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Early French Migrations to Northern Maine, 1785-1850

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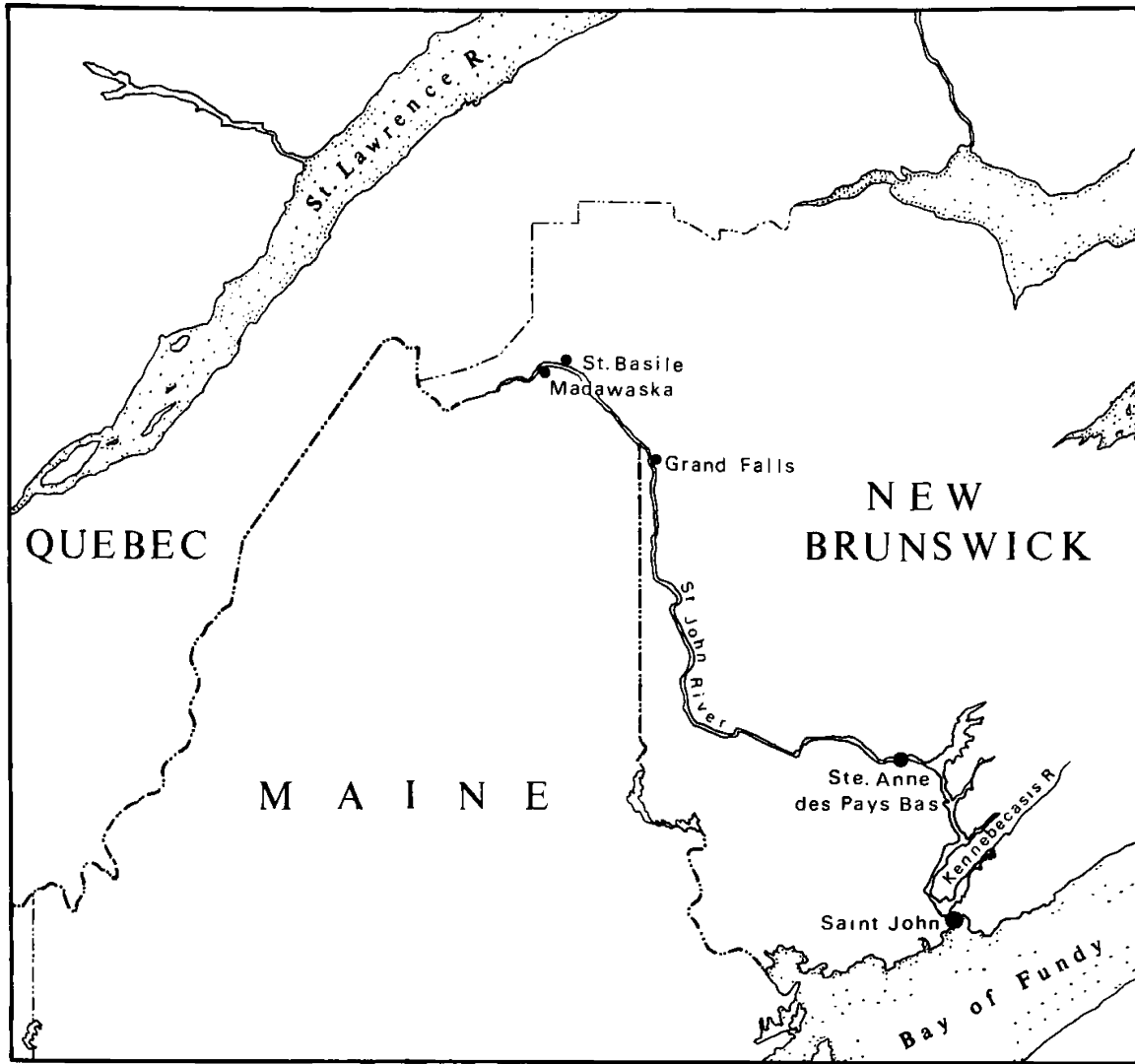
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EARLY FRENCH MIGRATIONS TO NORTHERN
MAINE, 1785-1850

One of the most homogeneous French-speaking communities in New England is located on the upper St. John River, along Maine's northern boundary. The oldest Franco-American community in New England, Madawaska was founded two hundred years ago in 1785. Unlike most New England Franco-American centers, which are textile mill towns, the St. John Valley's economic base rests upon agriculture, forestry, and pulp and paper production. The area is unique in another sense: unlike Lewiston and other textile centers, its population includes a large proportion of Acadians.

