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(1954)

**The Acadians of Portsmouth:
A Study in Culture Change**

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Marc-Adélard Tremblay (1922 -)

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THE ACADIANS OF PORTSMOUTH:
A STUDY IN CULTURE CHANGE

A THESIS
PRESENTED TO THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF
CORNELL UNIVERSITY
FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

by
MARC-ADÉLARD TREMBLAY
September 1954

BIOGRAPHY

Marc-Adélard Tremblay was born on April 24, 1922 at Les Éboulements Village, Charlevoix County, Quebec Province, Canada.

In 1936, he began the “*cours classique*” and received his Bachelor of Arts degree (Cum Laude) from Montreal University (Collège Sainte-Marie) in 1944.

In the fall of that year he enrolled at Oka Agricultural Institute (Affiliated to Montreal University and received his License in Agricultural Sciences in the spring of 1948.

Upon receiving a post-graduate fellowship (which he held during five years) from Quebec Agricultural Research Council, he enrolled for La Faculté de Sciences Sociales of Laval University and received the degree of Master of Arts (in Sociology) in June 1950.

In September 1950, he became a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the Cornell University in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology.

Since July 1953, he has been Director of the Social Science Unit for the Stirling County Project of that Department.

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PART I – THE BACKGROUND

Chapter 1: Introduction

1. Definition of the Problem

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This thesis will concern itself with a description and analysis of the degree of acculturation of individuals of Acadian ancestry living in Portsmouth¹. Portsmouth is a bi-cultural community located at the border of Saint-Malo and Bristol Municipalities in Stirling County, Nova Scotia. Saint-Malo is settled by Acadian Catholics, while Bristol is inhabited principally by English Protestants.

The dissertation attempts to answer the following questions:

(A) What is the direction of acculturation in a community where the Acadian Catholics and the Anglo-Protestants are present in approximatively the same numerical proportions?

Conceivably, in a mixed community, acculturation can operate in one of three ways. The Acadians may accept elements of the Anglo-Protestant culture. The Anglo-Protestants may adopt Acadian cultural characteristics. Or there may be a mutual interchanges, with each cultural group yielding some of its constituents to the formation of a new composite culture different from either original.

Despite the fact that there are important effects on the English Protestants, as exemplified by the unwillingness of a Portsmouth Protestant group to build a new church because of the perceived imminence of Acadian invasion, the acculturation process is unfolding mainly in one direction. The Anglo-Protestant society is dominant, and their values pervade the lives of Acadian inhabitants in a great

¹ Communities and people have been given code names.

majority of social situations. As a result, the Acadian culture is altered in some of its major constitutive elements, with concurrent changes in the traditional Acadian patterns of sentiment.

(B) What is the nature of the acculturation process affecting Acadian Portsmouthites? In order to answer that question, it is necessary to examine patterns of sentiment¹ for Saint-Malo as well as Portsmouth Acadians: the comparison will enable us to determine the extent to which Portsmouth Acadians are departing from their traditional culture. We shall analyze socio-historical events which have influenced the sentiment patterns in Saint-Malo: geographical isolation, the growth of educational institutions, the role of an Acadian University in leadership and revival of Acadian culture. A community of Saint-Malo, L'Anse des Lavallée, will be described briefly and will be used as a basis for comparing relatively unacculturated and acculturated Acadians.

(C) In a bi-cultural community what are the factors which account for the basic shifts in value-orientations attitudes and behavior of Portsmouth Acadians? The nature of a mixed socio-cultural environment is analyzed by examining such social phenomena as class systems, the leadership patterns, the organizations, the ideologies, the channels for communication ; in brief, all the various institutions and agencies which intensify Acadian-English contacts and promote acculturation. The emphasis is clearly on demonstrating the complex heterogeneity of the bi-cultural milieu; what this heterogeneity means in terms of social organization leadership stability, Acadian participation in voluntary associations, group identification, and solidarity; the channels through which Portsmouth Acadians relate themselves to the Acadians of Saint-Malo and the rest of the province; the effectiveness of the Catholic Church as an agency for social control.

(D) How does the acculturation process operate for Acadians living in Portsmouth? What are the new cultural elements (English language, out-group mate selections, departure from organized religious activities, weakening of family traditions) affecting the Acadian group? Is there any general order in which those alien values are adopted? What are the factors promoting and limiting acculturational influences in a mixed community? Is the resistance to replacing traditional cultural elements an individual phenomenon or is there organized opposition? What is the significance of intermarriage for the acculturation process of the Acadians?

(E) What are the patterns of inter-ethnic and inter-denominational relations in a mixed milieu? What are their implications for community organization as well as for efficiency of these institutions in achieving the purpose for which they are established? To what extent does a mixed institution, like the Portsmouth public

¹ See following chapter for definition of sentiments.

school, reflect inter-ethnic and inter-denominational, struggles? What are the main issues at stake?

(F) Can we measure by quantitative methods, the acculturation position of the Portsmouth Acadians? If we can, what is the instrument used, how was it built and how effective is it in distinguishing between various acculturational levels?

These are some of the most crucial questions examined in this dissertation, they do not exhaust the field of questions which could have been raised in a study of this nature, nor do they cover thoroughly the limited aspect of acculturation which I have chosen as the scope of this inquiry.

It would seem pertinent to mention some of the aspects of acculturation which have been omitted from this work. There has been no systematic attempt at finding a "causal sequence" in the chain of interrelated events which lead to the advancement in acculturation positions each one reinforcing the other. I have not tried to determine "what causes what, under what circumstance?" This would have required, on the one hand, the building of a scheme by which the dependent variable of acculturation could be related to a series of independent variables; and the gathering of life stories of acculturated individuals, on the other, for locating this chain of interwoven events in its proper time perspective. The magnitude of the task as it stood in addition to the complexities inherent in establishing that scheme prevented me from pursuing such an ambitious goal. Thus, I have narrowed and confined the problem, hoping to gain in clarity what is lost in this selective process.

The psychological adjustment of acculturated individuals is another item in the acculturation field which has not been included within the scope of this inquiry. Despite the fact that this piece of research was conducted within the framework of a larger study which concerns itself with examining the meaningful relationships between social environment and mental illness, the problem of the psychological adaptation of the acculturated was considered to be of a clinical nature. It was therefore omitted from this analysis.

Another limitation is the emphasis which has been given to the Acadian Catholics as compared to the Protestants. The negligible impact of the Acadians on the Anglo-Protestant culture, in addition to the French background of the writer, led me to focus my attention, both in the field and in this report, upon the Acadians more than the English. However, efforts have been made to give an accurate and objective picture of the problem faced by both groups. As a matter of facts, I deal with the English inasmuch as it is necessary for an understanding of the processes of acculturation of Portsmouth Acadians.

2. The Main Findings

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The mixed community:

- (a) The Acadian Portsmouthites hold a minority group status in relation both to the English Protestants of Portsmouth and to the Acadians of Saint-Malo.
- (b) French and English class systems are built around ethnic and religious loyalties. The Irish are marginal because they have their ethnic loyalties with the English and their religious loyalties with the Acadians. To rise in the scale of social prestige they have to divorce themselves from either one or the other group.
- (c) The English Protestants dominate most of the community organizations.
- (d) Segregation of Acadian Catholics and English Protestants is a function of class: the lower in the social scale the freer the interaction between the two groups; the higher, the larger the breach between them.
- (e) The Catholic pastor in a bi-cultural community cannot directly promote Acadian nationalism because of the restrictions which are imposed upon him by the structure and the beliefs of the Church.
- (f) The most important factor in Acadian-English disputes is that of religious differences. Much of the inter-group friction is located at the school level, a symbol of power and a place where both groups have vital interests at stake.
- (g) The most important factor counterbalancing, the influence of acculturation is Acadian leadership. Its efficiency is reduced because of the presence of two Acadian factions having different orientations.
- (h) The Acadian group has been gaining strength in the last decade, especially in the areas of economic activities and politics.

About acculturation process and position:

- (a) It is not the individual that acculturates but the family as a unit. Individuals of the same acculturation levels marry each other.
- (b) Intermarriage is an index of social propinquity between two groups and the frequency of their interaction.
- (c) In the intermarriage situation, the majority of conversions are nominal.

- (d) Acadian-English contacts take place mainly at the neighborhood level, on the job and in leisure activities, in this order of frequency.
- (e) Faith is the preserver of the tongue and the tongue is the preserver of the Faith in the acculturation situation.
- (f) Catholicism is one of the very last elements of Acadian culture to be dropped.
- (g) Males are more acculturated than females; the young, more than the old; low socio-economic status is associated with a high degree of acculturation; place of birth is related to acculturation in this fashion: those born in the ecological area occupy a higher acculturation position than those born in the Saint-Malo Municipality.

3. Portsmouth and the County

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Stirling is a rural county in southwestern Nova Scotia. It has a population of approximately 20 000 people, half-speaking French-Acadian and half-speaking English. The population is about equally divided between the French municipality of Saint-Malo and the English municipality of Bristol. Each constitutes a distinct administrative unit.

The county was settled in the late seventeen sixties and seventies by (a) Acadians who returned to Nova Scotia after the expulsion, (b) Acadians who were kept prisoners in Halifax or who had been hiding in the woods and (c) American Loyalists who remained loyal to the British Crown after the American Revolution.

The economy of the county is based mainly on fishing lumbering, farming and associated industries. Geographically, the county has three distinctive units: the Shore, Inland and Backwoods.

There are over ninety communities in the whole county (see Map of the County on the following page¹). Some of them are mere crossroads settlements some others are, rural communities with their own church and school, and still others we semi-urban centers with all utilities generally found in small towns.

The population is mainly concentrated along the shore of St. Elizabeth's Bay, with semi-urban centers at Bristol and Portsmouth in Bristol Municipality and

¹ [Not available. MB]

Maltapan in Saint-Malo. The only town in the backwoods is Deer River in the English Municipality.

Portsmouth was picked to be the focus of our study because it offered unique opportunities for a study of inter-group relations and culture change. Unlike the Acadians in Bristol Municipality, Acadian Portsmouthites have their own leadership and have closer relationships with people of Saint-Malo. Furthermore, the leaders from the French Shore want to re-orient the Acadians of the English Municipality, many of whom have already been assimilated by the English. These leaders have selected Portsmouth village as the location of their initial attempt to test the feasibility of increasing the participation of its inhabitants in Acadian affairs with the ultimate purpose of re-integrating them in the larger Saint-Malo. The results of such a colossal task are not expected to be and are not immediately visible, by the author, but he hopes to understand at least the mechanism by which it operates, and, on that basis, predict, its success.

4. Acculturation and Social Disorganization

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Acculturation (equated as marginality here ¹) in one of the socio-cultural variables of the Stirling County Project in Social Psychiatry directed by Alexander H. Leighton, thought to be significantly associated with and important in the genesis and development of mental illness.

The central aim of the study is to discover meaningful relations between the distribution of mental illness and the presence of fourteen social variables.

Communities are social wholes. A factor which directly influences the degree of social cohesiveness of community members and allows for the achievement of harmonious relationships among themselves is the nature of the values held by its members *qua* their cultural orientation. If members of the same ethnic group hold common and similar values regarding group expectancy, community aims and goals will be perceived in the same fashion and coordinated action is likely to follow. Therefore, it is the commonality and the sharing of cultural values (as exemplified in Saint-Malo) that provide ground for more cohesive organization and greater achievement. Thus an acculturated community is one in which there are two (or more) independent sets of ethnic and cultural values, or a composite set of standard stemming from both cultural systems. The merged communities of the economically depressed areas in Stirling County have cultural characteristics

¹ By marginality we mean – confusion of cultural values, hardships of learning new ways of life and confusion in ethnic identification and participation.

different from any of the other communities of “pure” English or relatively “pure” French Acadian cultures. The members of these sub-cultural pockets are cultural hybrids of various kinds who have not yet found organization of their own. They live at the periphery of both cultures without fully accepting or gaining acceptance in either of them.

It is feasible to conceive of Stirling County as having, more or less, two relatively “pure” cultural types of communities and marginal types of communities. The latter are communities in which there are acculturated Acadians, the majority of whom are quite advanced in their acculturation process. Keeping this in mind, four types of communities can be derived.

1. Saint-Malo communities like Lavallée

2. English communities of the Stirling Islands

3. Bi-cultural communities like Portsmouth

4. Merged communities like the Bog

Community types diagrammed immediately above give an idea of the range of the cultural (value-orientations) setting in which individuals of Acadian descent are living. These, of course, represent ideal types and only approximate reality. There is in Stirling County not a single community where all individuals can be characterized as *marginals*. The merged community type is a useful category inasmuch as it characterizes communities resembling it. At any rate, communities in which the majority of individuals are located at the bottom tip of the V-shaped diagram would give the maximal degree of social disorganization we could possibly find *qua* cultural-value-orientation of its members.

Disorganization, in such communities, is generated by (a) the cultural marginality of its members, (b) factionalism and inter- and intra-group hostility, (c) lack of definition or perception of community goals, and (d) poor communication and cooperation.

Thus, to make clear how acculturation and marginality are related to social disorganization, the degree to which community members hold in common certain well-defined goals tells us about the extent which they will organize themselves to achieve them. Achievement of goals presupposes their definitions, their perception and the channels for implementing them. A lack of definition or confusion in perception is likely to promote a state of social disorganization, as would lack of appropriate channels.

PART I – THE BACKGROUND

Chapter 2: Patterns of Acadian Sentiments

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This section shall be used as a frame of reference and as a baseline for the description, analysis and interpretation of the acculturative changes taking place among Acadian Portsmouthites. This is to say that before describing the setting in which the Acadian immigrants live (the mixed community of Portsmouth) and the conditions which promote as well as limit the process of acculturation, it is essential to define what it means to be a member of the Acadian society in 1951.

There are three approaches by which this baseline study could be made: (a) a study of the Acadian cultures, (b) a study of the social organization of the Acadians and (c) a study of their patterns of sentiments.

The Acadian society could be characterized by a description and an analysis of their “historically derived system of explicit and implicit designs for living”¹ shared by all designated members of the Acadian group and making them the carriers of a way of life distinct and distinguishable from representatives of any other ethnic group. This would include technology, values, customs, traditions, social organizations, in brief, all the material and non-material items, shared by a group and which constitute its peculiar way of living.

The Acadian culture is a blend of certain elements of French-Canadian culture and Anglo-Saxon culture and of certain elements which were indigenous to the group of European peasants who migrated to the French Province of Acadia in the seventeenth century, some of which have been transmitted and preserved up to the present time.

¹ Kluckhohn, Clyde and Kelly, Williams: “The Concept of Culture” in *The Science of Man in a World Crisis*, Ralph Linton (Ed.), Columbia University Press, N. Y., 1945, p. 98.

Any attempt to describe what the Acadian culture of the southwestern Nova Scotians is, would require, on the one hand, extensive reading of historical documents which report on these three groups and on the other, a complex analysis of the ways in which these groups have contributed to the particular cultural configuration of the present day Acadians. This analysis, by itself, could have been the topic of a thesis and because of the magnitude of the task it could not be included here.

We could also use a social organizational approach. That is, we could describe all the institutions of the Acadian group (the church, the school, the family, the canton organization, the associational life, etc ...) the history of their development, their functions in Acadian society and point to the particular ways in which they differ from other groups with the same institutions.

This approach, however, had the disadvantage of emphasizing the social aspect of Acadian culture and not the individual participant. Yet in the culture-contact situation, it is the individual who is in the process of change. Individual and society need, rather, to be tied together. The concept of sentiment, which is taken from Leighton, emphasizes psychological processes. It conceives of culture, social organization and the individual's relation to culture and position in his group as points of departure; it is a bridge between social and individual phenomena. It is therefore very well suited for the purpose of establishing a baseline against which the acculturating Acadians of Portsmouth can later be compared.

Leighton (following William MacDougal and Adolf Meyer) defines sentiments as "ideas or action tendencies charged with emotions and persistent like habits — they are partially cognitive, partially affective and partially conative¹". A sentiment is thus a way of perceiving social situations in terms of a group's history, its social structure and its general orientation. It is a way of preserving these perceptions by persistent emotional reactions in order to achieve the perpetuation of the selective mechanism by which the sentiments are kept alive and operative. These are individual perceptions, but when they come to be shared by a whole group, they are group sentiments or cultural sentiments. There is also the fact that these group sentiments, when taken singly or in small clusters, might be shared by other cultural groups and for that reason only the entire configuration can be conceived as typically Acadian. In other words, none of these sentiments, taken alone, is necessarily unique to the Acadians, but taken in the Acadian patterns, they have a consistency which is uniquely Acadian. Furthermore, a cultural sentiment, or value-orientation,² may not be shared by all. Saint-Malo

¹ Leighton, Alexander H. *The Governing of Men*, p. 383.

² Value-orientation of the Acadian group will sometimes be used in the text as a synonym of sentiments. Kluckhohn defined value-orientation as "a generalized and organized conception, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and non desirable, as man relates to man-environment and inter-human relations... is equally applicable to individuals and groups... to a greater or lesser extent, such patterns are

Acadians and among those who do share it, it is in varying degrees. If we were to interview a cross-section of the Saint-Malo population about these sentiments, we would find that some particular societal segments would adhere more strongly to some of these characteristically Acadian sentiments than some others and for a multitude of reasons such as differences in socio-economic status, in educational levels, in experiences with other similar groups (the French-speaking Canadians of Quebec), etc.

The sentiments of any group (whether cultural, sub-cultural or familial) are organized as system, called by Leighton a “system of belief”¹.

This system orients the members of a particular group towards acting in a coherent, predictable way according to the explicit set of group expectations. It is the commonality of the understanding and the sharing of these sentiments which make possible the selection of consistent forms of behavior, the overcoming of the vicissitudes of life and the group fulfillment of the functions essential to its survival and expansion.

A number of sentiments which I heard time and again during my field trips among the Acadians will be discussed below. I will make these explicit by expounding the perceptions, thought patterns and rationalizations by which they are typically reinforced.

Although no systematic attempt is made here to say which of these sentiments are more important, nor to measure their range, their intensity their frequency of expression or their persistence,² our studies in Saint-Malo point to the fact that these differences in emphasis exist.

thought to pervade the totality of a personality or the totality of a culture and, by their unique combination, to give personality or culture some degree of coherence, imbue it with distinctive character and outlook and make the individuals unique or make the carriers of a culture distinguishable from the representatives of other groups.” See Kluckhohn and others, “Values and Value-orientation in the Theory of Action,” in Parsons and Shils (Ed.). *Toward a General Theory of Action*, 1951, pp. 411-412.

¹ Leighton in his 1945 work uses sentiments interchangeably with systems of beliefs which he formally defines as “those sentiments which are socially shared and relatively resistant to change, but including, interconnected with and shading into a wide variety of other sentiments, complex and simple.” *Op. cit.* p. 386.

² These are taken from Opler's papers on themes. See Opler, Morris Edward, “Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture.” *The American Journal of Sociology*. Vol. II, n° 3, November 1945, pp. 198-206. In his paper, Opler defines a theme as “a postulate or position, declared or implied, and usually controlling behavior or stimulating activity, which is tacitly approved or openly promoted in a society.” This concept of theme has strong resemblance to sentiment and value-orientation.

Sentiment 1: *“We are a martyred people who suffered injustice at the hands of the English conquerors.”*

We are a martyred people; we suffered defeat at the hands of the English. The English mistreated our ancestors and this mistreatment, which was unjust, cannot be forgotten nor forgiven. We were expelled¹ by the English because they wanted to take over our land which was the best in the whole province. The particular manner in which we were expelled was inhuman – they separated our families – they wanted to make sure that we would never come back. Just a handful of our ancestors fled the English and were not expelled. When some of our ancestors survived the expulsion and came back to Nova Scotia they found that their farm had been taken over by the English. We had to migrate, we had to leave our *patrimoine* and move to the South which did not tempt any settler because of the poverty of the land. This is where we have lived for two centuries now. This is where we have fought on uneven ground for our right to live, our right to keep our faith, to keep our tongue, our family traditions, our right to have our French schools. We were just a few, those of us who fought, but we fought just the same. The politicians in Halifax did not even know we were here for a long time! The rest of Canada ignored us too. We had to fight alone, with the little instruction we had, with the little money. That was the consequence of the injustice of the English. They dispossessed us and now with our cultural heritage, we have to regain our prosperity of the pre-expulsion days. We cannot forget what we have suffered and these sufferings have always kept us behind. Can we now live side by side with the descendants of those who tried to destroy us? Can we forgive them? No, we cannot. The remembering of those sufferings has been our leitmotiv, our way of knowing that we were unique people, a martyred people, whose immolation has become the symbol of their vitality.

Sentiment 2: *“We feel we are inferior people because we were so often told we were inferior; in many ways we are “superior people.”*

People have so often told us that we are rustic in our manners, that we do not have much education, that we do not put enough emphasis on the material things by which people are judged, so that we have come to believe that we are inferior. We feel inferior in the presence of strangers because we carry this stigma from our ancestors. They were told that they were a bunch of peasants. They were told that they did not contribute anything to humanity in the same sense as the Americans who build and invent. We have never learned to speak the French spoken in Paris and we do not speak as well as the Canadians do. We have learned to speak the

¹ For a historical account of the expulsion of the Acadians in 1755, the reader is referred to three different versions one of which is biased in favor of the English, one neutral (Brebner, John Bartlett, *New England's Outpost-Acadia before the Conquest of Canada*, Columbia University Press, New-York, 1927), and one which is biased in favor of the Acadians. It does not contain however, distortion of facts as was the case for Parkman. (Richard, Édouard, *Acadie: reconstruction d'un chapitre perdu de l'Amérique*, 1916).

French we were taught at home. It is not written in any book but it is our language, it is our own, and we love it. We learned it from our mother's mouth and we do not see the use of changing it. But in reality we are not inferior and we can prove it in many ways. The French group is the strongest in Canada. We, the Acadians, have achieved what historians have labelled us "a miracle." the miracle of survival. No people has a more glorious and beautiful history. Our strength is our tradition, our religion, our survival, and our moral caliber. We are strong because we are extremely gifted, not only in intelligence, but in moral force and courage. We are superior to the English because we are able to speak their language. They know that they cannot learn ours, it is too difficult. We send our sons to French Canadian institutions or to English institutions of the Province and they are the most successful in their classes. There is something extraordinary about us. Because we have suffered a lot, we have developed a great moral strength. That is why we are strong as a people.

Sentiment 3: *"Our history has taught us that we cannot trust either the natural or the human environment."*

We have learned many lessons from our history. We have learned these lessons at the cost of great suffering and vicissitudes. Strangers say that we are suspicious, that we do not trust anybody. They do not know the difference between being suspicious and being cautious. We, the Acadians have to be cautious; that is the very basis of our relationships both with the natural and with the human environment. It is true that we are reluctant to start businesses and large enterprises. We do not want to take financial risks. We have been raised to save everything we have, everything we earn. We have been taught that it is only by hard work and by saving that we can achieve any kind of economic security. We have to work hard in our rough environment. The soil is not good. The fishing grounds are not as good as they used to be. The lumber resources are nearing exhaustion. We are left with but little. We have to know many trades, in case we might need them. We have to be versatile, to work for wages when it is possible, to cultivate our farms to feed the families, and to cut some timber to pay our debts. But we have to be very cautious and prepare for any eventuality. If there were an economic crash again, we would have to be ready to carry on. We do not depend on the government; we would resent being helped by the government. We can earn our own living and it is one of our proud achievements that during last depression, the government did not spend any money here. We were self-sufficient.

We have also learned great lessons in the history of our interaction with others. We have learned that we can't trust the word of the government. We have learned that we can't trust strangers: they are always up to something, and we regret to admit that we cannot even trust our Acadian neighbor. However we like people, we like to help others and be friendly and hospitable; everybody is welcome "*au logis*" and we never lock our door in case some needy person might come. We like to make gifts. It comes from our hearts. When we slaughter a pig or a cow, we set

aside a piece of meat for our neighbor, his piece by tradition, and it is our way of expressing our friendship.

Sentiment 4: *“We are a large family and we are all the same.”*

We are like a big family and I will tell you why. We live within a relatively small geographical district. It is called “The French Shore.” We call it “*la Baie Française*” and it is the cradle of the Acadian “*renaissance*.” The houses are built close to each other and we know almost everybody who lives here because we have associated directly with them or their relatives (and therefore have heard about them) at one time or another in our lives. We have very many things in common. We have the same history which is our source of strength, we are all of the same ethnic background, we all speak the same language, we marry within our own family groups, we were raised in the Catholic faith at our mother's knee, we have been taught the same religion and moral principles. We have been taught to respect our priests and our parents, we have lived through the same period of rapid changes, we all have experienced life in the woods or on the farm, or on the sea; we are like a large family living under the same roof. We all have the same level of living, and we do not think that it is good to have too much money. Those who got ahead of us and are financially successful are not to be trusted. They must have exploited us to be wealthy. The doctors make good salaries too, but they have had a costly education and they work very hard. We cannot respect those of us who have fallen by the wayside and left the Church. It is a mistake which cannot be forgiven. We cannot consider them as members of the groups: they are on the black list. A real Acadian is a man of faith and courage, he is a man with good morals. If we want to be strong we have to stick together and maintain a united front by remaining what we are: people who were born to strive.

Sentiment 5: *“He who loses his language loses his faith; he who loses his faith loses his language.”*

People do not understand why our language and our faith are our most cherished heritage and why they are the symbols of our truly Acadian traditions. It is providential, but these two elements are inseparable: the language is the preserver of the faith and the faith is the preserver of the language. We have been raised in the Catholic Church and the language we speak is essential to our Catholicism. As a matter of fact, it is so essential that he who loses his language loses his faith and *vice versa*. You see, the Acadian who speaks French is interested in Acadian things, and our Catholic Faith is one of the most fundamental elements in our lives. Therefore, we maintain that as long as we speak French we will remain Acadian, we will remain Catholics. We can use the English language in our own business dealings, for writing purposes, but when it comes to religious ceremonies they have to be in French. If we had to pray in English we would feel like Protestants.

Sentiment 6: *“One of the ways of dealing with the world around us is to maintain a strong unified group. This can be done by having strong Acadian organizations.”*

It is very important for us Acadians that we maintain a strong and unified group. There are so few of us that we have to work together. Furthermore, we need the help of other French speaking groups of Canada: we need Quebec and we need New Brunswick. There are so many influences coming from the outside in movies, newspapers, radio broadcasts that it would be impossible to counterbalance their impact except by establishing strong organizations. We want to promote more organizations among ourselves, we want to study our economic problems and see how they can be solved, we want to maintain our traditions and survive. We want to promote the teaching of more French in our public schools, we want teachers who are well trained in the French language, we want to send our young Acadians to study in Quebec. In other words, our survival as a group depends on the strength of our organizations.

Sentiment 7: *“We need our own Acadian Bishop”*

We need our own bishop here in Saint-Malo. The priests have done a lot to keep us Acadians. But they could have done more if they had had leadership from higher up. We belong to an Irish diocese and the Irish bishop is not at all anxious to see us expand and grow. The Bishop does not do anything against us, but he does not do anything for us either. We have seen what the Acadian bishops have done in New Brunswick. We have been working to have our new bishop for two generations. They say that when the Irish Bishop dies, they will split the Halifax diocese and we will have an Acadian Bishop. That day will be a glorious one.

These sentiments are some of the most salient ones in Saint-Malo. There are many values which are derived from those we have mentioned. In the following chapter, we will present an analysis of the various factors which contributed to the birth and persistence of those sentiments.

PART I – THE BACKGROUND

Chapter 3: The Changing Acadian Society

1. The Passing of the Shipbuilding Industry

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During the last quarter of the nineteenth century the building of small trading and fishing vessels was a very prominent industry in Saint-Malo which provided an outlet for much skilled and unskilled labor. There were shipyards at Lavallée, Grande Marées, Grande Rivière, Latourelle, Biencourt, Maltapan and Rivervale: the shipbuilding centers of the French Shore. The industry began its decline with the arrival of the twentieth century but due to government contracts was revived during the years of the First World War. With the exception of Maltapan, all these yards closed after the war. During the Second World War, government contracts were again let out to Acadian shipbuilders of Maltapan, and lucrative jobs were available to members of local and surrounding communities. With the end of the war, the industry declined again and lost its basis for existence. Making small boats is, however, still important in many places along St. Elizabeth Bay.

“The life of the Acadians of the 1755-1900 period was self-centered, tied to the local welfare and revolving around rural farm economics. The self-centered, self-sufficient family life was nevertheless tied loosely to a larger network of economic and social activities, although a cash economy had not yet made many inroads on their ways of life. The roads were few and the communications were difficult. Export from localities was tied to shipping facilities, and until the advent of the steel hulls, Plymouth, Boston and the West Indies proved to be the best markets for local products. The gate to Boston being Plymouth, there has been a tendency for light local industries to establish themselves in that thriving town and to attract the surplus of the labor force in the Acadian area. Plymouth was not the sole shipping center affecting the economic life of the early Acadians. Sailing vessels were built at Hameau, Maltapan, Chartierville Black Cove and L’Anse des

Lavallée, the thriving local shipyards. Shipbuilding employed the best Acadian carpenters, and the ship owners found also in their localities a highly praised supply of seafaring men who brought the local products to the seven seas. Thus the local shipbuilding, extensive farm production, large natural resources enhanced the value of the community as a center of economic and social life.”¹

As the road network became more and more complete and the new means of transportation became more and more prevalent, some of the previous means of transportation, such as schooners became outdated. The advent of the locomotive and the truck precipitated the fall of the shipbuilding industry in the French municipality. Needless to say, this set back had great consequences for the local population. Lumbering industry also lost an important local market and some people were left jobless.

2. Shift from Subsistence to Cash Economy.

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The pivots of Saint-Malo economy are farming, fishing and lumbering industries, associated in various ways according to the three geographical units. Agriculture, in each of the units, is still a basic element of subsistence. But, the economy varies, of course, with the other primary resources offered by the natural environment and the availability of seasonal jobs. None of the county villages is completely self-sufficient. Farmers in all places, in order to get the cash they need, must either fish, cut wood or engage in activities which require skilled or semi-skilled training. In spite of the progressive industrialization of many of the Saint-Malo communities, agriculture never attained any degree of commercialization. It always was and remained throughout the years a domestic enterprise. Apart from the commonly found attitudes among rural people of resisting changes, there are a number of reasons which explain this lack of evolution. The inadequacy of regional markets and marketing procedures in addition to competition with the more fortunate farmers of the Kingston Valley (alluvial soils) made impossible a change from subsistent to commercial farming. It seems also, in part, that the Acadians have never been genuinely interested in farming as a sole occupation. The Acadian is a man of many activities. The change has been in the other direction: agriculture is decreasing, and this is manifest in (a) the present area under cultivation, (b) the number of full-time farmers, (c) the number of animals kept per productive unit of land, (d) quality and quantity of crops. The early nineteen hundreds saw the gradual reaching of the limits of land division in the Acadian municipality. At about that time, as it was pointed out earlier, it became impossible to divide the land further in order to provide economic subsistence for

¹ Gosselin, Émile, *Filed Work Report*, summer 1950, p. 6.

all the male members of the biological unit. At the present time, farming has reached a stage of rapid decline, in particular, along the shore where it has been more advantageous to fish and engage in trade, and in the backwoods where it has recently become more remunerative to cut wood and work for wages than to farm.

Because of these changes, imposed upon the Acadians by the evolving technology and the appearance of a new cycle of work, the economy of Saint-Malo has changed from subsistence to a cash economy. Consequently, the Acadians have become more closely tied to the larger economic unit and dependent upon the national economy.

The economic problems of Saint-Malo are now similar to those of the province and the Maritimes in general, namely: production *versus* depletion of natural resources, insufficient development of industries of transformation, and finally the problem of marketing raw material and manufactured products. Extremely important also is the tough competition experienced by small rural industries with the highly capitalized and better organized urban manufacturing enterprises of central Canada.

To a lesser degree, some of the same factors were evident in the lumbering industry and threatened its prosperity from time to time. Some of the virgin timber in southwestern Nova Scotia was transferred from individual to corporate ownership, at the end of the nineteenth century. Prior to that period, wood lots were owned, lumber was cut, sawn and transported to shipping ports on a family basis. With the improving of technology and the advent of corporations (which bought large plots of timberland from Acadians), many families ceased to operate as separate units in lumbering production.

World War II opened a new era of production and relative prosperity in Saint-Malo. But it also oriented the economy towards greater dependence on the larger economic region. Toward the end of the war, after contracts were cancelled and national economy ceased to be oriented toward mass production, Saint-Malo fishermen, farmers and lumbermen were discharged. Many of them had to migrate to urban centers where they found more stable and lucrative occupations than in Saint-Malo. Those who remained in the area resumed their former activities, but they were ready now to migrate temporarily to large centers whenever jobs became available.

3. Migration to Industrial Centers.

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One of the field workers who studied in Saint-Malo says that there is something “nomadic about the Acadian character.” The Acadian is nomadic only in the sense that it has become a necessity to move. In other words, the nomad character of the Acadian has resulted from a surplus of population and from economic pressures. The Acadian is rather strongly attached to his physical and social environment. But because industries have failed to increase in size and number to absorb the natural growth of the population, the Saint-Malo inhabitants have had to move elsewhere. If one believes, as I do that the Acadians did not have strong psychological motivations to move to an Anglo-Protestant environment, but rather moved because of necessity, this migration has meant ideological conflicts for a great many.

The Acadians before moving to a completely new environment weigh very carefully all advantages and disadvantages. In some cases, when the Acadian breadwinner finds a job in a close-by community, he commutes back and forth every day; when the community is far away the household head will visit home once, or twice a month; but when he works as far as Labrador or Ontario, he comes home once or twice a year. In many cases, they are reluctant to move to where they are working. The fluctuating aspects of employment patterns in temporary industries coupled with strong economic interests (owing a farm and a house) at home are factors weighing heavily against moving. But there are quite a number, of counter balancing influence which may make the decision to move the final one.

The following are the migratory trends in the history of Saint-Malo. Up to the twenties, the migratory wave was towards the New England States. With the passing of new immigration laws by the United States at that time which closed its door to free immigration, many moved to the industrial centers of the province up to the end of the Second World War. Since then the migration has been towards central Canada.

Territorial mobility (migrants, migrant workers and returnees) is a fairly important factor in the life of the Acadians. Each family has relatives in the United States and in other parts of Canada. There has been a population decrease in the last decade and this has caused quite a number of worries to local leaders who are trying to find a way to solve that problem. The almost complete absence of young people in most Saint-Malo communities is a symptom of the heavy out-migration patterns. In many a case it has become a real threat to community organizations.

Migration and migratory experiences of the Acadians are of a great significance from an acculturational viewpoint. And it is the purpose of this work

to study an industrial center of the county to which Saint-Malo Acadians have moved. By comparing them and their sentiments to those of Saint-Malo we shall see the extent to which they have departed from their traditional culture.

4. Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne.¹

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From the time of their arrival (September 5, 1768) to the French Shore until thirty years later, the St. Elisabeth's Bay Acadians were visited by Catholic priests at long and irregular intervals. The first two missionaries were French-speaking and well loved by the Acadians.² A little later they were visited by Irish missionaries from Halifax; these latter drew little support from the parish. In 1799, Father Jones, representative of the Quebec³ Archbishop in Halifax, realized that only French-speaking priests could fulfill the religious needs of the Acadian flock. That is why, the Rev. Father Jean-Mandé Sigogne, a native of Beaulieu in the French Province of Touraine and exiled in England after the French Revolution, came to Nova Scotia. One of the father's first steps, after his arrival at Latourelle was to make his parishioners elect a board of six councilmen and two elders with the special mission of looking after the economic needs of the parish. The hard working French missionary soon won the heart and cooperation of everybody and was able to build two churches in the year 1808.

He was deeply moved by the lack of facilities for education and made his rectory a classroom. He trained voluntary school teachers, residing in various sectors of the parish, to teach in their own homes. At first, the Acadians were only moderately interested in his educational programs, but gradually sent their children to school. The Father was preoccupied with orphans and at one time had five in his rectory. He educated Frédéric Robichaud who became later the first representative of the Acadians at the Halifax Assembly. He obtained grants for his proteges, settled legal matters among Acadians and was their best spokesman among the English ruling class. His success with the English was partly due to the fact that he had been well, trained in the English language while in exile in Britain. Without doubt Father Sigogne was one of the greatest heroes in Acadian history and is still highly praised for his achievements in the fields of religion, education, politics and

¹ This section has been mainly derived from "*Centenaire de la Mort du Père Jean-Mandé Sigogne, Missionnaire de la Baie... et premier Curé de la Paroisse Sainte-Marie*" 1844-1944, written by the Eudist Fathers in collaboration.

² They were the Rev. Father Bailly, a young missionary from Quebec, who was looking for Micmac families in the vicinity of Saint Elisabeth's Bay when a group of Acadians noticed his craft and brought him ashore to stay with them. The other was the Rev. Father Bourg, first Acadian to become a priest and who visited them three times.

³ At that time Nova Scotia was a part of the Quebec Archdiocese.

law. He died in 1844 at Latourelle, and in 1892 his ashes were transferred to the front of St. Anne's college where a monument now stands. A great man was dead, but a Christian message had been given, a cultural mission had been accomplished.

5. The Influences of St. Ann's College.

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The St. Ann's College was founded the first of September 1890, by the Reverend Fathers Blanche and Morin who came from France at the request of the Halifax Archbishop. This request from the religious authorities had been made in response to the expressed wishes of the southwestern Acadians of the province. In 1892 the college was incorporated by an Act of Parliament and was granted the authority of conferring university degree.¹

Located at Latourelle, in the heart of Saint-Malo the college is primarily for the Acadians and is run by the Congregation of the Eudist Fathers. Even though the teaching is mainly done in French, some courses are given in English.

The aim of the college is specified in its annual prospectus.

“Sainte Anne's College, like all Catholic educational institutions, strives by every means in its power to develop the mind by the study of letters and science; to impart a solid formation of the character and conscience by the fostering of virtuous habits; to make its students honest and enlightened citizens as well as true Christian gentlemen. Besides this general aim, the college provides for the collegiate education of Acadian youth, especially in southwestern Nova Scotia, in order to enable them to meet the religious social and economic needs of the day. The institution is not, however, exclusive. Through its bilingual courses, it offers any Catholic student an excellent opportunity to acquire a practical knowledge of the two official languages of Canada and thus to contribute to a better understanding between the two great races of the Dominion” (*Prospectus of Collège Sainte-Anne* 1949-50, p. 13).

However, the superior feels that the college cannot be a truly bilingual one. For that reason, emphasis in the courses is placed on classical studies and French rather than business training and English.

¹ Le collège Sainte-Anne a été fondé le 1^{er} septembre 1890 par Sa Grandeur Monsignor Blanche et les RR. Pères de la Congrégation de Jésus-Marie, dite des Eudistes. Le 30 avril, en vertu d'un acte de la législature Provinciale, il a été incorporé et a reçu le titre d'Université avec tous les pouvoirs et privilèges afférents à ce titre. From *Prospectus du Collège Sainte-Anne*, 1950-51.

The curriculum is divided into four different courses: the University Course leading to the Bachelor's degree in Art; the Commercial Course; the Academic Course, and the Preparatory Course. Though it is a private institution in the Halifax Archdiocese, the college does not fall within the authority of the bishop. It rather belongs to the Canadian Province of the Eudist Congregation. This is one of the reasons why the College is oriented more towards a French curriculum than an English one.

