occuper et rafler la terre natale des Acadiens et des Mi'kmaq en Nouvelle-Écosse.

(Voir le prochain numéro Winter/Hiver pour la traduction anglaise).

POETRY/POÉSIE...

Over There

par Don Levesque

T'es fou d'rester par icitte toute l'année
Y a rien par icitte pour toué
Y fait frette, y neige pi y a quissement pas d'été
y a quissement pas d'été

C'est une questions facile a répondre
Ont a pas besoin d'songer b'en b'en long temps
Ont rest icitte en cause du monde
Ont reste icitte en cause du monde

Over there sa parle anglais partous
Pi trop souvent y nous parle pas du tous
C'est come si ont est tombé dans un gros trous
Tombé dans un gros trous

Over there t'est un petit poisson
Dans une grande mer de gros poissons
Mais icitte tu peut quissement être toi même
Icitte tu peut être toi même

Y a pas d'mystère ...

T'es fou d'rester par icitte toute l'année
Y a rien par icitte pour toué
Y fait frette, y neige pi y a quissement pas d'été
Y a quissement pas d'été

*Y a pas d'mystère
C'est mon che' nous si
cher Icitte son mon coeur,
mon âme Et ma parentés dans
l'cimitière Shu mieux icitte que
over there*

POETRY/POÉSIE...

Grandi a Grand Isle (Ode a che' nous)

par Don Levesque

J'ai grandi a Grand Isle au nord du Maine
J'ai grandi a Grand Isle au nord du Maine

J'ai pêché au bôrd su' Primme
En arrière d'su' Leaudivine.
J'ai marché su' l'île de Lille,
Écoute d'la musique avec ti-Gille,

Jouer d'la guitar avec Jim pi Jim,
Aller a Van Buren voir les filles,
Manger des bines l'samedi soir
Pi des hot dogs rouge routis b'en noir.

Assis su' l'bôrd d'la rivière Saint-Jean
Pêcher pour d'la truite, poigner des P'tit Blancs,
Manger des ployes pi des cortons,
Jouer au file avec un vieux bouton.
Aller patiner su' Guy Beupré
Aller au movies l'samedi après midi.
Jouer d'la basketball au côté d'su' Neil,
Rider jusqu'a Lille avec nos vieux bicycles

Jouer d'la pool s' Octave Caron,
Jouer au cartes assis su' l'perron.
Aller s'beigner a l'éclûge a Pierre Cyr.
Manger des crêpes avec d'la tire.
Rider en skateboard dans route a 'Lexis.
Voir mon oncle Denis bouère son Pepsi.
Manger des groisselles pi d'la rhubarbe sûre,
Des p'tites pommettes pi des confitures

Soigner 'es poules su' pepère Ouellette,
Couper du bois su' un vieux joualette.
R'garder l' teevee su' Guy Beupré
Pendant qu' mon père prenais une p'tite bière.
Rider en char dans l'chemin des concessions,
Ecouter ma mère jouer son accordéon.
Sonner 'a cloche d'école avec un gros clou.
Ramasser des noissettes pi des fraises itou

J'ai grandi a Grand Isle au nord du Maine
J'ai grandi a Grand Isle au nord du Maine



Aunt Yvonne of Québec

Aunt Yvonne was the mother of two sons
And a daughter brain-damaged at birth.
She'd met my uncle either in Québec,
If he was visiting with his parents, or
Down here if she'd come for some reason.
They married, lived a while in Chelmsford on
His family's farm, but she was homesick for
Québec, and so they moved there to a farm
With no hot water or even indoor plumbing.
Life was hard, especially with a daughter
Who could barely walk and would never talk.

And yet Yvonne endured, transcendent in
Her deep devotion (boundless and unfathomable)
For a daughter who would need bathing,
Feeding, diapering her whole life —
She who frightened cousins from the States
By lurching round the kitchen where we sat
As she reached out, bellowed, yanked our hair
And clothes, or hit her head against the stove
In pain or sheer frustration with her failure
To gain whatever it was she sought beyond
The fierce, relentless grasp of her mother's love.

Yvonne refused for years to house her elsewhere —
This child of her heart — until her own inevitable
Aging and her daughter's ever advancing
Frailty made caring for her even
Harder, till at last Yvonne surrendered
To the pleadings of others and brought her daughter
To a place deemed better for them both.
But the daughter, probably feeling abandoned, stopped
Eating, and Yvonne, heartbroken, soon insisted,
"She'll eat for me." So she brought her home, and the girl
Began to eat, as her mother knew she would.

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OCTOBER

Syntax falls away
Like fluttering leaves
Drop from a tree
After an October frost.
Words and phrases
Once so quick to mind
Must be laboriously dredged up
Or a reasonable fascimile found
But it's not the same
As what I wanted to say or write.