The origins of this community are clouded in myth. According to legend, the inhabitants of the St. John Valley are descendants of Acadians deported or exiled from Nova Scotia. The Acadians had founded two communities in southern New Brunswick (Aukpac or Ecoupag, also known as Ste. Anne des Pays Bas; and the Kennebecassis or Hammond River Village), but supposedly were expelled again from their new homes by the Loyalists who landed on the lower St. John in 1783. In 1785 some of these displaced Acadians took refuge on the upper St. John above the cataracts now called Grand Falls, where English vessels purportedly could not reach them. The new settlement took a local Indian name: Madawaska.¹

This account is as inaccurate as it is dramatic. It is not, in all particulars, consistent with what is otherwise known about the Acadians, the New Brunswick government, and the region itself. It also disregards the history of another group of St. John



The Acadian settlement on the upper St. John River in Maine and New Brunswick was founded in the 1780s when land pressures on the lower river touched off a migration to the region above Grand Falls. Acadian tradition links this resettlement to the tragic diaspora of 1755.

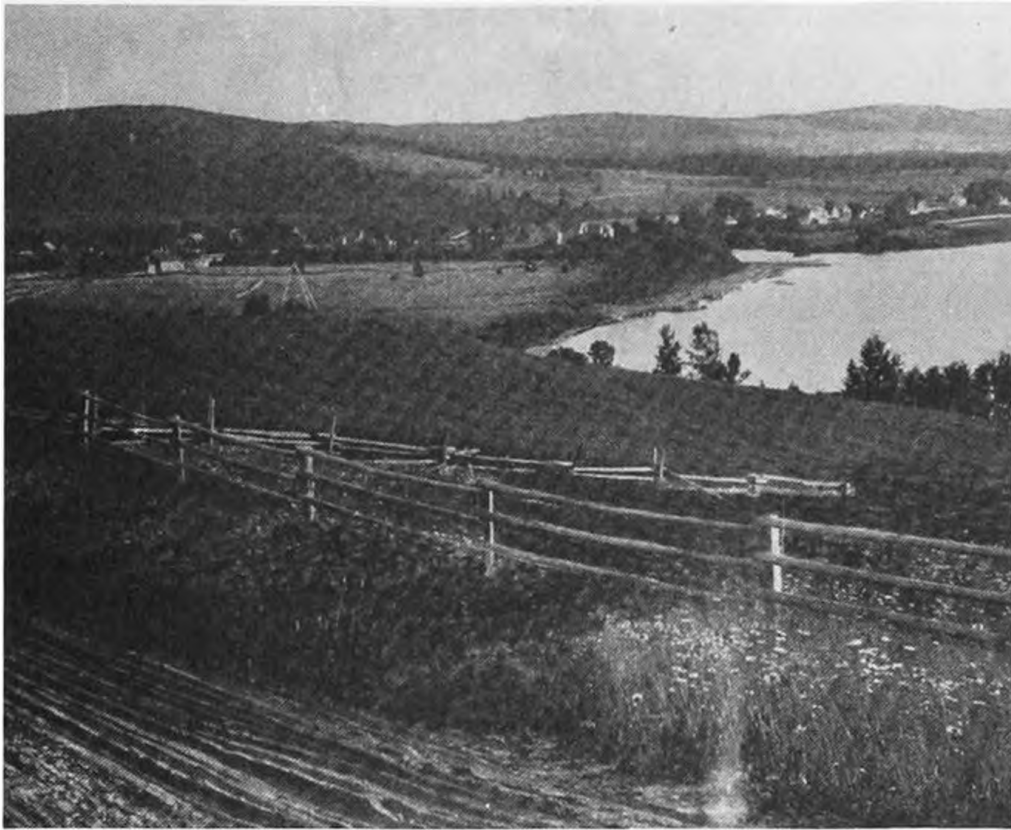
Valley people — the French Canadians — in founding the Madawaska settlement. The widespread appeal of the Evangeline legend, wrought so poignantly by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, has given the Acadian legends a certain cohesiveness. Unraveling these myths from historical fact, however, gives a more accurate version of the origin of the St. John Valley community, and, while this version may be less dramatic, it is no less interesting. It reveals an evolving community that was not a passive victim of British imperial policy but a people

aggressively pursuing their own destiny. It reveals a community anxious to preserve a culture where family, class, property ownership, and ethnicity were powerful agents in creating a strong sense of identity. Sifting through the Acadian perceptions of their own past and comparing these perceptions to the written historical record brings these diverse motivations into focus.

The first inaccuracy in the Acadian tradition concerns the inaccessibility of the Madawaska area. In the 1700s, Indians, French, and English each used the St. John River as the primary winter route between Halifax and Quebec. The strategic importance of the river was underscored in 1790 when the British established a garrison at Grand Falls to protect it from possible American attack.² It is difficult to believe that the Acadians considered the upper St. John inaccessible, for they had used this route themselves to escape from Nova Scotia to New France in 1755.