The founding of the college was probably the most important event in the socio-cultural life of the Acadians. It has equipped well most of its students in the various professions ¹, but most important of all (from the point of view of the Acadians) it has inculcated the proudness and the cult of their ethnic origins. Those who stayed in Nova Scotia became leaders of organizations which aim at the betterment of the status of the Acadians. The college has become the cultural center of the area and the symbol of resistance to the infiltration of the English values.

There is great loyalty towards the college on the part of its alumni. Among the population at large, the achievements of the college are considered highly, but little financial support is given. An alumnus of the college, a staff member for the last thirty years, appraised the institution in the following way.

“Sixty years ago the priests, the professionals, the business men were all Irish or English. From the point of view of the Acadians, they were foreigners. To have their own priests, their own professionals and to have forced the English business men to leave Saint-Malo gives the Acadians a sense of achievement. All these people were trained at the college.” (Professor Ovilva Lavallée, 11/7/1951/JVM.) ².

The director of the college characterized the attitudes of the rank-and-file when he contended that,

“At home they want to remain Acadians. They like their French parishes. They realize what the college has done for them, and they have great faith in the

¹ “The College Sainte-Anne justly prides itself on having among its alumni (1949) 6 Bishops, 180 priests 75 doctors and dentists and 25 lawyers, 6 agricultural agents, 5 school inspectors. There is no doubt that it has provided the French Acadians with an elite. The present priests, doctors, school inspectors, and agricultural agents in the area were educated at the college. Through those and other alumni it has extended its influences to the population at large. The college Sainte-Anne is indeed the cultural and intellectual center of Saint-Malo, and the leadership of the superior of the college within the community extends far beyond the college itself, not only in the field of education but in other fields too. No major decision or step is taken in Saint-Malo at large without the backing of the college.” From Rosenzweig, Janine and Mark Rosenzweig *Report on Education in Saint-Malo*, Stirling County Studies, 1949, p.12.

² Hereafter the quotations follow the format used above with the code name of informants, month, date, and year of the interview, followed by the initials of the interviewer. MAT signifies the writer's, other initials signify other interviewers.

college. But they do not help much. The Fathers have to work by themselves. The people are not really convinced of the necessity of a true French culture; the point of view of the college is quite different. The parents do not encourage their boys enough. When one speaks about French culture, they listen and agree in principle, but they do nothing about it” (Reverend Father Jean-Paul Lacroix, 2/7/1951/JVM).

The college has achieved quite a bit for the region: since it was established, it brought about the replacement of an upper stratum of non-Acadians and replaced them by leaders trained at St. Ann’s. Another achievement, not so successful however, in the work done by the college in the field of Acadian culture. It has attempted to teach Saint-Malo a language which is grammatically correct, to train the Acadians in French ways of life and to form a culture with standards higher than the traditional oral Acadian culture.

6. The Development of Educational Facilities ¹

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The transformation of the Acadian society from an illiterate one, at the time of the return of the expelled Acadians to Nova Scotia in the late eighteenth century, to a semi-literate group with an elite of professionals and business men, has been slow but gradual, throughout the years. It has always been one of their main concerns to preserve their language, their faith and their family traditions. In some cases, their minority group status prevented the maintaining of these values. For instance, their educational needs were not readily recognized by the province when education became a public responsibility. This section will single out the high points in the growth of educational facilities in the Acadian municipality.

(a) From 1770-1840, there was no formal school training. One of the first tasks undertaken by Father Sigogne was the building of churches, but he recognized the equal importance of providing the Acadians with education. From 1820 until his death he instilled, among the Acadians, a desire for literacy.

(b) 1840-1864. During that period, parents built one-room schools without recourse to state aid and hired some degreeless young men from New-Brunswick to teach their children reading and writing.

(c) In 1864, the Free School Act was adopted by the government which added education to its administrative responsibilities. This meant a uniform system of

¹ Much of this section was derived from the Rosenzweig’s *Report on Education in Saint-Malo, op. cit.*

education for the whole province with teaching in English for Acadian and English population alike. It was almost forty years before a special amendment to the School Act recognized the needs of the Acadians at the school level.

(d) In 1890, St. Ann's College was established.

(e) In 1902 a five-points programs, recognized a year earlier in the amendments to the School Act, was formally introduced in the Acadian districts of the province. These points were the following:

- (i) The teaching of French for all subjects during the first years of schooling.
- (ii) The oral teaching of English from the primary grades in order that all subjects could be taught in the English language from the fifth grade onward.
- (iii) The preparation of French textbooks for the pupils of the first four years.
- (iv) The selection of bilingual teachers with the special training for that purpose from Truro College.
- (v) The nomination of a supervisor who would be responsible and supervise the teaching of French in the Acadian schools.

(f) In 1926, Mr. Jacques Chaumont became inspector for the Acadian schools of Campbell and Saint-Malo. Upon retirement in 1948, he was replaced by inspector Albert Campeau.

(g) In 1939 the need for the teaching of more French in schools was recognized. In order to train local teachers in the French language, St. Ann's College offered summer courses during three consecutive years.

(h) In 1948, under the dynamic leadership of its parish priests, Chartierville opened the door to the first consolidated parochial high school in Saint-Malo.

Teachers' salaries have been raised in recent years based on their professional qualifications and teaching experience. Teachers holding "permissive licenses" are very few in number in Saint-Malo. The requirements set for the provincial examination are also raised every year. Adult education programs are constantly launched in the area; for instance, such classes as sewing, arts and crafts, reading and mathematics were currently offered in 1949 in various communities.

New organizations have been established rather recently such as the *Home and School* (1935 on), which along with the Municipal School Board functions as a

link between church and school in Saint-Malo; the *Teachers' Union*; the *Association of Acadian Teachers* (1948) affiliated with the *Canadian Association of French-speaking Teachers*; the *Association of Acadian students* (1945) and the *Association for Education of Acadians in Nova Scotia*. All these specialized organizations have the generalized goals of (a) working towards the improvement of educational facilities in Saint-Malo, (b) promoting the orientation of the Acadians to North American-French culture and (c) channelizing of political influences.

All these steps are evidences that Saint-Malo is participating in the educational development of the province. This trend towards more education may increase out-migration unless new industries are established to absorb these new skilled people.

7. The Birth of a Class System.

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The growth of educational facilities, which resulted in the replacement of an upper stratum of non-Acadian leaders; the cultural revival which encouraged the development of social organizations with their appointed functionaries; the trend from subsistence to contractual economy with the establishment of employer-employee relationship; all of these factors have contributed to the emergence of definable social segments.

Moral ascendancy and religious authority give the highest prestige, to religious functionaries. In the history of Saint-Malo, priests have been for a long time the only highly educated people. As authorized delegates of the supernatural orders, they have had the qualifications required to fulfill their religious duties and the social functions inherent in their unique position.¹ The priest's role as head of the parish has not been limited to his religious functions. This is so completely true in Saint-Malo that the stature of a parish reflects the personal abilities of the priest². In Saint-Malo the priest is expected to establish religious associations, to exert strong influences in parochially-centered organizations, and be an *Aumônier* in secular organizations. In economic organizations, however, the parish priest does not acquire prestige unless he demonstrates particular abilities to cope with economic problems. At any rate, partly because the new elite of educated laymen is interested in economic and social fields (which were exclusively reserved to the priests in the past) the religious functionaries no longer have the authority which was formerly ascribed to them. Some priests, like Fathers Marinier and Moïse Le

¹ See the author's paper on *The Roles of the Priests*, Stirling County Studies.

² For elaboration of this point, see Falardeau, J.-C., "The Parish as an institutional Type," *Journal of Economic and Political Sciences*, Vol. XV n° 3, August 1949.

Brun (real innovators) are surpassed in recognition only by Father Lacroix, the superior of the college.

At the next level, we find professionals and business men with wealth and/or political power. In the case of medical doctors and dentists, education means wealth, which in turn makes attainable the possession of luxurious items such as summer camp, flashy cars, and expensive clothes, vacations and travel. It seems that a wealthy educated man ranks higher than the men with education or wealth alone provided that his personal integrity is intact, that he fulfills his religious duties and participates in social organizations.

There are exceptions. Professor Lavallée is a man of ordinary means, but he is probably the most respected layman in the whole municipality because of his exceptional integrity and high religious aspirations. Conversely, professionals who do not use their education properly and business men who do not earn or spend their money in socially approved ways lose the prestige ascribed to their status. The prestige of an individual is also lowered if he does not conform rigidly to the religious prescriptions of the Acadian society.

The ordinary business men, entrepreneurs, stand on the next rung of the social ladder. The rank-and-file have something of a tendency to rank them with the others on all grounds except education. Social mobility has occurred most frequently in this group. Because of the open class system, high levels of subsistence and community-mindedness are after educational levels, the easiest way to move up in the class system.

Next, we find those who have economic independence either because they own a boat, cultivate a farm, or have a skilled trade which is required in the community. They are immediately followed by those family heads who partly depend on jobs to earn their living or bring the cash necessary to farm or fish. This social stratum is the largest one. At the bottom are the deviants, the socially unacceptable: the common-law married, the non-Church goer, the alcoholics, and others of similar sort.

This gives an idea of the emerging class system in Saint-Malo. The boundaries are vague as yet and differentiation will continue to increase with greater technical advancement and higher education.

8. Emerging Leadership Patterns.

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In the culture of Saint-Malo there is considerable role specificity in the function of leadership. That is to say that only very specified roles include the function of leadership in their repertoire. These roles are those of the priest, the professional (such as doctor and lawyer) and the teacher with better than average education. To these roles, are attached traditional sanctions to exercise leadership in a wide variety of community activities, beyond the activities inherent in the role by definition.

While Saint-Malo still continued in a subsistence economy individuals occupying the statuses mentioned, were in fact the ones occupying leadership positions. This was especially true of the members of the clergy. While businesses were as yet relatively undeveloped and extended family units still held sway there existed in Saint-Malo an almost equal distribution of economic resources. This was true except for the occasional individual who was outstandingly successful in his business or who owned large woodlots. Because of the nature of the economic organizations and the traditional Acadian ways of life, formal leadership was confined mainly to activities connected with religious functions.

Because of this close association of leadership with specific role there was very little competition and striving for leadership positions among the population as a whole. It was taken for granted for instance that individuals occupying specified positions (such as priests, doctors, lawyers, etc...) would be active in church affairs and later secular affairs of the community. There were virtually no occasions when a non-professional lay individual would attempt to usurp any of these community functions for himself. On the whole, leadership was viewed as a service to render to the community rather than as a means of enhancing one's position in the social systems.

Since the roles mentioned above had traditional sanctions to exercise leadership (especially the clergy who also had religious sanctions) individuals occupying these roles were accepted as leaders in a rather unquestioning way, except when there was a clear violation of group norms. In all probability, even if there were individuals who opposed some leaders, this opposition was more likely to be expressed in a passive rather than an active manner. This quality of accepting leadership unquestioningly was generalized as a prescribed way of reacting to authority figures. Both the initiation and the carrying out of leadership activities came down from above and was not something that rose spontaneously in the Acadian population. This trend was supported by the nature of the superordinate-subordinate relationships that existed in the Acadian patriarchal family. To disobey

the father (and priest-leader) would probably bring with it the sanctions of the church and severe guilt feelings.

A number of factors contributed to a great change in the pattern of leadership in the Acadian communities of Saint-Malo. While the traditional leadership positions remained intact, new roles have acquired leadership capacities. Today since leadership qualities spread over a great number of roles, it is now more often based on personal attributes rather than on prescribed status positions. Thus the competitive bidding for leadership, which is still an emerging phenomenon, is giving rise to considerable amount of jealousy and hostility within the Acadian communities of Saint-Malo.

The following are some of the reasons for the changes in the leadership patterns that have been described.

A. Shift from Subsistence to Wage Economy.

With the coming of the market economy to Saint-Malo, new economic inequalities rose in the Acadian society. There were the business men who successfully established business enterprises and there were those returnees who came back from the States or other places, with sometimes, a considerable amount, of cash. As the extended family unit broke down and was replaced by the nuclear group only, it gave rise to more individualism. This involvement in a market economy necessitated a proliferation of roles based on specialized functions. To some extent, these new roles, such as entrepreneurs, government employees, white collar workers... began to compete for power positions along with professionals and priests. These roles previously had no sanctioned power positions in the traditional life of the Acadians and sometimes did not even exist. The upward mobility in many instances of individuals occupying these emerging power roles conflicted with the Acadian mores of egalitarianism. These individuals were characterized as people who “we trying to get above the rest of us” or “who are putting on airs.” Although the realities of economic life make it necessary to accept new power positions, individuals in such roles are often resented and spoken about in an uncomplimentary manner. Their leadership attempts are sometimes met only with passivity and jealous resentments. The process of social differentiation, which is in its initial phase as yet, may be said to be “unconsciously resisted” by the Acadians of the rank and file.

B. Growing Educational Facilities,

In the early days, for the average Acadian, there was extremely little expectation of acquiring a good education because of meager resources and limited educational facilities. Deference was paid to priests, doctors, lawyers, etc... partly

because they were considered to be highly educated. Thus, education was considered a very highly desirable thing in life even though in many cases it could not be desired or expected because of the limitations mentioned previously. Today, with the growth of modern educational facilities, with the almost complete disappearance of the pattern of children working on the farm during the school year, with a compulsory educational-system well implemented and tied to the family allowances, with a better control of children sicknesses, youngsters attend school regularly and do have better chances of getting a good education. Chances for learning are more evenly spread among children of all economic levels. Concomitantly education has become both a strong value and a normal expectation on the part of many Acadians. Many of the newly educated youths form a potential supply of leadership in the community even though educated individuals will not necessarily occupy sanctioned leadership roles. As a result many of these talented youths migrate from their Acadian communities to other areas where they can best express their abilities.

C. Growing Ties with Outside Communities.

Along with the break up of subsistence, economy there has grown a greater dependence on outside communities in regard to political matters and such emerging trends as the Acadian revivalism. In order to strengthen this movement it is necessary to apply political pressures on the government for such things as schools and legislation favorable for the Acadian minority in general. It is also necessary for the Acadian leaders to be in contact with both lay and Church leaders from the outside involved in the Acadian movement. For example, recently, the first Acadian Bishop was appointed to head the new Plymouth Diocese due to formal and informal pressures from local communities at all levels of leadership (religious, social and political). Thus the necessity of maintaining liaison with outside organizations and people has called forth the emergence of a new set of organizations and hence of new leadership patterns.

The reality of the emergent situation in Saint-Malo requires a growing and new type of leadership in many areas of community life. However, the cultural attitudes of the middle and lower classes towards leadership prevent, to some extent, the efficient implementation and functioning of such leadership. To repeat, these attitudes are passivity, resistance to innovation and resentment against non-traditional power positions.

PART I – THE BACKGROUND

Chapter 4: L'Anse des Lavallée An Acadian Community in Saint-Malo Municipality

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The community of L'Anse des Lavallée lies along the main road which runs parallel to St. Elizabeth's Bay, five miles west of Portsmouth village at the northeastern end of the municipality. It is bounded, on the eastern side, by Black Cove settlement and the Grande Marée River, on the western side, which rises in the interior and flows northward.

It is inhabited by approximately three hundred people, or seventy families. Most of the houses have been built on both sides of the paved road, for a distance of one mile.

The population is almost exclusively of Acadian descent. With the exception of two middle-aged women born in New-Brunswick Province, all residents are Southwestern Acadians. All inhabitants, except for a British war bride, are Roman Catholics by birth. The Acadians of Lavallée are French speaking, but like the rest of Saint-Malo, some of them are unable to write in their own mother tongue. The majority are proficient enough in English to be able to read newspapers and popular magazines, and to carry on their business affairs in town. In their homes and in contacts among themselves, the French language is used exclusively.

As noted in the last chapter, there is an emerging class system in Saint-Malo but L'Anse is probably the only community in the Acadian municipality where a definite class system exists. My study indicates three classes: upper, middle and lower, with the great majority of the residents classified in the middle category and the remainder about equally divided between low and high strata. Respectability and religiosity weigh heavily among the criteria for class stratification. These factors taken alone, however, do not justify a class distinction unless they are accompanied either by education and/or wealth. Upper class members have to be

religious, respectable and educated or wealthy. Members of the middle class are considered religious and respectable people too, but they have neither education nor wealth. Regardless of their education and wealth, lower class people are not respected by others, either because they do not fulfill their obligatory religious duties, or because they have a publicly known record of minor offenses, like petty thievery, sexual promiscuity, excessive drinking etc...

Fishing and farming, have little place in the community's economy. Even though there is no commercial agriculture, many families have a garden from which they derive part of their food. L'Anse des Lavallée is one of the most prosperous lumbering centers along St. Elizabeth's Bay.

The lumber resources and the particular circumstances under which they were exploited made L'Anse, a thriving community especially since the last World War. The reason is three-fold: (1) the Lavallée families did not sell their wood lots, at the turn of the century, when large financial corporations invaded southwestern Nova Scotia, and as a result the timberland remained in the hands of private families for generations; (2) lumber resources remained unexploited at a time when prices were still at a low mark; and (3) a revived impetus in the lumbering industry and the opening of new markets. To-day, at L'Anse most families still own a woodlot and derive an important part of their income from it. It is, of course, almost always associated with farming or working for wages.

The smallest and yet the most significant unit for communication is the biological family, where current problems of the family and the community are discussed. Many families are related by blood or marriage ties and this provides for an extremely useful channel of communication both at the biological and extended family levels. Small neighborhoods within the community are a significant focus for news exchange and the spreading of information and attitudes. Although the parish acts mainly as a channel for inter-community communication, this religious institution provides numerous channels for intra-community communication as well. All the church-centered and church-connected organizations, for instance, are established on a parochial basis. Telephones have increased the rapidity of communication in the community but have not replaced the predominant patterns of face-to-face relationships. The local primary school acts as a channel of communication in three ways: (1) the educational role of the institution, (2) children bring local news to and from the school and (3) the school is a meeting place for the Home and School Association. It is also in the tradition of small communities, where everybody knows one another and takes genuine interest in everything which happens that the general store is the focus and center of the community.

Other mechanisms of communication include migrant workers who return to L'Anse bringing back the news of the outside world. Travelling by car, bus and rail also allow community members to relate themselves with the outside. Radios,

new-papers and magazines inform local residents of day-to-day outside events. Children of the village attending courses at French universities and colleges outside of the province come home with new ideas which are diffused into the community.

The ideal pattern of face-to-face relationships is characterized by “good manners.” Thus people avoid being quick-tongued, or offending the particular person with whom they are interacting. Teasing will be resorted to if criticism is intended. Very rarely does one hear of local people quarrelling and fighting among themselves. The overt expression of hostility is limited to avoidance and social rejection. The covert expression of hostility is achieved through gossiping or mentioning the fact to a close friend or relative of the person towards whom aggression or hostility is directed. Transgressions of community or cultural norms are severely though informally punished by rejection and loss of “respectability.”

The age and sex groupings begin at school age, and the following stages seem generally recognized; infants, school age children, young unmarried adults, and married people. There does not seem to be any age distinction between married people of the same class. The attitude of the young toward the old is one of respect, and this is emphasized by the teachings of the Catholic Church. The old married couples are expected to be independent as long as they can, but in case of sickness, one of the married children will move in to live with them. The old people, regardless of sex, are not expected to take any active part in community organizations. In all types of events recorded, from the most religious formal organizations to the most informal secular organizations, there is a tendency towards separation of the sexes. This male-female dichotomy is seen not only in religious organizations, but also in economic activities of the family. On the whole the man is strictly the breadwinner and the woman tends to household chores. There is now a definite effort to revise the norms governing the inequality of sexes (especially among upper class people), but behavior still follows traditional patterns. Nevertheless, there is an increasing tendency for women to organize activities of their own outside of the home. Household chores being somewhat reduced by the advancement of technology, women in general have more time for recreation and for participation in community organizations than previously.

Men have a tendency to marry late; similarly, cultural values also encourage girls to marry late. There is probably a fair amount of premarital sexual relations, but this is mostly between couples who are “going steady.” When an unmarried girl becomes pregnant, through such activity, marriage follows within a short time. Illegitimacy is considered a transgression of sex taboos and cultural norms, and if the marriage does not follow, the child will usually be adopted by the nuclear family or by a relative.

In the child rearing practices of L'Anse des Lavallée there has recently been a gradual tendency toward permissiveness. This situation is seen in diminishing

compulsion regarding eating habits, weaning practices, toilet training and cleanliness in general. Yet as a rule child rearing practices are authoritarian in nature. The age of six seems a definite landmark in the life of a Lavallée child. He is given, for instance, some responsibilities and minor chores around the house; he may even be sent on errands which involve handling small amounts of money; he makes the choice of his own guests at his birthday parties.

Nuclear families (70%) consist of about 4 members; extended families (11%) of 5 members and single-headed households contain 2 members as an average. The average number of people in a Lavallée household is 3.7 which, if compared to other Saint-Malo communities seems to be low. Traditionally the families were large and this change is possibly due to the fragmentation of family units, late marriages, secularization and birth control practices, emigration shifts from subsistence to wage economy, and to a change in the inheritance patterns. Many of the changes taking place in Saint-Malo in general and in L'Anse des Lavallée in particular are well reflected in changes in family size and structure. There are ten physically broken homes in the community, nine of them due to death. There are two cases of separation; in both cases childless couples.

In Saint-Malo, the kinship emphasis is on patrilineality, which is coupled with patrilocal residence where extended families exist. This emphasis on the male line can be found in and traced to the formal church structure. The father represents family interest outside the home. He is not expected to take a very active part in the rearing of his children. The fact that women are child bearers and spend most of their time at home makes them well prepared to take charge of the rearing of children. The mother is expected to be a very religious person, morally strong, and the "pillar" of the family. She is also expected to be an extremely good housekeeper and there is usually such prestige involved in this status.

The religious principles on which the Catholic marriage is based are the most important forces of cohesion and stability of families. Emotional forces of sexual relationships and love would probably be second in importance. The family, conjugal or extended, is no longer primarily a cooperative unit in economic activities, although when business partnerships occur, this usually happens among relatives. The cohesive forces of economic interdependence (such as wife working, inheritance, etc.), do not seem to have the importance of either church life or emotional support in the integration and stability of family units.

The organizations that draw the largest membership are religious associations which are organized on a parochial basis. However, most of the professional-business-occupational organizations are established on a municipal basis. L'Anse des Lavallée residents take a very active part in many organizations. As an average, all family heads participate in at least two organizations, but there are some family heads who participate in six or more organizations. Informal social

intercourse at L'Anse is found mainly in recreational activities and in visiting patterns.

With the shift from subsistence economy to money economy and greater dependence on the larger unit with the increased division of labor and better educational facilities, with the establishment of a multitude of formal organizations, the nature of leadership has changed from purely religious to more secular and the number of leaders have increased. For instance the birth of new forms of economic organizations (like Coops and Credit Unions) has created new leadership positions and offered leadership statuses outside the formal church hierarchy. Leadership which as a rule in the past was based on formally ascribed positions is now more often based on personal qualifications and achievements of individuals. The most consistent basis for the exercise of leadership is a special qualification such as education, knowledge and experience, or devotedness to a particular cause.

Strictly speaking, there are no community organizations at L'Anse, since most organizations are either at the parochial, municipal or national levels; however, Lavallée provides most of the formal leadership for parish organizations. There are at least half a dozen people who play leading roles in the organization of the municipality and of southwestern Nova Scotia.

It could be said that there is a tendency away from enjoying leisure activities in the home. For instance, story telling, regular family gatherings, singing and dancing parties in the home have been replaced by other types of recreational activities. These new forms of recreation are movies, travelling shopping trips to large centers, roller skating, playing pool and bowling, vacationing at a summer resort, etc. In the old days, the hardships of making a living left people with but little time for recreation, and what forms of entertainment there were occurred mostly in the home.

As a form of leisure activity, excessive drinking is widespread and is found mainly among lower and upper class families. The former class drinks more often outside the home and sometimes become drunk. On the other hand, upper class people seldom got inebriated, and they drink at social gatherings and in their homes. Drinking among members of the lower class is more criticized than it is among wealthy people who can afford it. There is very little gambling done at L'Anse. However, some families play cards for small amounts of money. Deviation from sex taboos (which are prescribed by church regulations and community norms) is not frequent either, if its incidence is compared to other Saint-Malo communities. When it does occur, premarital sex relations are much more frequent than extra-marital relations.

The most important and efficient agency for enforcing law is federal: the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. There are 7 police magistrates in the municipality and 5

constables in the municipal district of which L'Anse is a part. All the civil offenses are minor, which occur such as bootlegging, or hunting out of the season. The author does not know of any person who has a criminal record. The most important informal agencies for social control are the church (guilt sanctions), the community (shame) and the family (dishonor).

The ideal type of life in the eyes of most people in L'Anse is the rural community where people farm, and cut lumber, where people are religious and can trust each other, where people are economically independent but can count on their friends in case of need, where people have face-to-face relationships with other people in intimate contact with nature. A good man is a good citizen, honest and reliable, a good husband and father who, provides for and takes good care of his family, and a strongly religious person.

The major changes in the history of L'Anse des Lavallée have been economic and social. The shift from subsistence to wage economy brought about a change in the occupation patterns (that is, away from agriculture, fishing and lumbering) in the inheritance patterns (end of parcelization of property); in general levels of living (better food, nutrition, medical care, clothing, shelter, etc.). Social changes are: decrease in family size; a change in child rearing practices (towards permissiveness); the birth of a class system; a change in the leadership patterns (leadership is now not so much based on ascribed positions as on acquired ones). It is probable that economic changes have been more sudden and rapid than social changes since many people have not as yet adapted to changes in economic organizations.

The traditional Acadian systems of beliefs have been described. This chapter on L'Anse des Lavallée was an illustration of how these sentiments operate in the context of a relatively unacculturated community. We now plan to examine a mixed socio-cultural environment (Portsmouth) where some of the Saint-Malo Acadians have moved. The main reason, therefore, for studying this community at length (and occasionally making comparisons with three other communities which are dependent upon it for services) is to set the frame within which the acculturational changes occur. Only by studying the socio-cultural matrix in which the migrant Acadian lives can we render meaningful the changes in their sentiments and the extent to which these changes divorce him, from his native culture.

Efforts are made to show how the Portsmouth milieu is drastically different from the traditional Acadian community and the ways in which it conditions the processes of acculturation. We feel it is important for any study of acculturation to study both the recipient and donor groups. Even though, through community analysis, the recipient culture is emphasized, salient details of the donor culture must be given in order to understand the process of culture transfer.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 5: Geography

1. Definition of the Boundaries

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Portsmouth can be defined in three various ways: the village, the school section and the ecological area.

The ecological area refers to Portsmouth as the heart of a region which includes five other communities (Frontière Loomervale, Langstong, Pulp Creek and Northport) located in the same neighborhood. The school section is not a meaningful geographical basis for our dissertation because it includes families which live in Langston and Pulp Creek, which are otherwise perceived (by their residents as well as those living in the surroundings) as separate social entities. Pulp Creek families who are included in the school district have the same low socio-economic characteristics (such as limited education, low economic status, unskilled wage work and low class position) as those who live elsewhere in the community. Langston, for instance, is a colored settlement established by freed servants brought to Canada from the United States after the American Revolution by their American Loyalist masters¹. Another reason for wanting to keep all the communities of the ecological area separate is a methodological one. In the part following this, we will compare the degrees of acculturation of Acadians living in four of the communities (Frontière, Pulp Creek, Portsmouth and Northport) of the

¹ No reference will be made to the colored people in this inquiry, for the central purpose of this study is to analyze Acadian-English relationships in a mixed environment and evaluate the impact of the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture on the values and sentiments of individuals of Acadian ancestry.

ecological area. But in the study of the mixed community, the village was selected as the unit with the greatest sociological significance ¹

Portsmouth is bisected by the Owl River ², which flows out of a chain of lakes near the Kingston County line, drains an immense tract of land in a winding course and empties into St. Elisabeth's Bay at Northport, some twenty miles from its source. Portsmouth is located at about two miles from Owl River's mouth; is a navigable port and is within close access to the Atlantic Ocean. The industrial center of the town is built at the water level in a valley-like depression and is flanked on both sides by rising banks of approximately one hundred feet in height. The residential sections are found on the northern and southern hills.

Portsmouth was originally Portsmouth Bridge and Northport was Portsmouth, but through some wire pulling the name has changed.

The Owl River region was settled around 1783 by American Loyalists who planned to make Northport the principal town. They even laid out the plans for streets and buildings, but the scheme failed. A similar scheme also failed at Philip's point, settled later by Acadians. An important hydro development on the Owl River in the Pulp Creek community furnishes electricity to a large section of the county. The various types of industries found in the village are listed below.

2. Distribution of Industries

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Food

- 5 retail food stores selling food exclusively
- 2 retail food stores selling food, household supplies and general merchandise
- 1 fish market
- 1 retail food store selling food, clothing and general merchandise
- 1 retail food store selling food, household supplies, building supplies and general merchandise

General merchandise, apparel and dry goods

- 2 shops selling ladies' wear only

¹ Unless it is otherwise stated in such expressions as the larger Portsmouth, Portsmouth ecological areas the ecological area, in this section we will be referring to the village and use throughout this second part such synonyms as the polling districts, the town, the area, the locality, the place, the community.

² The Indian name of the river meant "big river."

- 1 shop selling clothing (men, women and children)
- 1 men's clothing shop
- 1 Five and Dime store

Hardware, supplies and household

- 1 hardware and food store
- 1 home-furnishing store
- 1 electric appliances store

Miscellaneous goods (other than food, clothing and household supplies)

- 1 drug store
- 1 jewelry store

Automobile supplies, maintenance and sale

- 2 motor companies selling automobiles as well as providing service and maintenance
- 1 service station selling gas and oil and providing maintenance

Manufacturing

- 3 sawmills
- 1 manufacturer of stoves
- 1 abandoned shipyard
- 1 shoe repair shop

Financial

- 1 bank
- 1 credit union

Transportation and communication

- 2 communication system (telephone and telegraph)
- 1 railroad
- 1 bus line
- 1 Post Office
- 1 Custom office

Services

- 2 barber shops
- 2 cafe and lunch bar

- 2 parochial halls (Anglican and Catholic)
- 1 hotel
- 1 over-night lodging place
- 1 café, lunch bar and bowling alley
- 1 tailor shop
- 1 community theater
- 1 liquor store
- 1 office of Registrar of Deeds

Professional occupations

- 5 teachers
- 3 physicians
- 3 ministers of religion
- 1 dentist

There are approximately fifty industries and businesses in community. This represents quite a large number of enterprises if we take into account the small size of the village. There are historical as well as contemporary factors which explain the flourishing of industries. During the nineteenth century Portsmouth, along with Deer River, was one of the most important lumbering and shipping centers of the county ¹. Portsmouth was and still is the hub of a big wheel. During the first quarter of the twentieth century, Portsmouth preceded in importance the town of Bristol. At that time, five to six sawmills were in operation at Pulp Creek and absorbed two to three hundred people. It was not until the twin blow of the sale of these mills to the Mersey Paper Co. Ltd, (which closed them) and the fire which swept the Village business section in the twenties that Portsmouth lost its industrial supremacy. During the depression years Portsmouth declined, but recovered with the opening of the local shipyard at the beginning of the Second World War.

Portsmouth is still the industrial, recreational shopping and service center for a territory which extends for ten miles on both sides of the bridge, it also serves the inland and backwoods region of the Owl River area, going as far as Dubois in the Saint-Malo Municipality and as far as Beupré in Bristol Municipality. The closest urban centers are as far as twenty miles to the north and south. This central position of the village is reflected in its types of industries and services, notably: food, automobile supplies maintenance and sale, manufacturing, transportation, services and the professions.

The food retailing industry serves a wide clientele, for there are no important food stores found in Northport, Pulp Creek, Frontière, Loomervale and Langston.

¹ Wilson, Isaiah W. *A Geography and History of the County of Digby, Nova Scotia*, Halifax, 199, p.8.

Table 1. *Religious Affiliation of Business Owners in Portsmouth, by Types of Businesses, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Types of industry	Religious Affiliations					Total
	Catholic	United	Anglicans	Disciples	Baptists	
Food	4	1	1	3	1	10
General merchandise	3	0	1	0	0	4
Hardware	1	1	0	0	0	2
Miscellaneous	1	1	0	0	0	2
Auto supplies	1	1	0	0	0	2
Manufacturing	2	0	1	2	0	5
Financial	1	0	0	0	0	1
Transportation	0	0	0	0	0	0
Services	9	0	2	0	0	11
Professions	5	3	1	1	2	12
TOTAL	27	7	6	6	3	49

It is to be noted that the Catholics (not all of whom are Acadians) control the majority of business and industries which are owned locally ¹. This represents quite a gain for the Catholics in the last fifteen years. Prior to that time the great majority of businesses were owned and opened by Anglo Protestants. The number of Catholic owners is four times larger than the United Church business men which represent the largest Protestant owning group. However when factors, such as hiring capacity and capital investment are considered, the Protestants are, by far, the most important group. The three largest sawmills are owned by English: they absorb the great bulk of skilled and unskilled laborers in the village. Hence, the great majority of Portsmouth Acadian laborers are hired by Anglo-Protestant business men.

¹ The Catholics control sixty-one percent of the businesses and industries. The professional group is included in this percentage. When excluded, the percentage is lowered to fifty-six, which still represents the majority.

Table 2: *Type of industries in Portsmouth according to Ethnic Background of Owners, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Industries	English	Acadians	Total
Food	6	4	10
General merchandise	2	2	4
Hardware	1	1	2
Miscellaneous	1	1	2
Auto supplies	1	1	2
Manufacturing	3	2	5
Financial	—	—	—*
Transportation	—	—	—
Services	3	6	9
Professions	8	5	13
TOTAL	25	22	47

* Bank of Canada is omitted from this table.

When types of business are classified according to descent (Acadian or English) forty-seven percent are Acadians. But, as previously, they operate and own mainly small businesses. This suggests some of the steps by which a minority group acquires economic strength in a bi-cultural community: they take control of small enterprises like food stores, general, stores, tailor shops) and increase their power by gradually buying larger enterprises.

The great majority of Acadian business owners are either migrants from Saint-Malo, or individuals who have kept their residence there. This process of gaining economic strength has been a long one. It started at the turn of the century when a number of young Acadian entrepreneurs came to Portsmouth to try their luck in a business venture and were followed later by others who cherished the same ambitions. Prior to that time the Acadians in-migrants had been carpenters, millwrights, shipbuilders, blacksmith and other skilled craftsmen¹. Saint-Malo

¹ On the topographical *Township Map of Stirling County, Nova Scotia*, published by A. F. Church & Co., Granville Str. in 1864, I find these Acadian names listed in the Portsmouth ecological area business directory: Mr. Godat (for Gaudet – Ship carpenter); L. Amerault (for Amirault – farmer); J. Saulnier (House joiner); T. (for Théodore) Melanson – (Pulp Creek – Manufacturer of Lumber); J. Le Blanc (for Leblanc – Mason); Capt. Boudreau – Master Mariner; B. Amero (for Amirault – Farmer and Ferryman); and M. Godat (for Gaudet – Frontière – Trader in Lumber).

capital has been the most important factor in the rise of Acadian leadership in the economic field. The most important advancement of the Acadian group, from that viewpoint, occurred a few weeks after I left the field. A young Acadian furniture manufacturer from Saint-Pierre (the neighboring Acadian community) backed by Saint-Malo as well as Halifax capital, bought an abandoned furniture factory in Portsmouth in partnership with three other middle-aged Acadians. By the fall of 1953, they were hiring as many as thirty employees the year round. If this enterprise continues to expand, it may, in a matter of a few years, change the employment patterns of the Acadians and strengthen their economic position considerably.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 6: Class and Social Structure

1. Introduction

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There are various formal and informal social groupings in the community with marked differences between them. Examples of such groups are: The English Protestants and the Catholic Acadians; the various occupational groups (from the unskilled laborers to the professionals); the native Portsmouthites and the newcomers (among the latter there are some distinctions drawn between those who came from a backwoods community and those who came from a shoreline community); the wealthy and the depressed; the age-sex groupings; formal organizations (from the religious church-centered to the purely secular); the political groups (The Conservatives and The Liberals); the neighborhood units; card playing cliques; visiting groups; extended family units, etc... All of these groups comprise the community and the particular manner in which they are arranged determine the social structure of the community.

One way of studying the manner in which the community operates is by analyzing the functioning of all the groups which compose it. Any community analysis must include a study of the class system, because the mechanism, by which people relate themselves to each other, is closely dependent, upon the channels (formal and informal) which allow for interaction and exchange of ideas. These channels of communication are defined by the class system which regulates the modes of interaction among the community members.

As reported by Warner, a class is “two or more orders of people who are believed to be and are accordingly ranked by the members of the community, in

socially superior and inferior position.”¹ If we were to explain, in few words, what this definition implies, we would say that a class system:

- (a) is a hierarchy of positions based on socially defined and approved criteria.
- (b) is a system of social interaction which does not operate at random but which follows definite rules.
- (c) induces social proximity among the in-group and social distance between these in-groups and the out-groups.
- (d) permits vertical mobility (possibility for bettering or lowering oneself) according to well set criteria.

An important question is, what are the socially significant factors which determine the manner in which individuals are ranked in the prestige ladder of a society? A number of factors may be the basis for differentiating the rank-status of the individual members of a community. In Yankee city, Warner and associates found, for instance, that occupation, wealth, geographical location, as well as associating with the right people and doing the right things, were the main factors which distinguished the six main strata of the community studied².

There is a class structure in Portsmouth which roughly follows the classes of Warner. Community members have a concept of their position in this class system as well as of the position of others. There is, however, a basic distinction which has to be made at the very beginning. Portsmouth has two class systems, the class system of the Anglo-Protestants and the class system of the Acadian Catholics. The main elements which split the Portsmouth society into two separate systems are *ethnic and religious loyalties*. This class system is unique in the Bristol municipality because only at Portsmouth did the Acadian immigrants become important enough to establish a class system of their own. In a community, like Bristol, the Acadian immigrants have been mainly unskilled laborers and skilled workers. In Portsmouth the situation is different, Acadian immigrants have come from all strata of the Acadian society: professionals, business men, entrepreneurs, people in the skilled and unskilled trades. The two class systems are not completely separate, however, since there is some overlapping of membership in the middle classes and almost complete overlapping in the lower classes. The lower in the social ladder, the more indistinguishable are the two class systems; the higher the class, the more complete the divorce between them.

¹ Warner, Lloyd, and Lunt, Paul S., *The Social Life of a Modern Community*, Yankee City Series, New-Haven, Yale University Press, Vol. 1, 1941, p.82.

² *Idem*, pp. 81-91.

The diagram on the following page represents graphically the class systems of Portsmouth community. The triangle with vertical lines represents the Anglo-Protestant class system and the triangle with horizontal lines, the class system of the Catholic Acadians. The triangle with vertical and horizontal lines represents the area of overlapping in the two class systems. These triangles roughly represent the relative size of the population belonging to these various social strata. The area of overlapping is the area of marginality, the world of individuals at the periphery of the two cultural systems. They share values and sentiments which are common to both cultural groups.

