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THE ENIGMA OF THE “JUMPING FRENCHMEN OF MAINE”

BY STEPHEN R. WHALEN AND ROBERT E. BARTHOLOMEW

The “Jumping Frenchmen of Maine” exhibited unusual reactions when startled, and they became a component of local folklore in northern New England during the late nineteenth century. Medical scientists of the time examined the condition, but came to no definite conclusions. Modern scientists in the late twentieth century also disagreed on its origins. The syndrome appears to have resulted from the unique social and environmental factors peculiar to the logging camps of the time. Stephen R. Whalen has a Ph.D. in history from the University of Maine. Retired from public school teaching, he is currently a member of the History Department at Castleton State College in Castleton, Vermont. Robert E. Bartholomew, a former journalist in New York state, has a Ph.D. from James Cook University in Australia. He is the author of LITTLE GREEN MEN, MEOWING NUNS AND HEADHUNTING PANICS: A STUDY OF MASS PSYCHOGENIC ILLNESS AND SOCIAL DELUSION (McFarland, 2001).

A FORGOTTEN PART of Maine woods lore is the story of the “Jumping Frenchman,” usually depicted as a particularly excitable woodworker from the Quebec side of the border who could be startled by the sudden clap of the hand or a loud yell, and would “jump” into an embarrassing or even dangerous situation. In fact, there is a medical basis for this seemingly mythical condition. This article explores the neurological condition known in the standard medical and psychiatric nomenclature as the “Jumping Frenchmen of Maine” syndrome. At the confluence of folklore and clinical psychiatry, the syndrome sheds light on an interesting aspect of Maine woods history.

Today, one would be hard-pressed to find a New Englander who has heard of the “Jumping Frenchmen of Maine,” but any neurologist in the region – or in the world for that matter – should recognize the phrase.¹ “Jumping” remains controversial in the fields of neurology and cross-



Maine logging camps provide a rich tapestry of folklore in which it is often difficult to separate fact from fiction. Among the many camp stories are descriptions of “jumping Frenchmen.” In the late nineteenth century researchers began taking these anecdotes seriously. Photo from the Virgil H. Jordan Collection, Old Town Historical Society, courtesy Fogler Library, University of Maine.

cultural psychiatry, and it presents an unusual episode in the social history of northern New England. In the field of medicine, experts have compared jumping to other examples of startle reactions to a stimulus, but there is no comprehensive analysis of jumping in its social/historical context. As an incident in the social history of northern New England, the phenomenon of jumping is shrouded in mystery, myth, and speculation. Available evidence is spotty and of questionable veracity, and few writers have attempted to come to grips with the topic. Given the limitations of available sources, it is difficult to arrive at definitive conclusions, but it appears that jumping was the result of a unique congruence of time, place, class, and ethnicity.

The incidence of Jumping Frenchmen was (and perhaps still is) a phenomenon located along the northern fringe of Maine and New Hampshire and across the border in the adjacent Province of Quebec.² In these areas, small pockets of people, especially in isolated communities and lumbering camps, exhibited dramatic responses when startled. Their behavior included a combination of jumping, screaming, swear-

ing, flailing out and striking bystanders, and throwing objects that happened to be in their hands. The most extraordinary feature of these displays was “automatic obedience”: subjects briefly did whatever they were told. Because jumping was associated with French-Canadians, the victims became known as the Jumping Frenchmen of Maine.

Jumping as Folklore

Jumping has long been a part of Maine’s regional folklore and legend. It developed as part of an oral tradition in the logging camps, and Mainers accepted it as a valid observation of the French Canadians who inhabited the camps. Observers and writers who learned of the jumping phenomenon reported on it with little analysis or skepticism, but their citations added an aura of credibility to its existence. A few examples illustrate the common descriptions of jumping and how contemporaries reported it.