Secondly, there is little evidence of prejudice against the Acadians by the New Brunswick government. The New Brunswick surveyor-general accommodated the Acadians in 1787 by granting licenses of occupation at Madawaska to sixteen heads of families.³ Not only were Acadians granted land in Madawaska, but some Acadians and other French-speaking people were even given land titles in southern New Brunswick. Augustin White [sic], John [sic] Fournier, and sixty-three others received such titles in 1786.³ Some, like Oliver Thibodeau, moved from Ste. Anne to the Kennebecassis between 1783 and 1789.⁴

Moreover, the Loyalists do not seem to have forced the Acadians to migrate. The removal of the French to the upper St. John Valley took about ten years, a rather long process for a summary eviction. Although the Loyalists arrived in New Brunswick in 1783, the first French did not leave Ste. Anne until 1785. Nor did they all depart at once. The first land grant on the upper St. John (the Mazzerolle grant) was issued only in 1790 and included fifty-six lots, yet twenty-five of these



The rich alluvial soils of the upper St. John Valley provided the foundation for a stable agricultural society with a distinctive Acadian flavor. The origins of this community are shrouded in myth and romance. Pullen, *In Fair Aroostook* (1902).

remained unoccupied. In 1794, an additional fifteen families from New Brunswick and Lower Canada received deeds to land located outside the Mazzerolle tract.⁵

Indeed, the Acadians knew exactly what they wanted and displayed great tenacity in trying to reach their goals. Although the governor of Nova Scotia had in fact issued orders evicting the Acadians relocated at Ste. Anne in 1761 and 1763, he apparently was not obeyed, for some Acadians living in Ste. Anne in 1783 had been there for as long as twenty years.⁶ Persistent and determined to control their lives, Acadians spent their time petitioning, arguing, negotiating, and proposing alternatives.⁷ If the Acadians established in southern New Brunswick had been evicted by Loyalists, one would expect to find energetic protests in the records. However, no such evidence exists. The Provincial Archives contain only two petitions from dispossessed Acadians, both of whom won their cases. In addition, the

Acadians who left Ste. Anne clearly were allowed to sell their improvements.⁸ The record does not support the idea of a second expulsion.

Finally, not all of the early Madawaska residents were Acadians. One-third of the households in Madawaska before 1800 were headed by an Acadian *and* a Canadian spouse. In addition to those mixed households, one family in five that arrived in Madawaska before 1800 came directly from the lower St. Lawrence. The Canadian contribution to the formation of the St. John Valley settlement was significant.

These discrepancies between reality and tradition raise two questions. Why did Acadians and French Canadians move to the upper St. John Valley? And why and how did the expulsion tale enter the folk tradition? The origins of the Madawaska settlement provide an opportunity to study the process of migration and resettlement, as well as the creation of a myth. The myth is very much a consequence of the migration process itself.

Two distinct groups of French-speaking people moved to the St. John Valley: residents of southern New Brunswick townships, who were primarily, but not wholly Acadian; and French-Canadian *habitants* from the lower St. Lawrence. The southern New Brunswick migrants from two French villages of Ste. Anne and Hammond River included some French-Canadian families, whose children quickly married into the local Acadian families.⁹ The Ste. Anne population, according to a census taken in 1783, was divided among fifty-eight households, three of which were headed by Canadian parents, eight by Acadian and Canadian parents, and forty-seven by Acadians.¹⁰ Within the next ten years, all but one of the 1783 families had left Ste. Anne. The residents of the Hammond River village left as well, even though they too had been granted land locally. What, then, prompted them to move? And why did some choose Madawaska, rather than the various Acadian communities on the New Brunswick coast?

The decision to relocate to Madawaska must be viewed in the context of larger events affecting the lower St. John in the

late eighteenth century. In the 1760s and 1770s, this area was sparsely populated. White inhabitants included the French (who were squatters), New Englanders who lived at Maugerville on land granted by the British, and other Yankees who were also squatters.¹¹ In 1783 land in the lower St. John Valley suddenly came in great demand, as ten thousand Loyalists and disbanded soldiers converged on the river. New Brunswick was almost immediately separated from Nova Scotia, and its government bent to the task of providing old and new inhabitants alike with homesteads and land titles.¹² The process did not always run smoothly, for some among the newcomers preempted land occupied by earlier settlers, as a nineteenth-century reminiscence indicates:

All the loyalists were not honest and gentlemenlike, be it known to you, and had more knowledge and were abler dealers than some of the old inhabitants, for some of them visited Halifax and examined the records of the land office and whenever they found grants not taken out, or where settlers had gone without proper authorities, they applied for those lands, got grants and dispossessed many of the early settlers.¹³

Squatters — Yankees and Acadians alike — were vulnerable and knew it. Some of the Ste. Anne French, preferring the security of a clear title in a remote area to the uncertainty of waiting for title to the land they occupied, petitioned the government for land at Madawaska.¹⁴