I guess the simile is apt;
I am in the October of my life
So it seems fitting
That mental foliage drops away.
Soon my tree will be bare,
And it will be the middle of winter.
Perhaps I shall die down here
Only to sprout new foliage
Come spring
Somewhere else.

Chip Bergeron
24 July 2014



BOOKS/LIVRES



The Ancestors and Descendants of Daniel F. Thibodeau and Rebecca Jandreau

By Dana Paul Murch

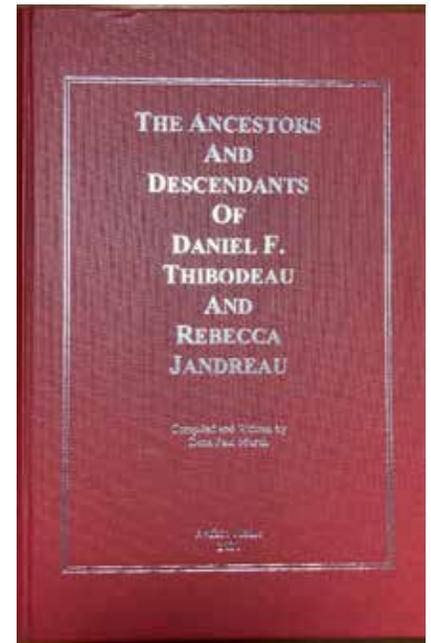
The product of over three years of research by Maine author Dana Paul Murch, this new book details the genealogy and family of the author's maternal grandparents, St. Francis natives Daniel Frédéric Thibodeau and Rebecca Jandreau.

I remember Mémère always bustling in the kitchen and cooking on a wood cook stove (she made the best dumplings in the world)... I remember Pépère as a little man who spoke only French and was not well (he died when I was seven years old).

Written in the vein of Leo Cyr's classic 1985 work, Madawaskan Heritage, the book identifies and discusses the lives and times of all of the ancestors of Daniel F. Thibodeau and Rebecca Jandreau in Acadia, Québec, and the Upper St. John Valley in both Maine and New Brunswick. In addition to major sections on the Thibodeau

and Jandreau families, the book includes sketches of one hundred and sixty related families, from Albert to Vallière. Most significant among these sketches are those of the Dubé, Ouellette, Pelletier, Michaud, Nadeau, Paradis, and Miville dit Deschênes families, followed by the Ayotte, Cloutier, Gagnon, Jalbert, and Saucier families.

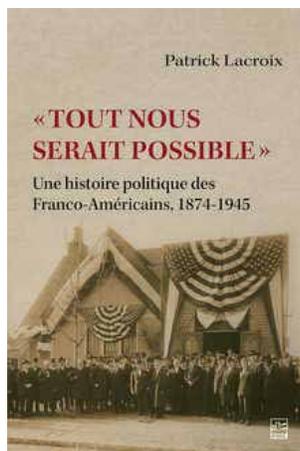
At almost 1,600 pages, The Ancestors and Descendants of Daniel F. Thibodeau and Rebecca Jandreau is a major addition to the genealogy of the Thibodeau and Jandreau families, and is a definitive compilation of the best information currently available on 290 known or presumed ancestral immigrants to Acadia and Québec and their offspring. The hardcover book includes copies of many vital records, synopses of U.S. and Canadian census records, family photos, and photos of gravestones, family



memorials, and churches. The book also includes a selected history of Maine and New France (including Acadia) from 1604 to 1850, as well as a chronology of the arrival of all immigrant ancestors.

Publication date: January, 2020. Printing is limited to 150 copies. Price per copy is \$35. Available from the author, Dana Paul Murch, 7 Cedar Street, Belfast, ME 04915. Contact danapmurch@gmail.com for more information.

ISBN: 978-0-9982497-2-8
LCCN: 2019911557



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« Tout m'intéresse, tout m'étonne. » - Montesquieu

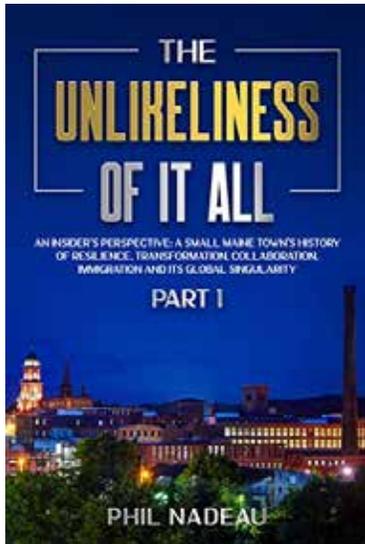
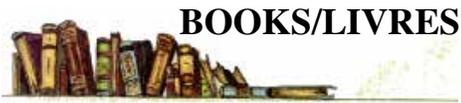
" Tout nous serait possible " . Une histoire politique des Franco-Américains, 1874-1945 par Patrick Lacroix

Loin d'être marginaux aux points de vue géographique et social, les «Franco» furent visibles et dérangèrent. Une meilleure compréhension de leur histoire politique nous permet d'insister sur cette influence croissante et de réfuter l'immuabilité des obstacles se dressant entre cette minorité et toute ascension ou tout pouvoir.