PORTSMOUTH CLASS SYSTEMS

The area of overlapping in the middle class represents the Irish Catholics who are torn between ethnic loyalties to the English and religious loyalties to the Acadians. In order to achieve any vertical mobility, the individuals in the marginal group must move horizontally first. By this horizontal mobility, I mean that they must make a definite choice between the Acadian and the English values before they can climb up in the scale of prestige. If the marginal Irish intermarries with an Acadian and identifies strongly with their group, he has a good chance of climbing in the Acadian class system. If the same individual intermarries with a Protestant

and severs his ties with the Catholic Church, his changes of climbing up in the English Protestant system are good, it is in that sense that horizontal mobility is a prerequisite to vertical mobility. In the marginal group is also included the mixed-bloods, since they undoubtedly are at the fringe of both Acadian and English system.

We now propose to give the criteria used to determine the class stratification in both English and Acadian systems (dealing with the lower class in both systems separately) and mention some of the characteristics of the people who belong to these classes.

2. The Anglo-Protestant Class System

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Among the Anglo-Protestants, the main criteria for class stratification, in order of importance, are: (a) material wealth, (b) family backgrounds (c) education, and (d) participation in community organizations.

There is quite strong emphasis on financial success and achievements for the attainment of status, which are usually reflected in the kinds of material possessions and occupation one has. Family background was important formerly (as exemplified in the Anglo-Protestant ruling class of nineteenth century Northport) in that it was synonymous with power position both in political and economic fields. Economic power meant political power and to the extent to which they were able to maintain their political strength, they preserved their economic position. With the closing down of the shipyard industry and the economic crash of the nineteen twenties, many old families lost their economic and political supremacy and failed to maintain their upper class positions.

Family background is still operative in the following way. If two individuals are equally financially successful and one of them belongs to the ancient ruling families of Northport or Portsmouth, the latter has a higher rank-status. Some of the descendants of the Northport ruling class are still highly considered. As a matter of fact, they compensate for the loss of power by associating with the upper class families of Bristol and Plymouth. Their advice is still sought in important community issues but is never regarded as the last word.

Education is also highly valued among the Protestants insofar as it also means that a person can maintain a higher standard of living and can assume leadership in community organizations. There is the prevalent notion, however, that the more educated people tend to leave for the industrial centers of the province.

The channel which allows people to climb in the social scale of prestige is largely financial achievement. Some of those who previously belonged to higher classes have lowered themselves because (a) they married an individual of a lower stratum and (b) failed to maintain their economic position. The sawmill owner Widimere, who belongs to an old Anglican family of Portsmouth, is moving downward because his business is always on the verge of bankruptcy. On the other hand, the sawmill owner Dennis – a man with limited education and a migrant from a backwoods community – is climbing fast in the system because he has doubled his business operations in the last three years.

The Anglo-Protestant upper class is composed of professionals and business men with good financial record. Most of them have an above average education and participate in community organizations. Among Anglo-Protestants, however, much of the leadership positions are in the hands of middle class individuals.

The middle class is composed of clerks, white-collar workers and people in the skilled trades. Some of them are the small entrepreneurs and businessmen who do not qualify for a high-class position.

We will now mention the criteria for stratification among the Catholic Acadians.

3. The Catholic Acadian Class System

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Among the Catholic Acadians, education and professional achievements, participation and leadership in Acadian affairs, as well as financial success are the main criteria for distinguishing classes. Very often, professional status implies education and material well-being, and sometimes serves as a means of achieving leadership position in the Acadian organizations. Money and financial success are increasingly becoming important in Portsmouth. As it will be explained more thoroughly in the section on secularization among the Acadians, the Portsmouth Catholics, as seen by their pastors, are “materialist-minded” and have a “Protestant mentality.” Both these expressions point to the same thing in Portsmouth Acadian society: they worry too much over their material welfare and not enough about their spiritual salvation ¹.

¹ For most middle and low class Acadians with whom I associated, the worry of making a living was always present. If we compare the economic situation of the Portsmouth Acadians with the situation of the Saint-Malo Acadians, it seems evident that the difference in the amount of worrying is due to the fact that the Portsmouthites do not have, in their semi-urban environment, the economic independence possessed by many in Saint-Malo. Moreover, in Saint-Malo the Acadian day laborer is sometimes a part-time farmer, a part-time fisherman or a

Families like The Deans ¹ and The Boiverts: (the garage owner and a retired hardware owner) are considered high class because they are well-to-do families; a family like the Acadian doctor from Plymouth, because of professional old financial achievement (he can afford to spend the winter months in Florida); and, finally, families like the dentist and the Dubois born doctor, because they are professionals and active in Acadian matters. These Acadian families are not very different from the upper class Protestant families in their ways of life: they have similar standards of living, they buy expensive cars, they own summer camps, they take distant trips, they buy large and expensive dwellings, etc... The main differences are the different ethnic and religious loyalties and a complete lack of interaction between the two groups at the informal level (that is visiting each other's home).

The middle class is made up of small entrepreneurs, clerks and people in the skilled jobs and some in the semi-skilled trades. As one informant characterized them: "they are good Catholics, respectable people with no social stigma." The whole community of Frontière, with a few exceptions, is a middle class community. Many of the middle class Acadians are experiencing important changes in the area of beliefs, attitudes and values of their cultural background and family traditions. These values are changing because they participate in some of the social activities of the English, work with them and visit them in their homes. Many of their form of behavior show the interconnections and interplay of English and Acadian value system.

4. The Lower Classes

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The criteria for belonging to the lower class, both in Acadian and English societies are poverty, lack of education, lower occupational status and deviation from the Portsmouth society's norms (such as the non-church going Acadians, the alcoholics, the promiscuous, the delinquents, the common-law married, broken families...). The highly acculturated Acadians, the mixed-bloods and the English are almost indistinguishable because of (a) their low socio-economic status (b)

part-time lumberman, so that he can compensate for his low wages. In Portsmouth, the Acadians have only one source of income, their job. In some cases, it is a full-time, in others, it is a part-time occupation with seasonal unemployment. Their ability to make a living depends on how successful the local sawmills are and so on. They are dependent on forces upon which they do not have any control.

¹ Mr. Dean is a half-blood, but his wife is a full-blood Acadian. They both belong to one of the oldest families in Portsmouth and own one of the oldest general store in the village.

their low educational level and (c) their general low conformity to the prescribed societal norms.

The low class individuals of pure French and English ancestry identify with the Acadians and the English respectively. The implications of the identification patterns (which decrease with the increasing degrees of acculturation) are not carried through in social situations. Not only the two groups have social access to each other, but, in addition, in their pattern of interaction they do not discriminate against each other. The lines of social interaction, in other words, are not demarcated, in either group, by ethnic or religious allegiances. They too often share the same, type of work; receive the same meager education and show an equal lack of interest in community affairs. They often live in the same geographical district and they are looked down upon by both Protestants and Catholics of the higher classes.

The Portsmouth class systems do not congeal: there are constant horizontal (people shifting their loyalties) and vertical movements (upward and downward mobility). The composition of any particular stratum is always hard to determine. The main reason is that acculturation is a dynamic process and that in any given period of time there are always some individuals who are in the process of shifting their loyalties.

There are some families who move in and out every year. In addition, personal achievements (business or professional) make possible the climbing of the social ladder.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 7: Leadership Patterns

1. Changes in Patterns of Leadership

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To a large extent, the formal leadership patterns of a community are a function of the number of organized groups. In a mixed community like Portsmouth, where situations change rapidly, where groups are organized and split along class, ethnic, religious and political lines, the patterns of leadership are complex.

Some sixty years ago, the only Acadians living within the limits of what is now Portsmouth, were farmers, laborers and people in the skilled trades. At that time the various community organizations (to be sure, there were few) were led exclusively by the Anglo-Protestant group. Today, in almost all community organizations there are Acadian representatives, and Acadian influences are felt in a number of ways. The first important wave of Acadian migration was just before and after nineteen twenty. The Acadian immigrants were young business men who bought small stores, small businesses. During the post World War I industrial boom, their businesses expanded. The size of the Acadian group as well as the increasing importance of their businesses gave them a role in the decisions connected with the affairs of the town. In the late twenties, two Acadian general practitioners moved to Portsmouth to replace the retiring English doctors. They were joined twenty-five years later by an Acadian dentist who became the first leader of Acadian nationalism in Portsmouth.

The growth of the Acadian group was accompanied by a shift in leadership patterns among the English in the economic field. Leadership in economic affairs was taken away from Northport by Portsmouth businessmen. This turnover indirectly made easier the rise of Acadian leadership in the latter village. In recent years, the number of Acadian entrepreneurs has almost doubled thus acquiring greater control of the business leadership. With the re-opening of the Portsmouth Shipbuilding Company ¹ (in 1952 it hired some fifty to sixty men the year round) this trend is likely to continue.

Portsmouth village has been a Conservative stronghold during the last three or four decades, even when the Liberals were in power in Halifax and the Member, from the municipality was Liberal. During last election, (1952), however, the Liberal Member obtained a slight majority in the community. The Acadian political leaders were one of the decisive factors in this victory. As a result, the Acadians have gained strength in provincial politics. Local politics are, however, still in the hands of the Conservatives. For instance, the Municipal Councillor, two of the village Commissioners, the village Secretary-Treasurer and the three Village Auditors are Conservative English Protestants. One Commissioner and the Tax Collector are the only Acadians on the Village Board and their political influence is negligible.

A unique feature of the leadership patterns in Portsmouth is the neutral position of the doctors (with the exception of the dentist) in community organizations. The *English doctor* and the two Acadian doctors each told me that they could not participate actively in the organizations of the community. They want first to keep their interpersonal relationships as good as possible by avoiding unnecessary misunderstandings; they feel compelled to remain neutral in community disputes in order to insure the success of their professional careers ². They feel that if they took sides in community issues, it would invariably harm their profession. This is quite different from the traditional Acadian community where the professionals are expected not only to take an active part in the affairs of the community but to be the inspiring force. Dr. Lavallée of Maltapan, for instance, was in 1953 the Liberal Member for the Saint-Malo Municipality, and in 1951, Dr. Lebrun was President for the Acadian Association for Education in Nova Scotia.

The only professional who is active in the affairs of the community, is the dentist and his interest is strictly limited to the betterment of the Acadian group. He is more or less the spokesman for the Acadians in matters which directly involve their welfare. The struggle for power in the community is between him (Marc-André Campeau) and Henry Lang, elderly sawmill owner and leader of the Church of Christ Disciples. In almost any community of importance they both take opposite positions and fight by all means at their disposal against each other. Some

¹ See Chapter 9 on "Industrial Enterprises."

² The English doctor has Acadian clients and the Acadian doctors have English patients.

aspects of their endless struggle for power will be analyzed in the chapter on the mixed schools where they both play key roles.

The efficiency of Acadian leadership, in the community which is on the whole flourishing, has had a setback from within the group itself. The main reasons for this split among Acadians have been ideological ones: the Acadians, because they are at different stages in their process of acculturation (Some of them resisting, some of them assimilating) have been unable to present a united front in opposition to their Anglo-Protestant rivals. This is what we now plan to analyze under the heading of Acadian leadership and Acadian factionalism.

2. Acadian Leadership and Acadian Factionalism

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The Acadians of Portsmouth can be divided into three categories according to their value-orientation. (1) The group of Acadians born and educated in Saint-Malo – they are traditional-value-oriented; (2) the group of Acadians born and educated in Portsmouth – they are English-value-oriented; and (3) finally the group of highly acculturated Acadians – they have lost their language, severed their ties with the Catholic Church, intermarried with the Protestants and are marginal to both groups. This last group, as far as leadership is concerned, can be disregarded completely. The remaining factions are the traditional Acadians led by Marc-André Campeau and the progressive Acadians led by Father O'Brien and Mrs. Dean.

The type of leadership exercised by Campeau is something novel to Portsmouth in the sense that he has launched an organized resistance in order to counterbalance the forces of acculturation and to re-orient the Portsmouth Acadians towards the traditional values and sentiments of Saint-Malo. The following will be a lengthy account of his background, his motivation, his techniques and lines of power, his relationships with Saint-Malo and the obstacles he has met in his work.

In 1945 Marc-André Campeau, an alumnus of St. Ann's college (A.B.) and of Montreal University (dentistry) moved to Portsmouth. Both the Protestants and the Catholics thought that the pastor had had decisive influence on Marc-André's decision to migrate, to the village. The pastor defined his initial influence when he related:

“Protestants have always looked down upon Catholics and that was why I asked Marc-André to come to Portsmouth. I thought that he would do a lot for the Catholic Church and that the Protestants would be impressed by him as a

person. He has done a lot for the Acadians, I do not know as yet if he has done as much for the Church. As a matter of fact, this remains to be seen” (Rev. Father Vincent O'Brien, 11/15/1951/MAT.)

After graduating from Montreal University, the dentist, with his young wife from New Brunswick settled in his native village in the heart of Saint-Malo and there practiced his profession. A few years later, he moved to Portsmouth and was readily welcomed by the Acadian elite. He bought the house of the previous dentist. This property is located beyond the railway crossing, across from Dr. Chiasson's house, at the borderline¹ of the geographical district exclusively reserved to the English Protestants in the hey-day of Portsmouth.

Unlike the two other Acadian professionals who had preceded him in Portsmouth and who took their medical training at Dalhousie University (an English Protestant university in the Province), the dentist came primarily with the intention of fighting for the recognition of Acadian rights (such as in the school) and to lead the Acadians in resisting the influences of the English. His motivation for moving is clearly stated in his remark:

“I arrived in Portsmouth six years ago. Prior to my coming here, the English had set a barrier: the Acadians were not allowed to cross the bridge.” (The informant failed to mention that his neighbor across the street and a few other Acadians had bought property across the bridge, at least, fifteen years earlier, MAT) “I bought my property on the English side of the railway crossing and it is one of the nicest homes... This was one of a long series of victories I achieved since my arrival... I came here to fight for the rights of the Acadians and I will fight until I die.” (Marc-André Campeau, 11/16/1951/MAT).

The two Acadian doctors have always been neutral and never took sides openly in community disputes. One of them, however, the Dubois born doctor has shown great interest in the dentist's work. He has always given him full emotional support and helped him to the fullest of his capacity in his undertakings. His wife once described their relationship:

"As my husband says, he might have taken some of his time to work in community organizations but he felt at a very early stage that it was better for his professional status to remain neutral and avoid taking sides. He admires Marc-André a great deal especially because he has not feared to work openly for the Acadians.” (Mrs. Lionel Chiasson, 12/16/1951/MAT.)

¹ The bridge is the dividing landmark. Roughly speaking the English Protestants live on its northeastern side and the Acadian Catholics have moved in to be the majority on its southwestern sides.

Since his return from Montreal, the dentist has always kept up an active interest in Acadian associations, local as well, as national organizations. In 1949, he was the President of the Portsmouth section of the National Assumption Society and in 1951 became the National Vice-President ¹.

As a dentist – he is the only one in the village – his abilities are highly praised by both the Acadians and the English. The lack of professional competition has given him a privileged position for the English who do not wish his services have to go to Bristol. The dentist does not think that his participation in Acadian affairs has been harmful to his profession. He has lost only one family, he says. Though it is conceivable that he might have lost more clients than he's willing to admit, the fact remains that the loss of clientele has been negligible and has not yet been a source of worry. In fact, he declares, "I am here to stay; I will starve before I leave."

The first couple of years he spent in Portsmouth were devoted to establishing a clientele and studying the Acadian situation. During that period, he appraised what needed to be done and formulated modes to implement decisions, he established some lines of communication and power by which his policies could be known. Some Protestant resented his coming because it meant the Acadians had taken over another important post in the community. To-day the dentist is the focus of controversial feelings among the Acadians. The Dean-O'Brien faction considers him selfish and stubborn and disagrees with many of his attitudes. The group which he leads of courses thinks very highly of him. Standard opinions about him are those quoted below.

"We are lucky to have a man like Marc-André in Portsmouth. He is a bright fellow, is willing to work for the Acadians, and has the connections to do it." (Conrad La Fleur 8/24/1951/MAT)

"At least we have two Acadian families (The Campeaus' and hers) to fight for our rights and we will continue to do it... That is one reason why I want to participate in community organizations as much as I possibly can. Being active in an organization gives you the chance of expressing your ideas." (Mrs. Lionel Chiasson, 9/25/1951/MAT)

These sentiments are prevalent among those who work in close connection with the dentist, but as it will be seen a little later dissenting views are held among members of the Dean-O'Brien faction.

In Saint-Malo, Marc-André is considered to be one of the best leaders and "go-getters" of the new generation. Some members of the older generation disapprove

¹ This organization has branches in New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Prince Edward Island, Quebec and the United States.

of his drinking habits and of his conspicuous consumption. In spite of the controversies which arise over his social activities, he gained still more recognition lately when he was successful in rallying the two political factions of Saint-Malo to express their unconditional opposition to the plans of the Archbishop ¹.

One of the characteristics of the dentist as a leader is that he wants to remain behind the scenes. According to his own statement, this is the only way he can fruitfully use his New Brunswick and Quebec influences. He enumerated the basic principles on which he was operating when he described his roles:

"Tremblay, I feel safe in mentioning this to you. In order to implement the things on which I am working on here I have to remain an enigma. It would be self-defeating (*coupe-gorge*) to become a front leader. Instead of my putting pressure on people, the people would apply pressures on me; instead of my telling people what they ought to do and what they ought not, people would be telling me what I ought to do and what I ought not; instead of being a man without compromise, I would be making open decisions all the time. I feel certain that if I were to hold a formal positions there would simply be no reason for my staying in Portsmouth I would be blackballed by all sides."(Marc-André Campeau, 12/26/1951/MAT)

From this last quotation, it is evident that the informant was unwilling to volunteer the information, that he has met opposition from another Acadian group this one loosely organized, and not a social interacting unit, the faction led by Mrs. Dean and Father O'Brien. This faction thinks that the Acadians living in Portsmouth must make an adjustment to the Anglo-Protestant environment. An individual can lose his language, they say, and remain a strong Catholic. The first and most important loyalty should be to the Church and then to the nationality. Unlike the first group, they do not think that the Church, with a mixed congregation, can promote Acadian matters at the expense of the Irish.

The parish priest was born at Saint-Pierre and Miquelon Island of an English Protestant father and an Irish Catholic mother. He lived there until he was eleven years old and had opportunity to learn the French language. At that time his father moved to Halifax and Vincent was sent to St. Mary's University and later to the Theological Seminary also in Halifax. He was appointed pastor of St. Joseph of Portsmouth parish ² after the death of Father Chiasson in 1939.

¹ The bishop had just finished the construction of a new Catholic University in Halifax and he wanted to tax the revenues as well as mortgage the property of the various parishes in order to raise money to pay for such a project. It was felt by the Southwestern Acadians that it would be a twenty-five year setback in their attempts to secure a separate diocese. It was the first time, in the history of the area, that laymen had been directly responsible in getting the parish priests to send a joint letter of protests to the Bishop.

² The Catholic population is about 700 (one hundred eighty families) in a population of about two thousand people.

Mrs. Dean was born in Pulp Creek of a well-to-do sawmill owing Acadian family. She was sent to Mount Vincent in Halifax, an institution with an excellent reputation run by the Sisters of Charity. She married the son of one of the most important shipbuilders in the history of Portsmouth. She is the Church organist, leads many of the church-centered organizations, used to be very active in community organizations (Red Cross Society, Home and School) and is sometimes referred to as the parish priest's vicar.

Most members of this faction are native Portsmouthites. As I said earlier, they recognize the prevalent importance of the Catholic faith in the lives of the Acadians, but doubt whether many of the traditional Acadian values can be maintained in a culturally mixed environment. The following statement by Mrs. Dean summarizes the orientation of the group and points to differences in ideologies between the two groups:

"Marc-André thinks highly of himself and he thinks he is the saviour of the Acadians. He wants Portsmouth to become Acadian and he uses all means to achieve this aim. It seems that, in contrast to the Protestants who are united, Irish Catholic, Acadian Catholics and English Catholics are Irish, Acadian and English first: they do not seem to be able to be both at the same time. It's jealousy. When there is someone to do something, there are many others to be jealous of what he does and try to destroy it. That Marc-André is doing more harm to the Acadian cause than all the good he thinks he is doing. What has he really done? I will mention something to you. A teacher from Cape Breton applied to teach here. When Father O'Brien mentioned that to Marc-André, the latter opposed her coming to Portsmouth because she was not French. Is it not a terrible thing to be as narrow-minded as he is? The Marc-André Campeaus were good friends of ours when they first came, but they talked so much against us behind our backs that we cannot be friendly with them any more." (Mrs. Dean 12/15/1951/MAT)

A younger member of this faction, a teacher at the Deaf and Mute School in Halifax, who, shares the same idea of the role of adjustment an Acadian must perform in his new milieu, appraised the work of Marc-André in the following ways:

"Some Acadians of Portsmouth were able to achieve a kind of adaptation to their new environment, some others did not because they did not want to make any adjustment. More than that" he said, "these people, and to name one of them Marc-André, want to impose upon other Acadians the same kind of negative attitudes towards Portsmouth. They react negatively to anything which is not a hundred per cent Acadian," (Mr. Albert Campeau, 11/10/1951/MAT).

This young teacher was born in Portsmouth and educated at the local high school. At that time, as he related to me in another interview, the Acadian leadership in the town was non-existent; there was very little “we feeling” on the part of Acadians and except for family ties, there was no group orientation towards “The French Shore.” Since he is a product of the mixed school, his attitudes towards the extremist Acadian faction are revealing. It represents the values of the young Acadian generations, and reflects the magnitude of ideological differences between the two Acadian factions.

Both factions have had cooperative undertakings, such as arranging for the Sisters to teach at the Pulp Creek School. But each faction had a different purpose: Marc-André thought that it might become not only the focus of Acadian resistance but also a unique opportunity to teach the French language to many Portsmouth born Acadians; the parish priest thought that this would be a wonderful opportunity for re-christianizing the Pulp Creek residents and raising the level of their morals, and he hoped that the Sisters would never make the mistake of teaching French to the pupils when there were more important things to do. I would like to cite at length how it happened the Sisters came in the first place, and why the Irish Sisters (Sisters of Charity) did not come. This will demonstrate not only the impact of Acadian leadership in town, but also their methods of operation.

“A few years after I came here (the pastor speaking), I noticed that there was a beautiful house across from Doris Boisvert’s garage and I often thought that it would be the most wonderful spot for a convent. I dreamed about it but did not mention it to anybody until I decided to talk to Doris about it. The house was owned by an old Protestant lady and I said to Doris to keep his eyes open and try to buy the house when an opportunity arose... I remember that Doris went to see the old lady at that time and tried to make a deal with her. Her price was \$5 500 and Doris asked her to lower it to \$4 000. She refused to sell it for that money. In the meantime, John Dobbs knew that the house was on sale. He commissioned a farmer to buy the house for him. I do not know how he did it, but he was able to buy it for \$3 500. John, I am told, gave him a \$500 bonus. The first thing we knew was that he had acquired the house: we felt embarrassed because we thought that it would never be possible to acquire it now. In the meantime, I met Mr. Payne, the secretary of the Pulp Creek School, and each time he complained about the bad quality of his teachers. The reason why he complained to me was that he knew that Mrs. Chiasson who conducts the religious instructions there had succeeded in making the Catholics more interested in the school program and better pupils. He thought that our children succeed better because they received extra attention. Every time he complained to me, I teased him and said that he should have the Nuns to teach there. He never took the cues seriously until he came to see me last summer. ‘Father’ he said, ‘I have thought about it seriously and I am of the opinion that we should have better teachers at the school.’ I told him that if he wanted to have the best school section in the whole municipality he should ask for Nuns.

He told me that this was what he had in mind. I answered that if he really wanted the Nuns to teach at Pulp Creek, he should write to me a letter which would describe what he wanted. I could start working with that document, my idea being that I wanted something to prove that we did not impose the Sisters on that school district, but that they were requested by the authorities. A few days later I received the letter from Mr. Payne. I could not believe that it was true. My work was beginning. I went to see John Dobbs and made it explicit that I was interested in buying the house. I explained to him why I wanted to buy it. He made his prices: it was \$5 500. This was expensive, but I thought that we had to act, to make a quick decision... So I asked John; his family is regarded as a bigoted one but I do not think that he himself has any prejudice against the Catholics, for a ten days' option. He accepted the deal and I had very little time left to achieve my task... I called the Mother superior of the Sisters of Charity in Halifax, and I asked her for some Nuns to come to Pulp Creek in the fall (it was around the 10th of August, MAT). The Mother Superior explained that she would need more Sisters than she had to fulfill her commitments and could not send any Nuns to Portsmouth. Thereafter I called the Sisters of Jesus in Chartierville. The Mother Superior there also felt that she did not have enough candidates to do the work which they had there and elsewhere. I was working hard and the Archbishop did not even know about it. I was feeling ashamed that I was going further ahead with the idea without letting anyone know what I was doing. In the meantime, Marc-André came to see me. I was about to call him over the phone for advice. He told me, 'I hear that you are looking for Nuns, Father.' I mentioned to him that we had a request from Mr. Payne to get Nun-teachers in Pulp Creek. 'What did you do?' he said. I told him that I had contacted both the Sisters of Charity in Halifax and the Filles de Jésus in Chartierville and that neither order could come to Portsmouth. 'I am very happy that they cannot come,' said Marc-André, and if I had been here, you would not have called Halifax at all. The Sisters of Charity! They enroll our Acadian girls and they anglicize them! As you see, he was very frank with me. Even if he had come before I would have called Halifax because this order is already established in the diocese, also because it is an Irish Order and the Archbishop is Irish... I asked Marc-André, 'What do we do next?' 'It is a very simple matter,' he said, 'I know some Nun-teachers who are much interested in coming here to Portsmouth: The Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart of Moncton.' I could see how this came about, why he was making that suggestion. His wife has four sisters who joined that order and that is why they were interested in coming here. My fear was that the Archbishop would block our plans because he is very suspicious of everything that comes from Moncton (Moncton is the center for Acadian nationalism, in the Maritimes, MAT). Moncton is considered by the authorities of the diocese as the center from which Acadians are attempting to spread their ideologies and from Halifax's viewpoint, it would be considered dangerous to let the Nuns come to Portsmouth to teach. As soon as I told him, that we would go ahead with the plan, Marc-André took the phone and right away made a long

distance call to Moncton... Marc-André was able to reach the Mother Superior the same evening and she gave her consent and approved the opening of a new convent in Portsmouth. At three o'clock in the morning, she drove with three other nuns, one of whom was Mrs. Marc-André's sister, to Saint-John, took the ferryboat in the morning and at noon, they were in Bristol. By one o'clock, they were in Portsmouth looking at the house. When Mother Superior left the house she left a medal of St. Joseph in a corner and requested Him to help them. I met Marc-André and the Nuns and they told me what to say to the Archbishop in Halifax. I learned what I should say and went to see the Bishop to make the request..." (Father O'Brien, 8/1951/MAT)

At the same time, the appointment of an Acadian as school principal in Portsmouth created a rivalry between the parish priest and the dentist for control of policy making in matters concerning the Acadian welfare at the school level. From the very beginning the fight for power started. On the principal's arrival in the community, the dentist warned him against anticipated pressures on the part of the parish priest, or any other groups in town, and told him when he departed:

"Whenever you have a serious problem as principal of the schools, do not wait. Come and see me right away. I will fix everything for you and it will not take too much time." (Marc-André Campeau, 11/24/1951/MAT)

The dentist was particularly keen about the kinds of relationships to be carried on by the school principal and other French people in town outside of class hours. He had arranged for the principal to live with an Anglo-Protestant family (as a personal favor to them). When the parish priest formed the habit of calling him on the phone almost every day, about matters regarding Catholics in school, the dentist became furious and upon meeting the priest made him understand that this was the best way to arouse suspicion on the part of the Protestants and to impair the principal's work seriously.

This chapter has briefly described the growing importance of the Acadian leadership in the village. It has also illustrated that the factionalism existing at the present time is a barrier to efficiency of leadership, principally in the colossal task of re-orienting the Acadians towards Saint-Malo Municipality.

Marc-André feels that the greatest opposition to his plans came from the leaders of the Disciples of Christ Church, such as Lang, Fox and Westman. However, he hopes that with the death of Lang, the group is likely to disintegrate. In the long run, he expects to win in the struggle for control of the Acadian because, "The only thing the Protestants offer our Acadians is starvation wages and slavery."

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 8: Associational Life

1. Attitudes toward Formal Organizations

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The general attitudes toward formal organizations are that “Portsmouth is a small village with too many organizations,” and that “these organizations continue to promote the division between the two ethnic and the various religious groups.”

“Portsmouth is a small village with too many organizations.” This feeling is universally found among those who participate actively in the associational life of the community as well as those who think that it is useless to have membership in any of the village’s organizations. The active participants (they sometimes assume formal leadership position) claim that their efforts are divided between too many organizations, thus preventing them from “doing a good job” in any of them. Many of these organizations, they say, do not draw enough members who have sufficient interest to work hard for the organizations. As a result, some organizations become nominal and do not fulfill the aims for which they were established. They add that “It is always the same people who have the offices and do the work. The Registrar of Deeds assorted that one well-planned organization could take care of all community interests and problems with greater efficiency than those already existing. He feels that such an organization could achieve excellent results by attracting all those individuals who are community-minded and want to devote part of their free time for community betterment.

Many of the middle class families feel that they have neither the education nor the influence to make it profitable, either to themselves or to the community to participate in voluntary organizations. They feel that much of the organizational activities are a loss of time (for instance they point to the fact that endless

discussions occur at meetings), which can better be used for other purposes. They prefer to play a game of cards, see a movie, or visit friends rather than attend the meetings. Some of them also feel that many of the people who participate and lead organizations are “social climbers” “They participate” they say “because they want to gain social privileges.”

Lower class people feel very strongly that if they were to participate they would not have a chance to express their opinions, or if they did express them, they would not be listened to and their suggestions would not be taken into account in either the planning or the execution of community programs. They see these organizations as being, for a good many people, a channel for achieving selfish interests and personal gains rather than community betterment. They feel that they are just more institutions which discriminate against the uneducated and the poor. According to their views, these organizations promote the carrying on of exploitative relationship and the poor and the uneducated are admitted only because they are willing to be exploited.

A feeling, predominant among many people, is that these organizations institutionalize the difference between the two ethnic and the various religious groups. The Anglican minister, for instance, who ideally conceives of community organizations as channels for integrating the community interests and bonds, is very dismayed to find that most organizations fail to achieve such purpose and quite to the contrary, work in the opposite direction. Many people have expressed the feeling that, in view of the fact that there are a great number of religious organizations which take care of the interests and problems faced by the various churches, these ideological differences should not be transplanted in community organizations¹. The power cycle through which community organizations seem to go could be outlined as follows: it is made clear at the onset that they are non-denominational and that they are opened to all community groups; one denominational group participates more than others, establishes its strength; members from other congregations withdraw their participation and membership; and finally the organization is mainly led by members of that denomination. This is especially true of the Protestant-Catholic dichotomy. Some organizations, like the Home and School and the Red Cross Society which have attracted both Protestants and Catholics are becoming Protestant-dominated. As a result, more and more the Catholics are withdrawing their participation. One of the predominant dissatisfactions of the Catholic Acadians is often expressed in this attitude: “We are not given our *share of leadership*.”

¹ Each of the five religious groups in Portsmouth has its own leadership, and no systematic attempt is made here to analyze its patterns. Through their respective leaders, the various denominational groups can contribute to community development by participating in non-denominational organizations. Theoretically, at least, these organizations are open to all individuals living in the community without distinction of ethnic or religious affiliation.

The Anglican Minister explained the withdrawal of the Acadians on the basis that many of them had been raised in Saint-Malo where the population is ethnically and religiously homogeneous, where religious and social organizations are often established on a parish basis. "They fail to understand," he argued, "that such a practice cannot be carried out in a mixed environment."

There are of course, some Acadians who realize the utmost importance of the Acadian participation in community organizations. They realize that it is a chance for them to express their feeling as well as an opportunity to work for the community. Some other Acadians simply think that the Protestants, in the end, will gain control of the organization and do not see the use of becoming members.

2. Professional-Business-Occupational Organization

A. The Portsmouth Board of Trade

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The Board of Trade became inactive during the war when there was little immediate concern for economic development of the community. It was reorganized in 1950 and membership was opened to all those interested in the industrial expansion of Portsmouth and surrounding communities. The first year they were able to attract seventy dues paying members, but in 1951, it decreased to thirty members with as few as half a dozen of the members attending meetings regularly.

The Board of Trade has been instrumental in getting financial backing for the young Saint-Pierre Acadian who bought the shipyard. The reason why he was successful in getting the unanimous backing of the Protestant-dominated Board of Trade is, to a large extent, an economic one. This shipyard had a bad reputation (two successive failures) and unemployment had reached a peak in the last three years in the ecological area. The shipyard had to be re-opened at all costs. The Board of Trade took the matter up and looked around for somebody who had experience in furniture making and a good managerial record. This young Acadian carpenter had been successful in starting and managing a small furniture factory in Saint-Malo. He gained the admiration and confidence of Municipal Councillor Dennis and the Bank Manager who proposed that he had top priority on the list of possible candidates.

With the opening of the shipyard in 1952, confidence was renewed. There is a feeling that the local population can do something to better their economic position, it is likely that the Portsmouth Board of Trade membership will go up.

The aim and purpose of the organizations are (1) to promote industry and attract new business interests in the village, (2) to coordinate and protect the interests of the businessmen, (3) to improve labor conditions, and (4) to promote the tourist industry.

This organization draws the majority of its members from Portsmouth and Northport. The Acadian professionals have not taken direct interest in the organization and one of them (the dentist), for instance, prefers to be active in the Saint-Malo Board of Trade where he expects to gain strength and later exercise influence in the Portsmouth Board of Trade. Two important Acadian businessmen (a general store-hardware owner and a meat market owner) did not join the organization because they live respectively in Frontière and Philip's Point communities. They felt that they would not gain any economic advantage by participating since most of their customers were from Saint-Malo.

From the founding time up to the present, this organization has raised controversial feelings. Some people, in particular, thought it was a Tory organization and that much of the talks and discussions at meetings centered around political matters. They also contended that the Tories used the organization as a channel for regaining their lost strength in town. A segment of the population thought that the Board of Trade was genuinely interested in the economic welfare of the community but its leaders did not have enough influence to change the prevailing economic situation. Both of these attitudes had some truth, and the fact that they existed was symptomatic of the inability of the economic leaders to achieve anything noteworthy. Their direct achievements were (a) the closing of all stores one afternoon a week, and (b) the dredging of the Owl River at Northport (thus permitting the shipping of lumber at the Northport wharf and saving important sums of money to local businessmen).

Although it is one of their aims, The Board of Trade, as far as I know, has not given any serious considerations to improving the labor conditions in the community (such as fewer hours of works, better wages, participation in social benefits, better working conditions in the mills etc...). This is partly explained by the fact that the present President and Vice-President are both lumber mill operators and are unconditionally opposed to such improvements. They feel that (a) their men are well treated, (b) their working conditions compare favorably with most industries of the same nature, (c) a raise of salary would mean the necessity of closing down, and (d) it is better to keep the situation as it is rather than force unemployment.

In 1951, the officers of the Board of Trade¹ are predominantly Anglo-Protestants and are drawn from proprietorial and clerical positions.

¹ President: Mr. Arnold Widimere
1st Vice-Pres: Mr. Henry Lang

B. The Portsmouth Branch of the Canadian Legion

The Canadian Legion is a national organization which looks after the rights, benefits and general welfare of veterans, performs some community services and promotes Canadian loyalties. In Portsmouth, they sponsor a Field Day at the Portsmouth Amateur Athletic Field (On Dominion Day (July 1st) and perform the Remembrance Service at the cenotaph on Memorial Day. There are also interested in promoting athletics in the community. It is the only organization which has negro as well as white members since the only criterion for membership is to have been in the service. Its membership is limited to males only and includes veterans of both World Wars. It has very few activities over the year and has little importance in the social structure of the town.

C. The Portsmouth Home and School Association

This association is also national, there are various Home and School branches in the municipality and every year there is a general meeting of the municipal Home and School (in 1951 Mr. Jerry Harrington, the Bank Manager in Portsmouth is the President) to which the Portsmouth section sends four or five delegates. They report on the activities of the association and get acquainted with what has been done in the various other localities of the municipality.

Membership is open to all community members interested in school matter and general well-being of the pupils. It is non-denominational and has no age limits. In effect, those who have membership are mainly parents of school-aged children of the upper and middle classes.

The Home and School organization is the only community organization which draws membership and support from all the denominational groups. In the last two years, the Acadian Catholics have been either withdrawing their membership or restricting their participation to few of its activities. Two things seem to account for this: Acadian dissatisfaction and Acadian factionalism. As already noted, the Acadians express their dissatisfaction because they are not given their share of leadership. "If the Catholics of Portsmouth represent more than fifty per cent of the total population," they say, "we should be given at least half of the leadership positions of the organization." But, in order to draw membership from all religious

2nd Vice-Pres: *Mr. Josephat Lavoie*

Treasurer: Mr. Jerry Harrington

Chairman of Trade and industry: *Mr. Valentin Chiasson*

Chairman of Transportations: Mr. Arnold Widimere

Chairman for Tourism: Mr. Richard Fulton

Chairman for Membership and Entertainment: Mr. Willie Clancy

Chairman for School Committee: Mr. Arnold Fox

(Names underlined are Acadian Catholics)

groups, it has been the policy of the organization to give each denomination an office. The Acadians also feel dissatisfied because they contend that the Home and School does not really work towards the improvement of the school as an educational institution and that the most crucial problems of the school are never discussed. The Protestants, on the other hand, feel that the Catholics want to dissociate themselves from the associations, and start a parochial school. As a result, they have not made great efforts to retain them as members or to increase their participation. The Catholics also complain that they are given the chores of the association, (for instance, heading the reception committee) and that Mrs. Lionel Chiasson the Vice-President, was by-passed by the Registrar of Deeds, when it was her turn to become president.

The Acadians have also been divided on the issue of Acadian representation in the organization. Two important women in the community withdrew their membership because they wanted the office held by Mrs. Chiasson.

A few years ago (in 1949) when President Barron was in the chair (he was then manager of the Royal Bank of Canada in Portsmouth), it was decided, upon the request of the Catholic priest that ministers and priests could become members of the organization if they wished, but it was also stipulated that they could not hold an office. This decision was to keep the organization as neutral as possible and prevent it from becoming a channel through which a particular denomination could control the association and implement its own policies. The parish priest felt disturbed at the beginning since he considered the education and the well-being of the Catholic pupils within the realm of his authority, but in the end he reconciled himself to the decision and thought that it would be better for the Catholic members if he withdrew his membership and did not attend the meetings. Upon examining the proposition he realized that he would suspect the Protestant ministers holding an office as much as they would suspect him holding an office. He also felt that his participation would hamper the work of the Catholic members: for instance, he feared that being a participant the Catholics could be accused of being his spokesmen. Upon seeing that other religious leaders also preferred to stay aloof, he did not attend any other meetings of the organization but urged the Catholics in the pulpit to participate and have as much influences as they could since the welfare of the Catholic children was at stake.