In 1894 Joseph W. Bailey wrote a book on the St. John River, in which he observed that jumping seemed to have originated on the American side of the river, above St. Francis. He described jumpers as “an unfortunate people afflicted with an hereditary nervous malady that causes them to do the most extraordinary things, when influenced by unusual excitement resulting from unexpected sensation of touch and sound.” Bailey did not appear to have observed jumping himself, but simply reported hearsay: “When some ‘Jumpers’ were taking their luncheon, while ‘logging,’ and a bystander shouted ‘Strike!’ the men *are said* [emphasis mine] to have thrown their knives and platters about recklessly, and at a later day one of these unhappy men is said to have jumped on a revolving saw when thus unduly influenced.” Bailey also reported that while on the Madawaska River with a guide who claimed to be a jumper, the guide asked Bailey to warn him before shouting to people on the river bank, or he might drop his pole and overturn the canoe.³ It is clear that Bailey was reporting local stories and was not a direct observer of jumping. Given Bailey’s interest in local lore, it is also possible that the river guide could have been feeding Bailey what he wanted to hear. Still, Bailey’s account indicates the local understanding of jumping, and his book’s publication could only add a sense of legitimacy to the existence of the phenomenon.

In 1902 writer Holman F. Day published a book of Maine folklore entitled *Pine Tree Ballads*. He included a poem, “The Jumper,” that told of a man whose reactions— classical jumping behavior — suggest the nature of the syndrome.

An' wan tra'n she go pas' on night,
 Long 'bout de tam' I sle'p mos' tight.
 An' w'en she whees-el, "Whoot-too-too!"
 I jomp lak' wil' cat, I tal you.
 I heet ma wife gre't beeg hard slams
 An' black her eye mos' seexteen tam's.
 Till las' she go off sle'p down stair,
 – She say I worse as greezly bear,
 Bot w'at yo' t'ink? I sore dis true,
 I nevaire know w'at t'ing I do.⁴

While Day probably used a local dialect to add a regional flavor to his description, this use of *patois* also reinforced the perception of the French Canadian as being different or peculiar, and certainly capable of exhibiting a strange behavior. Day's poem is an example of the association between jumping and French-Canadians.

There is evidence that the general public had a broad exposure to the existence of jumping. A local newspaper, the *Woodstock Dispatch*, ran an article in 1904 that described the condition in a logging camp:

If ... a camp is provided with a "jumper," the men never feel called upon to look further for a ... source of amusement.... To start with, he is simply a man whose nerves are abnormally sensitive. There are many among the halfbreed [sic] French-Canadians.... When such a one is discovered in a logging camp, drastic and persistent measures are taken [to badger him until he develops] into a full fledged "jumper" by which is meant one who has so lost control of his muscles that they will act involuntarily at the command of another [person].⁵

While this article supports the early existence of jumping, it also offers a common-sense explanation for the condition. Logging camps were dangerous places where inattention could result in serious injury or death. Any individual who was predisposed to overreaction could easily be conditioned into a hyper-startle response to a potentially fatal stimulus. The article also references the isolated and closed social situation of the logging camps where the intimate relationships among the men allowed for special knowledge of peculiar personalities. Finally, the newspaper's use of the term "halfbreed" reinforced the ethnic stereotype of the French Canadian as susceptible to "uncivilized" behavior.

By 1948, Maine folklore writer Helen Hamlin pronounced the Jumping Frenchmen a myth, calling it "one of the greatest slanders

against these people.” She lamented that “even to this day there are people who believe that there can be such a distinct, nervous malady associated with the French race.” However, Hamlin had to cite a 1909 article by W. T. Ashby in the *Mars Hill View* to describe the jumpers:

Among the Acadians are many unfortunate individuals known as “Jumping Frenchmen.” As far as I know no other race on earth is afflicted in a like manner. It is a nervous affliction and appears to be hereditary. Some medical men attribute the cause to the terrible experiences of the mothers during the last winter in Acadia, and the awful nerve-racking journey up the river. Many of the unfortunates will do anything they are told to do. Speak to them sharp and they will strike or kick. Men have jumped into the river and into fires because thoughtless guys wanted a little sport.

Hamlin then related that Ashby knew of a story about a “scientific” man who once went into Madawaska country to study the jumpers. Purportedly, he lived with a family where all of the members, both male and female, were jumpers, exhibiting such behaviors as giving off a “blood-thirsty Indian yell,” jumping high in the air, and running off into the woods. The man claimed that even the dogs were jumpers because they immediately obeyed a command to “go for” him, whereupon the dog would tear off the trousers of the said victim.⁶ Such an assertion instantly discredits any resemblance of a scientific approach toward the subject, and renders Ashby’s entire account suspicious.