Description: Au dix-neuvième siècle et au début du siècle suivant, des centaines de milliers de personnes quittent le Québec pour s'établir aux États-Unis. Elles cherchent alors à implanter la vie sociale et leurs institutions culturelles au sud de la frontière. Ces nouvelles communautés ethniques ne sont pas étanches. Un patient processus d'intégration mène ces immigrants à vivre leur citoyenneté étatsunienne. Afin d'être représentés dans les officines du pouvoir et pour défendre leurs intérêts, les Franco-Américains prennent leur place dans la turbulente arène politique de leur terre d'accueil. Peu à peu, des intérêts de classe en viennent à primer sur ceux, longtemps poursuivis, de la reconnaissance ethnique.

Ce livre explore un aspect méconnu des communautés franco-américaines, celui de leur action politique. Attentive à la complexité de ces communautés et aux particularités locales, cette étude contribue à une plus grande connaissance de la rencontre de l'univers canadien-français aux États-Unis et des institutions de la société d'accueil.

<https://www.pulaval.com/produit/tout-nous-serait-possible-une-histoire-politique-des-franco-americains-1874-1945>



The Unlikelihood of it All, Part 1: An Insider's Perspective: A Small Maine Town's History of Resilience, Transformation, Collaboration, Immigration, and its Global Singularity

by Phil Nadeau (Author)

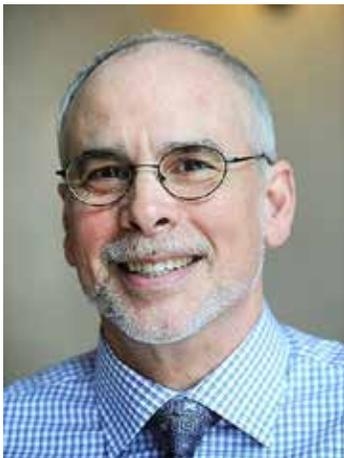
An engaging and insightful deep dive into the history of Lewiston Maine, The Unlikelihood of it All is written by native insider Phil Nadeau, a city official of almost two decades. Nadeau offers unique insight into the complex immigrant, political, socio-economic, and immigrant landscape, that influenced how the city was formed, and how it responded to the arrival of Somali refugees in 2001 and 2002.

Nadeau's narrative history explains how 150 years of immigration influenced the city's economic, social, and political trajectory. Lewiston and "twin city" Auburn made up a community where 70 percent of all early 20th century jobs local textile and shoe manufacturing industry jobs created the state's largest economy. Over time, many immigrants and the city's predominantly French Canadian community worked through cultural, political, and religious discrimination to improve their lives while also confronting the reality of declining textile and shoe production in the 1950s.

After almost 50 years, many of the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of these first immigrants helped to transform the community through their collaborative and dogged determination to create a far more diversified local economy just as the first Somali refugees arrived in 2001. With the economic renaissance underway, the growing Somali population and how the city responded became a national and international news story that made global headlines. Nadeau uncovers little known and new information regarding notable historic moments, facts, people and explains how the city's "global singularity" began with a world championship fight and why the eyes of the world remained fixated on this small Maine town's new Somali residents, a mayor's letter, and a rally against hate that drew over 4,000 people.

At once both prescient toward the shifting modern landscape and thoughtful in the careful collection of historical details, this book includes information regarding: French Canadian Immigration, Lewiston Immigrant History, Lewiston Franco Americans, Somali Refugees, Immigrant Xenophobia, Secondary Migration Influences, Maine's First Refugee Resettlement, Lewiston Mill and Industrial History, Lewiston Economic Development History, Mayor Larry Raymond's Letter.

Nadeau was featured in the Dominic Pulera book Sharing the Dream and has been interviewed by authors Elizabeth Strout, Cynthia Anderson, Amy Bass, and Heather McGhee for her new book "The Sum of Us." He also has been interviewed by the national and international news media; has spoken nationally; has been published by the Southern Maine Review and the National Civic League; and was a contributing essayist in the book "Somalis in Maine: Crossing Cultural Currents."