The aim of the association is to support the school, look after the welfare of the children and provide a forum for school authorities and parents. It is very revealing to see that under leadership of the Registrar of Deeds (he is President), the organization is much more concerned about the material support¹ of the school

¹ In order to increase membership and urge participation, the Registrar of Deeds sent the following circular letter to community members. Dear friends, The Portsmouth Home and School Association will hold the first meeting of 1951-1952 term in the High School on Monday evening, September 10, 1951. Do you realize what this Association has done for the school children in the past two years? In addition to the work done at the regular meetings held

and its financial position than about parents sharing in policy making and decisions on school problems. The reason why fundamental problems of the mixed school (such as the hiring of teachers, election of trustees, the teaching of religion in school, problems between children and teachers etc...) are not discussed is that the religious frictions between the Catholics and Protestants would be carried over into the organization with the resulting effect that the material welfare of the schoolchildren would be neglected.

There are some people who are aware of these problems and who think that a special committee within the organization should be established to study them and find possible solutions.

The President of the Municipal Home and School Association, for instance, suggested at the opening meeting in the fall of 1951 that "a new committee be formed at a later date, to act as a medium between the teacher and the home. This committee would help to straighten out situations between teachers, pupils and parents, trustees, which occasionally arise."¹ This indicates the awareness of the problem and the imperious necessity for taking definite action to solve it. However, it seems that there is a lack of clear cut definition of the purpose of the organization.

At a Home and School Forum held at Portsmouth in later November and led by inspectors Petit of Plymouth and Ryan of Middleton, the former stated his interpretation of the aims of the organization. He said at that meeting that it was not a money-making organization, nor a women's organization, nor a place to fight over teachers or pupils – nor to replace the school board or interfere in any way with school supervision. He said that it was an organization to help the teachers, pupils and parents, and to study and plan for the good of home and school primarily.² The clear definition of the organization's purpose, the personality of the present president, the relatively young age of the organization and the relative lack of participation of both the Disciples and the Catholics (among which most of the

on the second Monday of each month, the Home and School Association (1) installed washing facilities (2) furnished paper towels and cups (3) furnished individual paper cups (4) contributed the money for swings and teeters (5) contributed one-third of the purchase price of Film Projector (6) arranged for the supply of Cod Liver oil capsules to the children (7) sponsored an art exhibition (8) sponsored the transportation of the school children attending musical festival at Bristol (9) purchased electric hot plates and made it possible to serve hot cocoa to children staying for lunch. There are numerous other things we could do for the children such as a dental clinic, more recreational equipment for the smaller children. This year, we would like to have all parents and all other persons interested in our school children and our community meet with us and give their advice and assistance. Please, make an honest effort to attend and help the different officers and committee chairmen in their efforts to continue the work they have done on behalf of the children and to fulfill other projects that will be of a great benefit to them and our community, Yours sincerely. Signed Jim McAllister, President.

¹ Report of the September meetings, recorded in *The Digby Courier*, Sept. 13, 1951.

² Report of the Forum, recorded in *The Digby Courier*, November 29, 1951.

religious frictions arise) account for the present set up of the organization and its lack of initiative in dealing with the fundamental problems of a mixed school.

Sixty percent of the offices in 1951 are held by Protestants (divided among the four denominations) and the rest are held by Catholics¹. Despite the fact that Catholics have a share of leadership in the organization, many feel that they should have more because the great majority of schoolchildren are Catholics. They also feel, as it was noted before because Mrs. Chiasson was by-passed by McAllister, that the Protestants wanted to control the organization. This last feeling can hardly be justified since the following year fifty percent of the offices are held by Catholics Acadians. It seems to indicate the unwillingness of some Catholics to participate in the organization, the hope that a separate Home and School of their own will be established if plans for a parochial school materialized.

The Registrar of Deeds, as president, stirred controversial comments: some people thought that he was authoritarian and that he was using the (organization to achieve his own personal aims; others thought, and they were the minority, that he was a good president.

Table 3. *Sex and Denominational Differences in the Intensity of Participation of Home and School Members, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Intensity of participation*	Protestants		Catholics		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
1	2	5	2	1	10
2	2	5	0	2	9
3	2	6	1	5	14
4	5	8	3	7	23
5	7	6	6	5	24
Total	18	30	12	20	80

¹ President: Jim McAllister, Vice-President: *Mrs. Lionel Chiasson*; Secretary: Mrs. Peter Moller; Treasurer: *Mrs. John O'Reilly*; Program Convenor: *Mr. Rosaire Blanchet*; Ways and Means Conveners: *Mrs. Lionel Chiasson* and Mrs. Harrington; membership: Miss Joan Rivers; Social: Mrs. Don Dobbs; Teaching staff representative: *Mr. Conrad La Fleur*. (Names of Catholics holding offices are underlined and with the exception of Mrs. O'Reilly are full-blood Acadians). The following year (fall 1952) the following people were elected. President: Mr. James Westman; Vice-President; *Dr. Marc-André Campeau*; Secretary: Mrs. Peter Moller; Treasurer: *Mrs. Marc-André Campeau*; Program: Mr. Rosaire Blanchet; Social: Mrs. Don Dobbs; Representative from the trustee: *Valentin Chiasson* and Representative from school: Mr. Parker.

* This scale of intensity of participation of members in the Home and School Association was set up with the help of Mr. Jim McAllister, the president, who rated the individuals according to their participation. The key to symbols are as follows:

1. Individuals who are very active in the organization and usually hold office.
2. Individuals who are very active in the organization attend most of the meetings but have not been called upon for leadership.
3. Individuals who show good interest in the organization but attend few of the meetings.
4. Individuals who have membership, have little interest and do not usually attend meetings.
5. Nominal members: People who pay their dues but never attend a meeting.

These ratings are only valid for the time McAllister was president (1950 and 1951) and led all the meetings of the organizations.

The Portsmouth Home and School association has eighty members, twenty-four of whom are nominal members (30 %), and twenty-three more of whom participate very little (29 %), which brings the total of non-active members to fifty-nine percent. Not only then are more Protestants than Catholics (respectively 60 % and 40 %) who have membership in the organization but the Protestants rate higher on the scale of intensity of participation. There are also more females than males who have membership in the association and the females show higher intensity of participation. If we compare Protestant and Catholic males, we find that the male Protestant ratio of membership (37.5 %) is the same than the male Catholic ratio (37.5 %) but that their intensity of participation is a little greater than the Catholics. Looking at the females we find the same ratios of membership but again the Protestant females participate more intensely than the Catholic females. This shows the relatively lower level of interests of the latter when it is known that they have more children attending school than the former. It also shows the relatively low-level interests of the male parents in spite of the fact that about half of the offices are held by men.¹

3. Social and Recreational Organizations

A. The Portsmouth Branch of the Red Cross Society

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The Portsmouth Branch of the Red Cross Society was established in 1940 at the very beginning of World War II. Its first President was a Catholic and its first Vice-President, an Anglican. The Baptists and the United Church people were also

¹ Presidents have always been men.

represented on the Board of Officers so that the four religious denominations found then in Portsmouth were represented. (The Disciples of Christ were not then active in town and they were attending church-services at Harrison). The organization was very active during the war years and experienced a decline in the local participation of women since then. This is strictly a female organization which meets at Killan Hall (Anglican parish hall) once a week, does sowing, quilting, knitting, etc...

The purpose of the organization is to provide blood and homemade supplies (such as stockings and blankets, etc...) for people in the services. Its peace-time activities are oriented towards achieving the same purpose for disaster-stricken civilian populations (floods, fires, etc...) For instance in order to promote a blood drive in the area it was mentioned that the local Red Cross Society had contributed blood and clothing and blankets to the stricken populations of Cabano and Rimouski in Quebec during the year 1951. (Report made by the Disaster Relief Committee)

During the year 1951, they shipped over two hundred different articles to Plymouth headquarters. The same year they also helped the local Home and School Association with the purchase of cod liver oil capsules for the schoolchildren in the primary grades. The Society has a fund drive every year and in 1951 they collected \$435.32 in Portsmouth and environs, as compared with \$388.82 in 1950. There was also a Red Cross Mobile Blood Donor Clinic held at Portsmouth in October (1951) and 102 individuals from the area gave blood and as 32 people had previously attended the clinic at Bristol, the number of donors from the district was 137. This relative success was due to the efforts of the Bank Manager and Mr. James Westman who were respectively chairman and vice-chairman of the 1951 Blood Drive.

Despite these good achievements of the Society it is felt that the attendance at working meetings had dropped unexpectedly in the last year, especially among the Acadian women. The society is now led by the English Protestants.¹ Most of the members are middle-aged and older women of the middle and upper classes. One of the reasons for lack of Acadian participation is Acadian factionalism.²

¹ There are two Acadian women in the list of twelve offices.

² The first President of the Society related to me during an interview the development of frictions among the Acadian Catholics of Portsmouth, "The Anglican minister offered us Killan Hall free of rent so that we could work there and I tell you people were working hard... As President I was taking my office very seriously and I made it a point of attending all the meetings. I was proud of being President, not because of personal ambition, but because I was a Catholic leading a mixed organizations and for what it meant to be a Catholic in this community. However the trouble is that we, the Catholics, are divided among ourselves and we are jealous of each other. The French were doing good workmanship in the organization. They were very good at quilting blankets which is one of our typical craft and we taught the English how to do it. The English members were good at knitting, I would have been willing to accept the presidency for another year (despite the fact she was keeping the family store) if something

The Protestants are aware of the frictions among the Catholics and they thought of giving the presidency or the vice-presidency to an Acadian so that the Catholics would be more active in the organization.

B. The Portsmouth Dramatic Group

The Dramatic Group was established in 1949 and was started as a music appreciation group by Home and School members who had particular interest in drama and music. In the years prior to its establishment, each denominational group presented an average of a play a year and the funds raised were given to the various churches. The quality of the play and the quality of the acting was very poor and some young people felt that it would be better to have only one non-denominational Drama Club and do a better job. They present an average of two plays a year, sometimes in cooperation with other Drama Clubs of the county. The group meets once a month and most of the members attend. There are seventeen members in 1951, young unmarried boys and girls between the age of 18 and 25. The girls outnumber the boys in roughly a proportion of three to one. There were four French girls who had membership in the group, but after they moved to Toronto and Halifax, the organization became entirely English and Protestants. The purpose of the group is to raise the educational level in the community by promoting good drama and music and creative entertainment in the community.

which I hate to recall and speak about had not happened. It was at the annual meeting and nominations were opened. The first thing I knew was that Mrs. Doris Boisvert, mind you, got up and proposed Mrs. Westman for the presidency and Mrs. Lionel Chiasson seconded the motion. Was I ever surprised and shocked. It was completely unexpected, and I was hurt especially because this woman is feeble-minded, by the way she is now hospitalized in Dartmouth, and I never thought that she could lead that organization. I could have fought my way up, she continued, but I did not want the Protestants to witness our frictions. But that was an awful thing to do to me after I had done my very best to put the Catholics forward. It was all the worse because it was two Catholics who made the motion... At any rate Mrs. Westman got up and said that she would accept the presidency if somebody in the audience could tell her what it meant to be a good president. So there were some Protestants sitting beside me and they told me, "Come on, stand up and tell her what it is expected from a good Red Gross President, you have been President yourself." So, I got up and said that to be a good President one must attend all the meetings, visit all the auxiliaries so on and so forth. At that time Mrs. Boisvert got up again and begged me to sit down. That was the second insult in the same evening. Was that something to do to another Catholic in front of all those Protestants? How can we try to improve our relations with the Protestants when they are aware that we are divided among ourselves and cannot get along together? After that meeting I went to see Father O'Brien and he advised me to drop my membership. I did and I never went to the meetings again... Two weeks ago, the President gave me a ring and asked me if I would take over the presidency of the organization again since they, the Protestants were all backing me. I explained to her that I could not accept the nomination at the present time..." (Mrs. Dean/ Nov. 23/51/MAT.)

C. The Portsmouth Amateur Athletic Association

This youth organization was active in the town in the thirties and in 1939 the baseball team, played its last game of baseball because most of the youth joined the army and went overseas. From 1939 to 1946 the organization was idle. In 1946, Fernand Campeau a high school boy organized a baseball team (for juniors and seniors) which was open to Protestants and Catholics alike. The following fall he left for Halifax and the team played but few games during the two following summers. In 1949 the Association was reorganized by the town and Valentin Chiasson and one of the Protestant ministers took over the leadership and started a baseball team.

The Association is neither active nor effective. The town does not support athletics because many of the old people who still have some power in community organizations are against it on the grounds that when they were young they could organize their own games and it did not cost anything. There is also the fact that most of the young men of the area work outside or have left the community with the result that there are very few good players left and that they cannot compete with outside teams. The Legion is probably the only community organization interested in supporting athletics in town.

One of the questions on which the members voted was the playing of games on Sundays. Many Protestants did not think that Sunday should prevent them from participating in baseball games. But under the influences of the minister (who said at a special meeting that playing baseball on Sundays was against his church's regulations) the members voted against baseball games on Sundays. This limited the games the team could play to evenings or on Sundays down the French Shore.

One of the steadiest participants in the association was a half-blood Acadian, clerk at Boisvert's garage. He had been umpire since 1946. He withdrew his participation in 1951 because of inter-personal difficulties with the minister. The former tells how it happened.

"The minister came to see me at the garage one afternoon and asked me if I could attend the baseball game in the evening. I told him that I did not know, the whole thing depended on if I could leave the garage at six or seven. He came again at six o'clock and I told him that I could not go. He was mad and told me that I had the wrong job to be a steady umpire. I answered back that it was not everybody who thought of making a job of ministry. You need, I told him, a bunch of suckers give you enough money to survive..."¹

This organization is dying out. In 1951, they played three or four games during the summer. It has not found yet a man who would be interested enough in

¹ Raynold Glen, (10/3/1952/MAT).

athletics to devote all of his free time, especially during the summer, to the children and to the improvement of athletics in the community.

D. The Portsmouth Masonic Lodge

Upon moving to Portsmouth, I visited a friend on the French Shore. The first thing he said to me about Portsmouth was, "Beware, there are some prejudiced groups in Portsmouth and one of them, the Masons, is working against the Catholics and against the Acadians," and later added, "We, the Knights of Columbus, are going to do everything we can to destroy them."

The Lodge was established in 1950 or 1951 under the influences of Henry Lang. Due to the fact that it is a recent organization in Portsmouth and that their activities are secret, very little is known about what is the purpose of the organization and what they are doing. Many of the Portsmouth Acadians did not even know that such an organization existed in the town. The Knights of Columbus (there are three members in town) is also a secret organization and very little is known about them either. The Catholics and Knights of Columbus think that the Masons are a pagan organization which works to eradicate Catholicism. The Anglican Minister also thinks that it is an organization which worships pagan Gods. At a meeting of Anglican ministers in Halifax, a motion was passed to form a committee to investigate whether or not it was a Christian organization. The motion was defeated. The Anglican Minister also feels that it is a formal organization which increases religious and class barriers. When he was invited to join the organization and given the reason that it would bring better understanding between him and his churchmen, he turned them down.

According to the little I know, membership is drawn mainly among United Church and Christ Church (and Baptist to a lesser extent) businessmen and clerical workers. Only one Catholic and one Anglican have joined the Masonic Lodge, and they are looked down upon by their respective church groups. The Catholics do not understand that the individual who belongs to the Masons can continue to participate in religious ceremonies of the Church and think that he is a hypocrite. When his son was arrested for abortion practices, it was felt by the Catholic population that the sentence given was reduced to a minimum because the Judge was also a Mason.

According to the data we have in the files about other Masonic lodges in the county, an individual is admitted if he subscribes to Masonic principles, is twenty-one years of age, is sponsored by two members and receive unanimous vote from the members. It is also reported that the applicant must believe in God, and once a participant, he must work for degrees and be active in the organization under the pain of losing his membership. It also seems that the general purpose of the organization is mutual aid, cooperation among the members and community

service. In connection with the latter, it is reported that they take care of the widows of deceased members and run an old folks home.

E. The Olive Branch Rebekah Lodge

The Rebekah Lodge is the counterpart of the Odd Fellow which is non-existent in town at the present time. Very little is known about the association. It is the feeling of many that it is dying out with a few members left among women of middle-aged and older groups. It is a fraternal organization and the chief function is to promote and exchange social intercourse between its members. It does not provide community functions. Follows a report of one of their meeting. "Following the regular meeting of the Olive Branch Rebekah Lodge held on Monday evening July 16, a social hour was held in honor of one of the Lodge's eldest members, Mrs. Jennie McAllister. Mrs. McAllister has been a member for twenty-five years. She was given a gift from the Lodge, presented to her by Mrs. Susie Briggs, P.N.C., on behalf of the members and this was acknowledged by Mrs. McAllister. Refreshments consisting of ice cream and cake were served." (*The Digby Courier*, July 1951).

Recently the Municipal Councillor failed in his attempts to establish a Kiwanis Club in Portsmouth, it was felt by many that there were too many existing organizations already and that it was better to improve them rather than to establish new ones which would be dormant. The Anglican minister was against it because he felt it would delineate further the differences between upper class and lower class people, the Catholics and the Protestants, the businessmen and the laborers.

4. Political Organizations

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Portsmouth is a village under the "Village Supply Act." The reasons placing a village such as Portsmouth under the Act is such that matters like street lighting, fire protection and water supplies can be provided and town residents taxed according to their property ownership to pay for these services. Under the Act, people of the area vote to adopt the Act and then appoint commissioners who will conduct the affairs of the village in the same way the "Town Council" conducts the affairs of an "Incorporated Town". There are three commissioners, one town clerk and one tax collector.

The weakening of the local community as a political decision making unit brought about the decline in interest of local affairs. For instance at one of the

Home and School meeting the President mentioned that the privies were being re-done for the year, due to the fact that there had not been enough taxpayers out to make a quorum at the recent ratepayers meeting which had been called to determine the possibilities of septic toilets.

At one stage of development, the community was called upon to make all the decisions which indirectly and directly affected its welfare. With the growth of communication and the trend towards dependence on the larger political unit (municipal, provincial and federal), many of the local decisions cannot be carried out and implemented unless there are also endorsed by the higher authorities. If, for instance, the highway which goes through Portsmouth is in bad shape and the consensus is that it should be repaired immediately, the village commissioners make a request to the Highway Department in Halifax who decide whether they will do it or not. The usual procedure is for the commissioners, regardless of political affiliation since it is a formal function, to get the Provincial Member to intercede for them in their request. At the same time, the Liberal Chairman for the area (assuming that the Liberals are in power in the Province) tips off the Provincial Member who in turn appeals to the Minister of Highways. Therefore it seems that whatever jobs need to be done (except those which are within the authority of the Board of Commissioners) it always goes through the Member of the Legislative Assembly to the Department concerned.

In anything that does not affect the village as a political unit, but only a particular group of people, commissioners do not take action directly. The request goes rather through the Liberal Chairman (again assuming that the Liberals are in power in Halifax) and then through the Provincial Member to the Department involved. This seems to be a political stratagem by which whoever gets benefits is aware where it comes from and through whom it came. The influence of the commissioners is really limited to matters of little political importance for the outside. As I mentioned previously, there is little interest in politics in either village or municipality. A good illustration, apart from the one previously given, is the fact that the Municipal Councilman, who is elected every three years, is almost always elected by acclamation, the feeling being that he has very little influence anyhow, and only the Member has enough influence to intercede at the higher governmental level.

Henry Lang kept Portsmouth Conservative, mainly because he controlled employment. After the Pulp Creek Pulp Mill closed, Henry took over the leadership of the Conservative Association in the village. However, outside factors changed the local political picture and counterbalanced the political advantages of controlling the employment situation. With the increasing strength of the Acadians in the last two decades, (the great majority of whom are traditionally Liberal) and with the social legislation that came through with the Liberal administrations in the mid-thirties (the Negro vote shifted from Conservative to Liberal) the Liberals have been gaining grounds in Portsmouth. In other words, the migration of the

Acadians to Portsmouth and the favorable provincial and federal legislation (which became politically more important than controlling job opportunities in the village) were the two main factors which shifted the political power in town. More and more Lang's influences are limited to his church, (where he is on the Board of Elders) and his industry.

Party organization has also contributed, to a certain extent, to the change in political color of the village. The late Dr. Peters (an Irish Catholic) was Chairman of the Liberal Committee for many years. When he died, an Acadian businessman, a St. Ann's graduate, took over the job. He got fed up because he could not get all his projects through. Some of the members also felt uncomfortable because he was openly anti-Negro and that was considered to be "bad political tactics." Finally, the chairmanship was taken over by Valentin Chiasson, a Portsmouth businessman.

However, for practical purpose, both the Liberal and the Conservative Committees are mainly active only during election time. They organize the political campaign in the district and are called upon to make speeches for their respective parties.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 9: Industrial Enterprises

1. Primary Enterprises

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Portsmouth is one of the typical lumber towns in the whole county. Some eight families are part-time farmers and derive some income from the sale of agricultural products. Two heads of households are fulltime dairy farmers: one supplies his father's general store with milk and the other has customers in the village as well as outside. Apart from these ten families, there are some others who have gardening patches, but they consume everything they produce. Nor do they produce enough to consider it of any significance; most people have to buy all their food at the grocery stores.

In the village itself, there are no fishermen or clam diggers. Some individuals go clam digging for their pleasure only, not as a source of income.

2. Secondary and Tertiary Industries

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Four sawmills are in operation in 1951: The Dennis Co. Ltd; The Henry Lang Co. Ltd; The Portsmouth Shipping Company and Captain Charlie Chiasson's Stave Mill. These companies will be briefly described in that order.

A. The Dennis Lumber Company

The owner, Mr. Henry Dennis, Municipal Councillor for the Portsmouth district, acquired his milling experience working for the owner of the largest sawmill in Bristol. In 1946, he operated a portable mill on some of his holdings. In 1950, his business was incorporated and he built a permanent sawmill near his home on the Langston road.

From the time Dennis started in the milling business until the time we were in the field, his business has expanded steadily. In 1950 alone, he sold three million feet of lumber, half of which was sawed at his mill, the other half being purchased mainly from Saint-Malo. Dennis owns a few thousands acres of woodland and of all the logs which are sawed at his mill, about three-quarters come from cutting operations on his own woodlots and the rest is purchased in the English municipality ¹. He also handles pulpwood: in 1950, he sold some fifteen hundred cords.

The company owns a tractor and a bulldozer and operates on a year round basis. It hires approximately forty people, including truckers and employees who work in the mill, the yard and the woods.

During the cutting season the number of employees rises to seventy and sometimes more. During the shipping operations, ² the number of truckers is increased from seven to twenty: all but four of these trucks are hired by contract.

All of the employees working in the mill are Acadians from Le Rang, an inland community in Saint-Malo, ten miles southwest of Portsmouth. Under the assumption that the more responsible a man feels for his job, the better he does, Dennis gave the sawing contract to two lumbermen from Le Rang ³. The loading operations are also given in contract.

During the year 1950, after transportation had been paid, each thousand feet of wood cost, \$57.00.

B. The Lang Mill

Located on the Northport side of the Owl River, the Lang mill depends almost entirely on municipality farmers for its supply of logs. The mill combines this type

¹ Saint-Malo independent lumber-men prefer to give the sawing of their logs on contract and sell their lumber to dealers than to sell their logs directly to the dealers as they do in Bristol municipality.

² All lumber is shipped at Bristol wharf, some twenty miles to the northeast, because the Owl River needs some dredging before it will again be suitable and safe for navigation.

³ Dennis provides buildings, equipment, and the cook house.

of buying with contract logging¹. Mr. Henry Lang is one of the most important businessmen in the village. His economic position gives him a lot of power in the community.

Lang operated two or three portable mills in the backwoods before moving to Portsmouth to establish his milling enterprise on a larger scale. He has lived in Portsmouth for twenty-nine years and has established one of the most stable business enterprises in the county.

The mill is electrically powered and provides work for some twenty family heads the year round. Some of these people live in Northport, some in Pulp Creek and the others in the community back of Portsmouth².

The average income for his mill employees varies from twenty to twenty-four dollars a week, with thirty dollars a week for the more skilled workers such as millwrights. Of all the sawmill employees, those working at the Lang mill are the worst paid. Their “starvation wages” make them experience great economic insecurities and deprive them sometimes from the necessities of life.

The Lang mill is associated with a company store which has expanded considerably by extending credit to company workers. The pre-World war II practice of the employer of paying half cash and half trade has ceased to exist, but the poorly paid mill worker has failed not only to raise his standards of living but also to free himself from the dominance of his employer. For instance, many of the employees who buy food and goods on credit at the company store usually owe more than they can pay with their check.

The Lang Company is the agent of the Mersey Paper Co. in the district and controls contracts and sub-contracts for pulpwood, and has sold some 10,000 cords.

C. Portsmouth Shipping Company

This enterprise has been in operation for at least two decades but has been declining recently. The mill depends almost entirely on farmer-lumbermen in the Portsmouth district for logs. The owners Mr. Arnold Widimere, used to carry on

¹ Family crews, which cut timber for him work on a “so-much-per-thousand-feet-of-lumber” arrangement. The cutting crews are usually made up of three members, two of whom fell and trim the trees and the other one hauls the out timber to a brow. They get sometimes around \$15 to \$20 a thousand feet and two or three thousand feet is a good day's work. The crew has to haul the logs where company trucks can load them.

² Mr. Henry Lang was born in Harrison and has kept strong ties with his native community. When there are openings, he fills them by hiring people from Harrison. Through his influence and policies, many families from the backwoods have established residence in Portsmouth.

some of his own lumbering operations and establish lumber camps in the heart of the forest during wintertime.

The company hired some fifteen employees in the mill and as many in the yards and office. Most of the mill workers are Pulp Creek inhabitants. The farmers who supply the mill cut an average of ten thousand feet of lumber a year from their woodlots.

One informant describes how this particular company has been affected by the changes in markets.

“Through the years the lumber outlets have varied a lot. Markets tend to fluctuate and change with conditions. A fair example of this may be found in the records of the Shipping Company. Situated like numerous other Nova Scotia mills on a readily accessible sea-bound waterway, this firm developed a pre-war trade with southern markets. Cuba bought spruce to make packing cases, the British West Indies bought hardwood staves to make puncheons, and quantities of lumber were shipped to the United States. The bulk of the shipping was done by water. Then World War II changed the whole market picture. Great Britain required all the lumber Canada could supply and the other markets were left to their own devices. When British requirements slacked off with the declining rehabilitation programs, the Portsmouth shippers looked for their previous markets. They found that the lack of wood supply had left the way open for the establishment of a corrugated paper box factory in Cuba and the previous spruce market in that country was wiped out. A gradual change in merchandising methods that introduced and established the sealed package as a more convenient and sanitary method of selling molasses, brought with it the use of the tanker for bulk transport and cut down the need for puncheons in the Barbados. The American market still handled lumber but when they were cut off by the wartime contracts they had been obliged to resort to a native pine of lower quality than that they had been getting from Canada. As long as it was taking care of their requirements, they weren't anxious to make a big change in their stocks. Change had erected an even greater barrier to the United States markets with prohibitive freight rates. Before the war, small vessels carrying 100,000 feet of lumber were plying the sea lanes. But soaring operations costs and difficulty of landing their cargoes in organized ports has since forced most of them out of business. This leaves the alternative of rail shipment with greatly increased cost”¹

This company, like the preceding one, pays low wages and absorbs laborers who cannot find jobs elsewhere. The working conditions are rather poor and some workers expressed the feeling that they did not have any choice in the matter since working in the mill is “the only job available” in the area.

¹ From an unpublished manuscript by Roy Hockett, writer-photographer residing in Portsmouth.

D. The Stave Mill

Captain Charlie Chiasson, the owner of the Stave Mill, is a retired sea captain who resides in Hughes Cove. He started the Stave business after he retired at the end of World War II. From the production of 300,000 feet of staves at the start, he has now expanded and reached the million mark. The captain buys his hardwood lumber from various mills all scattered over the county.

This industry hires some fifteen people, half of them coming from Maltapan where the mill boss resides, and the other half coming from Hugues Cove. The owner expects to make it a year round enterprise in the next years.

The brief description of these four lumbering enterprises gives a rough idea of the industries which absorb the great bulk of Acadian unskilled and semi-skilled labor of Portsmouth and environs. There are two other industries (tertiary) which employ more than ten family heads and which will be defined here: The Boisvert and Dobbs' garages.

The Boisvert's garage is owned by a Lavallée immigrant who moved to Portsmouth in the late twenties and started his business. All the employees, but one mixed-blood, are full-blood Acadians and the majority of them live either in Frontière or Lavallée.

The Dobbs garage was started in 1950. Dobbs competes with Boisvert for clientele and some frictions have developed between the two on various occasions. Both names have been associated with important village events which will be treated later (see Chapter 19).

The occupations in Portsmouth ecological areas, as listed in Table 4, indicated the extent to which the primary industries (farming, fishing and lumbering) have been abandoned and relinquished as a primary source of income. There are some wage laborers who farm and some farmers who cut lumber on their woodland, but this pattern of multiple occupations does not show in the table since only the main occupation has been consistently recorded.

There are few professionals in the larger area and the majority of these live in Portsmouth. Portsmouth has also the largest proprietorial category, greater than the three other communities of the ecological area combined. It is to be noticed that there are no clerical workers in Frontière and Pulp Creek. The high percentage of Frontière residents in the skilled trades can be explained by the large Acadian population in that community. Pulp Creek has the largest group of unskilled workers, people who shift from one job to another.

Table 4. *Occupations of Adults over Twenty-One Years of Age in Portsmouth Ecological Area by Communities, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Occupations	Northport %	Portsmouth %	Frontière	Pulp Creek	Total N
Professional ¹	2.0	33.6	0	0.9	15
Farming	2.6	3.0	9.0	6.7	25
Fishing	1.3	0	0.	0	2
Proprietor ²	5.3	12.1	5.0	0.9	49
Clerical ³	5.3	9.2	0	0	36
Skilled ⁴	5.3	6.0	18.3	3.7	41
Semi-skilled ⁵	6.0	1.0	3.2	7.4	22
Unskilled	24.8	16.1	16.4	27.8	124
Housewife	43.6	43.7	44.2	43.2	267
Retired	2.6	4.9	0	6.7	26
Lumbering	0	0	3.2	0.9	3
Army	0	0.03	1.6	0.9	3
Total N	149	304	61.	104	618
Total %	98.8	99.63	100.9	99.1	

3. Some Attitudes Connected with the Various Forms of Economic Enterprises

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The same general attitude that “there is no future in the area” and that “no good can ever come out of this place” found in the various other communities of the county is also present in Portsmouth. People are of the opinion that there is a general tendency now for decentralizing industries but feel that their town is not large enough to attract either businessmen or outside investments for the establishing of new industries. Furthermore, the businessmen of the area are thought to invest their money in the more successful industries of the Province or

¹ This occupational category includes semi-professionals and technical people (doctors, dentists, ministers, nurses, teachers).

² Proprietors, managers, foremen, officials, contractors, etc...

³ White collar jobs, salesmen, post masters, stenographers, etc...

⁴ Skilled craftsmen (plumbers, carpenters, seamstresses, millwrights etc...

⁵ Semi-skilled workers (planers, truck drivers, painters, barbers... occupations which in the context of Stirling County have required a little training but no lengthy apprenticeship as in the case of the skilled trades.

in Central Canada. There is a great concern on the part of businessmen to improve the economic situation of the town, but no definite plans have been laid out. They are very cautious about starting industries which they feel could not compete with industries of the same nature which are closer to consuming centers. They feel, for instance, that the transportation costs alone (freight costs) make it impossible for them to establish industries of transformation. Another prevalent attitude is that there is no pulling together of the various economic forces of the area. The young people's attitude is that the sooner they can get out of the place the better since "there is nothing for a young man to do in this place" unless they belong to the business elites. Even the businessmen's children go to college and universities to study for the professions and do not come back. Though the standards of living have risen sharply since the last decade, the great bulk of the population, the laboring class, finds it harder and harder to make a living because salaries are only a little above pre-war levels. Even the clerical workers find it difficult to make both ends meet and they complain that their salaries compare disadvantageously with those in the same occupational category of the larger and more prosperous towns.

Portsmouth was a thriving town at the turn of the century, they say, but has been declining since then. It has never recovered from the disastrous consequences of the economic depression and the fire. There was an industrial boom during the war when the government contracts for war ships ran high ¹ and the local shipyard hired about four hundred family heads living in the surrounding communities. When the government's contracts were cancelled and the shipyard was forced to close down, the workers who came from rural communities were able to compensate for their economic losses by part-time farming, but town dwellers were left with only the alternatives of working in the sawmills or the garages in town.

Some people have related to me that if it weren't for the retailing power of the town there would be a general economic collapse.

The laboring class, which represents a large segment of the population, says that the businessmen are incompetent but they feel very dependent on them for jobs since "there is nothing else to do around here." In the last three years, especially among the middle-aged and younger groups, quite a number of individuals (close to two dozen) have gone, either to Halifax, Labrador, New-Quebec or Ontario to work for periods ranging from six months to a year.

There is considerable economic insecurity because timber resources, the major means of livelihood, are nearing exhaustion as a result of technological innovations and poor cutting practices of the lumber contractors. Much consideration is given to starting an industry which would transform lumber products, but except for the

¹ The shipyard built some sixteen fair miles during the war period.

attempts to re-open the furniture factory, no other practical solution has been offered. The feeling is that any new enterprise would be successful in keeping the local skilled workers.

Among some Acadian Portsmouthites, the feeling exists that the Anglo-Protestant businessmen are prejudiced against them and that they will hire Acadians only if and when nobody else can be hired for the job.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 10: Law and Social Control

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The only formal agency for enforcing law in the village is the RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) which also enforces law in the municipality and the Province. The village has no police force and like Lavallée, minor offenses, such as family fights, are usually settled by the parties concerned. The RCMP would only investigate major offenses, such as theft charges, charges of practicing abortion, etc.

The seat of the municipality jail and court is Bristol town. During our stay, there were two arrests. One involved a man from New Brunswick who, under misrepresentation,¹ borrowed money from local people. He was arrested after a few families, local businessmen, and the parish priest made complaints to the RCMP. He was sentenced to two years in the penitentiary. The other arrest was the one of a local man, Clarence Gervais, under charges of abortion practices. One of the Acadian doctors who knew that he was practicing that trade once warned him that he should stop immediately if he did not want to get arrested. The doctor's warning went somewhat as follows: "Why don't you stop making a fool of yourself, you have reached the point where people know about it and it won't be long before you're put in jail. You have been lucky that nobody died up to now, but this was because we always saved your patients in time..." Of course, Gervais did not pay any attention to the Doctor's warning; a little later, he was arrested and sentenced to five years in the penitentiary. The present Bristol Crown prosecutor, another Acadian, who successfully defended Gervais against similar charges some fifteen years ago, decided that the time was ripe for setting an example to the people. He thought that he had enough evidence on four or five counts to ask for

¹ His story was that he was the representative of a textile industry form Montreal who had interests in buying and re-opening the Portsmouth shipyard.

maximum penalty. The prosecutor collected all the evidence he could from county doctors and nurses. He won the judge's decision (the judge was a mason) but was disappointed that the maximum jail sentence was not given. The rumor went around that Gervais was saved because of his father's membership in the Portsmouth Masonic Lodge.

Among Portsmouth Catholics, the Gervais incident was labelled "disgusting," "revolting," "incomprehensible on the part of a Catholic," "frightening," "incredible" by the highly religious people and "too bad such a nice chap was caught" by the secularized Acadians. There is a middle class Acadian Portsmouthite who declared to me (and this was also mentioned by the priest in cases of illegitimacy) that "sooner or later a family is punished in the same way it has sinned." Then she went on to say that Gervais' mother's father had a child from a Saint-Malo girl and did not marry her because his parents objected to a marriage which would lower him in the scale of prestige. She thought that the Gervais family was now being punished for its past sin.

The religious Catholics in town were very much afraid that "the Protestants would use this incident as a case against their Church and voice malicious gossip," but were later reassured when it was rumored that a Protestant from Northport and his wife, who had left for the States) prior to Gervais' arrest had been directly connected with the affair. As far as I know, the last rumor was never confirmed or even considered openly in the courts. They also felt a little more at ease when they recalled that the Protestant Portsmouth drug store owner's brother had also been publicly known to practice the same trade and felt that "the Protestants would not dare talk about it." The Protestant doctor in Portsmouth, who "had no sympathy whatever for what Gervais had done" thought that it was "a good thing that he had been arrested."

The priest did not talk about it at the pulpit for obvious reasons, but felt very depressed because one of his parishioners had been involved in "such a terrible thing." However he found it as shocking to see that some Protestants and his non-Church-going Pulp Creek Catholics were greeting Gervais (bailed out of jail awaiting his trial) as if he had been a hero and had accomplished an outstandingly laudable feat. The priest took this instance as an example to illustrate that many of his secularized Catholics do not know the difference between evil and good. He also brought up the example of Pulp Creek men who do not think that they sin when they sleep with somebody else's wife as long as they are not caught. Among many secularized Catholics, the fear of legal punishment and of getting caught is the most important basis for social control even more so than the sanctions of the Church.

Some of the informal agencies for social control, which are present in Lavallée, are also found in Portsmouth. The main difference between the two committees consists in the range and degree to which these agencies are effective.

In Lavallée, for instance, the Church is the most powerful and efficient agency for controlling behavior. However, the influence of the Church on the individuals in the congregation is directly proportional to their closeness to the Church. From the viewpoint of the church, even though individuals can deviate from legal norms of behavior and avoid punishment if they are not caught, they will always have to account, after death, for deviations from the prescribed religious norms. In cases where the offense is defined as serious and the loss of grace ensues, it may mean damnation, eternal punishment. Moral negative sanctions, to a larger extent than legal negative sanctions, account for the high degree of conformity found at L'Anse des Lavallée.

In Portsmouth, the sanctions of the Church are not as important for the guiding of people's conduct as they are in Lavallée. Even moral negative sanctions do not work as effectively as they do at L'Anse. As a matter of fact, the Portsmouth pastor is often the focus of malicious gossip not only on the part of secularized people, but also from religious people as well. (See Chapter 17). In matters which are not fundamentally related to the Church's system of sacred values, some parishioners question the truthfulness of the priest's opinion. There is no doubt that this factor contributes to the weakening of the social control of the Church, not only in determining the social standards of ethical conduct which involve the whole parish (in church picnics and dances on Sundays) but also these which relate to individual matters, for instance in the practice of contraception through the rhythm method or contraceptives.

In Lavallée another institution which plays a vital role in regulating social behavior is the family. In communities where family solidarity is permanent, where social relationships are face-to-face rather than impersonal, forces for conformity are dominant. In Portsmouth, the family as a mechanism which regulates behavior is not as effective as it is in Lavallée. However, as in Saint-Malo communities, but to a lesser extent, the mother is expected to play a paramount role in bringing conformity about at the family level. She trains, supervises and sees that none of her children evoke the negative sanctions of the community. She guides and reforms before it is too late. The mother is usually blamed if she does not follow the traditional patterns of child rearing (not usually found among upper class families) where permissiveness in training is equated to laxity, spoiling, carelessness and moral defection. If she does everything in her capacity to train her children properly, she will be immunized against the criticisms of others in case the child does not "behave properly."

In Lavallée, immediate family members and neighbors will see that the mother fulfills her duty to the fullest extent. When one her children does something which is considered "improper behavior," she will be immediately notified and will be expected to impose the necessary restrictions which will prevent the recurrence of such patterns. In this kind of close-knit society, everybody is somewhat responsible for everybody else's actions. This type of rigid control does not exist

in Portsmouth, mainly because, among acculturated Acadians there is a very strongly valued attitude that “one ought to mind his own business.