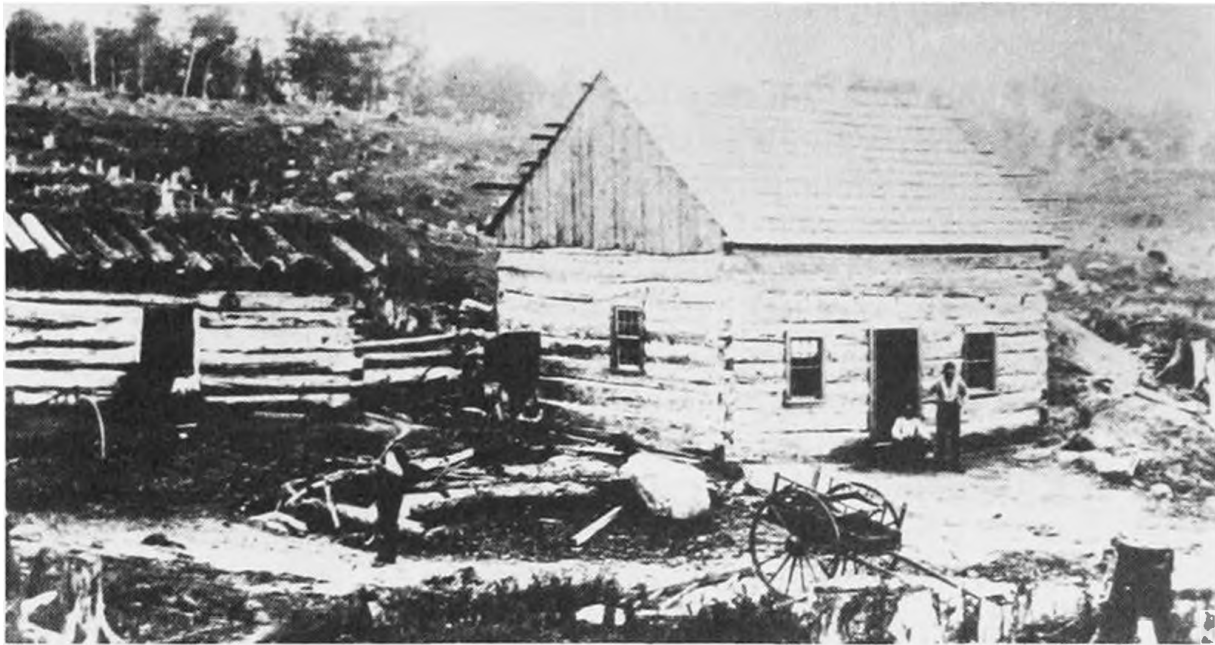
The petitions provide insights into Acadian motivations. Some petitioners expressed a desire to be near a priest.¹⁵ They were, of course, devout, but the lack of a priest had not bothered them noticeably in 1767, when they left the St. Lawrence parishes where they had been living in exile for the isolation of the lower St. John. Another petitioner objected to the “*dissipations*” surrounding him. Ste. Anne was inundated by disbanded soldiers, and possibly the newcomers were indeed too disorderly for the old residents.¹⁶

The most convincing argument, however, was the immigrants’ desire to establish land claims for their children. The



Acadian and Canadian settlers migrated to the upper St. John River to preserve and extend family ties. Available land for future generations was an important consideration in the resettlement. Courtesy Madawaska Historical Society.

New Brunswick Acadian families, which included a large number of adolescents, valued both land ownership and tightly knit kin networks. Providing their children with land was not sufficient; they wanted the children nearby as well.¹⁷ After 1783, when all the land on the lower St. John had been taken or granted away, the Acadians had to migrate in order to secure land for their children. Rather than see their families scattered, the parents preferred to give up their old holdings and start anew elsewhere. The Madawaska pioneers demonstrated this overriding concern for their children by establishing on the upper St. John. Moreover, as soon as they arrived they petitioned for land for the *single* young men aged sixteen and over. They also began marking empty lots to reserve them for their children.¹⁸ Even the physical layout of the new villages reflected family ties. Each new settlement was dominated by one family or group of interrelated families, such as J. B. Cormier and five of his children at the Grand Isle, or J. B. Thibodeau and fourteen of his descendants around the mouth of the Green River (a tributary of the St. John).¹⁹



The rhythms of daily life changed little in the tradition-bound upper St. John Valley. These turn-of-the-century buildings and implements show life as it would have been in the first half of the nineteenth century. Pullen, *In Fair Aroostook*.

Family considerations played a role in the choice of destinations as well. Only one-third of the Ste. Anne households went to Madawaska, but these households included all those with at least one Canadian head and half of the households with some Canadian relatives. These mixed families very likely chose the upper St. John rather than other parts of New Brunswick because it brought them closer to some of their kin.²⁰ Conversely, only one household in ten among those who had no ties whatsoever with Canada went to Madawaska. This pattern was not atypical. One study of the Acadian migrations from Ste. Anne to the New Brunswick coast in the early 1780s reached similar conclusions: migrants were seeking out relatives.²¹

Shortly after the New Brunswickers arrived in Madawaska, fourteen French-Canadian couples with their children and an unknown number of single men joined them. The Canadian newcomers — couples and bachelors — were not strangers. Ninety percent had relatives at Madawaska before they moved, and almost half had kin ties with Acadian families. By 1800,

eight of the Canadians had married at Madawaska. These marriages united the established families and the newcomers and reinforced the preexisting family ties. Thus on the eve of the nineteenth century, village and kin networks were coterminous; the new community was a mixed Canadian and Acadian population in which almost everyone was someone else's cousin, brother-in-law, or sister-in-law.