About Phil Nadeau

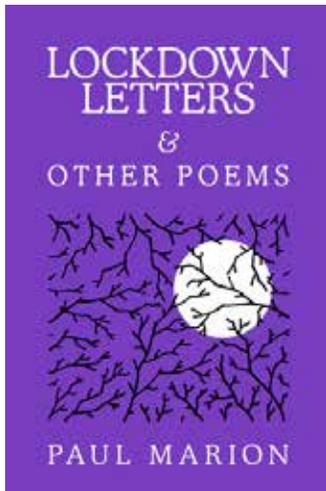
Phil Nadeau is a native of Lewiston, Maine and had several careers including the U.S. Air Force, a family business, and 23 years in public administration.

During 2001, Nadeau took on the responsibility of acting as Lewiston's primary information official in matters associated with new Somali and other immigrant arrivals. He served in that capacity until his retirement in 2017. Much of Nadeau's immigrant policy and research work has been cited by journalists and academics.

Nadeau has worked on a myriad of local, state, and federal refugee policy, and community programming and action initiatives with many organizations including the U.S. Department of Justice, the Maine Department of Labor, Bates College, Clark University, and the Maine Municipal Association.

His research work and public visibility also resulted in Nadeau being interviewed by many national and international news media including the New York Times, National Public Radio, Al-Jazeera English news, and "HBO Real Sports with Bryant Gumbel." He has also spoken nationally at the International City Managers Association Conference, the International Municipal Lawyers Association Seminar, and the University of Miami.

https://www.amazon.com/gp/product/B09279FJNR/ref=dbs_a_def_rwt_hsch_vapi_tkin_p1_i0



Lockdown Letters & Other Poems

by *Paul Marion*

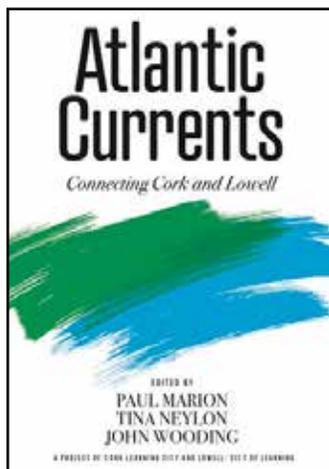
Paul Marion has been a writer and community activist since the 1970s. He is the author of several collections of poetry as well as the editor of the early writings of Jack Kerouac, *Atop an Underwood*, and other titles. His book *Mill Power* tells the story of the innovative national park in Lowell, Massachusetts, and the city's acclaimed revival, a model for small industrial cities everywhere. His recent book, *Union River: Poems and Sketches*, spans 40 years of work and offers a lyrical Americana address for our dramatic time.

His work has appeared in anthologies and literary journals such as *Alaska Quarterly Review* and *The Massachusetts Review*. In 1978 he created Loom Press, a small publishing company that promotes writing from the Merrimack River Valley. Among other accomplishments on the community front, he co-founded the Lowell Folk Festival and Lowell Heritage Partnership, an alliance of people and organizations whose mission is to care for architecture, nature, and culture. He lives in Amesbury, Massachusetts.

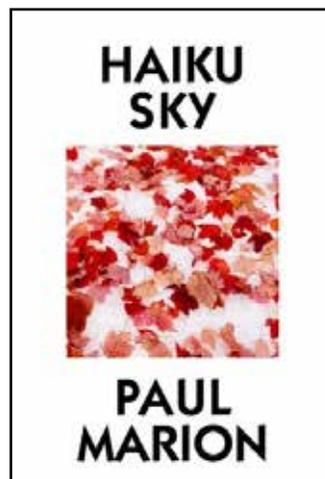
About Paul Marion

Paul Marion founded Loom Press in 1978. The company has since published chapbooks, broadsides, poetry postcards, anthologies, and full-length books of poetry, prose, photo-documentary work, and more. He is the author of the poetry collections *Lockdown Letters & Other Poems*, *Haiku Sky*, *Union River: Poems and Sketches*, and *What Is the City?*, and editor of *Atop an Underwood: Early Stories and Other Writings* by Jack Kerouac (also available in Italian and French translations). His book *Mill Power: The Origin and Impact of Lowell National Historical Park* documents the comeback of an historic industrial city whose revival has been praised worldwide. His writing has appeared in the *Massachusetts Review*, *So It Goes*, *Cafe Review*, *SpoKe Seven*, *Slate*, *Carolina Quarterly*, *Alaska Quarterly Review*, *Christian Science Monitor*, and *Yankee*, as well as in other publications in the U.S., Canada, Ireland, England, and Japan. His work is represented in