The class system, both in Lavallée and Portsmouth acts as a force for social control. The rules for descending as well as those for climbing up in the social ladder of prestige are well understood by class conscious people, and they enforce conformity.

In Portsmouth, there are, of course, some people who are not concerned at all about their class position. Their behavior is not regulated by community consensus. A young informant speaking about the Pulp Creek “outcasts” characterized them in the following manner: they do not want to belong to any society because they do not want to be bothered by the limitations imposed upon them by society; they do not dress themselves properly, they do not go to Church, they do not want to work and they drink a lot. In other words, they are not bound at all by the rules of group living, the rules of having a nice home, of working hard, of not drinking excessively... (Mr. Fernand Campeau/10/30/1951/MAT)

This remark, which was repeated by different informants whenever they volunteered information on the highly acculturated Acadians of Pulp Creek, points to the category of people who are not limited either by social pressures for conforming, or the fear of losing their reputation. These people represent one extreme, at one end of the continuum of efficiency of social control. At the other extreme stand upper class individuals and families who consider it very important to approximate as closely as possible the models of behavior set by the members of the upper classes. This induces people to hide their patterns of non-conformity. In other words, the fear of losing their established reputation (if certain deviant patterns of behavior are known) as well as the concern over gaining still more recognition and prestige act as a force for molding people’s behavior in line with the standards of the expected patterns. Let me illustrate what I mean by two examples.

There is an important businessman in Portsmouth who does not want it to be known that he is an alcoholic (because it would endanger his class position and his business establishment). He drinks a pint of hard liquor every day. He commissions a taxi driver, a friend of his (a practice accepted on the part of taxi drivers) to go to the liquor store every day to buy his liquor. The other case: some upper class business men desire sexual gratification outside of the family bonds (flirting, petting, sexual relations, etc.) seek it only when they are outside of their community of origin (when vacationing, travelling, on business trips, at house parties) so that the chance of its being known by community members would be small. Many people have contented that “Portsmouth is a small village and that things get known very fast.”

In Lavallée and in most of the communities of the French Shore, the forces for controlling behavior among Acadians are much stronger than in Portsmouth, where there is more of the feeling that people are not responsible for their neighbor's actions and should mind their own business. Again compared to Lavallée, there is very little community feeling. For instance, at L'Anse it took me many weeks to elaborate plans before I could "break the ice" and get people to talk about the patterns of deviation in the community. In Portsmouth, people talked about it openly and often named the people concerned.¹ Ideally, of course, it is not "a good thing" to gossip because of the highly implemented value that "one ought to mind his own business." There are also ethical factors which prevent some religious people from repeating "things which are bad to talk about." Upon mentioning deviant patterns, most people apologized, pledged me to secrecy and "not even mention it to my wife." This attitude, on the one hand, reflects some concern for not being misjudged. It also indicates that many of the traditional values are preserved in culture-contact situations. Once, the woman referred to in the footnote, made a slip of the tongue and mentioned that "somebody in the village thinks you are a communist." Despite the fact that she was a close friend of mine, she did not want to reveal the name of the person because "I would hate to see that person learn that I repeated it to you." Thus in her case, there are very clear ambivalent attitudes about gossiping on the one hand, and community loyalty on the other.

The fear of shame is mainly effective among the middle and high-class individuals. There are about a dozen of cases of common-law marriages in the whole ecological area (Northport, Pulp Creek, Frontière and Portsmouth) and many informants made the comment that these people were perfectly at ease when they were seen publicly together. According to them, and my observations seem to confirm their feelings, those people do not make any effort to hide themselves. To illustrate this point there is the case of a separated woman from Pulp Creek, who came for a vacation at her parent's place with her Halifax boy friend. They were both readily accepted by their Pulp Creek friends with whom they interacted frequently during their stay.

In a similar fashion, many of the people who do not go to Church do not try to hide that fact by resorting to false explanations.

¹ There are always exceptions to the rule. There was an acquaintance of mine, for instance, who did not want to repeat certain things. She felt that if similar events had occurred in her family, she would feel very depressed upon learning that it had become community gossip. There were not only guilt feeling in her attitude, but also some fear of magical retaliation.

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 11: The Leisure Patterns

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Changes in leisure patterns are true indicators of the changing feelings about how leisure time should be spent. There has been, for instance, in the last fifty years, especially in urban and semi-urban areas, a trend away from creative leisure activities (hobbies handicrafts) to more impersonal form of leisure (such as movies) where individuals are spectators. Family-centered forms of recreation (bees, story-telling, singing, square dancing, family gatherings) have been replaced by leisure time spent either in non-cohesive group situation (church picnics, pie socials, card games, community functions, sportive events, music recitals and dances) or yet by solitary forms of leisure activities (such as movies, radio, reading, travelling, swimming).

Many forms of recreations in contrast to the old days, now involve entrance fees with the result that these commercial activities are not equally accessible to all socio-economic levels of Portsmouth society. The nature and amount of leisure is related to economic levels, education, types of occupations, age, marital status, health and the general opportunities offered by the environment.

There are a few forms of leisure activities which are not available to the illiterate and quasi-illiterate (like reading, writing, participation in community organizations etc...). The more artistic forms of recreation and entertainment (like dramas, plays, classical music, music recitals, educational broadcasts) are also apt to be of little interest to the relatively uneducated individuals who have not received the training necessary to appreciate and receive intellectual satisfaction from these activities. The more educated individual who has the resources and the interest may, however, be otherwise restricted from group participation; he may, for instance, assume many community responsibilities which leave him but little time for other interests.

Aside from money considerations, the type of occupation is another paramount factor in the amount of time spent in recreational endeavors. As an example, the limits set by Church regulations and the cultural prescription make it almost impossible for the priest and ministers to participate in any but church-centered activities. The ministers and congregations of the two fundamentalist groups cannot play cards, drink or engage in what are generally acknowledged to be worldly forms of amusement. The community norms are such that Ministers and the Priest cannot go to movies, dance and engage in things considered mundane. The Catholic pastor has taken these restrictions so seriously that he avoids mingling socially with his parishioners as much as possible.

Some people (such as night watchmen, waiters, service station attendants, car salesmen, insurance agents, travellers) because of the nature of their occupation, which take them to work when others are idle, cannot participate in the usual forms of recreation. There is also the case of the unemployed who have much leisure imposed upon them. Their activities (such as excessive drinking, gambling, loafing on the streets, sexual promiscuity) have rather socially destructive consequences and draw negative sanctions from other community members.

Physical incapacity and illnesses in general are a strong barrier to most forms of amusement outside the home.

There are also age, sex and marital status differences in the type and amount of leisure time. The old and the young can spare more free time than middle-aged groups. Unmarried people, because they do not have obligations which keep them home, have more free time than individuals of the same age group. Childless women or women whose families are grown have usually more leisure time than men of the same age who spend most of their time on the job. The trend toward equal status between wife and husband has especially tended toward an increase of opportunity for recreation and free time for women. Among upper class families, of course, husbands and wives share most of their recreational activities.

The necessity for every individual to engage, every week, in a certain amount of leisure is universally accepted by village inhabitants. But what is perceived as constituting an ideal amount of leisure varies with the classes. The lower class individuals feel that only the wealthy and the well-to-do can plan their leisure in the way they wish. Their own budgets do not allow them to be as free, and whenever they have a chance "to have a good time" they do not let it go by, for such an occasion may never arise again. The upper class people wish their occupations permitted them to have more leisure time. They also wish that their village provided more facilities for recreation such as those offered in Bristol. The middle class members feel satisfied if they can go to a movie once a week, attend a sports event in Bristol once in a while, play cards twice or three times a week, visit and receive friends occasionally – in other words, take advantage of all the inexpensive forms of leisure activity.

In the following section, I would like to present (a) The constructive leisure patterns and (b) the socially disruptive types of leisure patterns which are found in the village.

1. Patterns of Constructive Leisure and Recreation

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The constructive forms of leisure activities can be divided into three types (A) the socially-cohesive group activities, (B) individuals in non-cohesive group situations and (C) solitary forms of recreational activities.

A. Socially Cohesive Group Activities.

a. *Team sports.* In 1949, the Portsmouth baseball team was re-organized. The purpose was to give to the youth an opportunity to be engaged in constructive activities and to play other teams of the county. The lack of appropriate financial support and the young age and inexperience of the players made it impossible for the team to compete with better trained and older teams of the county. It was active only a few times during the summer, one of which was the Dominion Day game at The Athletic Field.

b. *Musical productions.* St. Ann's college has established recently a choral group. Two recitals were given during 1951, one at the college and another one at Saint-Pierre Church. Many Portsmouth Acadians attended both these concerts. The college also sponsors, during the course of the year, various cultural activities (dramas, piano and violin concerts, etc.). In 1951, the St. Joseph Catholic Women's League organized at the Community Theater a musical recital (vocal and instrumental) featuring two local Acadian girls and three Acadian girls from Moncton. It was a fund raising recital in order to help the nuns who were coming to teach at Pulp Creek public school. It was a very successful event; many of the attendants were Saint-Malo businessmen and professionals.

c. *Church-centered events.* Every Catholic parish in the county organizes annual picnics. Aside from the St. Joseph of Portsmouth's annual garden party – which draws its participants mainly from Portsmouth and the surrounding communities – many Portsmouth inhabitants, mainly among Catholics, attend, by order of importance: St. Pierre, Latourelle, Port Harmony and Bristol church picnics. These picnics draw crowds, not only from Portsmouth but also from almost all other communities (with the exception of the Arm and Islands) in the county.

St. Pierre picnic, which has been held for at least thirty years and has made as much as \$4,000 a year in the post-war years, is, without any doubt, the most important of all. It is held on the feast of the Assumption – Patron Saint of the Acadians – and lasts for three successive days. Latourelle picnic has now become a regular affair and contributes to the financial support of St. Ann's College. The Catholic annual garden party in Portsmouth was held on Labor Day in 1951 and netted \$1,000. It was attended both by Catholics and Protestants.

The Protestant churches in the surrounding communities organize church suppers and pie socials which are also attended by some Portsmouth Catholics.

Other recreational activities sponsored by the Catholic Church are dances on Saturday evenings and card games every Monday evening. Both these events are held at the parish hall. Dances attract young unmarried people, girls outnumbering the boys, Catholics more numerous than the Protestants. At card games, three quarters of the participants are middle-aged and older women. There are approximately forty people, always the same ones, who go to card games on Mondays.

d. *Social cliques*. Each town has its cliques along class, occupational, educational, religious and ethnic lines. Membership and interests of the most outstanding ones in the village will be mentioned: *The Harvey clique*: Members are middle-aged well-to-do Protestant families. Harvey owns a pop factory in Northport and belongs to one of the oldest families in the area. Membership includes the English doctor, the bank manager and his wife, the undertaker, a restaurant owner and the son of a general store owner. Their main activities are social recreational: they visit each other quite a lot, they play bridge and poker together (with sometimes quite large sums of money at stake), travel a lot outside of the community, go on fishing and hunting trips together and attend frequently on weekends at a fashionable resort near Bristol.

Another important clique is *The Lang-Fox-Westman clique*. It is a religious and a political clique. All the members are Disciples of Christ church members interested in the industrial expansion of the villages, in town politics and in school matters. They meet mainly for business and political reasons and seldom engage in social or recreational activities.

The Marc-André Campeau clique. This is the most active clique among the Catholics. The Dubois-born doctor is member, the Acadian garage owner, the dentist, a car salesman and some other business men. They are mainly interested in Acadian affairs. Another informal group, the only one of its kind since it crosses ethnic lines and religious barriers is the *Glen clique*. (Glen is a mixed-blood and his wife is a full blood Acadian from Grande Marée.) It is mainly composed of taxi drivers. They play canasta almost everyday of the week. Members are Glen's neighbor and his wife (intermarriage), Glen's sister and her husband

(intermarriage), a mixed-blood taxi driver living in Frontière and two other taxi drivers living in Portsmouth.

B. Individuals in Non-cohesive Group Situations

Non-cohesive group situations are the ones in which there are few actors and many spectators. This definition implies that it is a group of people who are physically present but have very little ties between them. Their closeness is only physical, not psychological and emotional.

a. *Dominion Day*. Dominion Day is locally called Portsmouth Day. Relatively few participate, though perhaps in the earlier period of the county's history more of the people who were there actually participated in the events of the celebration. Now most of the people are spectators; and to the extent that participants fail to identify with each other (because of class or ethnic differences for example) the participation is of a more detached quality than ever.

b. *Saturday nights* are big events in the village. They draw people from the Shore as far as Port Harmony in Stirling Municipality and as far as Latourelle in Saint-Malo Municipality. All stores are opened on that night and there are sometimes as many as five or six hundred people in the stores, on the street, at the movie hall (community theatre). People who live as far as Dubois and Beaupré in the backwoods come to town on Saturday. As a matter of fact there are relatively few Portsmouthites in town on that night. Many Portsmouth families have said that they avoid as much as possible going down town on Saturday evenings, because "there are so many Negroes, quite a lot of trash and troublemakers" and because of the fear of being insulted. It is a night of excitement: people going in and coming out of the stores all the time, the cowboy movie at the community theater, lunches and comics reading at restaurants, bootlegging activities on the wharf by taxi drivers, sexual promiscuity in the cars parked on the wharf, the bowling alley hangout at Jones' Restaurant, the juke-boxes running full-swing, the dances at the parish hall. One can immediately spot people who come from the backwoods by the lumberjack outfit and workday clothes, the Philip's Point people, who lounge at Tangirrault's market, the Frontière people lounging at Lavoie's hardware and the Pulp Creek people drinking and loafing and sometimes arguing among themselves.

c. *Movies at the Community Theatre*. The movies are attended mainly by young people and couples of low and medium socio-economic status. The quality of the movies shown is poor and mainly in the category of detective stories, murder stories and western movies. The owner, the Plymouth-born Acadian doctor, attempted to show better movies, but having lost money in this venture, he now feels that people will not attend movies other than the types mentioned above. An outstanding number of people said that they did not go to the movies "because

there are too many Negroes and I cannot stand their smell” or “we want to respect ourselves and avoid mixing with that crowd.” The upper class families never attend these films and when they want to see a movie, they travel to Plymouth or Bristol.

d. *Cowboy shows*. There were at least two cowboy shows while I was there and I would say that they were attended by the same people who come to Portsmouth on Saturday nights. These events seem to be the most anticipated and the best liked recreational activities in the area.

e. *Dances at the parish hall*. When the parish hall was built a few years ago, it was with the intention that it would be a gathering place for Catholic organizations and activities as well as a recreational center for everybody in the parish. The two main recreational events of the week are card parties. Dances are attended very irregularly. Due to lack of participants, Monday evening dances ceased to exist. On Saturdays, there are regularly fifteen to twenty people and the popularity has dropped drastically during the last year. The married couples are not interested in dancing and many of the young boys leave the village for larger centers.

f. *Solitary forms of leisure*. The levels of solitary forms of leisure can be determined only by becoming acquainted with all the families in the village and living with them over extensive periods of time. Fishing, hunting are for instance, important forms of recreation respectively in the spring and fall. These pursuits are, however, limited to the more wealthy families. Of course, people of all socio-economic levels, living in such places as Pulp Creek and Frontière engage more frequently in those activities because of the nature of their occupations (part-time farming and part-time woodcutting) which often leave them time for going into the woods. Vacationing during wintertime is also a form of recreation reserved for wealthy families. Among the Acadians, for instance, Mrs. Lionel Chiasson, and the dentist and his wife made a pilgrimage to Rome during the Holy year (1950).

That winter the Plymouth-born doctor and his wife and the Deans’ spent the winter in Florida.

The radio is something which is more universally enjoyed by families of all economic levels. People listen to news broadcasts from Boston, Saint John and Halifax, to soap operas and swing music during the day, radio contests and murder stories during the evening. It is rather unusual for middle and lower class families to listen to classical music and educational broadcasts. The mealtime news broadcasts are probably the most favorite programs of all.

The amount of reading as well as the kind of literature read is different according to class and educational levels. Even upper class families read very little apart from newspaper and magazines such as *Time*, *Life*, *Saturday Evening Post*, etc. Or they may sometimes read a novel of the book-of-the-month level. Middle

class people read newspapers, religious magazines, Reader's Digest, comic books and detective stories. The lower class people either do not read at all (even newspapers) or they read love, sex and murder magazines.

The Catholic priest and the Anglican minister upon finding that these publications were sold in town and read by a good many of their parishioners, preached against such literature and made formal pressures on the stores which sold it. They failed to stop the sales completely. There is no library in town (the closest one being at Latourelle with the great majority of books written in French). The owner of a Ladies' Wear store keeps some books for renting out. But if it were not for the fact that she primarily buys them for her own reading, she would not rent them.

Travelling is certainly the most prominent form of solitary leisure. Upon looking at the social Portsmouth column (in the Bristol Courier) one would find that, during the summer, over half of the items are travelling ones. People visit their relatives and friends all over the county, and even at distant places.

2. Leisure Activities That Are Socially Disruptive

A. Excessive Drinking and Gambling.

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In the county as a whole, Portsmouth is probably medium for its excessive drinking and gambling patterns. Members of the Disciples of Christ and Baptist churches seldom engage in drinking since it is prohibited by the Church.

Portsmouth has one of the three liquor commissions found in the county (the other two are at Maltapan and Bristol). The great majority of customers, however, come from the outside since it serves a wide territory. All but one taxi driver sell liquor after hours and deliver it themselves to their customers at prices higher than marked at the Liquor Store. There are also two publicly known bootleggers who sell beer and other alcoholic beverages.

Excessive drinking occurs (apart from Christmas time) among upper class families during house parties and bridge games. They avail themselves of every opportunity to gather together, and at all of these times there is drinking. However, it has very few social repercussions. These activities are often kept secret and do not imperil their families' welfare, as is often the case among lower class families.

The lower class Portsmouthites also engage frequently in heavy drinking (with some publicly known alcoholics among them) either while at work or during

evenings and week ends. However, I know of only three or four cases of drunken individuals beating their wives in a state of ebriety or yet behaving improperly in public (fighting, throwing insults at people, exposing parts of their body, and urinating on the street, etc.).

The most reputedly heavy drinkers and alcoholics are found in Pulp Creek, where there are quite a number of broken homes, common law marriages, adultery cases, incestuous practices, etc.

There is very little gambling done in Portsmouth with the exception of the poker games of the prosperous Anglo-Protestant businessmen. Many of the family card games are played for money, but as many have said it is just to “make it more interesting” since an individual loser will never lose more than a dollar at a time.

B. Sexual Promiscuity.

I am familiar with quite a number of instances which lead me to believe that the levels of sexual promiscuity in the village are somewhat higher than in the county as a whole. However, it probably does not begin to compare to Bristol (which is more of an urban area and attracts more tourists and people at odds with their community of origin). One of those instances is the flourishing abortion trade practiced by Gervais in Portsmouth and environs during the last fifteen years or so. Another one is the frequent mention of quasi-brothel house (“*maison de débauche*”) which attracts mainly young unmarried couples at evening time, and the RCMP’s investigation to arrest the operator and the sponsors. The strong preaching of Father O’Brien at the Church on sex matters is another of these instances. The themes of the sermons were: duties of the parents in regard to inter-sex relationships, the sinful aspects of sexual promiscuity and warnings against sex practices thought to be present among the young.

The well-spread knowledge of contraceptives among Protestants and Catholics as well and the handling of such goods by a taxi driver is another indication of promiscuous patterns. But the most acute forms of promiscuity, like wife exchanges, incestuous relations, immorality, etc., are mostly present in Pulp Creek. It is also true that some of the girls living in economically depressed areas (like The Bog, Langston, Pulp Creek) have been abused and carry on illicit unions with Portsmouth residents with illegitimate offspring remaining in those communities. According to a young informant, pre-marital sex relations are widespread in Portsmouth and if there are not more illegitimate children, it is because “people are wise.”

PART II – THE MIXED COMMUNITY OF PORTSMOUTH

Chapter 12: The Anglo-Protestant Culture ¹ and the Protestant Churches of Portsmouth

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It is the purpose of this chapter to outline the main features of the Anglo-Protestant culture of Portsmouth, in order that we may better understand the process of acculturation affecting Portsmouthites of Acadian ancestry. We shall attempt a definition of the dominant cultural group into which the Acadian minority is being absorbed.

There follows, therefore, a presentation of some of the most outstanding characteristics in the socio-cultural environment of the Anglo-Protestants in Bristol Municipality. Most of these cultural attributes are painted in rather bold strokes only because they are being compared with their counterparts in the Acadian Catholic socio-cultural environment of Saint-Malo. Thus, while it is true that the Anglo-Protestant population is heterogeneous and secularized as compared to the Acadians of Saint-Malo, the picture would be somewhat different if the comparison were being made with a representative segment of New York City.

1. Heterogeneous Ethnic Background

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Although most of the inhabitants of the “English” sector of the county come from the British Isles “ethnic stock,” relatively speaking, there is considerable

¹ This section draws very heavily from staff discussions.

variation in ethnic derivation patterns. After the British Isles groups, the largest ethnic group is the Acadians. However, this acculturated Acadian group is different, in many respects, from the relatively unacculturated Acadians of Saint-Malo.

Before the period leading up to the American Revolution, the geographical area that is now Stirling County was populated by Micmac Indians. The earliest settlers came from New England States approximately during the decade of the seventeen sixties. In 1784, there came another migration of American Loyalists from the New York area, settlers primarily of English and Scottish origins some of whom brought Negro servants with them. At about the same time, a group of Hessian and Waldekian soldiers, who had fought with the British, also established themselves in the area. During 1810-1830 period there was another migration from England itself and these English immigrants were joined during that period (1820-1840) by some New Brunswick Irish.

Starting about 1790 some of the expelled Acadians began to move into the English Municipality and they settled in the area between Bristol and Portsmouth. Jonesville received its first Acadian settlers in 1790, Port Harmony in 1800 and Beaupré in 1825. In these various localities there has been very little increase in population during the last hundred years. Although some Acadian migrants trickled into the English Municipality from Saint-Malo, the first significant migratory wave from there occurred after the First World War. These Acadian immigrants were mostly day laborers, semi-skilled workers and skilled craftsmen. Similarly, the labor shortage during the Second World War period brought to Portsmouth, Bristol and other important centers of the English Municipality, another group of Saint-Malo immigrants.

At present, there exists an almost complete cultural homogeneity among the British Isles and German stocks. Some of the Irish, of course, have remained Catholics. Those of Acadian descent inhabiting the English municipality are in various stages of acculturation; some of them adhere closely to the Acadian values of Saint-Malo while others have very little in common with that area. Probably the most unacculturated group of Bristol Municipality can be found in Beaupré, where the majority of the adults still use French Acadian as their mother tongue.

2. Linguistics Homogeneity

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Despite the fact that there is an English-Acadian French language differentiation between Bristol and Saint-Malo, there exists a great homogeneity of language in the former. Whereas approximately seventy percent of the Saint-Malo

Acadians are bilinguals, comparatively few of Bristol Municipality residents are able to speak any language other than English. As mentioned earlier, Beupré and Portsmouth are probably the outstanding exceptions.

3. Religious Heterogeneity of the English Population

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As is usually the case among Protestant populations, there are many different denominations having their separate church buildings and rituals. This religious heterogeneity stems from the various Protestant interpretations of the concept of “freedom.” Clarence W. Hall and Desider Holisher, for instance, in their book on “Protestant Panorama” define the four pillars of Protestantism as follows: “(a) Freedom of Conscience – the right of every man to worship as his conscience dictates, to make his own judgments... (b) Freedom of Grace – with salvation the free gift of God, not to be earned by good deeds, not to be purchased with the coin of any realm... (c) Freedom of Access to God – requiring no mediator, save for Christ... and (d) Freedom of Religion from Authoritarian control – the vigorous denial to any government, whether political or ecclesiastical or both, of the right to dictate, underwrite or establish a ‘state faith’ to which all must adhere.”

In the Acadian sector of the county, there is only the Roman Catholic Church with the exception of the fringe areas. The influence of the Church is so pervasive in the lives of Acadians that a breaking off of one's formal ties with the Church brings about social rejection and the loss of the privileges of his ethnic membership.

In the English sector of the county, the concepts of ethnic background and religion are kept distinct. Individuals who withdraw from church participation do not experience a consequential effect on their ethnic identity.

Of course, the diversity of religious ideologies and rituals and the general religious differentiation of the English municipality have wider implications for social life in general. Picnics, visiting patterns, class structure and informal cliques are formed around the nucleus of a religious group. In Portsmouth, church services are important channels of intra-group communication and offer opportunities for greater emotional satisfaction, but they maintain rigid separation between the various groups found in town. There are four church buildings in the community and five denominational groups represented. These are the Anglican Church, The United Church, The Church of Christ Disciples, The Baptist (their church building is located at Northport) and The Catholics. The differences in religious values and those values which are directly derived from religious systems are the basis for most of the inter-group hostility and frictions in the mixed community.

At one extreme stands the fast-growing Catholic group and at the other the fundamentalist Disciples of Christ group. The Anglicans occupy a somewhat middle position between the extreme viewpoints of the Catholics and the Disciples. The Baptists lean heavily on the latter's side whereas the United Church members, although they share many sympathies with the Disciples try to be neutral, too.

Apart from funerals, the only opportunity for Catholics and Protestants to participate in common worship is on Remembrance Day and the Catholic pastor has often made it a point to be absent. Recently, he attended the Remembrance Service against his own will because from his particular point of view, this cooperation looks like the recognition that all churches are at the same level and that no such distinctions as heretics and faithful are to be maintained. The priest, on many different occasions, brought up the matter that many acculturated Acadians are so confused in their religious values as to fail to see any ideological differences between the practicing Catholic and the non-church goer. To many of those people, as related by the pastor, it is as good to attend a service at the Church of Christ Disciples as it is to attend Mass.

There is, however, some sharing of church-connected social activities by members of all denominational groups. Some Protestants of all denominations (the Baptists and the Disciples of Christ to a lesser extent) attend the annual Catholic garden party (church fair), the dances which are held in the Catholic parish hall on Saturday evenings, occasional card parties, pie-sales etc. The Catholics also share with the Protestants in dramatic presentations, teas, suppers, fairs, socials, etc. However, I heard four or five times that some of the businessmen who attend such social functions do not do so because of their desire to share and cooperate but "because of the social pressures for being around and being seen."

As far as cooperation between the various Protestant sects goes, there is during the year a "Church Cooperation Week" when people visit each other's church and participate in common prayer. The Anglican minister and the United Church clergyman were both prominent in sponsoring these services, the latter inviting the Church of Christ people¹ and the former the Baptists. This cooperative religious endeavour was only partly successful since some of the high prestige Northport Protestants refused to cooperate with the Portsmouth Protestants, keeping alive some of the political, religious economic rivalries of the old days. There does not seem to any real closeness in the Protestant group apart from those circumstances which require collective solidarity against the growing influence of the Catholics.

¹ The Church of Christ, while it resembles the Baptists in many respects (and many people think that the Disciples are a separated branch of the Baptist Church), was really formed through a break from the Methodist group. The Baptists and the Methodists have conflicts that go way back and these still show up in the Disciples' ambivalent attitudes towards the Baptists.

A. The Protestant Churches

a. *The Anglican Church.* The Portsmouth Anglican parish serves all communities between Portsmouth and Carleton inclusively. The mother church was built at Northport at the end of the eighteenth century. Within this original parish, five missions were established and church buildings erected: St. Peter's of Northport (1790); St. Thomas' of Portsmouth (1890), St. Mary's of Carleton (1895) St. Matthew's of Langston (1910) and St. Mary's of Pulp Creek (1920). St. Thomas' of Portsmouth has seventy-two members of whom fifty-two are adults and they pay into the vestry every year some \$750.

The Anglican Church has a number of religious associations established along age and sex lines. There is the Women's Auxiliary, a missionary society that sends clothing to some parts of western Canada. Meetings are held monthly. A church school is also operating at the parochial level with senior (8-13) and junior (3-7) divisions, both of which usually meet once a week. Vestry management for the entire parish is handled by Anglican Portsmouthites. Other important organizations are the Ladies Guild and Anglican Young People's Association which hold social functions respectively three and eight times a year.

The Anglican Church has buildings at Portsmouth and Northport which are sufficiently close together so that there is an interchange of members. However, the Anglican Church, being the most prestigious Church "carries some deadwood" according to its pastor since "the social pressure to identify with a dominant church are always great." The congregation at Portsmouth is composed of some retired upper class, members of the old elite and descendants of families preeminent in the hey-days of Portsmouth, some businessmen, some skilled laborers and a few day laborers. Within the Anglican Church itself, the major conflicts are between racial groups. The Negroes of Langston, who are in a minority group position are fighting hard to remain Anglicans and are probably the future of the church in the areas, are somewhat looked down upon by the white members of the congregation. They have separate services for reasons of distances and organizations but there are strong feelings of dissatisfaction among some of the old elite families who think that their pastor devotes too much of his time to the Negroes, who are otherwise perceived as lazy, promiscuous and delinquent.

Another problem facing the Anglican Church is its decline of membership. Young and middle-aged Anglicans leave Portsmouth and migrate to urban centers of the Province. Many of the members are elderly people and infants.

b. *The United Church.* The Portsmouth-Stirling Arm Charge has been formed within the last fifteen years from the earlier separate charges of Portsmouth and Stirling Arm.

Portsmouth United Church Charge is strongly represented in the young couple's age level. The Charge serves the people of Northport, Pulp Creek and Portsmouth with the majority of the seventy members (1950) coming from the latter. In describing the membership of the various United churches, several kinds of distinctions are made principally between members and adherents. Adherents attend church regularly enough to be identified with the Church, but do not undergo the necessary commitments to membership which would render them more responsible in their participation and contribution to the Church's operation. In Portsmouth, there is a rather marked difference in participation, there being some indifference on the part of male members and strong interest on the part of female members. The principal age group in which activity is marked is that of the young married couples. Changes in the constitution of the congregation seem to reflect both "mechanical" population changes (migrations, marriage into the more dominant group) as well as ideological changes. Since there has been close association with the United Church Minister and the Disciples of Christ some members have been drawn into participating regularly in the religious services of the latter. While Portsmouth is the principal church of the Charge, and the site of the parsonage, it is served only three Sundays a month.

The Charge is self-supporting but the minister receives supplements from two sources: first, a grant from the missionary society of the church to help in the minister's transportation expenses (about five hundred dollars a year) and in addition, a supplementary travel allotment of one hundred dollars made by the churches which are the most remote from the parsonage,

The church-centered associations are a Brotherhood, the Ladies Guild, a Women's Missionary Society, a Church School, the Dramatic Club and a Vacation School. The United Church was the hardest hit by the Barber incident¹, both financially and socially since Barber was a United Church member and a rather strong supporter. He married a daughter of Paul Cooper (one of the pillars of the Portsmouth Church) and changed from Baptist to United Church. He was financed all over the county, but members of his own church went in very heavily. Old families like The Coopers' and the Palmers' who counted on this development of industry to build up their old position in the community as leaders in a thriving industrial venture and the Waters', the Paynes', and the Wrights' (all important families in the church) made large loans and lost a lot of money. It was quite a blow to the morale of the church and according to its minister, "one could see the wave of discouragement that came over the church after it happened."

The growth of the Catholic Church in the area with the resulting cautiousness on the part of the United Church members with regard to new developments, coupled with the general anxieties over the future of the church have contributed to

¹ He borrowed money, re-opened the shipyard during the post-War II period and went into bankruptcy.

the decline of the church as a force in the community. The minister tells the story of one of his own parishioners who was directly involved in the sale of the house to the Catholic Church for the use as a Convent thus “enhancing the cause of Catholic expansion.” He offered this as a demonstration that many of his people are more interested in making a few dollars rather than working for the building up of the church and the spiritual life of the community.

The same minister finally accepted a charge in Saint John. He said that he would have stayed to build the place, but that things were getting rather uncomfortable with the situation his mother had put him into (she married Henry Lang the most important leader of the New Church) and with all the other aspects of the life there, it is rather trying, and negative in its future outlook.

c. *The Disciples of Christ.* The Church located at Shortcut is probably the oldest of all churches of Christ Disciples in Stirling County and is considered as “the mother-church.” During the last fifteen years (even prior to that time) members of the Shortcut congregation (some six or seven miles inland back of Portsmouth) have slowly been moving to Portsmouth where they have become successful business men, semi-professionals, or laborers for the business men. These Portsmouth residents kept strong ties with the Shortcut Church and provided much of the leadership for Sunday school, deacons, elders, etc. However, it was finally felt that such a large and fast growing population should have their own separate church and this was finally done in 1950, the year prior to my coming to the community. Besides there were enough children growing up in Portsmouth that they needed Sunday school for them there.

The Portsmouth Church of Christ Disciples draws its members almost exclusively from Portsmouth. One minister serves Shortcut, Near Ridge and Portsmouth. The parsonage is located in Near Ridge where the present minister who has had summer residence there for twelve years is now living. Portsmouth has a separate Sunday as well as evening services which are very well attended. The minister in this church seems to have little influence and the Board of Elders is probably the most powerful group. They appoint the minister on a year round basis and if they find his views opposite to theirs, his appointment would be revoked.

This church is self-supporting and only a year after it had been built everything had been paid. It is said that Lang especially has contributed much of the funds for the building of the church and is now the most powerful member of the congregation.

This particular church has stirred much of the inter-denominational and ethnic controversies in the community. To some Catholics and Protestants alike this church is a social institution established by reactionaries. To others, their dogmatism in religious matters perpetuates the Baptist tradition of the early days

of evangelization, when they swept the Valley in the beginning of the nineteenth century. It is said by some of the leaders that they attract large crowds at their services who go there by curiosity and to hear the singing. Some community leaders predict a short life for the church on the basis that it was established on the Front Road, a social environment which will not permit the kind of social cohesiveness, thriftiness and religiosity flourishing in a backwoods homogeneous environment. In addition, as an Anglican said, if what happened to the Anglican Church repeats itself, the children will receive higher education than their well-to-do-parents and eventually leave the community. Furthermore, the recruiting methods, which at present reach the lowest socio-economic segments of the population, will also affect the welfare and the future of the church. Much of the anti-Protestant feelings of the Catholics are directed against the Disciples of Christ and the latter are also strong in anti-Catholic feelings. It is also felt by many people that the Disciples will participate in community organizations only when and if they can achieve their own religious and social aims of power holders.

The Disciples of Christ Church is probably the most revivalist group with the least class differences among its members. They are successful businessmen, clerks and laborers who work for their more successful co-religionists. However, at the present time at least, there are strong conflicts between the Board of Elders and the minister. One instance of hostility which may be noted is the controversy between Henry Dennis, the municipal councillor and the minister. While the background of the difficulty is undoubtedly the fact that Dennis holds general views and attitudes regarding the types of role a minister should fill, what he should believe in, etc..., the difficulty was brought to a head because of the individual stand taken by the minister. Dennis felt, for example, that the minister should be the mouthpiece of the Board of Elders, that he should preach an extremely fundamentalist doctrine (no smoking, no drinking, etc...) and hold conservative views regarding religious practices. The Reverend Dorsey interprets religion more liberally and feels that the minister should be more of a leader in his own right and have sources of strength and influences in his own roles. These controversies make for factionalism in the sect at the present time.

d. *The Baptist Church.* Baptist influence in Stirling County found its first organized expression in the establishment of the Owl Baptist Church in Portsmouth in 1797¹. The Church is located on Northport point at the mouth of the Owl River. The Church has two categories of members: the resident and the non-resident. The latter represents those members of a given church who are no longer living in the vicinity but who have neither sought transfer or a cancellation of their membership. The membership of the Northport Baptist Church has been declining almost steadily since 1910. This membership, reported in the Year Book, is presumed to include the Baptist congregations at Robertsville, at Northport Point and at Portsmouth.

¹ See Hill, *History of Stirling County*; and Greenwood's *History of Freeport*, p. 29.

The organizations found in the field (which is the equivalent of parish in Baptist usage) are Ladies Missionary Society, Ladies Guild, Sewing Circle, Women's Sunday school classes and The Laymen's League for men.

There are two historical factors at least which kept the Baptist influences strong in the area up to the turn of the century: (1) the early missionary activities of the American Baptists in the Annapolis Valley, and on the Southwestern Shore and (2) the large size of Catholic and Anglican parishes which made it impossible for the ministers and priests to be in intimate and constant contact with their congregation.

Like the United Church and the Anglican Churches, the influence of the Baptist is declining and there was talk at one time that they would consolidate with the Disciples. This never materialized because of the Northport-Portsmouth split over religious issues.

4. Nature of the Sanctions for Inter-denominational Marriages among the Protestants of Bristol Municipality

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There are relatively weak, negative sanctions directed against Protestants marrying individuals of other Protestant denominations. On the other hand, such sanctions are apt to be invoked if a Protestant marries a Catholic. This is done not necessarily because these individuals violate formalized religious taboos, but because, for many Protestants, the Catholic is “priest ridden” and is drastically restricted in his freedom of choice. In addition to this, within the context of the municipality, the Catholics are usually associated with Acadians, who are considered to be socially inferior by many of the Anglo-Protestants. For the Protestant, religion is a matter of individual conscience and the minister is an advisor, with no divine authority. This attitude is, of course, diametrically opposed to that held by the Catholic Acadians toward their Church and the clergy.

5. Separation of the Sacred and the Secular

For the majority of Protestants every area of life is theoretically governed (*qua* religion) by one's individual conscience, and the ultimate decision rests with the individual. Most Protestants would consider it foreign to their religious training if their Church lay down any compulsive rule of behavior, such as forbidding the use of contraceptive devices, etc. However, this is not to imply that the religious Protestant, especially among the more evangelical sects does not regard the religion teaching of his church impinging on many of his secular activities. Thus,

he considers it quite normal when a minister, dealing with ethical concepts, speaks about the vices of gambling, drinking, etc... Most of the time, however, even those prohibitions are couched in secular terms rather than religious. Again some of the teachings of the fundamentalist Protestant groups are an exception to the above statement. Insofar as the religious teachings of the Protestant do apply to any given situation, the decisions ultimately rest with his interpretation of these teachings. The Catholic believer regards behavior in certain situations as being outside the realm of individual decision. Again, birth control is a good example of this.

Since religion is essentially regarded as resting on individual's decisions, the Protestant worshipper must shoulder his sins by himself. Of course, family members, friends and ministers are often confided in and asked for advice. On the whole, there exists no formalized religious institutionalized means by which the religious community shares these burdens with him. In the Catholic community, symbolically at least, confession represents the community's sharing of guilt with the individual. It certainly provides a catharsis that is not available in the Anglo-Protestant culture.

6. Concept of Self Dependent on Economic Success

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Although, to some extent, the individual's concept of self (self-esteem) is dependent on economic success in both Acadians and Anglo-Protestant cultures, the pattern has merged more clearly in the latter. In the Acadian culture, as it was shown in the section on Acadian sentiments the amassing of wealth by means of business investments is regarded with some ambivalence. And there is sometimes hostility directed against wealthy business men. The professions in Acadian society, and especially the liberal professions, are regarded with much higher esteem. In the Anglo-Protestant municipality, economic success *per se*, as long as it is not achieved by violating well accepted institutionalized means, is regarded very highly and is used as an important gage of a man's work.