Hamlin dismissed all reference to the jumpers as myth and slander, perhaps because she relied on a forty-year-old source. As a descendant of Acadians, she had a personal interest in improving the image of what she labeled the “French race.” The important point is that her re-telling of the jumper story maintained it as a part of local folklore.

Stories repeated over a long period of time acquire a popular credibility that often has no scientific basis. The general population assumes that there is a core of truth to any tale that stands the test of time, and in this way, jumping entered the folklore of northern New England. It is curious then, that although the medical community investigated jumping at an early point, experts had difficulty in assessing its origins or even classifying jumping as a medical condition.

Scientific Origins and Comparisons

The enigma of the Jumping Frenchmen first gained the attention of the scientific community in 1878 at the fourth annual meeting of the



In 1880 famed New York neurologist George M. Beard, author of *American Nervousness*, traveled to the Moosehead Lake region to study the “Jumping Frenchmen of Maine.” Virgil H. Jordan Collection.

American Neurological Association. Prominent New York neurologist Dr. George M. Beard told the members that he had heard stories of a group of lumberjacks in northern Maine who suffered from an unusual nervous condition. When suddenly startled, they struck out at nearby people or objects.

Intrigued enough to do field research, in 1880 Beard traveled to the Moosehead Lake region to see first-hand if the accounts were true. He encountered numerous jumpers in the area. One was a twenty-seven-year-old man who was sitting in a chair and holding a knife that he was about to use to cut tobacco. Beard reported that when the man was struck suddenly on the shoulder and commanded to “throw it,” the knife shot out of his hand and struck a beam opposite to where the man sat. Alarmed a second time, the young Frenchman “threw the tobacco and the pipe on the grass at least a rod away with the same cry and the same suddenness and explosiveness of movement.” In another case, two jumpers standing side by side struck each other forcibly when told to do so. Beard himself tried to test the reaction of repetition by shouting a line from Virgil’s *Aeneid* while he startled a jumper. The subject echoed

the phrase “in a quick, sharp voice, at the same time he jumped,” even though he had no reason to be familiar with it. Beard observed jumpers who repeated words or sounds with the same mechanical response that they exhibited in jumping, throwing, or striking.⁷

After the publication of Beard’s report on the Jumping Frenchmen, scientists paid increasing attention to the subject of exaggerated response to a startle stimulus. Experts, including Beard, widely assumed that the jumpers were a culture-specific variant of *latah*, believed at the time to be a strange mental disorder among the people of Malayo-Indonesia. Beard was the first to publicly make this connection. He noted, “I found ... brief reference to precisely similar phenomena on the other side of the globe, among the Malays. The notice was ... sufficient to show that there was no difference in the phenomena as exhibited in these different races.”⁸

Dutch scientist F. J. Van Leent first identified *latah* in 1867. He worked in Batavia of the Netherlands Indies, or the Dutch East Indies (present day Jakarta, Indonesia). Indonesian natives used the term *latah* to describe the reaction of startled individuals who would mimic behavior or words, swear, or occasionally follow commands.⁹ Severe cases typically responded with verbal insults, obscenities, disrobing, mimicking the words and actions of others, and “automatic obedience.” The word *latah* is derived from the Malay words for ticklish, nervous, creeping, and love madness.¹⁰ There are earlier references to the word, but no explicit descriptions of the term as a malady. European colonial psychiatrists designated *latah* as a disorder and integrated it into accepted theories of European racial and social superiority. Because some victims exhibited severe symptoms in public, colonial scientists assumed that *latah* was a regional variant of hysteria. Soon after Van Leent’s discovery, British and Dutch colonial scientists, explorers, adventurers, and government officials throughout Malayo-Indonesia began describing additional cases of *latah*. Scientists reported similar behaviors in Africa, Japan, and Russia.¹¹ Beard’s investigations brought the discussion to North America. Moreover, it raised new questions: did the behavior have cultural origins, and what role did race play in the prevalence of the condition?