many anthologies, including *For a Living: The Poetry of Work* (Univ. of Illinois Press), *Line Drives: 100 Contemporary Baseball Poems* (Southern Illinois Univ. Press), and *French Connections: A Gathering of Franco-American Poets* (Louisiana Literature Press). In the 1980s, he helped shape the new Lowell National Historical Park as an administrator for the Lowell Historic Preservation Commission, U.S. Dept. of the Interior. He helped plan and develop museum exhibitions, the city's first conversion of mill space into artist studios, and the Lowell Public Art Collection. Among his projects was the development of the Jack Kerouac Commemorative, a sculptural tribute. He is one of the founders of the acclaimed Lowell Folk Festival and the Lowell Heritage Partnership, a community alliance dedicated to protecting the city's architecture, nature, and culture. He is a former Fellow in the Building Community Through Culture program of the New England Foundation for the Arts, and in 2008 received a Local Hero award from Community Teamwork, Inc. A graduate of UMass Lowell (B.S. in political science, M.A. in community social psychology), he also studied in the MFA Program in Writing at the University of California, Irvine. He is the former executive director of Community and Cultural Affairs at UMass Lowell. He lives in Amesbury, Mass., with his wife, Rosemary Noon.



Atlantic Currents:
Connecting Cork and Lowell brings together sixty-five writers from both sides of the Atlantic Ocean whose stories, poems, essays, songs, and parts of novels come to us in familiar voices.



Haiku Sky:

Lose yourself in this meditative collection of 70 haiku by an important contemporary poet of New England. These haiku were written over 40 years and are collected here for the first time. Paul Marion is the author of *Union River: Poems and Sketches* and editor of *Atop an Underwood: Early Stories and Other Writings* by Jack Kerouac.

<https://www.paulmarion.com>



BOOKS/LIVRES

Edgemere (2021) by Steven Riel

**Edgemere, Steven Riel's second full-length collection,
was published in August 2021.**

Shapeshifting abounds in Steven Riel's latest collection, as this pro-feminist gay poet marshals a parade of female personas that includes Senator Elizabeth Dole, Joan of Arc, and The Supremes. Riel's poems zigzag across liminal spaces not just between male/female and human/inhuman, but between those fallen from AIDS and survivors who grieve them.

ISBN: 978-1-7365880-5-1

Publisher: Lily Poetry Review Books

Format: Paperback, 89 pages

About

Steven Riel's first full-length collection of poetry *Fellow Odd Fellow* was published by Trio House Press in 2014. His second full-length book *Edgemere* was published by Lily Poetry Review Books in August 2021. Riel's third chapbook *Postcard from P-town* was runner-up for the inaugural Robin Becker Chapbook Prize.

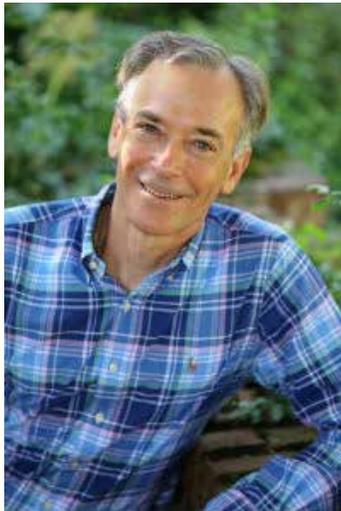
Amherst Writers & Artists Press brought out Steven's first two chapbooks, *How to Dream* and *The Spirit Can Crest*.

Riel is currently editor-in-chief of the Franco-American literary e-journal *Résonance*. He served as poetry editor of *RFD* magazine from 1987 to 1995.

Recipient of a grant from the Massachusetts Cultural Council, Steven was also selected as a 2016 Fellow by the Lambda Literary Foundation and was named the 2005 Robert Fraser Distinguished Visiting Poet at Bucks County (PA) Community College.

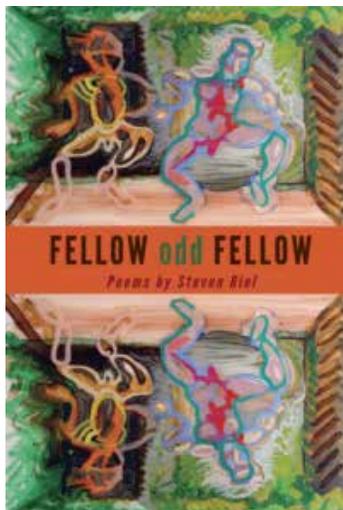
He grew up in Monson, Massachusetts, and graduated from Wilbraham & Monson Academy, Georgetown University (A.B., 1981), Simmons College (M.S.L.S., 1987), and New England College (M.F.A. in Poetry, 2008).

Riel works as manager of the Serials Cataloging unit of the Harvard University Library.