Additional arrivals from the lower St. Lawrence Valley reinforced the French-Canadian element in the community as the population of the old St. Lawrence parishes grew rapidly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Parishes like Kamouraska and Riviere Ouelle, on the eastern limit of the settlement, expanded into empty neighboring areas such as Rimouski or the Gaspee Peninsula. The upper St. John Valley, another neighboring region, attracted some of this flow.²² Between 1803 and 1820, one-third of the population increase in St. John Valley involved Canadian migrants.²³ Half of these had kin already in Madawaska before resettling there.²⁴ Those who had no relatives at Madawaska were much less likely to stay in the area. (Thirty-three percent persisted as opposed to ninety percent for those who had kin there.) The most persistent migrants, therefore, belonged to existing local family networks, and their arrival did not significantly intrude on existing kin networks and community.

After 1825, however, the Madawaska community lost its homogeneity. Lumber camps, which opened in the area in the winter of 1824, provided the local population with markets for their products and an opportunity for winter work.²⁵ Lumbering also attracted a large number of newcomers. Only 58 new couples had relocated at Madawaska between 1800 and 1825, whereas 83 arrived between 1825 and 1829.²⁶ Despite a temporary lull in the early 1830s caused by local crop failures, immigration continued. Between 1840 and 1845, for instance, 102 new couples appeared on the banks of the St. John. The newcomers, including a growing number of single people as well as couples, came from the same regions of lower Canada as their predecessors had, but they differed in one important respect.

Few were related to Madawaska residents prior to migration. Only one-third of the migrants who came in the 1840s belonged to the Madawaska kin networks. Yet these strangers, unlike those without kin who came before 1825, often relocated successfully. More than half of the nonrelated migrants who arrived after 1840 persisted in the St. John Valley. The post-1825 migrants were not only strangers, but were invasive as well.

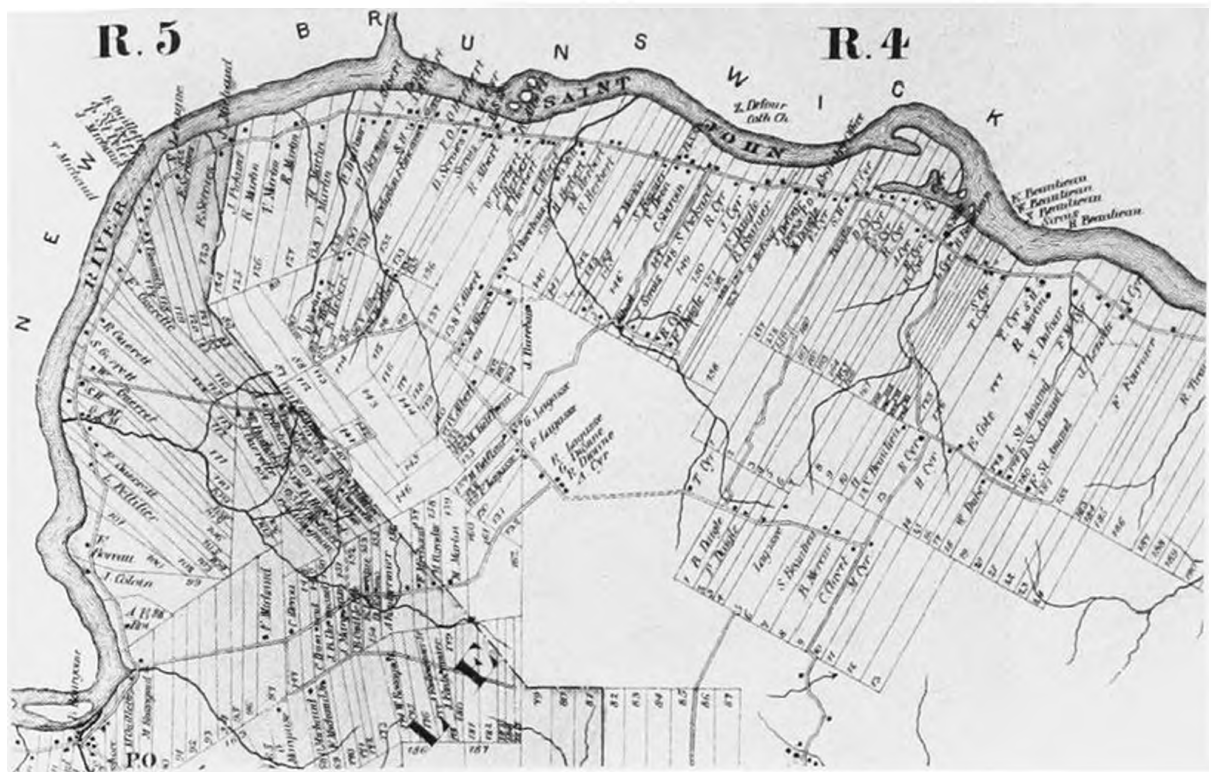
These persistent newcomers were not greeted with enthusiasm. Local priests were prejudiced against them and the local merchant did not extend them credit.²⁷ Sons and daughters of the old families avoided marrying the migrants. There were understandable reasons for this dissatisfaction. The migrants not only took jobs in the lumber camps, they took land to farm as well, land that the old residents most likely had mentally earmarked for their own offspring. By 1845 the best land, along the riverbanks, was filled, and second- and even third-tier lots were being opened behind the older farms.²⁸ Where would the children and grandchildren of the older residents find land to farm? Would they have to move away? Although the migrants had as much legal right to local land as the established population, the latter probably viewed the situation differently: the newcomers were trespassers.