Jumping, *Latah*, and Racism

Were *latah* and jumping the same phenomenon? Did the condition indicate a racial or ethnic tendency? Beard, whose reputation was enhanced by his widely-read study, *American Nervousness*, had popularized

the concept of neurasthenia; his stature among scientific and lay readers brought a great deal of attention to these questions.¹² Within a few years, scientists identified various exotic behaviors with jumping or *latah*. However, the reports of so-called *latah* behavior, drawn from widely separated geographical and cultural locations, relied on old, scattered, incomplete, and unconvincing documentation.¹³ With many languages involved, misunderstandings and mistakes in translations were common. For example, one article, translated from English into Russian, erroneously identified the Jumping Frenchmen of Maine as a group of gymnasts.¹⁴ This apparently occurred because Beard described a jumper throwing a tumbler, meaning a drinking glass, and the translator assumed he meant an acrobat.¹⁵

Beard was well aware of the inconsistencies between jumping and *latah*. He assumed that jumping was an inherited condition, precipitated by habitual tickling. He did not associate jumping with diminished mental capacity *per se*, and he suggested that we are “all potential jumpers.”¹⁶ While Beard discounted the racial element in the jumping reflex, this ran counter to popular interpretations of *latah*. During the 1880s, western scientists used the prevalence of *latah* among the Malays and Indonesians to portray the natives as inherently nervous, mentally unstable, and irrational. This stereotype of the Malays as ideal followers, copiers, and servants justified ideas of white superiority and colonial domination.¹⁷ In contrast, Beard described the Caucasian jumpers as physically and mentally robust: “one thing was certain, that these jumpers were not nervous.... Psychologically, these jumpers were modest, quiet, retiring.... They were strong and capable of doing hard physical work, and some of them could read and write and were as intelligent as the class to which they belonged.”¹⁸ Beard speculated that jumping was precipitated by temporary degeneration from exposure to their rustic environment, but he made no conclusions concerning racial heredity or a diminished capacity for rational judgment.

While researchers often cited the Maine jumpers as the most unambiguous example of *latah* in a culture unrelated to Malayo-Indonesia, there were too many dissimilarities to label them as identical. Jumping almost always affected males and typically became prominent during childhood, while *latah* rarely if ever involved jumping, and “severe” cases of *latah* were almost exclusive to socially marginal, post-menopausal females. Although the two conditions became well known among scientists at about the same time, and similarities in the general nature of the stimulus/response reflex existed between the two, jumping was a condi-

tion peculiar to its time and place. It would take future investigations to identify jumping as a phenomenon indigenous to the woods of northern New England.

Modern Investigations of “Jumping”

Perhaps one of the most intriguing facets of the jumping phenomenon is its historiography. Beard’s report inaugurated a flurry of inquiries into jumping at the end of the nineteenth century, but medical scientists ignored the condition during the first half of the twentieth century. It was not until the 1960s that a renewed interest in jumping arose, leading to a debate over the medical analysis and social origins of the condition. In 1963, Harold Stevens, a professor of neurology at George Washington University, examined a fifty-nine-year-old French-Canadian man whose father was a lumberjack in northern Maine. Stevens reported that the man was easily startled, and when struck by a reflex hammer, “he jumped about ten inches off the bed.” Stevens also observed that the man exhibited similar reactions to the sound of a telephone ring or an instrument dropping on the floor. Eight months later, Stevens examined a fifty-two-year-old woman with similar symptoms, who had a niece similarly afflicted. Both women began to show symptoms in childhood, but the anomaly in their cases was that they were of mixed Protestant Scots-Irish-German descent, and the older woman grew up in North Carolina. Stevens reported his findings at the 1964 meeting of the American Neurological Association. There, a Dr. Thomas P. Fitch related a 1948 visit to the remote home of a fishing guide in Nova Scotia where Fitch observed five children who jumped vigorously and fell over each other when exposed to an unusual startle.¹⁹ Apparently, Stevens’s work had re-awakened medical curiosity over the jumping phenomenon.

Reuben Rabinovitch, a neurologist at McGill University in Montreal, offered personal reflections on the jumping phenomenon. In 1965 he wrote a letter to the *Journal of the Canadian Medical Association* describing his childhood in La Macaza, Quebec, where the exaggerated reflex was common to all of the children in the village. Each year in the spring, lumberjacks came out of the woods and set up camp near the village. They shared with the children their food, music, and entertainment. In this fashion, they introduced Rabinovitch to “the horse kicking game,” in which children approached their victim quietly and poked him or her while making the sound of a horse. The subject then jumped up in the air and flailed out while echoing the horse cry. The game originated because horses, an integral part of logging operations, were often



Neurologists traced the Maine version of this startle stimulus to a form of pranksterism involving horses – or “horseplay” – in the logging camps. Virgin H. Jordan Collection.

temperamental, and the lumberjacks occasionally suffered serious injuries from being kicked while entering their stalls. On occasion, a lumberer would sneak into a stall adjacent to his intended victim’s horse and wait. When the victim arrived, the prankster would “reach over and suddenly and violently poke his victim and give vent to the loud neighing cry of an enraged horse. This would most often frighten the victim into jumping away from what he thought was his own horse about to kick him.”²⁰ Although Rabinovitch’s letter was anecdotal and his experiences dated, his account added to the increased interest in jumping, suggesting that social and cultural factors played an important role in developing the syndrome.