*Steven Riel, 2020 —
Photo by Jamison Wexler*

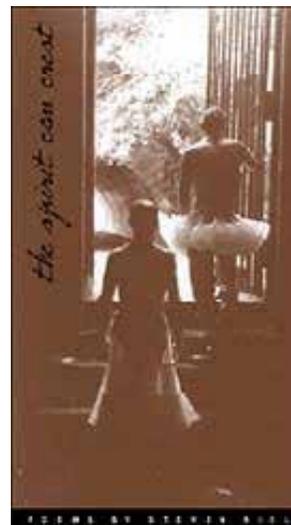
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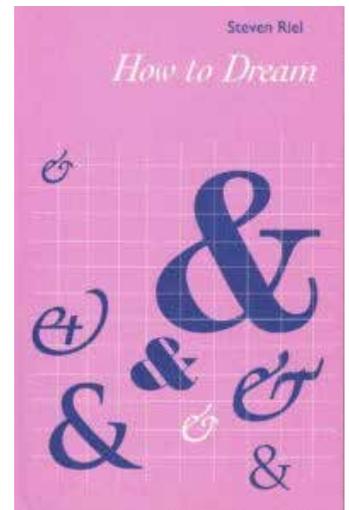
**Fellow Odd Fellow
(2014)**



**Postcard from P-town
(2009)**



**The Spirit Can Crest
(2003)**



**How to Dream
(1992)**

Harvest Moon and the Animals

Copyright 2021
by
Virginia L. Sand-Roy

The moon was full one night in September and Owl was chanting a serenade of thanks as the animals made their annual harvest at their favorite gardens in the village:

RACCOON went to Mrs. Albert's garden and harvested some corn.

TURKEY and SQUIRREL went to the garden of Mrs. Delarosbil to harvest some sunflowers.

DEER harvested some peas from Mr. Pelletier's garden.

GROUNDHOG harvested potatoes at Mrs. Michaud's garden.

RABBIT was hopping in Mr. Roy's garden to harvest carrots.

BEAR went to Mrs. Pinette's garden to gather raspberries.

CANADIAN GOOSE harvested pumpkin seeds at Mr. Bernier's garden.

MOOSE went to the orchards of Mrs. Desjardins and Mrs. Laroche to harvest apples.

All the animals brought their harvest to the center of the forest by the tree where OWL was singing songs of thanks to the Harvest Moon. They all shared their harvest in ceremony and with great gratitude to the farmers.



La Lune de Moisson et les Animaux

Copyright 2021
par
Virginie Sand-Roi

La lune était pleine une nuit en septembre et Le Hibou chantait une sérénade des remerciements pendant que les animaux faisaient leur moisson annuelle à leurs jardins préférés dans le village:

LE RATON LAVEUR allait au jardin de Madame Albert pour récolter du maïs.

LA DINDE et L'ECUREUIL allaient au jardin de Madame Delarosbil pour moissonner des tournesols.

LE CERF récoltait les petits pois du jardin de Monsieur Pelletier.

LA MARMOTTE moissonnait les pommes de terre du jardin de Madame Michaud.

LE LAPIN sautait dans le jardin de

Monsieur Roi pour récolter des carottes.

L'OURS allait au jardin de Madame Pinette pour ramasser les framboises.

L'OIE CANADIENNE moissonnait les semences de citrouille au jardin de Monsieur Bernier.

L'ORIGNAL allait aux vergers de Madame Desjardins et Madame Laroche pour récolter des pommes.

Tous les animaux ont apporté leur moisson au centre de la forêt près de l'arbre où Le Hibou chantait les chansons des remerciements à la lune de moisson. Ils tous ont partagé leur moisson dans la cérémonie et avec une grande gratitude aux cultivateurs.

A Christmas Card Contest (Un Concours de la carte de Noël)

*Copyright 2021
By/Par
Virginia L. Sand*

On a November day in northern Maine, four neighborhood children meet after school to build a snowman (un bonhomme de neige) after a recent, unexpected snowstorm. The snow is just sticky enough to create a snowman. While the young neighbors roll up their balls of snow, they start talking about a contest at school:

MELISSE: Did you guys hear about the Christmas card contest that the school's art department is running this month?

HUNTER: Yes, we have until the end of this month of November to submit a Christmas card design.

AIDAN: And it must be hand-drawn.

COULSON: Plus, we must come up with our own holiday greeting inside the card, hand-written.

MELISSE: I guess you all did hear about the contest. The student who creates the best Christmas card will win \$100.00. Are any of you going to participate in the contest?

AIDAN: Well, personally I think that Christmas cards are a waste of time. Everyone sends only e-mails and text messages these days.

COULSON: I know, it's like no one wants to take time to do "snail mail" anymore, but my grandparents miss receiving lots of paper Christmas cards in the U. S. Mail like they used to.

MELISSE: Well, I'm joining the contest because I want to help keep the Christmas card tradition going. I love Christmas card art and I know the winning card will be printed in quantity to mail out to all of the senior and challenged folks in our community: Nursing and Assisted-Living Homes, home-bound senior citizens, disabled military veterans and their families, mentally

and physically handicapped individuals, low-income and jobless families, homeless shelters, hospitals, etc. The winning Christmas card will help uplift everyone's holiday spirit in the village. (Melisse wearing a big smile.)