7. Women's Role in Anglo-Protestant Culture

Among the Catholic Acadians, the role of women is more clearly defined than on the Anglo-Protestant area of the county. In the latter, at most socio-economic levels of the society, this role is in a stage of transition, with resulting conflicts and dissatisfaction among many females. The patriarchal nature of Acadian society gives to women a subordinated role (but not less respected) compared to that of the male. Her activities are mainly confined to family and church affairs. In the Anglo-

Protestant society, women participate to a much greater extent. In many formal organizations such as the Rebeccas, the Eastern Star, etc. There is probably more room for variation within the role of women in the Anglo-Protestant culture in regard to most areas of life than there is in Saint-Malo.

PART III – ACCULTURATION POSITION OF PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 13: A Framework for the Study of Acculturation

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This chapter is not a review of the literature¹ or the development of a workable series of generalizations about culture change and acculturation². It is rather a brief exposition of the main concepts which have guided me throughout this study and an introduction to the last two sections of this dissertation.

This Part contains three chapters: an Introductory one which describes the concepts used in the study, followed by a description of the general index of acculturation and the way it was built and terminated by a chapter which analyzes the relationships between acculturation position (as given by the location of an Acadian along the continuum of acculturation) and some independent variables such as age, sex, class position and descent.

The following Part will contain four chapters. The first of these chapters will deal with the general aspects of the acculturative processes of the Portsmouth Acadians. The following chapters will be case studies in processes of acculturation, one chapter being the process of secularization of the Acadians,

¹ One of the papers presented at the International Symposium on Anthropology sponsored by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research was that of Ralph Beals who made an extensive survey of the American and British works on acculturation, See Beals, Ralph "Acculturation" in *Anthropology To-day*, A. L. Kroeber (Ed.). The University of Chicago Press, 1953 pp. 621-641.

² Attempts have been made recently to come with broad empirical generalizations about culture change and acculturation. Rena Maxine Cotten, for instance, in her Ph. D. dissertation presented at Columbia University in 1950 (*The Fork in the Road: A Study of Acculturation among the American Kalderas Gypsies*) came up with fourteen generalizations about culture-contact situations and acculturations which she called hypotheses.

another one the process of intermarriage and the last one the influences of the mixed educational institution.

There might be a pertinent question to ask why the chapters on the levels of acculturation preceded those on the processes of acculturation. As far as logic is concerned either of the two sections could have come first, for it is as logical to ask oneself what is the degree of acculturation or the Portsmouth Acadians and what are the conditions under which these levels were attained as it is to know the conditions first and then to measure the degree of acculturation. The former, however, in terms of clarity of exposition seems more appropriate. It will be easier to understand the chapters on processes if the acculturation position of the Acadians living in the various communities is described and the socio-cultural characteristics which go with either low or high ¹acculturation are analyzed.

In her introduction to Malinowski's "*The dynamics of Culture Change*", Kaberry ² defines culture change in the following way: "It is the process by which the existing order of society, its organizations, beliefs and knowledge, tools and consumers' goods is more or less rapidly transformed". This definition makes it clear that culture change implies changes in material aspects of the culture as well as changes in non-material aspects. I shall make as a point at the very beginning that this dissertation deals exclusively with changes in non-material aspects of the Acadian culture. It is interesting that this definition does not include the conditions under which these changes are originated. As most writers in the field of culture change recognize, there are two main processes in culture change: the first one is invention and the second one is borrowing. Borrowing may be forced upon individuals (as in the case of the military and political dominance of a conqueror), or it may be through the choice of the party involved. The process of acculturation in the mixed community of Portsmouth is mainly a one-way process in the sense that one of the ethnic groups (the Acadians) are borrowing from the English. The values and sentiments of the dominant Protestant group are gradually finding their way into the Acadian society of Portsmouth bringing about new attitudes, profound changes in the systems of belief of the Acadians and new form of behavioral characteristics. This is what is called the direction of acculturation: the Acadians are acculturating towards English ways of life.

To come back to Kaberry's definition, we can say that there are a number of conditions under which such changes in value system or systems of belief can appear. One is the culture-contact situation where people of different cultures meet. Another one is the mass media of communication ³ where only a symbolic

¹ The use of high and low does not mean that one culture is more advanced than the other. It does not indicate a vertical position, but a horizontal one.

² Kaberry, Phillis M. (Ed.) B. in Malinowski's *The Dynamics of Culture Change*, Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn. Introduction p. vii.

³ A very good example of this phenomenon is the fact that some upward mobile French speaking Canadians who have never met a person from France try to imitate them in their speech

contact is achieved. Another condition is industrialization and urbanization¹. Thus culture change among Acadians is not only the product of French-English contacts and the influences of the English mass media of communication (newspapers, radio stations, movies) but it is also in part the result of the fact that they live in an urban environment. The Acadian farmer who moves to town and works in a sawmill, (leaving aside the influences of the dominant group) acquires new habits of life and new values. His pay envelope, for instance will be expected at a regular day of the week and the spending patterns may be closely dependant on payday. Furthermore, money in itself will acquire new meanings, and the individual may be able to acquire new satisfactions in buying things which were prohibitive when he was working on his farm. In this case, the shift in values and sentiments comes from the influences of his industrialized environment.

In the framework of this dissertation, however, we want to use the word acculturation only to mean these changes which are brought about by the influences (direct or indirect) of the dominant group. Acculturation is thus a special case of culture change². Even within this framework, there is still another difficulty due to the fact that secularization was selected as one of the components of the general index of acculturation. It has been postulated by people who did research on the subject that secularization is often a direct result of urbanization and industrialization. This brings the problem in this dissertation of distinguishing those secularizing influences which originate from urbanization process and those which come from the culture-contact situation. This distinction could probably be made by comparing the secularization of Acadians living in Maltapan (a community the size of Portsmouth and almost exclusively Acadian) with the secularization of the Portsmouth Acadians. This has not been done for lack of time. But even in comparing the levels of secularization of both groups, the influences stemming from the mass media of communication (to which the Maltapan Acadians are as much exposed as the Portsmouth Acadians) could not be controlled and results could hardly be compared. Despite possible objections to using the degree of secularization as a separate component of acculturation position, it offered a uniquely opportune method for measuring the levels of acculturation of individuals, since secularization could be measured more easily than many other factors which could have been considered for the same purpose³.

(speaking with the Parisian accent) and adopt some other linguistic forms of France. This is the result of French movies and novels and poetry books coming from France, and which are disseminated in French Canada.

¹ Beals, Ralph, "Urbanism, Urbanization and Acculturation". *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 53, n° 1, 1951, pp. 1-10.

² See Herskovits, Melville J., *Man and His Works*, New York, 1948, p. 523 Beals Ralph, "Acculturation," op. cit., p. 626.

³ The rationale for selecting secularization as an index of acculturation is given in the following chapter.

A definition of acculturation, which has been widely criticized, mainly because of its lack of clarity, but which represented one of the first systematic attempts to define what was meant by this phenomenon, is that of Redfield, Linton and Herskovits¹. "Acculturation," they contend "comprehends those phenomena which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contacts, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups". My criticism of this definition is directed towards the words "first-hand contacts." As hinted at earlier, the mass media of communication (even where contacts do not exist) is a powerful means of acculturation. Acadians read the English newspaper every day, they buy American magazines several times during a month, they listen to English radio broadcasting several times a day, they go to movies at least once a month; all these factors bring about changes in values and sentiments. Furthermore, this definition fails to recognize that, within the same ethnic group, in a culture-contact situation, the acculturated members of the group directly and indirectly influence the processes of acculturation of the relatively unacculturated and of all the others who have an acculturation position² lower than theirs.

Thus, in this study, acculturation means a departure from traditional Acadian patterns of sentiment resulting from the influences, direct and indirect, of the Anglo-Protestant groups whether these changes in sentiment and value-orientation occurred through first-hand contacts with the giving culture³ or through the mass media of communication or through interactional patterns among the receiving group⁴ itself.

Acculturation is a process⁵. And it is a process from two different points of views: from the point of view of the individual receptor and from the viewpoint of what is transmitted.

Webster defines a process as being "any phenomenon which shows a continuous change in time" or "a series of action or operations definitely conducing to an end." In the culture-contact situation of Portsmouth most Acadians, and some more than others, are undergoing important value changes. These changes are progressive and continuous. The individuals who are acquiring new values and new attitudes, who behave in new ways, go through stages of acculturation. They usually move from a lower to a higher acculturation position.

¹ Redfield, R., Linton, R., and Herskovits, Melville J., Memorandum on the Study of Acculturation", *American Anthropologist*, XXXVIII, 149-152.

² Acculturation position is defined in the following pages.

³ Giving culture is interchangeably used with donor culture, giving group, dominant group, Anglo-Protestant group, alien culture.

⁴ Receiving culture is interchangeably used with receiving groups, minority groups, Catholic Acadian groups, recipient culture.

⁵ See Fortes, Meyer, "Culture, Contacts as a Dynamic Process," *Africa*, IX, p. 24 55; Barnett, H. G., "Cultural Process", *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 42, n° 1, 1940, pp. 38-42; and Beals, Ralph, "Acculturation", *op. cit.*, p. 627.

All members of the recipient culture have reached a particular point along the continuum of change. Some of them are “partially acculturated” and some others are “wholly acculturated.” Within this framework, I have considered assimilation as being a step beyond the termination of the process of acculturation¹. Not only the individual has accepted all of the alien values and rejected all those of the minority to which he belonged at some time; he has been recognized and accepted by members of the dominant group. To be accepted, it seems to me, is different from wanting to be accepted. Most of the wholly acculturated Acadians want to be regarded as English, but the English do not accept them because they have French ancestry and share social patterns (low educational levels, low economic status, socially disruptive forms of behavior, etc...) which are not acceptable to the English society. The unacculturated Acadians, from whom the acculturated ones are trying to dissociate themselves, do not consider the latter as members of their group either, because they do not want to be identified with these characteristics. This social rejection is also a form of punishment for deviation from the group norms. This seems to point out the fact that Acadians living in a mixed community consider a certain medium level of acculturation as desirable. If this level is exceeded, it is negatively sanctioned.

Once it was recognized that there were various stages in the process of acculturation, we had to find a way to classify all Acadians living in Portsmouth ecological area² along a continuum of change. This was no easy problem since we had no definite principles which could have guided us³ apart from the fact that we had to select items who would be representative of the range of items in the field of acculturation and attempt to build a general index of acculturation. Language use and intensity of religious life were selected as the two separate indices of acculturation. They were ultimately combined to form the general index of acculturation. The procedures for rating people along the language use continuum and along this intensity of religious life continuum are reported in Appendix A. The indices and the particular way in which they were combined are described in the following chapter. This method, which locates individuals along a measuring stick of intensity (from low to high) and which distinguishes the relatively unacculturated from the partially acculturated and from the wholly acculturated, is preliminary and tentative. It is a rough measuring stick and the components of the continuum are made as simple as possible in order to make the measurement feasible.

¹ Acculturation is “cultural transmission in process” (See Herskovits, Melville J. *Man and His Works*, pp. 523-541) and assimilation is the termination of the acculturative process followed by acceptance by members of the dominant group.

² By Acadians, we refer to all individuals who had at least one grandparent who was or was considered to be, a full-blood Acadian.

³ As reported by Beals in his article for the International Symposium on Anthropology, very few people have attempted to measure acculturative phenomena.

The particular level of acculturation of an individual, as reflected by his location on the measuring stick of acculturation, will be referred to as his *acculturation position* or his *state of acculturation* or his *degree of acculturation*. The acculturation position of an individual reflects how far he is advanced in his process of acculturation. It represents the acculturation position of Portsmouth Acadians in December 1951. Since then they may have lowered their position or, more likely, advanced it. This position also gives an idea of the extent to which an Acadian has departed from the values and sentiments of his original groups. It does not, of course, tell anything about the rate at which the process has been unfolding. In order to determine this rate it would be necessary to measure the acculturation position of an individual at two different periods of time of his life. The difference in position, over the period of time, would give the rate at which a particular individual has been acculturating.

Although we could not empirically assess the rate of acculturation of Acadian Portsmouthites, one of our assumptions was that an individual never progresses from a low to a high acculturation position or from medium acculturation to assimilation during his life span. For instance, some offspring of mixed marriages may abandon all the elements inherited from their Acadian parents, identify strongly with the Anglo-Protestant group and succeed in being regarded as a member of the giving culture. These offspring, however, had high acculturation position at the onset of their process, being the socialized product of a mixed milieu, "at the margin of two worlds," and drastically different from the traditional Acadian home. There is a period of time necessary, probably one or two generations at least, between the initial acculturative stage of an individual and the termination of the process among his descendants. Theoretically, at least, the process of acculturation for any individual living in a mixed environment starts with his process of socialization.

Acculturation is also a process if we consider what is happening during culture transfer. During the continuous patterns of interaction between the English Protestants and the French Catholics, the processes of acculturation can be divided into two separate aspects, each of which has two polar components: the processes of *resistance* and *acceptance*. By resistance, I mean the persistence in one's cultural heritage and systems of beliefs with a minimum of change. Acceptance is the process in which elements of another culture are taken over and most of the older heritage lost. In reference to the receiving culture, the process of resistance consists in the *maintaining* of native cultural elements and the *refusal* to incorporate alien elements. The process of acceptance consists in the *adoption* of the cultural elements of the donor group and the *rejection* of the native elements.

Whether individuals are conscious of it or not, acculturation is a selective process, a process of discrimination by the individual receptor. In this process of selection, the individual may be helped by his referent group with which he may share some of his values. Some elements of the mother-culture are kept almost

unaltered and some others are completely abandoned; some elements of the giving culture are incorporated and some others are rejected. This can be graphically represented in the following diagram where three different stages of acculturation are represented. The overlapping sectors of the squares in the diagram represent the elements of the dominant culture replacing those of the receiving culture.

This diagram does not represent the process of any individual, but rather conceptualizes what is happening at the various stages of acculturation. In the case of the individual who is relatively unacculturated there is little overlapping of the two squares, each of which stands for a cultural universe. In the case of the individual who is almost wholly acculturated the overlapping is nearly complete and it is practically impossible to distinguish any remnant of the original culture. This diagram is incomplete in the sense that it does not distinguish between cases where the original values are not entirely replaced by the English counterpart and cases where they are. It does not show either the time element or the continuous interplay between values of the dominant and minority groups at the level of the receptor who is making choices all the time. There is always in the selection patterns a period of trial and error. The transference is achieved when the incorporation of dominant elements is complete and definitive. The sum total of one's sentiments, at a particular moment in time, gives his acculturation position.

Stages of Acculturation

Low Position

Medium Position

High Position

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In the process of acceptance the sentiments which are abandoned by the Acadians, as I have said above, may be partially or totally replaced by their English counterparts. One clear-cut example of an element being replaced entirely by its English counterpart is the linguistic acculturation in which Acadians completely lose the use of French. The Catholic Acadian who loses his faith may or may not accept the Protestant faith. The Acadian who is convinced that the Catholic Church has not irrefutable authority in religious matters, that it is not the only medium between God and man, that the pastor does not receive his authority and sacred character from God, this Acadian is likely to withdraw his participation in ceremonies of the Catholic Church. This Acadian, however, will not necessarily join a Protestant Church or accept all the values of Protestantism. In the same

manner, an Acadian Catholic who practices birth control may remain a faithful Catholic. Numerous other examples could be given.

Flowing from the previous definitions and concepts, the problems which are of central importance in the study of acculturation are: (1) to find the level of acculturation of each Acadian, and (2) to study the conditions under which these acculturative changes came about. The latter implies the kinds and processes of changes which occurred in the sentiment pattern of Acadians living in a mixed environment, and the implications for community life.

We have already mentioned how the general levels of acculturation of each individual of Acadian ancestry were determined.

The type of changes (or the resistance to change for that matter) which occurred among Acadian Portsmouthites can be found in comparing the sentiments of Saint-Malo Acadians to Portsmouth Acadians. This is carried through in the opening chapter of the section on acculturation processes.

The conditions under which such changes brought about significant readjustment on the part of the individual are analyzed in the same introductory chapter in terms of factors promoting and limiting acculturation. A factor can be, at the same time, a limiting force and a promoting influence. The Catholic Church, for instance, as an institution which provides for the religious needs of the Acadian flock is a limiting factor. But the hierarchy of the dioceses (headed by an Irish Bishop) of which Portsmouth is a part, which makes impossible the leadership of the parish priest in strictly Acadian matters, is a factor which facilitates acculturation.

When these factors promoting and limiting acculturation are viewed in psychological terms, they become respectively the incentives and the barriers to learning. If the whole process of acculturation is one of imitative learning as implied in Hallowell's writings ¹ it would be essential to examine the process of imitative learning in its totality as well as the systems of drives, cues, responses, rewards ² which condition this learning mechanism. The fieldwork was not undertaken with that framework, and the analysis could not be carried on from that particular angle. To express ourselves in psychological terms, what is learned is described (the Anglo-Protestant values which are adopted by the Acadian) without analyzing the reasons for which it is learned (whether its motivation is anxiety, prestige or other similar mechanism). However, the conditions under which the learning took place is discussed as well as the ways in which it has changed the individual and the community in which he resides. There is no attempt to study the

¹ Hallowell, Irving A., "Sociopsychological Aspects of Acculturation" in *The Science of Man in the World Crisis*, Ralph Linton (Ed), pp. 171-200.

² Miller, Neal E. and Dollard, John, *Social Learning and Imitation*, New Haven, 1941, p. 35 and Hilgard, Ernest R., *Theories of Learning*, New York, p. 78.

order of selection of values in the process of acculturation. If this could be made feasible, by simple methods tremendous insights into the psychology of culture-contact situations could be gained.

If the process of culture transfer, it seems to me, were only from the point of view of the Dollard and Riller theory, which is translated into socio-psychological terms by Hallowell, some of the acculturative phenomena could hardly be explained. Could we say that the almost wholly acculturated Acadian who does not identify with the group expects to receive a prestige reward from identifying with the dominant culture? Quite to the contrary by departing from his native group he becomes rejected by both the Acadians and the English. Identifying with the dominant group may render feasible the assimilation of his children, which, in itself, could be a tension reduction or a reward.

It seems that there are institutions which invariably promote acculturation. The school is one of those social institutions. The Acadian child in the school situation has almost no chance of learning the values of his group. The economic pressures found in the environment always force the Acadian laboring class to seek employment in English centers or from Anglo-Protestant employers. The mass media of communication, which are always exclusively in the English language, impose upon Acadians the values which they contain. There is almost no alternative.

The whole process of establishing Acadian organizations and attempting to interest the Portsmouth Acadians in them is an effort to create alternatives, and eventually to re-orient them in the larger Saint-Malo.

PART III – ACCULTURATION POSITION OF PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 14: The Index of Acculturation

1. Introduction

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The index of acculturation ¹ is an independent measure of the acculturation position of the Acadians living in Portsmouth ecological area. Language use and degree of religiosity were the two separate criteria used as representative items in the whole field of acculturation. We think that both are fairly reliable indices of acculturation. The rationale for selecting them can be expressed as follows: changes in value-orientation of individuals with Acadian ancestry are reflected in the gradual loss of the French language and in the gradual departure from participation in the religious activities of the Catholic Church.

It is true, in part, that the secularization process ² of some Acadians living in an urban environment is not necessarily dependent upon exposure to Anglo-Protestant values contacts. However, there are enough evidences that the latter are operative in a mixed environment to give it full consideration. In Acadian patterns of sentiments, religious affiliation is almost interchangeable with ethnic background and a weakening of their religious values is almost universally associated with a shading of their ethnic values. The Acadian sentiment that, “He who loses his tongue, loses his faith; he who loses his faith, loses his tongue” is so central in Acadian culture that it was thought that both language and religion were of extreme importance in the acculturation process of the Acadians. Thus, the extent to which the Acadians maintain a strong religious life and continue to use French as their mother-tongue in an English environment, to that extent they are likely to

¹ For an exposition of how the data were gathered, see Appendix A.

² For a discussion of this process, see Chapter 17.

preserve strong family traditions, marry within their own group, keep strong interest in Acadian affairs, be active in Acadian organizations, etc..., in brief, they will remain Acadians.

The index is a measuring stick, with each of the cutting points giving different acculturation position along the continuum of change. Individuals with low scores of acculturation are not so much different from their Saint-Malo brothers, whereas those with high scores have almost been assimilated by the Anglo-Protestant dominant group.

2. The Building of the Index

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Before describing the procedures by which the two separate indices of language use and degree of religiosity were combined, we will describe the content of each index.

The Index of Language Use.

Ratings

1. Acadians who use only the French language and who do not understand the English language at all.
2. Acadians who use only the French language, but who understand the English language well enough to be able to follow a conversation and make themselves understood.
3. Bilingual Acadians, who use the French language more often than the English language.
4. Bilingual Acadians who use the languages about equally.
5. Bilingual Acadians who use English more often than French.
6. Acadians who use only the English language, but who understand French well enough to be able to follow a conversation and make themselves understood.
7. Acadians who use English only.

It should be remembered that numerically higher score indicates higher acculturation position. When it is said that an Acadian uses the French language more often than English, we mean that he uses it in the home, in the stores, and in interacting with French speaking Acadians. This type of procedure by which numerical values are arbitrarily assigned to certain linguistic characteristics and then these numbers are analyzed as if they were equidistant (i.e., the difference between rating 3 and 4 should be the same as between 5 and 6) is opened to some criticism. It is presented as a method for applying quantitative measurement to some aspects of acculturation.

The Index of Religious Life ¹

Ratings

1. People with “strong” religious values; attending all obligatory type of religious services and attending most of the non-obligatory types as well; receiving sanctifying sacraments frequently (ten and more during the course of the year; being active (usually leaders) in church-centered and church-connected organizations and contributing conscientiously to the financial support of the Church and its pastor.
2. Acadians with “good” religious values; attending all obligatory types of religious services and attending some of the non-obligatory type as well; receiving the sanctifying sacraments five to six times a year; participating in some church-centered and church-connected organizations and furnishing financial support fairly well.
3. Acadians with “fair” religious values; attending Mass on Sundays and Holydays of Obligations but not attending any of the non-obligatory type of religious services; receiving the sanctifying sacraments two or three times a year (at Christmas, Easter and during the Forty Hours Devotion); having nominal participation in church-centered and church-connected organizations; furnishing some financial support.
4. Acadians with “weak” religious values; attending only some of the obligatory type of religious services and never attending the non-obligatory type of

¹ The index takes into account four items: (1) Religious values connected with the main beliefs of the Catholic Church, with religious education in the home and other family practices. (2) Religious practices connected with Church attendance on Sundays and Holydays of Obligation and with attendance at non-obligatory types of religious services like week-day Masses, evening prayers, Novenas, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament, recitation of the Rosary. Religious practices also connected with the reception of sanctifying sacraments like Confession and Holy Communion. (3) Participation in church-centered and church-connected organizations. (4) Financial support of the Church property and the pastor.

religious services; receiving the sanctifying sacraments at Easter only (the strict minimum)¹; having no participation, active or nominal, in church-centered and church-connected organizations and furnishing almost no financial support (negligible).

5. Acadians with no “Catholic” values, who have lost their faith, do not attend any of the religious services, do not participate in any of the Church organizations, give no financial support to the Church.
6. Acadians who belong to a Protestant denomination (To turn Protestant is one of the last steps in the process of acculturation).

In the index of religious life, as in the language use index, numerically higher score indicates a higher degree of secularization. The same assumption about the equidistance between each cutting point is made.

In relating the index of language use to the index of religious life we arrive at a coefficient of correlation of .66, which represents a fairly high correlation. This means that these two separate indices are roughly measuring the same phenomenon; that is, acculturation.

Table 5. *Relationships between Position of Acadians over Twenty-one Years of Age on the Language Use Index and the Index of Religious Life, Portsmouth Ecological Area, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Religious Index	Index of Language Use					Total	Averages
	3	4	5	6	7		
1	41	8	8	2	1	60	3.56
2	37	11	18	1	2	69	3.84
3	18	12	24	9	13	76	4.82
4	2	4	7	3	4	20	5.15
5	2	5	6	3	34	50	6.24
6	—	—	1	—	12	13	6.53
Total	100	40	64	18	66	288*	
Averages	1.87	2.67	2.81	3.22	5.57		

* Six Acadians have not been rated either on the language or the religious index.

¹ The pastor made explicit that some twenty to twenty-five people classified in this category miss their Easter duty. He classified them there because he believes that he will be able to bring them back in the fold.

The two indices were then combined in order to establish a general index of acculturation. This index simplifies the analysis and makes clearer the relationships between acculturation position and some independent variables. Another reason for combining the indices is that the correlation between these two indicates that they both contribute to and help define acculturation position. If the correlation had been the unity, we would have needed to use only one of them.

Graph 1. *Relationships between Position on Language and Religious Indices.*

[To Graphs](#)

If the correlation had been near zero, then this would have indicated that religion and language had little in common. A correlation of 0.66 indicates that while both elements have certain things in common, each index contributes something of its own in defining acculturation position.

An Acadian, for instance, who rates 3 on the religious life index and 4 on the language use index has an acculturation score of 7. Similarly, another one who rates 6 on the language use index and 7 on the religious life index has a total

acculturation score of **13**, which represents the most extreme position at the high end of the continuum.

If we look closely at the nature of the relationships between religion (as measured by religious life) and language (as measured by language use) strong tendencies emerge. It was expressed before that the sentiment, “He who loses his tongue loses his faith, and he who loses his faith loses his tongue,” is a very important one in Acadian society. While both these relationships are found to be true (See Table 5), one qualifier must be introduced. In eighty-seven percent of the cases ¹, French speaking Acadians remain good Catholics (thirteen percent of them being poor Catholics), but also thirty percent of the English speaking Acadians remain good Catholics (as contrasted to sixty-seven percent of them being poor Catholics). Therefore, it is more likely that a French speaking Acadian will be a good Catholic than that an English speaking Acadian will be a poor Catholic.

Thus people who keep strong ties with their Church are likely to preserve their native tongue and vice versa. However, Acadians who lose their language do not necessarily become poor Catholics and vice versa. On the whole, there are more chances for an Acadian who loses his faith to lose his native tongue than there are for an Acadian who loses his language to lose his religion.

¹ To arrive at these percentages (derived from Table 5), the language use index is divided in French speakers (3-4-5) and English speakers (6-7) and the index of religious life is divided into good Catholics (1-2-3) and poor Catholics (4-5-6). We get the following four-fold table, from which the percentages are extracted.

	French speakers		English speakers	
Good Catholics	17.7	N	N	26
Poor Catholics	27	N	N	56

PART III – ACCULTURATION POSITION OF PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 15: Acculturation Position: Its Relations to some Variables

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We will now turn our attention to examining the relationships between acculturational, levels (as reflected in acculturation position) of the Acadians and some variables like place of residence, age, sex, occupation, economic status, family, community of origin and descent.

Looking at the acculturational levels of Acadians living in the four communities of the ecological area, there are striking differences.

Table 6. *Acculturation Position of Acadians over Twenty-One Years of Age in Portsmouth Ecological Area. According to Community, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Communities	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Frontière	13	15	9	8	4	2	4	1	1	0	57	6.14
Portsmouth	27	28	23	20	23	12	10	3	6	6	158	6.96
Pulp Creek	1	1	4	4	4	8	8	3	25	0	58	9.96
Northport	0	1	1	1	2	0	0	1	2	6	14	10.50
Total	41	45	37	33	33	22	22	8	34	12	287	7.58

The community of Frontière is the least acculturated of all the communities of the ecological area. It is followed by Portsmouth, Pulp Creek and Northport, in that order of acculturation. The differences in acculturational levels between the medium acculturated communities (Frontière and Portsmouth) and the highly acculturated ones (Pulp Creek and Northport) are of a great magnitude, whereas the differences in scores between the two communities in each class is rather small: a difference of .82 between Frontière and Portsmouth and a difference of .54 between Pulp Creek and Northport. The most salient differences in the socio-environmental conditions prevailing in these respective communities will be briefly described here.

Communities	Low ¹	Acculturation Medium	High
Frontière	65	24	11
Portsmouth	49	35	16
Pulp Creek	10	28	62
Northport	14	22	64

Frontière and Portsmouth have the same general level of acculturation but are unlike in many respects. Frontière surpasses and is more advanced in its acculturation position than all communities in Saint-Malo, excluding communities located at the southern tip of county ² which are within close distance of the Anglo-Protestant centers of Plymouth Municipality. Since the Second World War, Portsmouth has remained at the same acculturative level, whereas Frontière has been rapidly reaching higher levels of acculturation. This rate of change is related to the tighter economic and social dependence of Frontière on Portsmouth and environs. Prior to that time many Frontière residents were still full-time farmers; some are now employed in Portsmouth industries. The Acadian leadership of Portsmouth has not yet been effective in Frontière. However, there are sixty-five percent in Frontière who are relatively unacculturated, which seems to indicate that there are many residents who are still Saint-Malo oriented and resist acculturation.

This differs quite drastically from Northport and Pulp Creek communities where about the same proportion of Acadians is highly acculturated. Within a community, as well as among communities, there seems to exist a similar process of acculturation. This is reflected in the actual acculturational level and in relationship between classes of acculturation. The process of change seems to be gradual and working along a continuum. For instance, in Frontière, the bulk of the Acadian population is in the low category, with some in the medium class and very

¹ The acculturation index is divided into three acculturational levels – low (scores of 4-5-6); medium (scores of 7-8-9) and high (scores of 10-11-12-13).

² Most communities of that geographical district have a general level of acculturation comparable to Pulp Creek.

few at a high acculturative position. The fact that all communities have a medium category of the same size, irrespective of their general acculturation positions seems to bear out that point. Over a lifetime period some individuals gradually move from a low acculturation position to a medium one, or from a medium one to a higher level of acculturation; rarely is the move for any individual from low to a high position.

A noticeable trend in Pulp Creek is that almost half of the Acadians (43%) have lost their native tongue and do not participate in the activities of the Catholic Church (they rate **12** on the general acculturation index). Like the mixed communities of the economically depressed areas of Bristol Municipality, the factors promoting acculturation have been: cultural isolation from the stream of Acadian life, high Acadian-English contacts, lack of leadership, low educational and socio-economic levels.

Northport has very few Acadians and because of the small number, the only generalization that can be made is that almost all its residents have gone one step further than Pulp Creek Acadians in their acculturation process by turning Protestant.

Portsmouth has three well-delineated groups: people who are Saint-Malo oriented and have a low acculturational position (forty-nine percent); people who are accepting English traits and have a medium acculturational position; and finally the almost completely acculturated Acadians who represent sixteen percent of the total Acadian population.

First, we would like to test whether or not there are differences along age and sex lines. Upon examining the next table, it can be seen that certain acculturational levels are associated with certain age classes: the young are more advanced in their acculturation position than the old and acculturational level decreases with decreasing age. This seems to establish the general tendency of most societies in culture-contact situations that the younger age groups show greater susceptibility to acculturation than older age groups. By combining age classes and dividing them in three age groupings: (20-40) (40-60) and (60 over) we get a clearer picture of the acculturative trends according to age. The rationale for making these particular age groupings can be stated as follows: these Acadians are the socialization products of three distinctive historical periods-Post World War I, turn of the century to 1920, and nineteenth century. The magnitude of the acculturative differences between two age groupings reflects, in a rough way, the rate of culture change within that period of time. The greatest difference in levels of acculturation is between the first and the second age class with almost no difference between the second age class and the oldest one. This nine-fold table suggests that Acadians reach a particular degree age acculturation when they are middle-aged (sometimes between the age of 40 and 60) and undergo little acculturation during the remainder of their life. In other words, there is a peak of acculturation which is

reached by an individual and which is kept during the remainder of his life. It is likely that in a cohesive group, like the Saint-Malo society where natavistic movements exist, that, as Acadians grow older, they return to native traditions (a lowering of acculturation position).

Table 7. *Acculturation Position of Acadians over Twenty-One Years of Age in Portsmouth Ecological Area, According to Age, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Age Classes	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
20-29	2	3	3	3	3	4	4	1	4	2	29	8.5
30-39	7	3	9	13	11	5	4	4	11	3	70	8.2
40-49	11	13	10	5	8	3	7	–	6	4	67	7.3
50-59	8	13	7	5	5	3	4	1	7	–	53	7.0
60-69	5	9	6	6	4	3	1	2	4	1	41	7.1
70-79	7	3	2	1	2	1	–	–	1	1	18	6.2
80 over	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4.5
Total	41	45	37	33	33	19	20	8	33	11	280	7.58

* Seven individuals were left out because we did not have their age.

I had first hypothesized that acculturation was a function of sex. Men were thought to be much more acculturated than women since they spent a great deal more of their time outside of the house and were likely to experience greater exposure to the influences of the Anglo-Protestant culture. This hypothesis is only partly verified. One factor had been underestimated: acculturation is not an isolated phenomenon, but a dynamic process with extensive ramifications in the social structure.

First, if the Acadians work with the English at the saw-mills, if they associate with them in their leisure activities, if they visit in each other's home, the consequences of these contacts, will be reflected in the home, directly because women share some of the recreational activities with men and indirectly because attitudes and values of these men will influence those of their wives. Secondly, in addition to these influences primarily originating from English-Acadian contacts, the Acadians undergo additional acculturational experiences in their interactional patterns with other Acadians. Usually, people with the same acculturational levels, live in the same neighborhoods and have a great amount of social intercourse

among themselves. An Acadian, therefore, does not only acculturate by interacting with the English, but also in interacting with other acculturated Acadians.

Table 8. *Acculturation Position of Acadians over Twenty-One Years of Age in Portsmouth Ecological Area, According to Sex Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Sex	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Males	14	18	14	17	24	16	11	3	18	6	141	8.2
Females	27	27	23	16	9	6	11	5	16	6	196	7.2
Total	41	45	37	33	33	22	22	8	34	12	287	7.58

Among Acadians, we could hypothesize that the acculturative consequences of their interactional patterns will be reflected in the acculturation position of the interactors. When relatively unacculturated Acadians frequently mingle socially and when highly acculturated Acadians interact quite often among themselves, the chances are that they will not advance their acculturation position as much as if they were interacting with individuals of different levels. In other words, a relatively unacculturated Acadian interacting with a highly or almost totally acculturated Acadians is likely to undergo as great acculturational experiences as if he were interacting with the English and greater than if he were interacting with another relatively unacculturated individual. From that angle, it would be important to look at the patterns of acculturation at the family level and examine the levels of acculturation of both wife and husband.

The following table has two striking features: (a) there is a strong tendency for the mutual attractiveness of similar acculturation level and the continuance of this mode at the family level, (b) it reveals important components of the social structure of the Acadian society in Portsmouth ecological area. We will look at these two in that order.

Table 9. *Patterns of Acculturational Levels according to Family Units * in Portsmouth Ecological Areas, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Family Units		Levels of Acculturation		Families	%
		N			
Father and mother have the same general level of acculturation	Both little	38	45)	76	
	Both medium	14	16)		
	Both high	13	15)		
Father and mother have different general levels of acculturation	Father little — Mother medium	2	3)	24	
	Father medium — Mother little	13	15)		
	Father medium — Mother high	5	6)		
	Father high — Mother medium	—	—)		
	Father little — Mother high	—	—)		
	Mother little — Father high	—	—)		
Total		85	100		

* The family is taken as a unit. Bachelors, spinsters, widows, separated families and Acadian-non-Acadian marriages were excluded from this table.

In seventy-six percent of the cases (65 families out of total of 85) family heads have the same general level of acculturation, with forty-five percent of the Acadian families in the relatively unacculturated class, sixteen percent in the medium acculturation category and fifteen percent in the high acculturated group. Assuming that the 1951 acculturation positions of the family heads reflect also their acculturation positions at the time their marriage was performed, it would seem that individuals with approximately the same value-orientation married each other; from the time of the union up to the present time, both acculturated at the same pace. Assuming that their acculturation positions were different at marriage there is also the possibility that these differences disappeared as time progressed. Both these alternatives point to the fact that the family acculturates as a unit husbands reinforcing their wives' values and *vice versa*. If children had been included in that study, we would have seen that their acculturation position is relative to their parents'.

The second feature is not very different from the first one: why is it that some acculturational patterns do not occur in larger Portsmouth? Women/men with little acculturational level are never found associated with men/women who are almost wholly acculturated. This seems to suggest that acculturation position is likely to be an indicator of class position. A relatively unacculturated high-class individual is unlikely to marry a highly acculturated low class person. In the next two tables,

we will examine the criteria for social stratification (occupation and economic status) and see what their relationships to acculturation position are.

Table 10. *Acculturation Position of Acadians in Portsmouth Ecological Area According to Occupation (housewives excluded), Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Occupations	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Professionals	4	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	7	5.1
Proprietors	2	3	2	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	12	5.9
Farmers	3	1	4	1	1	2	–	–	–	–	12	6.2
Retired	2	3	–	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	8	6.2
Skilled workers	2	8	5	4	5	1	–	–	3	–	28	6.8
Clerical workers	1	1	1	2	2	–	1	1	–	1	10	7.9
Semi-skilled workers	1	2	–	1	5	2	2	1	1	–	15	8.1
Unskilled workers	–	1	2	5	8	9	8	1	12	6	52	9.8
Total	15	20	14	19	24	14	11	3	17	7	144	7.56

Assuming that occupations are a reliable index of class (professionals and business men being upper class, unskilled laborers being lower class and all the other occupational categories representing a middle class position) the preceding table supports the hypothesis that the higher in the class system, the lower the acculturation position. There is more chance, however, that an upper class Acadian will be found in the relatively unacculturated category than there are for a lower class Acadian to be found in the highly acculturated groups. As a matter of fact, the lower class Acadian has almost as much chance of being found in the medium acculturated division as he does of being in the highest acculturation group. It is particularly significant that none of the upper class people are found in the high acculturation category. Most of the wholly acculturated individuals (approximately seventy-percent) are lower class people, but only half of the lower class individuals are located in the high acculturation category.

Another measure of class position is economic status. This criterion is of course closely related to the former. And again by reducing the table to a nine-fold one, the same relationships which were found between occupations and

acculturation position also appear to exist between economic levels and levels of acculturation. (We do not have systematic data on the levels of education, but it is quite probable that the same relationships would have been found). Acculturation processes are delayed in Portsmouth because it is the people with low status and prestige who acculturate the most.

Class Position	Acculturation Position		
	Low %	Medium %	High %
Upper	63	37	—
Middle	47	38	15
Lower	6	42	52

Table 11. *Acculturation Position of Acadians According to Economic Status in Portsmouth and Pulp Creek Communities, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Economic Levels *	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1	3										3	4.0
2	6	3	1	2	1						13	5.1
3	14	19	20	16	19	8	8	1	10	3	118	7.2
4		5	4	3	5	8	7	4	6	2	44	8.9
5				1	1	1			10		13	11.0
6							1		1	1	3	11.7
Total	23	27	25	22	26	17	16	5	27	6	194	7.58

* The family's economic level is rated as a unit. There are eight Acadian families for which we do not have a rating. The economic status of each family, inmarried and intermarried, was rated by one informant. The key-informant at the time was the Royal Bank of Canada Manager, President of the Municipal Home and School Association and a very active member of the Portsmouth Board of Trade. For analytical purposes, I decided that group 1 and 2 would roughly represent upper class families, group 3, middle class families and groups 4, 5 and 6, lower class families. Economic groups were defined in the following:

1. Those families who have enough savings and investments that family heads would not have to work. They have a high standard of living.
2. Families who have above average savings and have a relatively good economic security. In this class, all professionals and most business men are found.
3. Average economic wealth in Portsmouth.
4. Families who do not provide adequately for all the basic needs of the family (such as food, shelters, clothing, education, medical care). They are seasonal workers.
5. Families who do not provide for the basic necessities such as food clothing and shelter.
6. Families on municipal welfare.