Writing in 1967, E. Charles Kunkle, a neurologist from Portland, added to the emphasis on learned roles in analyzing the game reported by Rabinovitch. The game involved subjects who, when startled, were “expected to produce a formalized response of jumping violently, flailing out, and shouting angrily, often imitating the cry of a kicking horse.” Adults, especially those in isolated communities and lumberjack camps, sometimes practiced this “horse play.” Kunkle felt that this apparently

represented a “socially conditioned reflex, reinforced by example and by repeated stimulation.” Based on an informal survey and interviews with fifteen jumpers, Kunkle concluded that jumping remained “endemic in the state of Maine, at least.” It seemed to develop and flourish in “relatively closed and unsophisticated communities and in entirely masculine work groups.”²¹

The most recent medical analysis of jumping occurred in the mid-1980s. Two Canadian neurologists, Marie-Helene Saint-Hilaire and Jean-Marc Saint-Hilaire, and a psychologist, Luc Granger, all from the University of Montreal, studied eight jumpers in the region of Beauce, Quebec, where men traditionally worked in the Maine woods. In six of their sample, the onset of symptoms started with their work as lumberers. Among their sample was a man who, when startled “would run, swear, throw an object he was holding, strike at bystanders, or obey commands.” On one occasion he “jumped from a height of 10 feet after a sudden command.” The researchers noted that all eight subjects would scream; most would throw an object in their hand or strike out, and half briefly obeyed commands shouted at them immediately after being startled, such as “jump,” “run,” or “dance.”²²

Jumping: An Analysis

Is Jumping a local variant of a universal medical condition or disorder, or the result of a confluence of environmental factors? Similar behaviors have been recorded in peoples in various parts of the world. Some scientists believe that these symptoms occur in rare individuals suffering from a dysfunction of the human startle response known as hyperstartle. Others think that it is much more common and akin to a regional habit rather than a disease or disorder. While a definitive analysis may not be possible, it appears that jumping was the result of a particular set of social and environmental conditions, but it was also related to other examples of hyperstartle.

The similarities of jumping to other examples of the startle reflex are too strong to make it unique in the world. The early experts consistently compared jumping to other manifestations of startle because of the similarities, and for many years they searched for a medical explanation. Beard was the first to suggest that jumping was psychic and not pathological, but it was Giles de la Tourette who in 1885 concluded that jumping and *latah* were similar to the syndrome that now bears his name.²³ There are too many differences to assume that jumping and Tourette’s Syndrome have the same pathology, but his comparison sug-

gests the serious consideration that these early doctors gave to jumping as a medical disorder. Perhaps it was because the quest for a biological origin of these phenomena was inconclusive that the interest in jumping faded in the first part of the twentieth century.

Modern researchers discount the medical origin of jumping. Although there is probably a genetic predisposition to excessive startle in a small part of the general population, this does not explain the prevalence of jumping in isolated Maine communities.²⁴ There are medical conditions such as magnesium deficiency, tetanus, and degenerative brain disorders that lead to an excessive startle response.²⁵ Medical conclusions, however, contradicted folklore in many specific details such as issues of gender and inherited versus learned behavior. Most important, the question of jumpers centered on those individuals who exhibited no known medical pathology. These leads only to possible social and cultural elements as causative agents in the origins and transmission of jumping.