HUNTER: I agree. Christmas cards help keep the spirit of Christmas alive. My family loves to put Christmas cards on display. Some Christmas cards even end up on the Christmas tree because they contain money from Santa. (Hunter began chuckling.) Me, I'm definitely going to participate in the contest.

COULSON: Count me in too! I get "A's" in all of my art classes so I'll put my talent to a good cause.

AIDAN: Well, the \$100.00 sounds good to me, so I'll join you three in the Christmas card contest. In fact, I think this snowman we just built is giving me an idea for my Christmas card design.

All four schoolmates smiled while admiring their November snowman completed. Melisse wrapped her scarf around the snowman's neck, Coulson put his hat on the snowman's head, Hunter went to get a carrot for the snowman's nose and Aidan found marbles to form the snowman's smile and eyes. The children found branches to form the snowman's arms. Then, as the short day of autumn was quickly turning into night, the four young neighbors found themselves gazing towards the sky over the Canadian border where the North Star was already twinkling bright. Each student made a wish on the North Star that his/her Christmas card design would be the winner.

By November's end, Hunter, Aidan, Melisse and Coulson each submitted a Christmas card design to their school's art department. Melisse's card featured a colorful pair of mittens around a steaming mug with a pom-pom ski hat hovering over the mug. The hat depicted the word "Hap-



py" and the mug depicted the word "Noël." Inside her card Melisse wrote, "Wishing you heavenly hot chocolate and a warm, cozy Holiday Season and winter. Joyeuses Fêtes!"

Aidan's Christmas card depicted a whimsical snowman like the one the four children built together in their neighborhood. On his card, he also drew a pipe in the snowman's mouth with smoke rising from the pipe. The smoke spelled out the words, "Joyeux Hiver!" Inside his card Aidan wrote, "Wishing you a fun snowman-making season. Joyeux Noël et Bonne Année!"

Coulson's Christmas card depicted a pair of ice skates filled with candy canes and winterberry holly. Coulson wrote the word "Bon" on the left skate and the word "Hiver" on the right skate. Inside his card Coulson wrote, "Wishing you a winter wonderland of JOY this holiday season. Bonnes fêtes de Noël et Joyeuse Année!"

Hunter's Christmas card featured four thick white candles sitting on a wreath decorated with red winterberries. Hunter wrote one word on each candle: LOVE, PEACE, JOY and HOPE. Inside his card Hunter wrote, "Wishing you many blessings this Holiday Season and WINTER. Joyeux Noël et Bon Hiver!"

Melisse, Coulson, Hunter and Aidan were the only students who participated in the school Christmas card contest and the contest ended in a tie. The judges couldn't pick a winner because all four Christmas card designs were winners. The school's Art Department awarded each student with a certificate and \$25.00, made hundreds of prints of all four Christmas card designs and mailed the Christmas cards throughout the village in plenty of time for Christmas. Melisse, Hunter, Aidan and Coulson's Christmas cards found their way into every corner of their hometown, from the hospitals to the homeless shelters, nursing and assisted-living homes, the homes of disabled military veterans and their families, home-bound senior citizens and handicapped cit-

(Continued on page 51)

Can you match the French words to the correct picture?

Un sapin de Noël

Une boule

Une étoile

Une couronne

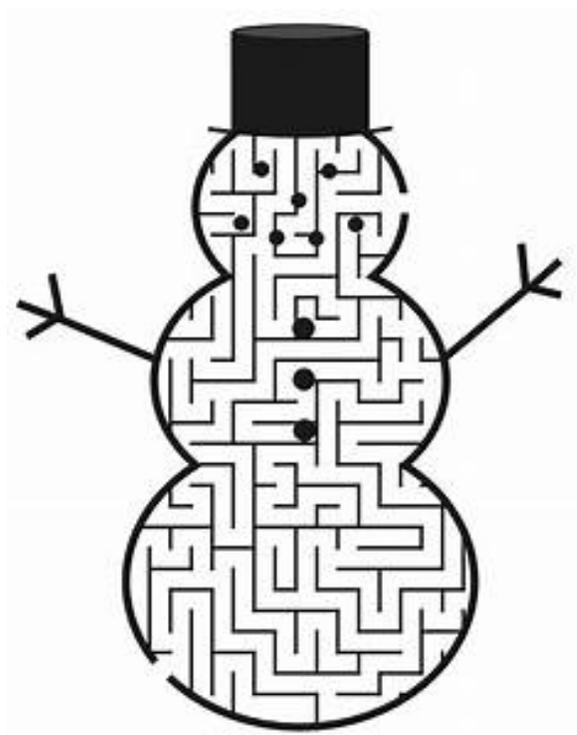
Une chaussette

Le Père Noël

Un bonhomme de neige

Un cadeau

Un renne



(A Christmas Card Contest (*Un Concours de la carte de Noël*) continued from page 50) izens, low-income and jobless families and citizens, etc. No one was left out. The four Christmas card contest winners uplifted their entire community with Christmas Spirit. Even more, each of the four winners decided to donate her/his \$25.00 to the Community Food Bank to help feed the homeless, jobless, and low-income people in their village during the Holiday Season.