The older residents could not expell them, but at least they could erect a social barrier between the core community and the migrants. The land shortage heightened the necessity for carefully chosen marriage partners, and this too widened the gap between the two groups. Landowning parents naturally wanted their sons- and daughters-in-law to come from similar backgrounds. If estate and portion matched, the family's social position was less likely to slip. As the landed families were already related to each other, this resulted in a high proportion of consanguinous marriages. By midcentury, half of the marriages involving descendants of founding families were marriages between cousins. Endogamy encouraged exclusiveness and prevented the newcomers from integrating into existing kinship networks, and the barrier stayed in place.²⁹

The old families' marriage strategies contributed to the economic stratification of the local society as well. In 1850 the descendants of the founding families were disproportionately represented among well-to-do landowners. Migrants, on the other hand, crowded the bottom of the economic ladder.³⁰ Migrants also were excluded from political power. Appointive positions on the New Brunswick side of the valley and elective offices on the United States side were held by a small group of individuals who numbered several founders among their ancestors.³¹

Consequently by 1850 the Madawaska settlement was quite different from what it had been a generation before. The homogeneous community, bound by kin ties, had been replaced by a stratified society. At the bottom were the recently arrived French Canadians. Numerous and poor, they were perceived as intruders and shunned socially. At the top of Madawaska society was a core of old families who counted the Acadians among their ancestors, who were more prosperous, and who were connected to each other by multiple ties of blood and marriage. Within this core, a smaller nucleus was acquiring a disproportionate amount of wealth and political power. This emerging social and economic elite was visibly connected to the Acadian founders of the Madawaska settlement.

This elite also developed its own version of the St. John Valley past. After the Webster-Ashburton Treaty was signed in 1842, dividing the area between the United States and Great Britain, the two British colonies of New Brunswick and Canada disputed claims to this territory. Some St. John Valley settlers petitioned New Brunswick authorities, protesting that the Canadian line was at variance with common sense, "claiming as it does in addition to the territory 6,900 inhabitants who have never lived under the laws of this province [Canada], and although some of them are French in their extraction, they are not Canadians, but Acadians" The petitions added that "few, if any of the inhabitants ... have at any time lived under the laws of Canada."³²



Colby, *Atlas of Arrostook County* (1871).

This was not simply a display of extremely short and selective memory among the petitioners. In their minds, the Acadians constituted the “true” Madawaska community. Although the names of the petitioners unfortunately have been lost, one can safely assume that they were among the local elite, few of whom indeed had lived under the laws of Canada and whose Canadian blood was well diluted with Acadian. Members of the local elite undoubtedly viewed themselves as the natural representatives of the larger group and felt that the “true” community included the old Acadian core families and their innumerable kin. Presumably, they perceived the newly arrived French Canadians as outsiders and irrelevant intruders.³³ The old residents and their relatives were a cohesive and powerful group, able to impose their notion of history upon the whole St. John Valley and to project this history to people outside the valley.



Analysis of the structure of St. John Valley society in the nineteenth century can provide a reasonable explanation why the Madawaska settlement has been described as an Acadian community in regional lore. Explaining the tale of the expulsion from Ste. Anne is more difficult. Here, hypothesis based on fact must give way to speculation. Three factors may have been responsible for the expulsion theme.

The first factor is the role the Americans played in the expulsion story. As early as the 1820s and 1830s American land agents described the Madawaska settlers as descendants of Acadians deported from Nova Scotia in 1755. This version followed St. John Valley tradition and depicted the Acadians resettling in southern New Brunswick, only to be expelled again by the Loyalists in 1785. They reportedly escaped to the upper St. John, which they considered United States territory, to put themselves under American protection and out of reach of British aggression. Subsequently, Canadians from the St. Lawrence, not willing to live under the government of their conquerors, joined the Acadians.¹¹



Edith Dube Gendreau, St. David, Maine, ca. 1915. Courtesy Madawaska Historical Society.

This version of Madawaska history furthered the American claim to the disputed territory. American diplomats argued that since British subjects (the Acadians) had considered the upper St. John part of the United States as early as 1785, all British claims to the contrary were displays of bad faith.