Economic Status	Acculturation Position		
	Low %	Medium %	High %
Low	15	32	53
Average	45	36	19
High	81	19	—

Both these separate measures of class position support the findings which were reported in Chapter 6 (*Social Stratification*) of the community analysis.

Another phenomenon which we thought as being associated with differential acculturation was the community of origin of the Acadians. The following table shows that Saint-Malo born Acadians of the Portsmouth ecological area are less acculturated than those coming from an Acadian community in Bristol Municipality, who, in turn, are less acculturated than those born in the larger Portsmouth. This finding represents the relative levels of acculturation in these respective places. It also indicates the capacity to resist acculturation. Saint-Malo Acadians have the greatest resistance. They are followed by the Acadians residing in communities of the English municipality and those of Portsmouth ecological area. The finding that Bristol Municipality Acadians are less acculturated than the Portsmouth born Acadians is an interesting one. From other fieldwork we know that communities such as Monkeytown, The Bog and Jonesville (located in Bristol

Municipality) have a higher acculturation position than Portsmouth villagers. Therefore, there seems to exist a selective force which operates in the migratory patterns of Bristol Municipality Acadians. The above mentioned communities seem to attract the assimilated Acadians, while Portsmouth attracts Acadians from Beupré, Port Harmony and Hughes Cove, the better-off Acadian communities of the English municipality.

Table 12. *Acculturation Position of Individuals with Acadian ancestry over twenty-one years of age in Portsmouth, according to migration patterns, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Migration Patterns*	Acculturation Scores										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
1	2										2	4.0
2	18	16	9	1	4	2	1	—	1	—	52	5.5
3	1	5	2	—	2	1	—	—	1	1	13	7.0
4	2	3	7	14	11	4	6	2	4	4	57	8.1
5		1	1	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	5	7.6
Total	23	25	19	16	17	7	9	2	6	5	129	7.6

* Key to symbols

- (1) Acadians who live in Portsmouth, but who came from New-Brunswick Province.
- (2) Acadians who live in the area who migrated from Saint-Malo.
- (3) Acadians who live in the area and who came from a predominantly Acadian French community of Stirling Municipality of the rest of the Province.
- (4) People born in Portsmouth ecological area.
- (5) People who came from a predominantly English community of Stirling County or the rest of the Province.

The next relationship examined is the acculturational patterns of the full bloods and the mixed-bloods. As it was expected, the mixed-bloods are more acculturated, a difference of almost three points. This reinforces the belief that full-bloods are likely to identify more strongly with their ethnic group and consequently hold their values with greater strength, than the mixed-bloods, who, products of intermarriages, are torn between the two groups for their loyalties.

Table 13. *Acculturation Position of Full-bloods and Mixed-bloods in Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

	Levels of Acculturation										Total	Averages
	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13		
Full-bloods	41	43	37	26	29	17	13	6	25	6	243	7.1
Mixed-Bloods	–	2	–	6	4	5	9	2	9	6	43	9.9
Total	41	45	37	32	33	22	22	8	34	12	286	7.58

The generalizations which can be drawn from this chapter can be summarized in the following:

- (1) Other factors being equal, the ethnic composition of a community is related to the acculturation position of its Acadian members in this way; the greater the number of Acadians, the lower their acculturation position; conversely, the smaller the number of Acadians the higher their level of acculturation.
- (2) A high acculturation position is associated with younger age groups and a low position with older age groups. The young are more susceptible to influences of the giving culture.
- (3) Men are slightly more acculturated than women are.
- (4) People of the same acculturational level attract each other (intermarriages are the exception) and continue to acculturate as a unit (family) at about the same rate.
- (5) Acculturation is a function of class: the lower in the class system, the more acculturated; the higher in the class system, the lower the acculturation position.
- (6) Saint-Malo, born Acadians living in the ecological area resist acculturation better than the Portsmouth born Acadians.
- (7) Full-bloods identify more strongly than the mixed-bloods with the Acadian group; as a result, they are less acculturated than the latter.

PART IV – PROCESSES OF ACCULTURATION OF THE PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 16: The General Processes of Acculturation

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There are three separate facets of the processes of acculturation which are covered in this chapter: 1. The major changes in traditional patterns of Acadian sentiments; 2. Socio-cultural factors promoting acculturation; and 3. The socio-cultural factors limiting acculturation. There will be a brief description of the sentiments which tend to be retained and which tend to be abandoned in the culture-contact situation. The main effort, however, is directed towards delimiting the socio-cultural conditions which promote and limit those changes. It does not exhaust, of course, the field of sociological conditions affecting value-orientation and value-change, nor is it an exhaustive presentation of the ones considered.

It may be appropriate at this point to draw a general comparison between the Acadians of Saint-Malo and the Acadians of Portsmouth. The former are involved in a triple culture process: they are pulled by three simultaneous acculturation forces. One of these forces is to maintain the folk culture; another one is to re-orient the Acadians towards the North American French Canadian culture; and the last is the pressure toward English acculturation. The last force is by far the most important one in terms of impact, number of people affected by it, consequences, etc. While the forces for acculturation are more numerous and more intense in Portsmouth than in Saint-Malo, on the one hand, the forces for limiting acculturational influences are less numerous and weaker in Portsmouth than in Saint-Malo on the other. Therefore, from both sides of the process, Portsmouth Acadians are more susceptible to acculturation. And this is substantiated by the FLS findings on acculturation position in Saint-Malo and Portsmouth.¹

¹ In the Stirling County Family Life Survey, we tried to gain some knowledge about the process of acculturation in the county as a whole. We included in the questionnaire some twenty to

Other differences between the processes of acculturation of Portsmouth and Saint-Malo Acadians are in the rate of acculturation and the homogeneity of acculturational levels. In Saint-Malo, the rate is slow and the Acadian population has much the same acculturation position (a low level), whereas in Portsmouth the rapidity with which acculturative influences come about is greater and there are wide differences in the degrees of acculturation of its Acadian inhabitants. Acadian-Acadian interaction in Saint-Malo invariably means the promoting of Acadian values; Acadian-Acadian interaction in Portsmouth does not carry the same implications. As a matter of fact in many interactional patterns the opposite tendency exists and in Portsmouth we can only speak of Acadian-Acadian interaction as a factor limiting the forces for acculturation when, both the initiator and the receptor have the same low acculturation position. To push the point a little further, it is highly probable (and we alluded to this before) that a highly acculturated Acadian can be equated with or be even more influential than an English person. This implies that an Acadian who occupies a low position on the acculturation continuum and who intermingles socially with a highly acculturated Acadian is likely assuming that these associations are repetitive and numerous enough, to undergo the same type of value-changes which would normally occur when such an interaction involves an English Protestant. Thus there are additional forces of acculturation which are almost non-existent in Saint-Malo, since individuals there with Acadian ancestry have the same value-orientation and the same degree of acculturation.

1. Major Changes in Traditional Patterns of Acadian Sentiments

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We will now turn our attention to the main changes in the traditional systems of beliefs of Portsmouth Acadians. As an introductory remark, since the levels of acculturation in Portsmouth have a wide dispersion, proper qualifications will be introduced when there are important differences between Acadians of the different acculturational classes.

twenty-five questions in the sections on acculturation. Some of them related to acculturation position and some others related to changes in acculturation. There was a series of five questions (about respondent's descent, marriage, religiosity, language use and identification and contacts with the English culture) which formed a Guttman scale (unidimensionality). The acculturational levels of Portsmouth Acadians as given by this scale represented a middle position between the relatively unacculturated, Saint-Malo inhabitants and the almost assimilated Stirling Arm Acadians.

A. Sentiments about descent

In Portsmouth, the feelings of belongingness and group identification decrease with the increasing levels of acculturation. In Saint-Malo where everybody feels as if they belong to a large family, group solidarity made for stronger group consciousness and ethnic ties. Among the medium and highly acculturated Portsmouthites, the feelings of having been “unjustly mistreated” by the English is almost inexistent. Very rarely, did we hear these people refer to their expulsion, or mention the historical achievements of their ancestors. Especially among the highly acculturated Portsmouthites, their identification with the Acadian group does not originate from positive forces or incentives for being recognized as such, but rather because this is the way in which they are referred to by the English. It is very interesting to note among the mixed-bloods, for instance (where there is a biological basis for claiming ethnic identification one way or the other) that the great majority of them identified with the English instead of identifying with the Acadians.¹

I would predict that the mixed-bloods who identified with the English are Protestants and that the ones who identified with the Acadians are Catholics, even though they may have intermarried with the English. My mixed-blood neighbor once made the remark that he was one of many in the village, who did not make a distinction between the Acadians and the English. Of course, this middle class individual was one of the rare persons in the community having almost equal

¹ This was also found to be true in the results of our Family Life Survey. Of the ninety informants who fell in the random sample for Portsmouth, Northport and Pulp Creek (as defined in our community analysis of Portsmouth) forty-one of them were of Acadian ancestry. Of these forty-one, twenty were of mixed ancestry and fourteen of them identified with the English group. The ethnicity was measured genetically, with individuals having one, two and three Acadian grandparents (respectively 25 %, 50 % and 75 % Acadians) being considered as mixed-bloods. In order to see the relationships between real ethnicity and feelings of belongingness we asked the question: “To which group do you feel you mainly belong?” The patterns of answers, by community are presented in the following table.

Feeling of belongingness	Portsmouth Non-AC. Acadians Mixed			Real ethnicity Northport Non-Ac. Acadians Mixed			Pulp Creek Non-Ac. Acadians Mixed		
Acadians	4	14	1	1	1	2	–	6	3
Non-Acadians	16	–	5	22	–	6	6	–	3

Another interesting feature of this table is that no full-blood Acadian identified with the English whereas there are five full-blood English who identified with the Acadian group. The possible explanation is that those people were married to Acadians (cultural intermarriages) have turned Catholics and now identify with the Acadians. I interviewed one of the informants and she felt that she preferred to associate with the Acadians than to associate with the English. However, I am quite sure that she would have answered differently if she had been interviewed in her own native village.

access to both Acadian and English societies; a fact which can largely be explained by the ethnic and religious composition of his family.¹ After I interviewed him a number of times it was my impression, that he meant that there were few differences between the English and the Acadians. Apart from, the religious affiliation and the language used, the other and only difference he could see was that the Acadians had larger families than the English.

B. Sentiments about Religious Affiliation

One of the striking points about the Acadians living in Portsmouth is that they are more secularized than the Acadians living in a completely homogeneous environment are. However, as I noted before, secularization is not only the end product of English-French interactions, it is also the result of many other factors as well. The Acadians from Maltapan, for instance, (the only urban environment in Saint-Malo) are probably the most secularized in the French Municipality. I do not think that it is a matter of chance that the highest level of secularization (in relative terms) should be found in an urban milieu. This points to the fact that in an urban socio-cultural context, in contrast to folk societies where the social relationships are more of the familiar types, relationships tend to be more individualistic with lesser dependence on the larger society for gaining approval. It is possible, under those circumstances, that the sanctions of the Church do not control behavior as much in religious and social matters. The secularization of the Portsmouthites will be given considerable emphasis in the following chapter but the general trends will be briefly mentioned here.

Secularization is manifested in the decline of attendance to non-obligatory as well as obligatory services, in the decline in participation in Church-centered organizations and in the attitudes of the Catholic Acadians *vis-à-vis* their parish priest. Some of the attitudes of the Catholics towards their parish priest are engendered by the fact that he is part Irish and does not overtly favor the Acadians in his ministerial work. Some of the criticisms are made in connection with the stands he takes in matters directly connected with religion.

The highly acculturated persons feel that any religion is as good as another and that there is no such thing as the "true Church" and the "true Religion." Even though they may attend one or a few ceremonies a year, some of these people still keep a nominal membership, in the Catholic Church. Some others do not believe in

¹ The ethnic and religious composition of my neighbor's family was very typical. His father is an Anglo-Protestant, his mother an Acadian Catholic from the French Shore. He married an Acadian Catholic girl from the Shore. One of his sisters remained catholic and married an Irish Catholic. His other sister married a Baptist and became Baptist. She had three children: the only girl was raised by her grandmother in the Catholic Faith and married a Catholic Acadian. One of the boys was studying to become a United Church minister. The other boy was raised in the Baptist Church.

“Heaven” and “Hell” and are “willing to take a chance.” The latter do not have any membership or any preference.

The majority of the medium acculturated individuals still retain an active participation in church organizations but according to the pastor, they do not put into practice the Catholic philosophy of life. A preponderant sentiment of this acculturational class is that good relationships with the English must be attained, even though they may have to make compromises. As a matter of fact they often lull themselves into thinking that their relationships with the English are harmonious and can hardly become better. Closely related to that sentiment is the feeling that a minority group must adopt itself to the dominant group.

People with low acculturation position have the same sentiments as Saint-Malo Acadians.

C. Sentiments about Language

One of the obvious differences between Saint-Malo and Portsmouth Acadians is in the knowledge and amount of use of the Acadian French language. In Saint-Malo, with very few exceptions, everybody knows the Acadian French language. In Portsmouth, twenty-nine percent of the adults do not use the French language because they do not know it and the rest of them are bilinguals. Of all those who are bilinguals, forty-nine percent use French more often than English, twenty percent use English as often as French and thirty-one percent use English more often than French. In actuality, however, taking the whole Acadian population, fifty-three percent of them use English in the home, on their jobs, in their social relationships, etc.¹

One of the reasons which brought about these changes in language use at the family level among Saint-Malo in-migrants is inter-generational differences in degrees of acculturation. This, of course, is intimately related to the mixed school where children learn only the English language. Some of the family heads, who otherwise would be inclined to use the French language in their homes, are prevented from doing so because of their children's inability to speak French and their insistence for speaking English. Even, among the little acculturated families, parents often shift from French to English for the same reason. This factor alone accounts for most changes in language use at the family level. It also pointed out to me that no longer than a generation back, most of the Acadians families in Portsmouth used French in their homes.

As for the attitudes towards using the French language in most of the social situations, they vary with acculturational classes. The little acculturated do not differ too much from the Saint-Malo Acadians in this respect: they see the French

¹ Derived from family census made by the author.

language as the preserver of the faith and ultimately as the preserver of the Acadian French culture. They are worried over the fact that so many people are constantly shifting from French to English language. They feel that it is very unfortunate that they cannot avoid the necessity for speaking English from time to time, and wish there was a way of avoiding it. As a matter of fact they especially show their annoyance when, in a group situation involving one or two English speaking Acadians, they have to use the English language. Some of these people feel ill at ease in presence of a French speaking Acadian and wished they could speak better French. They also feel that the pastor is an instrument of anglicization, because he insists upon giving the core of his sermons in English and they hold it against the Protestants for not making any attempt whatsoever to learn their language.

Among the medium acculturated Acadians, their attitudes towards their native tongues are a little different. They feel that French is the language of the home whereas English is the social and business language and that any professional advancement is conditioned by the proficiency one has in using the French language. In other words, it is not only desirable but essential that one learns English. They are not so sure that the French language is the preserver of the faith and do not see the necessity for the parish priest to speak French when all of them know English. Language skill, in many respects, is closely related to status position.

The necessities of making their living in an environment as well as the pressures for conforming to it are all in the direction of their using the English language. Their ideal, and this is one of their goals, is to speak the English language without any trace of French accent. It is a great concern to them that they cannot speak either language correctly but since it is impossible for them to improve their French without a re-education (which is not at all feasible at present) and since there are positive social and economic rewards attached to it, their efforts are directed towards improving their proficiency in English. Business men usually change their names from a French to an English spelling. Examples of trade names are "Tangirrault's Meat Market," "Campeau's Barber Shop", "Boisvert's Garage," etc.

The highly acculturated Acadians have lost their language: it is a *fait accompli* which is the result of both lack of opportunities and incentives (or motivation) for learning the French language.

D. Sentiment about In-group Marriage

Intermarriage is a departure from the traditional sentiments of marrying the like. These sentiments are especially strong in Saint-Malo because they are reinforced by Church prescriptions and norms.

Intermarriage is the result of many factors of which strength of identification ties and group solidarity are a part. It is very hard to conceive of an individual identifying strongly with his ethnic group and yet marrying outside of it, especially when there are religious emotions against such an act. Acculturation occurs mainly among middle and low class members. In the great majority of the cases, the highly acculturated Acadians do not feel bound by the religious prescriptions and not only marry out of the group but also sever their ties with the Church. The highly acculturated individuals either marry outside of the group or marry among themselves, rather than with non-acculturated Acadians.

In Portsmouth, acculturated individuals feel that they ought to marry the person they like. If this person happens to be a non-Acadian or a non-Catholic or even a non-Acadian non-Catholic, neither the Church regulations nor the group norms and sanctions will prevent them from doing so. These people do not feel bound by church prescriptions, and they usually marry outside of the Acadian group or marry among themselves rather than with non-acculturated Acadians.

These are some of the changes in the sentiments and the behavior of Acadians living in Portsmouth. Another important change is the feeling among acculturated Acadians that a marriage can be broken if "things do not go well," there is more of the feeling that marriage is not a sacred institution and that husband-wife relationships are based on physical rather than religious or social bonds.

E. Family Patterns

There are also changes in the roles of family members. The acculturated father, in most instances, feels that the mother should also share in providing for the economic needs of the family. He often feels that this role of economic provider is imposed upon him and, in general, he is more individually than family-oriented. Household heads keep much of the money they earn, and give what they do not need to the mother. In the highly acculturated class, most breadwinners do not provide adequate economic support for their families. This is a result of low wages and unwise spending patterns, (mainly drinking and gambling). The father does not feel that it is his job to participate in the rearing of the children, and neither does the mother feel that it is her special responsibility. She pays no more attention to her children than the father pays attention to the problem of providing for the needs of the family. The children are more of a nuisance and as soon as they are old enough they are expected to earn their own living and take care of themselves.

2. Socio-Cultural Factors Promoting Acculturation ¹

A. Mass Media of Communication

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Almost without exception, the mass media of communication is in the English language. There may be half a dozen families who subscribe to *l'Évangeline* or read an occasional periodical or book in French. They represent the families which can read in French with any proficiency ². The most popular daily newspapers read in Portsmouth are *The Halifax Herald Chronicle* and *The St. John Newspaper*, both English dailies.

The radio programs that are listened to by Portsmouth Acadians are in English, except for occasional broadcasts transmitted from Quebec and New Brunswick through Halifax stations. There is a French radio station in Moncton, across the Bay of Dundee but it cannot be heard in Portsmouth. ³

There are scant library facilities in the area, except for St. Ann's College Library. Most of the books, being written in literary French, cannot be easily read by the average Acadian. The bilingualism of Portsmouth Acadians is oral rather than written. ⁴

The same influences of the English culture on the Acadians are felt when they attend a movie. Except for the occasional French movies which are shown at the college and which are attended by few Portsmouthites, all of the movie shows are in English.

B. Isolation from the Main Stream of French Life

The geographical isolation of Saint-Malo, as a small cultural pouch circumscribed by Anglo-Protestant communities was a factor that has promoted acculturation. Should an Acadian from Saint-Malo migrate but a short distance

¹ This section draws from a report written in collaboration with Mr. Seymour Parker.

² These families do not limit themselves to reading in the French language: as a matter of fact the time spent in reading in French would represent only a small percentage of their total time spent in reading. At any rate, the incidence of reading in the French language in the whole village is so small that it is really a negligible factor in preventing the loss of their native tongue.

³ Many of the Acadian leaders, being aware of the importance of the media as a channel of acculturation, made a request to Radio Canada to establish a French Radio Station in Southwestern Nova Scotia. Father Lacroix, superior of the college, informed me that a representative of Radio Canada was scheduled to come to the area during the spring 1953 and survey the possibilities of establishing such a station. These attempts, on the part of religious and lay leaders as well, are indicative of the importance given to radio programs as a means of maintaining the Acadian culture.

⁴ The French Acadian language is an oral language transmitted from one generation to the other.

from his home, he almost invariably finds himself in an Anglo-Protestant community.

Isolation from the main stream of French Canadian culture has meant that the Acadians from the French Shore share only some of the cultural symbols with the rest of French Canada. Their identification (apart from the expulsion) is mainly based on face-to-face interaction with other fellow Acadians. As a result of this fact, when an Acadian moves to a mixed or predominantly English community and his primary group interactions are reduced, there is a weakening of his identification. The socio-geographical factor of being surrounded by an English-Protestant majority, in addition to their minority group status, has resulted in feelings of inferiority and self-doubt. When an Acadian is removed from his predominantly French Catholic environment, some of his psychological anxieties can only be relieved by acquiring English characteristics and shedding some of his traits.

In addition to being out of contacts (to a larger extent than Saint-Malo) with the main stream of French culture, Acadian Portsmouthites are also relatively isolated from Saint-Malo. The "*portage*" between Saint-Pierre and the southern end of the village is a symbol of the isolation between the two groups. This isolation is not by any means complete but has been great until the last World War. Prior to that time, the only Acadians from Portsmouth who ever went to Saint-Malo were those who had left relatives behind after their moving. With the growth of Acadian leadership and with the increasing interest of Saint-Malo leaders in Portsmouth, isolation has been reduced to some extent. As a matter of fact the Acadian revival is an attempt to bring them back in contact with Saint-Malo Acadians. In the last two or three years particularly (1951-1953 period) there has been an increasing interest in the social and artistic activities of the College. This particular trend is encouraging to the Saint-Malo leaders and gives them hope of furthering their ties.

C. The Church Hierarchy

The Saint-Joseph of Portsmouth parish is within the Halifax diocese and is headed by an Irish Bishop. The parish priest is also of Irish extraction. In Saint-Malo, the Irish hierarchy dominates the area, but the high officials have relatively little contact with the people themselves. In Portsmouth, the parish priest keeps in close contact with the Bishop and follows very closely his directives. In quite a number of instances, the Bishop reminded Father O'Brien that his parish was an English speaking one and for that reason English ought to be the Church language. The Bishop's attitudes were also that Father O'Brien should not take an active part in the Acadian revival because in the end it could harm the Church. This particular stand on the part of his immediate superior made it impossible for the parish priest to provide any leadership in Acadian affairs. Thus, in contrast to Saint-Malo where leadership in all fields was provided by the parish priest, Portsmouth Acadians cannot think of strengthening their national position through the Church.

There have been a number of results flowing from the hierarchy of the Catholic Church (at the level of the diocese).

Under the Halifax Archdiocese, Saint-Malo Acadians were prevented from having their own Acadian Bishop, and as a result, the nationalist movement has been weakened. In New Brunswick, in contrast, the Bishop is an active force in enabling the local communities to obtain rights and privileges from the government in educational matters. The requests of the lay leaders were considerably reinforced by the clergy and there is a feeling among the local population that they can always depend on the active support of their religious leaders in advancing Acadian aims. Such support from the Irish clergy was never forthcoming, either in the Saint-Malo or in Portsmouth.

The existence of the Irish hierarchy controlling Saint-Malo affected the administrative structure of the parish in a way that aggravated the relations between parishioners and the priest, and the priests and the Archbishop. The traditional administrative procedure of the Irish clergy in the parish has been for the priest to control the financial affairs of the parish. This is contrary to the practices of the members of the French clergy, where financial matters are controlled by a board of elders and councilmen from the parish. Especially among the educated elements in Saint-Malo, this has always been a point of contention. It is not known exactly how much this factor has contributed to the widening of the gulf between the clergy and the local parishioners and thus indirectly affected secularization. Another point, of contention that has resulted from the existence of the influence of the Irish clergy in Saint-Malo were the activities of the Archbishop in the years 1949 and 1950 when he started a drive to raise money to help advance the Catholic education in the diocese. The Acadian parishes contributed very generously. It was finally decided that all the money that was raised would go to the construction of the new Saint-Mary's College in Halifax. When the decision was known in Saint-Malo there was a widespread feeling that the Acadians were contributing to the development of English education without receiving anything in return, and the priests wrote a letter of protest. Father O'Brien was not requested to sign the petition because the organizer knew in advance he would not sign it, being, an alumnus of Saint Mary's and a personal friend of the Bishop. Thus the very close friendship between the Archbishop with the Portsmouth pastor has been a factor promoting acculturation, if only indirectly.

D. Contacts with English

In contrast to Lavallée where the Acadians could spend a week or more without meeting any English, Portsmouth Acadians are in constant contact with the English in their neighborhoods, on the job, in organizations and in social recreational activities. When Portsmouth Acadians in our FLS were asked to

evaluate their daily contacts with members of the other ethnic group,¹ seventy-four percent of the Acadians answered that they had frequent contacts with the English (the percentage of English answering that they entered in contacts with the Acadians very often was seventy-one percent) and the rest thought they had medium contacts with the English. It is to be noted that none of them said that they did not meet at all with the English. However, there was one English respondent who answered that he never has any contact with the French. The Acadians feel that they meet the English often and the English also feel that they meet the Acadians often. The pattern of responses is consistent for both ethnic groups and for what we know of the village.

When another question was asked to find the general types of activities in which Acadian-English contacts take place, the responses of both groups were again consistent and cross-checked each other. The following table summarizes the answers:

Table 14. *Activities in which English-Acadian contacts take place.*

[To Tables](#)

Types of activities	Acadians %	Non-Acadians %	Total %
Neighborhood	39	35	37
Employment	17	30	23
Non-religious org.	12	16	14
Church	12	5	9
Others	20	14	17
Total number of responses *	41	37	78

* Respondents could pick up more than one pre-coded answer.

Both the Acadians and English agree that most of their contacts are at neighborhood level, followed by contacts on the job, in community organizations and the church. Seventeen percent of the answers referred to social, recreational contacts, through family types (in cases of intermarriages), etc.

¹ The question read as follows: "In your daily life, how often do you have contacts with the English (Acadian) people?"

Very often Some Not at all

The contacts in community organizations have been described in Chapter 8; those in the family situation will be analyzed in Chapter 18. No special emphasis has been given to contacts in the neighborhood and on the jobs. In most studies in inter-group relations, these two areas of social proximity (neighborhood and employment) are the most frequently mentioned.

In a map of Portsmouth (Chapter 5) ethnic backgrounds of families living in each of the houses of the town have been spotted. It is apparent that the Bristol side of the bridge is predominantly inhabited by the English Protestants and the Saint-Pierre side of the bridge is predominantly inhabited by the Acadian Catholics. Representatives of both groups, however, were scattered in each of the areas, especially the English on the Acadian side of the village. Physical proximity in that case favors social interaction. As a matter of fact, as reported by randomly picked informants (FLS) the neighborhood is the most important locus of inter-group contact.

It was mentioned quite a number of times before (without being given special attention) that contacts between Acadians and English are also quite frequent on the job. The Widimere and the Lang Mills (the two other mill owners do not have English employees) are the two most important industries and absorb quite a number of Acadian and English.

To make it a little more systematic, in 1951, there were six Acadians and ten English who worked at the Widimere mill proper. Similarly, there were twelve employees at the Lang mill, half of whom are Acadians.

These people spend six days of the week together in the mill and sometimes associate together during evening. The work contacts are therefore the longest ones and the ones which are regular and involve a large number of people. They are also probably the most important ones from the point of view of acculturational consequences.

In order to find out what the respondent meant when he answered that he met the English very often, sometimes, or not at all, we asked him another question which measures the frequency of Acadian-English contacts. The question was "Of these close friends, now consider your closest and second closest friend among the English-French. How often do you see him?" The pre-coded answers were – several times a week; about once a week; several times a month; about once monthly; less than once a month. Table 15 presents the answers. It is true that this question was hard to answer (this is reflected in the number of rejects) and was not too clear to the respondent. Nevertheless over fifty percent of the Acadians meet their closest English friend at least once a week. This of course, does not take into account the numerous other contacts they have with the English.

Table 15. *Frequency of Acadian-English contacts with Closest and Second Closest Friend of other Ethnic Group according to Group Identification in Portsmouth village, FLS data.*[To Tables](#)

Frequency of contacts	Acadians		Non-Acadians		Total
	Closest Eng. %	2 nd closest %	Closest Acadian %	2 nd closest %	
Several times a week	42	22	47	38	30
About once a week	11	10	—	14	7
Several times a month	16	16	14	5	10
About once a month	5	5	5	—	3
Less than once a month	5	10	—	5	4
NA	—	—	5	9	3
FA	—	—	5	—	1
Rejects	21	37	24	29	22

These two tables give a good idea of the frequency of contacts between English and French for both sexes. If we could separate out the types of activities in which Acadian men meet with the English, we would still get a higher percentage of people answering on their job.

E. Migratory Experiences

Acculturational influences result from three types of migratory experiences and situations among the Acadians of Saint-Malo, and Portsmouth. (1) The head of the household (and sometimes some of his sons) accept a temporary job in an industrial center and leaves the home for periods of time. (2) Whole families that leave the area and settle permanently outside of the Municipality often return to continue their residence. (3) Residents that settle permanently outside the area often visit their home and relatives and they, in turn, are visited by the latter.

Since many people migrate (either to work temporarily or to reside permanently) to Anglo-Protestant environments, such Protestant influence is felt by the migrants. One of these influences is the Protestant stereotype toward Catholic religion and the clergy. Migrant workers in Anglo-Protestant communities are in frequent contact with English fellow workers and they are exposed to stories about the abuses by the priests and the rigid control that they exercise over the people. Moreover, migrant workers who do not return home

every week sometimes do not fulfill their Sunday obligations (attendance at Mass). This is true even where the Catholic Church is available to them.

The probability of a Catholic-Protestant marriage also increases with the length of time away from home.

Another influence is on the language use of Acadians in Anglo-Protestant environments. For example, in cases where the migrant worker brings his family with him, French is likely to be used in the home situations, but outside of the home, English is the everyday language. However, as children grow up and are exposed to either neighborhood, school and work situations (as is the case in Portsmouth) the English language starts to be used more frequently in the home. In most cases, first generation Acadians, born and educated in predominant English or mixed milieu will not acquire any proficiency to converse in the French language.

Still another influence resulting from the migratory experiences is the changing role of the Acadian woman. Traditionally, the role of the Acadian women has been one of submissiveness and involving a considerable amount of participation in church services and church-sponsored organizations and affairs: the woman has always been considered in the Acadian society as chiefly responsible for transmitting religious ideologies (the teaching of catechism for instance), to their children. Since most women who work outside are exposed to either anti-Catholic prejudices or Protestant ideologies, or both, these experiences affect both their participation in church activities and their attitudes towards such things as the use of birth control devices, and the equality of the mother and the father in the home situation. The latter attitude is seen in the marital relation between sexes. The woman wants to be man's equal, to have more time for recreation, to be relieved from household chores, to take trips away from the home. Another pattern which has been carried over from the English is a greater permissiveness in regard to drinking and smoking.

F. Mixed Marriages (Chapter 18)

G. Mixed School (Chapter 19)

3. Socio-cultural Factors Limiting Acculturation

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There are fewer factors which counterbalance the forces for acculturation in Portsmouth. The church, the family system, the rise of Acadian leadership and migration from Saint-Malo are among the most important ones.

A. The Church

Participation in church services and organizations has slowed down the rate of acculturation. In spite of the fact that secularization is now greater than it was fifty years ago, religious services and other parochially-centered activities contributed to maintain close ties with the church. The church's regulations against Catholic-Protestant intermarriages are one of many instances in which the church is a barrier to alien influences. Since secularization was part of the general index of acculturations, it is rather obvious that the church, religious organizations and the priest, since they promote religiosity, therefore counteract the forces for secularization.

B. The family System

The extended Acadian family (or canton organization) was traditionally the basis of the Acadian community. The family pervaded every area of a person's life, child rearing, education, cooperative work patterns, visiting, and religious activities. And the sanctions of the family were indeed a tremendous force in the lives of the individual family member. The family is considered God's sanctuary and the marriage institution a sacred and indissoluble one. One of the areas in which the sanctions of this extended family system (with emphasis on patrilineality) were invoked against the individuals was the out-group marriage pattern. With such emphasis on in-group marriages, it was only the rather deviant individual who disregarded its sanctions in Acadian society.

Although the family unit has been moving in the direction of the English nuclear family, it still provides a stronger emotional support and is capable of marshalling greater sanctions against the individuals, than its English counterpart. This is especially true of urban areas like Portsmouth, where many of the families are immigrants from Saint-Malo. In Portsmouth, despite the fact that the family is losing its structure which made it one of the most important centers of activities and an instrument of social control, it still remains an element of Acadian strength and solidarity. Portsmouth children who know some French have learned it on their mother's knee, in the home. The family is an important channel for intra-group communication. These are but a few examples which stress the role of the family as a promoter of Acadian interests and a preserver of Acadian traditions.

C. The Rise of Acadian Leadership

This pressure for group solidarity and group consciousness has already been treated in Chapter 7. The birth of a professional-business elite, accompanied by a rise in Acadian leadership (not necessarily participation in town organizations), forced the retention of Acadian values and the participation of Portsmouth Acadians in the socio-cultural life of Saint-Malo and more directly, became a force facilitating the advancement of this Acadian group. Direct results from Acadian

leadership are the hiring of an Acadian principal at the local high school and the coming of Nun-teachers to teach at the Pulp Creek public school (see Chapter 19).

D. Immigration from Saint-Malo

Up to now, we have been emphasizing the other side of the coin, that is, that migration of the Saint-Malo Acadians to a mixed community is a factor favoring cultural change among the immigrants. Actually, looking at it from the point of view of Portsmouth-born Acadians, migration from Saint-Malo means greater Acadian solidarity and awareness, closer contact with the values and sentiments of the traditional Acadian culture.

As a concluding remark, the interplay of both the pressures for acculturation and those for preservation of native values experienced by the individual in the contact situation account for his position on the continuum of acculturation. To some individuals the pressures for acculturation are outstandingly great and the pressures for preservation are almost nil: these are among the almost wholly acculturated bracket. To some others, like the Saint-Malo-oriented Portsmouthites the forces for conservation outweigh by far the pressure to conform to English values and attitudes. Consequently, they occupy a low position on the general index of acculturation.

PART IV – PROCESSES OF ACCULTURATION OF THE PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 17: The Secularization Process of Portsmouth Acadians

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This section focuses on the secularization of the Acadians in Saint-John of Portsmouth parish and attempts to specify the conditions which promote it. It also describes its expression in the various fields of religion: beliefs, practices, participation in religious or church-centered organizations, and financial contributions the Church.

1. The Structure of the Catholic Church

The functions of the priest, as a cleric, flow from the institutional hierarchy of the Church and from the fundamental beliefs underlying it. For administrative purposes, the Church is organized into Archdioceses, Dioceses and Parishes, and at the head of which are Archbishops, Bishops and Pastors.

Saint Joseph of Portsmouth parish belongs to the Archdiocese of Halifax, the Head of which is the Most Reverend Joseph T. Mulligan. Therefore, the Saint-Joseph pastor receives his orders from the Irish Archbishop.

The Saint-Joseph parish includes the following communities: Northport, Portsmouth, Langton, Pulp Creek, Frontière, Loomervale, Harriston, Westville, Brookton and Short Cut.¹

¹ See following page for map and boundaries of the Catholics parish. [*Not available, MB.*]

The priest is in a peculiar and delicate position. Being the pastor of a predominantly Acadian parish with about a dozen families of Irish and English descent, he faces many problems. The Acadian population exhibits a wide range of value-orientation, from the relatively unacculturated Saint-Malo-oriented Acadians to the almost assimilated non-church going Acadians. The priest is under the pressure from the Acadian clergy of Saint-Malo to provide more Acadian leadership and from the Irish Archbishop to keep the parish progressive and Irish mentality. He is torn between these two foci of influences and tries to act to the best of his abilities. He is bilingual but is more fluent and at ease in the English than he is in French. For that reason, on Sundays in the pulpit, he preaches in English first and then says a few words in French to summarize his sermon. The main reasons for preaching in English are that he feels (a) all Acadians understand English (b) the Church which is above any nationality, must provide for the faithful and not close its doors to the English-speaking majority of Canada.

He has made continuous efforts to organize his parish and adapt its functions to the changing needs of his flock. For instance, in recent years, in order to keep the young under the eye of the Church and provide a building for Catholic organizations – he has built a parochial hall. His predecessor forbade, under the pain of mortal sin, to go to the movie theater and to dance. Under Father O'Brien's leadership, dances are now held at the hall every Saturday and Monday evenings. These dances are strongly disapproved by the more traditional and conservative elements of his parishioners. He started a cooperative for beef cattle raising. It was a failure, because the members did not want to provide the money necessary for feeding the purebred bull since, they said, they could get the same services at lower costs from non-cooperative organizations. He established a Credit union which is fairly successful.

2. Conditions of secularization

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Secularization is here defined as being a departure from traditional beliefs and practices of the Catholic Church. This involves a trend from religious and secular values. We will examine the various socio-environmental conditions which contributed to the secularization process of the Portsmouth Catholic Acadians.

A. Urban Influences

Portsmouth, with its lumbering industries, its commercial institutions, its shopping and recreational facilities and its concentration of population, is undoubtedly an urban center. There has been a shift from subsistence to wage economy with the resulting specialization in labor task and the formation of a class

system. There are a number of community and commercial agencies which compete with the church for organizing people's leisure time. The impact of technological changes and the development of better means of communication, which draw people away from the traditional bonds of their homes, are further socio-environmental conditions contributing to a lessening of religious fervor among the Portsmouth Acadians.

B. Religious Heterogeneity

There are five competing religious systems in Portsmouth. This has brought about some confusion among the Catholics. Many of them ask themselves "Who is right?", "Who is wrong?" "Or are all religions equally good?" A very religious mixed-blood, a pillar of the church, said in confidence once: "There are so many churches here and so many people seem to be convinced that theirs is the right one that I wonder if I belong to the right church."

One of the Protestant employers, Mr. Harry Lang, is said to threaten to fire his Catholic employees in an effort to pressure them to change over to the Church of Christ. In Portsmouth, where such anti-Catholic attitudes as "The Catholic church is only good for French and Indians" or "You Catholics are priest-ridden" and variations of these are frequently expressed, they are coming to be believed by the uneducated, the economically depressed Acadian as well. Protestant-Catholic contacts also have resulted in significant changes of Catholic ethical attitudes with regard to divorce and birth control, etc. Both the mixed school, and the Catholic-Protestant intermarriages, which sometimes result in the Catholic party changing his faith, as well as community organizations dominated by the Anglo-Protestants, are factors having unquestionable influences on the religious value-orientation and consequently on the religious practice of the Catholic Acadians.

C. Relative Absence of Acadian Leadership on the Part of the Pastor

This factor has two well delineated facets. If it is true, on the one hand, that, when Acadian nationalist tendencies emphasize national heritage above religious consideration there is a noticeable trend toward secular values¹, it is also true, on the other, that when there is little Acadian leadership coming from the pastors, the Acadian flock is likely to diminish in religious fervor.