The four young neighbors felt good about their holiday contributions in their hometown and were praised by their school, families and by the community.

**HAPPY HOLIDAYS
and
HAPPY WINTER to all!**

**Joyeuses Fêtes
et
Joyeux Hiver à tous!**





Université du Maine
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THE FRANCO AMERICAN CENTRE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MAINE

The University of Maine Office of Franco American Affairs was founded in 1972 by Franco American students and community volunteers. It subsequently became the Franco American Centre.

From the onset, its purpose has been to introduce and integrate the Maine and Regional Franco American Fact in post-secondary academe and in particular the University of Maine.

Given the quasi total absence of a base of knowledge within the University about this nearly one-half of the population of the State of Maine, this effort has sought to develop ways and means of making this population, its identity, its contributions and its history visible on and off campus through seminars, workshops, conferences and media efforts — print and electronic.

The results sought have been the redressing of historical neglect and ignorance by returning to Franco Americans their history, their language and access to full and healthy self realizations. Further, changes within the University's working, in its structure and curriculum are sought in order that those who follow may experience cultural equity, have access to a culturally authentic base of knowledge dealing with French American identity and the contribution of this ethnic group to this society.

MISSION

- To be an advocate of the Franco-American Fact at the University of Maine, in the State of Maine and in the region, and
- To provide vehicles for the effective and cognitive expression of a collective, authentic, diversified and effective voice for Franco-Americans, and
- To stimulate the development of academic and non-academic program offerings at the University of Maine and in the state relevant to the history and life experience of this ethnic group and
- To assist and support Franco-Americans in the actualization of their language and culture in the advancement of careers, personal growth and their creative contribution to society, and
- To assist and provide support in the creation and implementation of a concept of pluralism which values, validates and reflects affectively and cognitively the Multicultural Fact in Maine and elsewhere in North America, and
- To assist in the generation and dissemination of knowledge about a major Maine resource — the rich cultural and language diversity of its people.

LE CENTRE FRANCO AMÉRICAIN DE L'UNIVERSITÉ DU MAINE

Le Bureau des Affaires franco-américains de l'Université du Maine fut fondé en 1972 par des étudiants et des bénévoles de la communauté franco-américaine. Cela devint par conséquent le Centre Franco-Américain.

Dès le départ, son but fut d'introduire et d'intégrer le Fait Franco-Américain du Maine et de la Région dans la formation académique post-secondaire et en particulier à l'Université du Maine.

Étant donné l'absence presque totale d'une base de connaissance à l'intérieur même de l'Université, le Centre Franco-Américain s'efforce d'essayer de développer des moyens pour rendre cette population, son identité, ses contributions et son histoire visible sur et en-dehors du campus à travers des séminaires, des ateliers, des conférences et des efforts médiatiques — imprimé et électronique.

Le résultat espéré est le redressement de la négligence et de l'ignorance historique en retournant aux Franco-Américains leur histoire, leur langue et l'accès à un accomplissement personnel sain et complet. De plus, des changements à l'intérieur de l'académie, dans sa structure et son curriculum sont nécessaires afin que ceux qui nous suivent puisse vivre l'expérience d'une justice culturelle, avoir accès à une base de connaissances culturellement authentique qui miroite l'identité et la contribution de ce groupe ethnique à la société.

OBJECTIFS:

- 1 – D'être l'avocat du Fait Franco-Américain à l'Université du Maine, dans l'État du Maine et dans la région.
- 2 – D'offrir des véhicules d'expression affective et cognitive d'une voix franco-américaine effective, collective, authentique et diversifiée.
- 3 – De stimuler le développement des offres de programmes académiques et non-académiques à l'Université du Maine et dans l'État du Maine, relatant l'histoire et l'expérience de la vie de ce groupe ethnique.
- 4 – D'assister et de supporter les Franco-Américains dans l'actualisation de leur langue et de leur culture dans l'avancement de leurs carrières, de l'accomplissement de leur personne et de leur contribution créative à la société.
- 5 – D'assister et d'offrir du support dans la création et l'implémentation d'un concept de pluralisme qui value, valide et reflète effectivement et cognitivement le fait dans le Maine et ailleurs en Amérique du Nord.
- 6 – D'assister dans la création et la publication de la connaissance à propos d'une ressource importante du Maine — la riche diversité