Geographic factors presumably play only a small role in the incidence of jumping. Although there is little evidence of startle or jumping in the United States outside of New England, further research may uncover similar behaviors in other locations. Stevens suggested that it was probably not rare or confined to certain ethnic groups or geographic areas.²⁶ Kunkle also posited that "its apparent predilection for northern New England is probably in large part an artifact of observation. Disorders apparently exotic are sometimes found to be commonplace when attention is focused on them."²⁷ One observation of startle reflex outside of New England was made by Joseph Hardison, a doctor at the Veterans Administration Medical Center in Atlanta, Georgia. Raised in a small southern community, Hardison knew of a condition labeled "goosey." He concluded that "it is clear to me that some of the people we call goosey have the same syndrome as the jumping Frenchmen of Maine." Hardison was uncertain whether the behavior known as "goosey" was peculiar to the South.²⁸

While these reservations about geographic boundaries have a ring of truth to them, the investigation of geographic factors has not produced an explanation for the jumpers in Maine. Certainly Beard's report and research gave the Jumping Frenchmen of Maine a degree of notoriety and encouraged comparisons with phenomena in other areas. Other isolated groups may also exhibit excessive response to startle or tickle, but there have been no systematic attempts to catalog these individuals or groups. Even if there were such an attempt, it would not explain the spe-

cial nature of the Maine experience. The Jumping Frenchmen in Maine seems specific to the environment of the logging communities, and to the attention it received from the scientific community.

The most plausible explanation for jumping is that a local social interaction became institutionalized among a select group of people. Isolated loggers had few sources of amusement besides each other, and personality peculiarities offered a focal point for distractions. Beard first suggested that jumping was “a temporary trance induced by reflex irritation.”²⁹ While Victorian physicians had only a rudimentary understanding of psychiatry or “trances,” Beard was accurate in identifying the source as a reflex irritation. If the inhabitants of a logging camp lived with the knowledge that they may be surprised by a sudden “poke,” and that an exaggerated startle was the expected response, then this “reflex irritation” became a normal part of social intercourse. Kunkle posed this when he wrote that “jumping may represent a special variety of socially conditioned reflex, reinforced by example and by repeated stimulation from attentive colleagues.” He also raised the possibility that the behavior of jumping allowed some individuals to act out or release concealed hostilities – the unfortunate wife of Holman Day’s Frenchman, for example – and he implied that well-known jumpers may have added “considerable dramatization” as they were deliberately targeted by their friends and co-workers.³⁰ In this light, the jumping behavior was very much the result of the participants’ view of their social status or role in the community. It should also be noted that jumping was only the second part of the activity, for without the stimulus there is no response. Scientists neglected to study the motives, attitudes, and contributions of the antagonists of this phenomenon: those who poked or tickled to produce a reaction. Essentially, Jumping was a symbiotic relationship between “pokers” and “victims.”

How then do we clearly explain the jumping phenomenon? Rabinovitch’s personal childhood experiences probably provide an accurate narrative of the most logical chain of events. One hundred years ago, lumberjacks were confined to the northern woods from autumn to spring. Long months of isolation and boredom led to the invention of games and distractions involving the only protagonists available, men and horses. The jumping activity then grew out of the lumber camps and migrated into the surrounding communities. As an example of this mobility, Rabinovitch recalled one lumberjack in Quebec who carved his name on the village covered bridge: “R. L. Stevens, Old Towne, Maine, U. S. A.”³¹ In this fashion, a very specialized behavior became as-

sociated with a particular ethnic group, economic cohort, and geographic area.

It is significant that jumping appeared to die out with the passing of the traditional logging camp. As tractors replaced horses, and as lumberjacks became less isolated from mainstream society, the incidence of jumping declined, and even severe jumpers lost their exaggerated responses when they were removed from the continual stimuli.³² This is perhaps the clearest evidence that jumping was not a medical condition or a case of collective hysteria. It was a classic case of operant conditioning that developed in a closed community.

Now fading from the memories of Maine's oldest inhabitants, the strange behavior known as jumping became a part of local folklore and tradition, and its participants became the focus of a medical controversy that once spanned the world. For over a century, the Jumping Frenchmen of Maine have posed a riddle that still eludes a concrete medical explanation, but they remain a part of the rich heritage of Maine's French-Canadian community.

NOTES

1. As a measure of the term's present obscurity, while doing research for this essay, the authors received replies from archivists and curators in Maine who were not familiar with the term. Hopefully, this summary of jumping will generate new sources of information.

2. The last scientific study of jumping dates to 1986. See M. H. Saint-Hilaire, J. M. Saint-Hilaire, and Luc Granger, "Jumping Frenchmen of Maine," *Neurology* 36 (September 1986):1269-1271. The study examined subjects between the ages of 55 and 77. Thus it is questionable as to whether the syndrome still exists.