The position of the American officials also paved the way for a favorable public assessment of the Madawaska settlers, at least within the State of Maine. The American public could — and did — draw parallels between their own colonial struggle against Britain and the Acadian struggle against the same foe. This version of Madawaska history could be couched in terms of a persecuted people pursued by a heinous oppressor, to be rescued by American heroes. Such a plot was sure to touch a responsive chord during the Romantic Age.

Acadians in general had tremendous appeal for Romantic America, especially in contrast to French Canadians. Longfellow's *Evangeline* is only one expression of the widespread sympathy Americans displayed toward the Nova Scotia French,

who appeared gallant, heroic, and a brethren in suffering at the hands of the British. On the other hand, Americans were contemptuous of contemporary French Canadians, who were usually presented as backward, priest-ridden, and incorrigible.³⁵ Many American visitors to the St. John Valley accepted this stereotype and conveyed it to others outside the valley. Those who expected to find "Acadians" reacted positively to the society they encountered. Yet observers who identified the Madawaska settlers with the French of lower Canada reacted with only negative or even derogatory comments.³⁶ It is, of course, impossible to know whether the St. John Valley inhabitants were aware of these outsiders' attitudes, and, if they were, to what extent these opinions influenced their perceptions of themselves. Nonetheless, there is a possibility that external prejudices reinforced existing local perceptions by giving them an air of universality.

One can surmise at least that the heroic aspects of Acadian history, whether factual, like the deportation of 1755, or dubious, like the 1785 expulsion, appealed to the St. John Valley French as much as they did to other New Englanders. French-Canadian history, by contrast, was rather bland and eventless. Because the great majority of the St. John Valley residents were illiterate, the community transmitted its knowledge of the past orally to the next generation; expulsions and conflicts were far more likely to grip the audience than a simple quest for farmland.

The stories of expulsions and suffering also appealed to the French spiritual elite, but for another reason. These tales served as support for moral and religious teaching. The Catholic church claimed that the Acadians were a people of martyrs, diminutive versions of the saints. They had survived their tribulations because of their unflinching faith and fidelity to the church. Religious orders educated the local secular elite, and very likely drilled this version of the glory and sanctity of the ancestors into their charges.

The accuracy of these speculations cannot be determined. But they do suggest ways to understand why the local people,

who identified with the Acadian founders of Madawaska, could have perceived their history to be a tale of woes, gallantry, and ultimate success. Despite its partly mythical nature, Madawaska historic lore has been incorporated into textbook history, and even into some academic history. It is the history of the winning side; it emphasizes larger-than-life events and people, and it serves as a vehicle for moral lessons. But even as it reinforces unity among the self-defined community, it excludes the Madawaskan settlers who stood on the outside.

NOTES

¹Thomas Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec: Imprimerie Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1921). The numerous centennial brochures published in the past twenty-five years also basically tell the same story. For accounts that challenge various aspects of the legend, see W. S. MacNutt, *New Brunswick: A History, 1784-1867* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1963), pp. 79-82; Mason Wade, "The Loyalists and the Acadians," in Edward Schriver, ed., *The French in New England, Acadia and Quebec* (Orono, Maine: University of Maine Press, 1973), pp. 7-22; Charlotte Lenentine, *Madawaska: A Chapter in Maine-New Brunswick Relations* (Madawaska, Maine: St. John Valley Publishing Company, 1975).

²W. F. Ganong, "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," Royal Society of Canada, *Proceedings and Transactions*, 2d ser., 5 (1899): 66.

³*Ibid.*, pp. 332-34; Land Grant and Application Book, petition read March 11, 1785, Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (hereinafter, PANB).

⁴Land Grant and Application Book, petition to Governor Carleton from Olivier Thibodeau, Joseph Theriault, and François Violette, December 12, 1789, PANB; "Sunbury County Documents," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 1 (1893-1894): pp. 89-118.

⁵Land Grant and Application Book, J. Odell to the surveyor general, July 14, 1787, PANB; map of the Mazzerolle grant, 1790, and map of the Soucy grant, 1794, Crown Land Office, Province of New Brunswick (hereinafter PNB).

⁶W. O. Raymond, "Brigadier General Monkton's Expedition to the River St. John in September 1758, and a Story of Old Fort Frederic," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 3 (1907): 113-66; "Sunbury County Documents," pp. 89-118; Ganong, "Historic Sites," p. 270; Emile Lauvrière, *La tragédie d'un peuple: histoire du peuple acadien de ses origines à nos jours*, vol. 2, 2d ed. (Paris: Brossard, 1922), p. 327; James Hannay, ed., "The Maugerville Settlement, 1763-1824," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 1 (1893-1894): 64.

FRENCH MIGRATIONS TO NORTHERN MAINE

⁷N.E.S. Griffiths, "Petition of the Acadian Exiles, 1755-1785: A Neglected Source," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 11 (Mai/May 1978): 122; *The Acadians: Creation of a People* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, Ltd., 1973), p. 65.