3. Joseph W. Bailey, *The St. John River in Maine, Quebec, and New Brunswick* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1894), pp. 32-33.

4. Holman Francis Day, *Pine Tree Ballads* (Boston, 1902), p. 252.

5. Woodstock *Dispatch*, February 16, 1904, in Richard W. Judd, *Aroostock: A Century of Logging in Northern Maine* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1989) p. 110, fn 36.

6. Helen Hamlin, *Pine, Potatoes, and People: The Story of Aroostock* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1948), pp. 79-81.

7. George M. Beard, "Experiments with the 'Jumpers,' or 'Jumping Frenchmen of Maine,'" *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders* 7 (1880): 487-490.

8. Beard, "Experiments with the 'Jumpers.'"

9. F. J. Van Leent, "Contributions a la Geographie Medicale," *Archives de Medecine Navale* 8 (1867): 172-173.

10. Robert E. Bartholomew, *Exotic Deviance: Medicalizing Cultural Idioms –*

From Strangeness to Illness (Boulder: University Press of Colorado, 2000).

11. See Andrew Gilmour, "Latah Among South African Natives," *Scottish Medical Journal* 10 (1902): 18-20; Pow Meng Yap, "The Latah Reaction: Its Pathodynamics and Nosological Position," *Journal of Mental Science*, 98 (1952): 515-564; Harold Stevens, "Jumping Frenchmen of Maine: Myriachit," *Archives of Neurology* 12 (1965): 312.
12. See Roy Porter, *A Social History of Madness: Stories of the Insane* (London: Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1987), p. 9; Arthur Kleinman, *Rethinking Psychiatry: From Cultural Category to Personal Experience* (New York: Free Press, 1988), pp. 12-14.
13. H. B. M. Murphy, "History and Evolution of the Syndromes: The Striking Case of Latah and Amok," in M. Hammer, K. Salzinger, and S. Sutton, eds., *Psychopathology: Conditions from Social, Behavioral, and Biological Sciences* (New York, 1973), pp. 33-55.
14. Stevens, "'Jumping Frenchmen of Maine:' Myriachit," p. 312.
15. Beard, "Experiments," p. 489.
16. Beard, "Experiments," p. 488.
17. Bartholomew, *Exotic Deviance*.
18. Beard, "Experiments," p. 489.
19. Stevens, "'Jumping Frenchmen of Maine,' Myriachit," p. 313.
20. Reuben Rabinovitch, "An Exaggerated Startle Reflex Resembling a Kicking Horse," letter to *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 93 (1965): 130.
21. E. Charles Kunkle, "The 'Jumpers' of Maine: A Reappraisal," *Archives of Internal Medicine* 119 (1967): 355-357.
22. M. H. Saint-Hilaire, et al., "Jumping Frenchmen," pp. 1269-1271.
23. See Beard, "Report to the American Neurological Association," *Journal of Nervous and Mental Disorders* 5 (1878): 526; and M. H. Saint-Hilaire, et al., "Jumping Frenchmen," p. 1269.
24. M. H. Saint-Hilaire, et al., "Jumping Frenchmen," p. 1270. See F. C. Thorne, "Startle Neurosis," *American Journal of Psychiatry* 101 (1944): 105-109.
25. Kunkle, "The 'Jumpers' of Maine: A Reappraisal," p. 358.
26. Stevens, "'Jumping Frenchmen of Maine,' Myriachit," p. 314.
27. Kunkle, "The 'Jumpers' of Maine: A Reappraisal," p. 357.
28. Joseph E. Hardison, "Are the Jumping Frenchmen of Maine Goosey?" *Journal of the American Medical Association* (July 4, 1980): 70.
29. Beard, "Experiments," pp. 487-490.
30. Kunkle, "The 'Jumpers' of Maine: A Reappraisal," p. 357.
31. Rabinovitch, "An Exaggerated Startle Reflex," p. 130. For references and descriptions of the logging camps and camp life, see M. H. Saint-Hilaire, et al., "Jumping Frenchmen of Maine," pp. 1270-1271.
32. M. H. Saint-Hilaire, et al., "Jumping Frenchmen of Maine," p. 1271.