⁸Land Grant and Application Book, petitions dated February 2, 1786, and June 21, 1785, PANB; Governor Carleton to Prudent Mercure, September 25, 1789, Public Archives of Canada.

⁹One can derive a list of settlers in the St. John Valley from the register of the local parish of St. Basile (erected 1792). Those individuals' ancestry can then be traced using existing genealogical compilations, mainly, Henry Langlois, *Dictionnaire généalogique du Madawaska: répertoire des mariages du diocèse d'Edmunstun, N.B. et du comté d'Aroostook* (St. Basile, New Brunswick: Ernest Lang, 1971).

¹⁰"Sunbury County Documents," pp. 89-118.

¹¹J. Hannay, "Maugerville Settlement," p. 84.

¹²J. Hannay, *History of New Brunswick* (St. John, New Brunswick: John A. Bowes, 1902), p. 197.

¹³"Maugerville Settlement," p. 84.

¹⁴Land Grant and Application Book, petition dated February 2, 1785, PANB.

¹⁵*Ibid.*, November 27, 1783, December 24, 1789.

¹⁶*Ibid.*, February 2, 1785.

¹⁷*Ibid.*, February 2, 1789.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, September 15, 1786; W. O. Raymond, ed., "State of the Madawaska and Aroostook Settlements in 1831: Reports of John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh to Samuel E. Smith, Governor of the State of Maine," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections* 9 (1914): 454.

¹⁹Maps of the Mazzerolle and Soucy grants.

²⁰For greater details, see B. Craig, "Family, Kinship, and Community Formation on the Canadian-American Border: Madawaska, 1785-1842," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine at Orono, 1983.

²¹Regis Sigefroy Brun, "Histoire socio-démographique du sud ouest du Nouveau Brunswick: migrations acadiennes et seigneuries anglaises, 1790-1810," *Société Historique Acadienne, Cahiers* 3 (Jan/Mars 1969): 58-88.

²²*Censuses of Canada, 1665-1871 — Recensements du Canada: Statistics of Canada — Statistiques du Canada*, vol. 4 (Ottawa: L. B. Taylor, 1876): 64-80.

²³Calculated from data derived from the parish register and from the following censuses: Lettres des pretres missionnaires du Madawaska à l'éveque de Québec, 1803 parish census, Archives de l'Archevêché de Québec; photographic reproduction of a copy of an 1820 census of the Madawaska district made for the King of the Netherlands, arbitrator of the boundary dispute, Papers Mercure.

²⁴This information can be derived from existing genealogies.

²⁵Lettres des pretres missionnaires, March 27, 1824.

²⁶New couples can be identified through parish register lists of infants born of parents who were neither married locally nor listed as having a child baptized locally. As babies were born on the average every twenty-two months, the year preceding the baptism of the first locally born infant is taken as a substitute for the year of arrival.

²⁷Lettres des pretres missionnaires, May 25, 1825, April 2, 1829, November 26, 1810; ledger of the Dufour general store, 1844-1848, Madawaska Historical Society.

²⁸Maps of the Madawaska Survey conducted by Land Commissioners J. A. MacLaughlin and John C. Allen to settle the claims arising under the Treaty of Washington, 1844-1848, Crown Land Office, PNB; "Report of the Commissioners Appointed under the Resolve of February 21, 1843 to Locate Grants and Determine the Extent of Possessory Claims under the Late Treaty with Great Britain," *Maine Public Documents*, 1845.

²⁹See Craig, "Family, Kinship and Community Formation," pp. 130-58.

³⁰U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Seventh Census of the United States, 1850*, "Aroostook County, Hancock, Madawaska, and Van Buren Plantations"; *1851 Census of the Province*, "Victoria County, Parishes of St. Francis, Madawaska, St. Basile, St. Leonard," PNB.

³¹Albert, *Histoire du Madawaska*, Appendix.

³²*Journal of the House of Assembly*, 1845, p. lxxiv, PNB.

³³*Ibid.*, 1840, pp. 159-60.

³⁴Charles S. Daveis, *Report of C. C. Daveis, esq., Agent Appointed by the Executive of the State of Maine* (Portland, Maine: State Legislature, 1828), p. 141; Deane and Kavanagh, "Report," p. 453.

³⁵James Doyle, *North American Images of Canada in the Literature of the United States, 1775-1900* (Toronto: ECW Press, 1983), pp. 21-31, 40-46.

³⁶"Report of the Commissioners Appointed under Resolves of February 21, 1843"; *Report of the Commissioners on the Settlement of Public Land of Maine* (Augusta, Maine: Sprague, Owen and Nash, 1870), pp. 7, 72; Charles Hallock, "Aroostook and the Madawaska," *Harpers Monthly Magazine* 27 (1863): 688-98; Edward H. Ellwell, *Aroostook ... with Some Account of the Excursion Thither of the Editors of Maine in the Years 1858 and 1878* (Portland, Maine: Transcript Printing Company, 1878).

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