The institutional structure of the Catholic parish in Saint-Malo is such, that the cultural and religious life of the Acadians is a parochially defined system of action. Everything from religion, school, family affairs, to social organizations and economic problems are under the influences of the parish priest. It can be said of Saint-Malo what Hughes has said of French Canada. "Family and parish, father and cure, work together. The cure, the more sophisticated partner, tells his people

¹ Williams, Robin M., Jr., *American Society*, p. 327.

what actions respectively prepare or make them unfit to receive comfort from the means of grace which he administers. The relevant actions relate, in no small measure, to the family. The cure brings together the powerful sanctions of religions as stated in the August doctrine of the Church, and the crises and problems of everyday life ¹.” The parish is the point of active integration of religious and secular matter by the active participation of the priest in both. Saint-Malo immigrants were reared in an environment where the priest assumed effective leadership, and they expect to find the same leadership in their Portsmouth pastor. Other considerations aside, if this type of leadership was present in Portsmouth, it could play an extremely vital role in the Acadian resistance to anglicization. ² The parish priest described to me his in-between position in the following manner.

“The Irish think that I am pro-Acadian. The Acadian leaders accuse me of anglicizing the parish. There I am caught between the two groups. I know that it is impossible to please both groups. Luckily, I am only responsible to God... I am convinced that if I did not use French in the church as much as I do, especially during weekday services and novenas, there would be more English-speaking parishioners among attendants. One has to make sacrifices for God. Personally, I would like to use more French in the Church. But religion and salvation of souls is much more important than nationalism. I know that some Acadians in Saint-Malo give more importance to nationalism than to religion. It is unfortunate because it is a bad understanding of the hierarchy of things.” (Father Vincent O’Brien, 10/16/1951 MAT)

Many informants pointed out the fact that many Frontière residents have withdrawn from parochial organizations because the pastor does not speak enough French in the church and takes too little interest in Acadian affairs. This attitude of Frontière inhabitants is biased. For instance, the parish priest participated in the meetings of the Assumption Society, promoting the Association for the Education of Acadians in Saint-Malo and feels strongly that when his Acadian parishioners lose their national pride, they also lose their family traditions and become poor Catholics. Many Saint-Malo-oriented Acadians expect their parish priest to be active in all matters vitally related to their ethnic survival. This type of leadership, however, cannot be initiated directly by the priest without alienating the English Catholics. Father O’Brien’s policy on the whole, has been not to influence the process one way or the other. As a result, some Acadians held it against him and wished that he could be replaced by a younger more dynamic and Acadian-oriented parish priest. Said the New Brunswick wife of the Dubois-born doctor:

¹ Hughes, Everett C., *French Canada in Transition*, p. 9.

² In Saint-Malo, the church provides a central community function where individuals can participate with their neighbors in activities governed by shared values and norms. In Portsmouth, the parish is neither a religious nor a social unit; the strong extended system is broken down thus diminishing effectiveness of religious norms.

“Father O’Brien is a holy priest and I do not want to criticize him. But he is not the priest for this parish. We need a younger priest, a more dynamic one, one who would mix more socially with people and would have an Acadian mentality.” Mrs. Lionel Chiasson, 9/25/1951/MAT).

One of the heated controversies between Father O’Brien and his nationalist-oriented parishioners is about the teaching of catechism to children of Acadian ancestry. Some parents complained that the priest had insisted they teach the prayers to their children in English. Cyrille Campeau, a school trustee, has a brother who is a priest. The latter after a vacation in Portsmouth during the summer of 1948, wrote the following letter to the Portsmouth parish priest.

“Father, I want to thank you for your hospitality and I am enclosing a check to remove my indebtedness. At the time I was in Portsmouth, my sister-in-law told me that you asked her to teach prayers to her daughter in English. You supported your request in mentioning to her that when children learn their prayers in French, they are always behind others in their class. I regret very much that incident Father and I regret to say that I have a different opinion on the matter. When I was a young child, I learned all my prayers in French and it was not until I became a curate in the Valley that I learned to recite them in English. I do not think I have ever been behind others in my class. It seems pitiful to me that you would not endue pressures on Acadian parents to compel them to teach prayers in English to their children when it is not their natural inclination. It would be a shame to see an Acadian unable to say his prayers in his own mother tongue. I feel that prayers which are said in French are as good to God as prayers said in English, especially when the person is of Acadian ancestry. God prefers to see people recite their prayers in their own mother tongue. It is a very deceptive and hazardous policy on your part to attempt to anglicize the Acadian Portsmouthites. It is my hope that the Blessed Virgin Mary will illuminate and guide you in the future. I remain yours very truly.” Post Script, “I hope that you will not hold it against Madeleine (his sister-in-law) because she confided this to me and does not know that I am writing you about it.” (Father Benjamin Campeau, September 1948).

The parish priest was hurt by the tone of the letter and sent the following answer:

“Dear Father Campeau: – I was very much surprised and shocked upon receiving your letter. Let me say first that it is completely false that I want to anglicize the Acadians. My only interest is to work for Almighty God... I do not mind whether the prayers are said in English or in French. The only thing which concerns me is that the Catholic children learn to pray to God and his commandments. If they learn their prayers in French and understand the meaning, this is perfect with me. If they learn their prayers in English and understand the meaning this is also all right with me. Religion is above

nationalism and race distinction. I am not compelling the Acadian mothers to teach the prayers to their children in English. However, I insist that the prayers be taught in the language the child understands best. If it is English, it is all right with me and if it is French, it is also all right with me. That has always been my procedure in the past. It is a false implication on your sister-in-law's part that I said that children learning their prayers in French are always behind others in their class. You are aware of the fact that I taught catechism to Frontière children in the French language, and I am as much interested in them as I am in pupils from other sectors of my parish. It is not my role, as a priest to teach language to children. It is a false assumption to think that if I spoke more French in the pulpit, this would be a good opportunity for the children to learn the French language. Language is used to teach God's precepts, not God's precepts to teach language. I recognize the fact that an Acadian should remain French and I work to keep them religious parishioners. At the same time, I have to keep the English speaking population devout and faithful. I also have to convert more English. Trusting that these explanations will be for your letter hurt my feelings. Believe that I remain your friend." Signed Father Vincent O'Brien, (12/18/1951/MAT).

Historical factors and personality characteristics of the parish priest have played an important part in the secularization of the Portsmouth Acadians. Particularly important are the cases of two priests fallen by the wayside. One ran away with one or his parishioners when he was the parish priest and another, a son of the parish unfrocked himself and disappeared just a few years ago. These two events, without doubt contributed to diminishing fervor among the parishioners and the effects are still felt. Referring to the incidents, a young man told me that priests should get married as the ministers do and that this would help them bear the hardships of their pastorate. Another parishioner, an older one, thought that fallen priests should be arrested by the government and hung, because they are a cause of scandal and do irreparable harm to catholic believers.

Some parishioners mentioned that the parish was neglected during Father Chiasson's pastorate. He was in failing health and had to take care also of the religious needs of Dubois residents who were then members of Saint-Joseph parish.

Father O'Brien has little success in establishing or sustaining social intercourse with his parishioners. He feels that a priest must keep his social distance and avoid mingling socially with his people because in the end, it interferes with the primary functions of the pastorate. He has little physical endurance, experiences frequent indigestions and shows general symptoms of nervousness. He is violently criticized because he lacks the appropriate skills to gain people's confidence.¹ The

¹ Despite all Father O'Brien's shortcomings, he has great religious and human qualities: he is an ascetic, an intellectual (probably the most well read of all the priests in the entire county), a very

story goes that once he saw one of his non-church going parishioners talking on the street with some friends. He broke in, interrupted their conversation and directly asked his parishioner to explain why he was not fulfilling his obligations. The individual felt ill at ease, turned away and has never returned to church since then.

D. Lack of Adequate Religious Education

Unlike Saint-Malo children who are given a religious instruction in the classroom for half an hour every day, the children of Saint-Joseph parish have had little chance to learn the fundamentals of the Catholic religion. Religious instruction was not held in the school building until Father O'Brien's pastorate. Now that this opportunity is given to them, however, some parents do not even see that their children stay after class hours for these religious sessions. There has been increasing pressure on the part of some lay leaders to organize a summer school and teach religion to the children. The parish priest feels that such a program could hardly be successful because of the number of problems it involves: (a) transportation of the pupils (b) teachers (c) class hours (d) parents' cooperation, etc... the wife of the Dubois-born doctor commented on the religious education of the children in this way: "The religious education of the children is very poor; they do not know their prayers, either in French or in English; they do not know the fundamental principles of the Catholic Church, like the number of Sacraments, why we receive communion on first Fridays of the month and matters like those. I am sure that the mothers have failed to teach their children the basis upon which our Church is established." She was of the opinion that parents did not teach their children because they, themselves had never been trained properly. In other words, the lack of knowledge of the young is an indication of the poor religious knowledge of the parents. The priest complained frequently that many of his parishioners lacked the simplest notion about the Catholic faith.

E. Competing Motivations

In some cases Catholics do not attend Mass on Sundays because they want to go fishing, hunting, etc... or because they have participated in festivities on Saturday nights, which last late in the night and cannot get up early enough to go to Church. Many other examples could be brought to illustrate this point. Mixed marriages and the mixed school also promote secularization. Since they are given special attention in the following two chapters, they will not be discussed here.

sensitive person; he is highly motivated in his parochial work and has profound and sincere interest in the social and economic well-being of his parishioners.

3. Expressions of Secularization

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Expressions of secularization are presence or manifestation of secular trends in the various fields of religion. Some of these expressions are definitively secular in nature, others are consequences of secular phenomena. They will be analyzed from the point of view of beliefs, practices, participation in church-connected organizations and contributions to the church.

A. Religious Beliefs

The priest receives his mandate and authority from the Church he represents. His functions are sacred in character. When authority in church-connected matters is questioned or when there are violent criticism directed at him, this marks a definite shift in the traditional values of respect towards the religious functionaries.

For instance, he wanted to organize a church garden party on a Sunday and the majority of people opposed him on the grounds that (a) “we should not hurt the feelings of the Protestants who rigidly observe the Sabbath” (b) “we should not scandalize the Protestants and give them an opportunity to criticize us” (c) “that won’t help us to convert the Protestants” and (d) “this isn’t the way to bring back the non-church-goers into the fold”. Upon hearing some of these criticisms, the priest brought the subject in the pulpit the following Sunday:

“My dear parishioners,” he said, “I want to bring to your attention something which should be eradicated from this parish. I am not referring to a particular discussion which I had with a parishioner during the week, and I want to make that clear. There are some people in this parish who are trying to destroy what their parish priest is trying to organize. Every year we have a garden party because people don’t give enough to the Church for the maintenance of the church buildings and the support of their pastor. This picnic is not mine, it is yours and I hope that everybody will work towards making it a success. There are some parishioners who try to undermine those who wish to cooperate. These people who are not in a state of grace and who are living in mortal sin, from day to day, from week to week, from one year to another, those people are not working for Almighty God but for the Devil. I do not wish to scare anybody, but I would not like to be in their place when they will be judged by our Almighty God. I have checked again in the laws of the Church, and the parish priest is authorized to organize auctions, garden parties, if these organizations are made to promote the general welfare of the parish. Again, I am not referring to this week’s discussion but I hope that those people, who take their advice from the Devil, will cease their dishonest practices. If there are people who try to convince you to work against your parish priest to destroy the organizations he establishes, do not hesitate, throw them out of your house. This is the least of what they deserve. This picnic, I repeat is not

for Father O'Brien, if it was for him we would not have any. Now I would like to see of those of you who are interested to work for the garden party to stay in the Church after Mass" (Father Vincent O'Brien 8/12/1951/MAT)

People met after Mass and they voted against holding the picnic on a Sunday. Reluctantly, the parish priest agreed that he would conform to the wish of the majority and reiterated the fact that he had the authority to make it on a Sunday just the same.

A number of references have been brought up already and many others could be mentioned which showed that Catholics are suspicious of Father O'Brien's motives. Among the Saint-Malo-oriented groups, his attitude is, in part borne out of Father O'Brien's ethnic loyalties to the Irish. As a rule, however, it denotes lack of respect for the personality of the priest and a drastic departure from the patterns found in Saint-Malo.

B. Religious Practices

By religious practices we mean the attendance to obligatory type of religious services (Mass), the fulfillment of the Easter confession and communion duties, the attendance to non-obligatory type of religious services (novenas, evening prayers, Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament... and private devotions.

In spite of the fact that Catholics are bound, under the pain of mortal sin, to attend Mass on Sundays and Holydays of obligation, almost half of the Pulp Creek Catholic families and about one fourth of the Portsmouth families do not fulfill this obligation regularly without valid reasons (as ill-health, lack of transportation, tending the children etc...) Once the parish priest, while a visiting missionary was saying Mass, on his way to the rectory found all the Portsmouth taxi drivers loafing in their cars.

The fluctuations in religious observances are manifested in the number of occupied seats in the Church. A lady observed:

"I have never been able to understand it. People around here have a very strange conception of church attendance, Some Sundays, the church is full and some others, the church is half-empty. If you came to Good Thursday and Good Friday services, you would have difficulty finding a seat. You would also see some faces you had not seen during the whole year. These people would not even come back on Easter. Can you understand that? They think that when their Easter communion duties are fulfilled, all their religious duties are fulfilled too." (Mrs. Lionel Chiasson, 9/25/1951/MAT).

The growing religious indifference is probably best illustrated in the decline of attendance at non-obligatory services. In spite of continuous striving on the part of

the parish priest to attract people to these services, the attendance has continued to diminish. If we make exception the first Friday of the month, which is a devotion dear to many Catholics, there are barely half a dozen people attending Mass on week days. Invariably, participants are aged women and young children.

There has been quite a marked decline in private devotions. When the parish priest organized a rosary crusade, the laymen who canvassed the families commented that few of the families had kept the traditional habit of telling the beads in the home.¹ Ninety per cent of the families pledged to say the beads upon being visited. I do not know how many families kept their pledge, but in some cases, it was for a short period only.

An important indicator of secular ideologies in the parish is the violation of Catholic morality as expressed in the number of broken homes, in birth control practices, pre-marital and post-marital relationships, excessive drinking, exploitative attitudes in business and in human relationships, selfishness etc...

I intend to examine in some detail the latter two because others have already been alluded to before and these are widespread in Portsmouth. Most interviews secured from the priest centered around the fact that Acadians, in their attempts to adjust to their new environment, had become "materialist-minded" and "that money was their God." There is no doubt that this is an exaggeration. However, I would agree with the parish priest that the shift from spiritual considerations to monetary values is an indication of "the lack of a true Christian philosophy."²

¹ Frontière families are an outstanding exception to this statement.

² It is a part of the Catholic philosophy of life that other aspects of one's life (economic, political, social) are subordinated to the religious life. So, economic, political and social needs of people are fulfilled by other institutions that exist in a society. These means (institutions) are oriented toward the achievement of human material needs (like food, clothing, shelter, adequate medical care, etc...) In the case of economic institutions, the immediate shared-end is the objective prosperity of the community. I mean that the economic institutions must provide resources to the whole community in such a way that the totality of the material goods is able to fulfill, on a permanent basis, the whole of their legitimate needs. This implies, as Father Levesque established clearly (Lévesque, Georges-Henri, O. P., *Cours de Philosophie Économique, Traité de la Prospérité*, Laval Université, 1950), that, toward the immediate end (material prosperity), the material goods should be abundant, perfect, easily accessible, permanent and hierarchized (the necessary before the superfluous). But towards the remote end (spiritual welfare and supernatural salvation) the material goods should not be exclusively made for immoral usage, but, on the contrary, they should positively favor the moral life of believers because these goods are relative and the moral welfare is pre-eminent. The principles indicate that the material welfare is subordinated to the moral welfare. This subordination, of course, signifies a limitation and a restriction of the material prosperity: I mean a moral limitation because a maximal material welfare may be a condition of the optimal moral welfare. Along these lines, St. Thomas of Aquinas established long ago that a minimum of material goods was prerequisite and necessary for the normal practice of virtue. This implies that the economic needs must be subordinated to the religious needs, that the *economic ends must be regarded as means* for the achievement of the Supernatural End. It is partly on account of this philosophy and partly on

Father O'Brien found it necessary to bring the subject in the pulpit at least two times during my stay. Part of one of the sermons is recorded below:

My dear brethren: – God tells you in to-day's Gospel that you have to make your choice between two masters: Him or the Devil. You cannot serve both at the same time. Do not worry over your body, but worry about your soul. The body means all the material things in life and God asks you not to worry about your food and your clothing. The soul and the life of the soul are much more important. God tells you that he will give you everything you need, but not necessarily everything that you want. Look at the birds; they never worry over their food and God feeds them. Look at the flowers; they never worry over their clothing for God dresses them with wonderful colors. The birds and the flowers fulfill the purpose for which they have been created: God's glory. We were also created for His glory, but because man worries too much over material things he forgets that he has been created for the glory of God. God says: save your soul and the words, through the radio, the press, movies, repeat: be preoccupied over your body. Only pagans worry over their body, because they do not have the faith that God will provide them with the necessary. I know, and God knows it, that you have to earn a decent living, but do not become slaves of your money. Money talks, money is power, money is everything, these are the kinds of attitudes we witness everyday. What is the use of piling money in our lives if we do not save our souls? Make money the servant of God on earth, give to good organizations, give to your Church and it will be easier for me to achieve God's will..."

This is one of the themes which comes often in the parish priest's sermons. He feels that his parishioners seek worldly pleasures at the expense of their spiritual well-being.

C. Participation in Religious Organizations

Active participation in religious organizations is almost always associated with religiosity and nominal membership, while lack of membership is associated with secularization and religious indifference.

The purely religious organizations of the parish are The Legion of Mary, The Catholic Women's League and Les Dames de Sainte-Anne for women. The Catholic Youth Organization for young people was not functioning in 1951. The Blessed Virgin Sodality for unmarried girls, which exists in most Saint-Malo parishes, does not exist in Portsmouth because of lack of interest. There are no religious organizations for men.¹

account of his exceptional position in the parish that the priest gives an important temporal extension to his sacred ministry.

¹ In 1952, Holy Name Societies for men were established in all parishes of the dioceses.

Members of the Legion of Mary pledge to do some lay apostolate work among the Catholics: to help people, visit the sick and give them the comfort of friendship and religion. There are only six women enrolled in the organization.

Some twenty women have membership in Les Dames de Sainte-Anne, a purely religious organization. The Catholic Women's League, which is the most active of all religious organizations and the largest one, does not have more than twenty to thirty active members.

This general lack of interest in religious organizations indicates the presence of competing demands on the time of Portsmouth Acadians and the lack of interest in religious organizations of the parish.

D. Contributions to the Church

Despite the fact that standards of living have risen in the past decade, the annual income of the parish has remained at the same level.

PART IV – PROCESSES OF ACCULTURATION OF THE PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 18: The Process of Intermarriage

1. Introduction

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There are seventy-three cases of intermarriages in the Portsmouth ecological area, as compared with two hundred and fifty-two in-marriages of which ninety-three are Acadians.

The process of intermarriage comprises three distinct aspects¹: *Conditional factors of intermarriage*. How did it come about? What are the social situations which induce or obstruct the out-group mate selection? *Intermarriage patterns*. What is the rate of incidence of intermarriage? What are the patterns of mate selection (intermarriage types and the various patterns within each of them), and what are the characteristics of those individuals with Acadian ancestry who marry outside of the group? And *Consequences of intermarriage*. The degree of acculturation of the intermarried and their marital stability.

Although we are aware of the influence of factors other than faith and ethnic background on the cultural orientation and marital happiness of the spouses, we will not examine them within this study. Therefore, such differences in the background of the spouses as differences in intelligence, in educational and socio-economic levels will not be reviewed.

¹ See Barron, L. Milton, *People Who Intermarry*, p.3.

Before going into the analysis of the process of intermarriage in the Portsmouth ecological area, we shall attempt to define the terms used in this study. ¹Although it is difficult to establish a terminology which can be freed entirely of criticism, an effort has been made in that direction.

2. Definition of Terms

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By “inmarriage” (or endogamy) we mean a legally sanctioned marriage in which both spouses are of the same ethnic derivation and adhere to the same religious faith prior to the time the union is sanctioned. In other words, both marital partners have, relatively speaking, the same cultural background.

From a theoretical viewpoint, there are four possible types of inmarriages. Two of them involve “English” descent individuals and are: English Catholic – English Catholic marriages (hereafter called EC-EC) and English Protestant – English Protestant marriages (hereafter called EP-EP). The two other types of inmarriages, which involve full-blood Acadians consist of Acadian Catholic – Acadian Catholic marriages (hereafter called AC-AC), and Acadian Protestant – Acadian Protestant marriages (hereafter called AP-AP). ²

By “intermarriage” we mean a legally sanctioned marriage in which both spouses have a different ethnic derivation (or if they have the same ethnic

¹ In this study, we are concerned only with marriages within one racial group that is the Whites. Negro-White marriages have occurred infrequently in the past and very rarely happen to-day in Portsmouth ecological area. The various Protestant congregations are equated, *id est*, the Anglicans, the Baptists United Church members and the Church of Christ Disciples (the Protestants denominations found in the area) are all generically classified under “Protestant Faith”. If conversion of one of the mates takes place at the time of the nuptial benediction, such marriages are considered intermarriages. The rationale is that religious conversion, while reducing some of the divergences between the spouses, does not modify to any large extent their cultural differences. Since this study is focused on individuals with Acadian ancestry (at least one of the grandparents was a full-blood Acadian) we established a scale of descent for the Acadians. Ultimately, the 75 % Acadian descent individuals (one of the parents was a mixed-blood, who married a full-blood Acadian) were combined with the full-bloods; and the 25 % Acadian descent individuals (one of the parents was a mixed-blood who married an English descent individual) were combined with the mixed-bloods. Individuals with non-Acadian ancestry, whether they are of Irish, Scottish, German or British descent and the various combinations are all considered “English,” the rationale being that they belong to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture. The marriage types of people living in Portsmouth are based on a census conducted by the writer and completed in December 1951. Marriage types of broken families (physically broken by death or by separation and divorce) are also incorporated in the study.

² Since there are actually very few full-blood Acadians who have membership in one of the Protestant denominations, this type of inmarriage does not occur in the area under study.

derivation, one of the partners is a mixed-blood Acadian) but belong to the same religious faith (*Ethnic intermarriage*); or, a legally sanctioned marriage in which the spouses have the same ethnic derivation but belong to different religious faith (*Religious intermarriage*); or a legally sanctioned marriage in which both spouses have a different ethnic derivation (or if they have the same ethnic derivation, one of the mate is a mixed-blood) and belong to different religious faith (*Cultural intermarriage*).

Since the great majority of the Acadians in the ecological area are Roman Catholics, the terminology of the Catholic Church, *qua* intermarriage, will be defined and used whenever appropriate. The Catholic Church does not usually concern itself with what was labelled “ethnic intermarriages” because both spouses marry within the Catholic Church. However, any Catholic-Protestant, Catholic-Jewish, Catholic-None (no preference) marriages, it classifies as “mixed marriages.” By “mixed,” the Catholic Church refers to the differences in religious affiliation of the marital partners. Therefore, using, the Catholic Church’s terminology, only our “religious” and “cultural” intermarriages can be called “mixed” marriages.

The following are the various types of “mixed marriages” according to the Roman Catholic Church. They always involve one spouse with membership (active or nominal) in the Catholic Church:

- (1) Mixed marriage: it designates a marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic who does not subsequently become converted to Catholicism.

There are two types:

1a – *Mixta religio*: a mixed marriage in which the non-Catholic partner was validly baptized.

1b – *Disparitas cultus*: A mixed marriage in which the non-Catholic partner was not validly baptized. ¹.

- (2) Mixed convert marriage: a mixed marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic who subsequently becomes converted to Catholicism.
- (3) Invalid mixed marriage: a mixed marriage between a Catholic and a non-Catholic before a non-Catholic clergyman or a civil official.

¹ Such distinctions will not be introduced here, since our inquiry was not made along those lines.

- (4) Validated mixed marriage: a mixed marriage performed by a person other than a Catholic priest, which is later regularized or validated by the priest.¹

3. Definition of Concepts

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Since intermarriage is an important step in the process of acculturation of the Acadians, it is examined at length in this chapter.

Intermarriage is a condition and a consequence of acculturation, but acculturation does not necessarily lead to intermarriage. The Acadian, who moves out of his group and transgresses the norms of his society, has already undergone some important transformation in his value-orientation. He is willing to sacrifice the approval of the group for the greater emotional satisfaction of marrying the way he likes. Our interest here is to examine what factor, other than the necessary condition of acculturation, induce or obstruct out-group mate selection, how they operate in a culturally mixed community, and what are the acculturational implications for the individuals as well as for the group.

In general, the rate of intermarriage in a mixed environment is an index of “social propinquity” of the two cultural groups. A relatively high incidence of intermarriages could be a true indication that the two groups intermingle socially quite often. Absence or a relatively low incidence is an indicator of their “social distance,” or lack of frequent contacts.

In Saint-Malo, there are rather strong negative sanctions against “mixed marriages.” The mores and norms of the group are such that it is extremely difficult to marry outside of the group and still be entirely accepted by other community members. In Portsmouth, where the religious taboos against “mixed marriages” remain basically the same, it is clearly noticeable that there is a weakening and an adulteration of those defenses, and a shading of the in-group cohesiveness and identification values. Consequently, the Acadian Portsmouthites intermarry more frequently than their Saint-Malo brothers.

In the acculturation situation, there are really no cause-effect relationships. It is rather a sequence of events, which produce an effect, which in turn becomes a cause, all moving in the same direction². Each event conditions an easier and

¹ See Schnepf, Gerald J. *Leakage from a Catholic Parish*, 1942, p. 81.

² Example: Moving in an English milieu → loss of mother-tongue → intermarriage → marital instability.

faster acculturative move. For instance, in this series of events – the more contacts – the more intermarriage – the greater loss of Acadian values, etc., – each event reinforces the other in the system of interaction.

4. The Process of Intermarriage

A. Conditional Factors

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There is no single factor or a series of constant conditions which invariably promote intermarriage in a bi-cultural community. Inducements to intermarry rather emerge from a whole complex of psychological and environmental circumstances, all of which vary, in time with the individual's perception and the community attitudes they engender. Resistance to intermarry depends on an equally complex set of psychological and social circumstances.

With the limited data on hand, I cannot weight the importance of the various socio-psychological conditions operating at any period of time. A given set of experiences may have been quite important in predisposing an individual to intermarry, whereas the same experiences may have had little or inconsequential importance to another.

The nature of the norms and the negative sanctions which are brought to bear when they are transgressed, has to be analyzed since it may clarify how intermarriage came about, how it affected individual's status and integration in the mixed community. In both Acadian and English cultures, the prescribed norm is that one should marry within his own religious and ethnic group. Among the Acadians, these two aspects are inseparable; but among the English, because of the diversity of religious denominations, there are more chances of inter-denominational marriages. However, among the Protestants, Catholic-Protestant marriages are more strongly disapproved than inter-denominational marriages.

Among the Catholics, there are various degrees of group conformity in the intermarriage situation: the spouse who succeeds in converting his non-Catholic partner will gain more approval than the one who fails to do so; the latter, in turn, will gain more approval than the one who embraces Protestantism because this is considered to be the greatest departure from in-group marriage norms. The extent to which Acadians depart from their traditional values is measured at the end of this chapter. In many cases, individuals who intermarry do not have a clear-cut conception of where they belong (confusion in identification). They are, somewhat at the periphery of both cultural systems (marginality) and do not know according to which cultural standards they are operating.

The time dimension adds to the difficulty of understanding the various conditions which induce or prevent out-group mate selection. In Portsmouth, some people intermarried recently, some others, thirty to forty years ago. Last generation intermarriages may have had implications which are irrelevant to the contemporary situation. In the past, when conversion of the non-Acadian partners took place, the parish priest hoped they would become devout Catholics and rear their children as strong Catholics. In the majority of the cases, his expectations have been frustrated, and he is now more than reluctant to bless a mixed marriage.

We plan to review in the following section the kinds of conditions which promoted as well as prevented Acadians from marrying out of the group. We recognize the importance of personality make-up in the mate selection process, but since we did not administer psychological tests or make personality studies, purely psychological factors will not be discussed here. The main question is: what are the social situations which influenced a person's decision in regard to marrying (or not marrying) a person of a different ethnic background or of a different religious faith, or both?

a. *Factors promoting intermarriage.* It seems substantiated by our studies of acculturation in the county that the ethnic composition of a community is roughly indicative of the Acadian-English contacts and the impact of the English culture on the Acadian population. Communities where the Acadian population is small are usually more advanced in their acculturation process than either mixed or predominantly Acadian Communities. There are, however, important variations in this respect. For example, if we compare two mixed communities, one of which has Acadian leadership the acculturational experiences in this community will be more limited than in a community without leaders.

Any circumstance which promotes frequent and sustained contacts between the two groups can be considered as having been influential, if not conditional to intermarriage. Let us take the family. It is expected that children born of intermarriages, often brought up under the influences of bi-cultural standards, will have a different attitude toward intermarriage than the children of the inmarried. Especially when their parents' marriage is a success, they will conceive it as something very normal and will hardly understand why it should stir so many adverse comments. Some of those mixed-bloods will return to the Acadian value system and marry full-bloods, whereas some others will advance their acculturation position by marrying either Anglo-Catholics or Anglo-Protestants.

Another institution which has important influences on value-formation and promotes social propinquity between the two groups is the school. Children who were born and educated in Saint-Malo, and who later moved to Portsmouth (still unmarried), have been taught at a very early period of their lives that one's ethnic background, one's language and one's religious affiliation is something sacred which has to be preserved, and that one cannot take the great risk of losing parts of

this cultural heritage by marrying somebody of a different kind. Children born in Portsmouth and educated at the local school, who have experienced daily exposure to alien ideologies, see intermarriage in a completely different light. The religious prescriptions remain but are not perceived to be the ultimate defenses in the matter.

In addition to the kind of school, the number of years of schooling is directly related to the incidence of intermarriage. Individuals with high education, place a higher evaluation on keeping one's cultural traditions as intact as possible, and they rarely intermarry. Furthermore they are more religious than their less educated brothers, and as a result do not violate the religious norms. If they marry a non-Catholic, they usually convert him. In contrast, individuals with low economic status, below average or little education, have many occupational contacts with the English and intermarry more often than those with medium or high socio-economic status and more education.

To summarize: the family situation, the exposure to a mixed educational institution, frequent contacts with the Anglo-Protestants either in the neighborhood, on the job or during leisure activities, low educational and socio-economic levels, all of these various experiences are factors which promote intermarriage between Anglo-Protestants and Catholic Acadians.

b. *Factors limiting intermarriage.* Compared to other communities of the county the incidence of Anglo-Acadian marriages is relatively high in Portsmouth ecological area. However, the number of intermarriages is rather small. Only by examining the various forces which counteract the acculturational influences of the mixed community can this be understood.

One of these institutions is the Church. As defined in the Code of the Canon Law¹, there has been on the part of Roman Catholic Church and its religious functionaries a traditional opposition to Catholic-Protestant intermarriages. Although this ideological attitude towards mixed marriages has not been as strongly implemented in Portsmouth ecological area as it has in the Saint-Malo,

¹ "they therefore, who rashly and heedlessly contract mixed marriages, from which the maternal love and providence of the Church dissuades her children for very sound reasons, fail conspicuously in this respect, sometimes with danger to their eternal salvation. This attitude of the Church to mixed marriages appears in many of her documents, all of which are summed up in the Code of Canon Law: 'Everywhere and with the greatest strictness the Church forbids marriages between baptized persons, one of whom is a Catholic and the other a member of a schismatical or heretical sect; and if there is, added to this, the danger of falling away of the Catholic party and the perversion of the children, such a marriage is forbidden also by the divine law.' (Cod. Jur., can., c. 1060) If the Church occasionally, on account of circumstances, does not refuse to grant a dispensation from these strict laws (provided that the divine law remains in tact and the dangers above mentioned are provided against suitable safeguards), it is unlikely that the Catholic party will not suffer some detriment from such a marriage". Quoted from Five Great Encyclicals, *The Encyclical Letter on Christian Marriage* by Pope Pius XI, The Paulinus Press., New York 1939, p. 101.

parishes, the great majority of Catholic Acadians still object to their child marrying a person of another faith. This is especially true on the part of Acadians who have been reared and educated in Saint-Malo, and who have moved to the Portsmouth ecological area recently, either as single persons or as family units. These individuals and families have not only received a good religious education but have also brought with them to Portsmouth, attitudes which they have acquired, either during socialization or at a later period of their lives.

The family institution works in close cooperation with the Church. Parental authority still remains quite strong among the relatively unacculturated families of Saint-Malo which have moved to Portsmouth recently. The priest may discourage one of his parishioners from intermarriage, and this will be reinforced by the father and mother also objecting to such a marriage, on both religious and socio-cultural grounds. Kinship ties of Portsmouth families with Saint-Malo have prevented many from intermarrying. If a study of the kinship ties were made (those who have family ties in Saint-Malo, as opposed to those who do not have any) for the inmarried and the intermarried we would probably find that the incidence of intermarriage increased with the lack of ties with Saint-Malo Municipality.

In Acadian culture, the mother is an important figure in the rearing of the children. She often assumes other roles when her husband is working at distant places for any length of time. She is also usually more Church-oriented than her husband. Not all Acadian mothers of Portsmouth fall in that category, but those who do play an important role in the religious training of their children and ultimately in preventing them from intermarrying with non-Catholics.

The increasing size and the growing importance of the Acadian group in Portsmouth also permit the selection of marriage partners within the group.

Finally, not to be underestimated is the rise of Acadian leadership.

Thus to summarize: the church, the family, the mother, and the increasing size of the Acadian population, as well as the rise of Acadian leadership are factors limiting the incidence of intermarriage between English and Acadians.

B. Intermarriage Patterns

a. *The incidence of intermarriage.* If we look at the absolute number ¹ of intermarriage cases (73) and rank communities from most to least incidence, the order is the following: Portsmouth, Pulp Creek, Northport and Frontière (Table 16). However if we examine the intermarriage ratios (as illustrated in Table 17) the rank order of communities is different and much more meaningful.

¹ The small number of cases makes it hard to draw broad generalizations. It represents however one-fourth of the total number of marriages in Portsmouth ecological area.

Table 16. *Incidence of Inmarriage and Inter-marriage by Type and Community in Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census*, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Communities	Inter-marriage Types			Inter-marriage Types.			Total		Total
	AC-AC	EP-EP	EC-EC	Ethn.	Relig.	Cultur.	Inm.	Inter.	
Northport	2	64	0	4	1	2	66	7	73
Pulp Creek	16	18	0	4	1	17	34	22	56
Portsmouth	51	64	2	17	7	15	115	39**	154
Frontière	24	1	0	4	0	1	25	5	30
Total	93	147	2	29	9	35	240	73	313

* For explanations on how this census was made see Appendix A.

** Thirty-three of those intermarried in Portsmouth involve individuals with Acadian ancestry. The six others are religious intermarriages between Irish Catholics and English Protestants.

Let us look first at the intermarriage/Acadian inmarriage ratio. In Northport, for instance, there are seven intermarriages, all of them involving at least one partner with Acadian ancestry, as compared to two Acadian inmarriages. The ration (3.5) is the highest found in the ecological area and very likely, the highest in the whole of Stirling County. Northport is an almost exclusively Anglo-Protestant community. Hence the chances of selecting a Catholic Acadian mate, in the village, are almost nil for the individual with Acadian ancestry. Of course, a Northport Acadian could inmarry with a Portsmouthite or with an Acadian from Saint-Malo. This is very unlikely to occur since most Northport Acadians have departed so much from the traditional Acadian ways of life.

Pulp Creek ranks second for its intermarriage/Acadian inmarriage ratio (1.4). Out of thirty-eight families, in which at least one of the mates is of Acadian ancestry, there are sixteen inmarriages (AC-AC) compared to twenty-two intermarriages.

In Portsmouth village, the ratio is smaller than the unity (0.76) which means that there are more Acadian inmarriages than intermarriages. Although ethnic composition of Pulp Creek and Portsmouth is approximately the same, there is a striking difference between their Inter-marriage/Acadian inmarriage ratios. Apart from the size of the two communities, two factors account for this difference: (a) migration patterns and (b) Acadian leadership in Portsmouth.

Table 17. *Intermarriage Ratios, by Community in Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Communities	RATIOS			
	<i>Intermarriages</i> Acadian Inmarriages		<i>Intermarriages</i> English Inmarriages	
Northport	7/2	(3.50)	7/64	(0.11)
Pulp Creek	22/16	(1.4)	22/18	(1.2)
Portsmouth	39/51	(0.76)	39/66	(0.66)
Frontière	5/24	(0.21)	5/1	(5.00)

Some Acadian families migrated from Saint-Malo to Portsmouth in the last fifteen years, whereas in Pulp Creek there is and has been little or no in-migration of Acadian families from Saint-Malo. Also there has been in Portsmouth recently, under the leadership of Acadian in-migrants born, educated and married in Saint-Malo, an awakening of Acadian awareness and identification, hence a strengthening of Acadian group solidarity and cohesiveness.

Frontière comes last with an intermarriage/Acadian inmarriage ratio of 0.21, and as in Northport, where the reverse pattern is true, this is mainly due to the fact that Frontière is a predominantly Acadian Catholic community. Chances of Frontière-born Acadians of selecting as mates Frontière-born Anglo-Protestants practically do not exist and inasmuch as they are apt to marry an individual from the community, they are likely to marry another Acadian.

Despite the limitations of these ratios for measuring social distance and social propinquity between the two ethnic and religious groups (it does not control the possible differential rate of out-migration patterns, nor does it take into account the mate selection according to place of origin) it is interesting to see that these ratios are consistent with what we know from other sources about these communities ¹.

The greater the number of Acadian families in a community, the fewer are the chances for an Acadian to marry out of the group, and the incidence of intermarriage is highest when the proportion of Anglo-Protestants to Catholic Acadians is greatest.

¹ The intermarriage/English inmarriage ratio is not analyzed here but it follows, roughly speaking, in a reverse way, the patterns of Intermarriage/Acadian marriage ratios: the higher is the Intermarriage/Acadian inmarriage ratio, the lower is the Intermarriage/English inmarriage ratio. Inversely, the lower is the Intermarriage/Acadian inmarriage ratio, the higher is the Intermarriage/English inmarriage ratio for each community.

b. *Patterns of mate selection.* In this section, we will analyze the various patterns found within each intermarriage type. We will also attempt to point out the significance of the various patterns in respect to acculturation. It is obvious that in the intermarriage situation the process of acculturation continues to unfold with the interaction system of both spouses and depends on a large number of uncontrolled variables. A careful examining of the various patterns within each type will give some indication as to the direction of acculturation in the intermarriage situation.

B¹. *Ethnic intermarriages.* If we do not introduce sex differences ¹ there are six possible patterns of ethnic intermarriage, five of which are found in Portsmouth ecological area. They are as follows:

(1) AC-1/2AC	(4) AP-1/2AP
(2) AC-EC	(5) 1/2AP-EP
(3) 1/2AC-EC	(6) AP-EP

All these patterns, except AP-1/2AP which does not occur are described in the following pages.

AC-1/2AC PATTERNS Acadian Catholic – 50% Acadian Catholic

There are *thirteen cases* ² of this sub-type out of a total of twenty-nine cases of ethnic intermarriages. In most cases of the AC-1/2AC pattern, mixed-blood spouses are offsprings of Acadian Catholic-Irish Catholic intermarriages. In only a few of the instances the mixed-bloods are the offsprings of Protestant-Catholic marriages blessed by the priest. In these cases, we do not know if the Protestant mates turned to Catholicism or not, but we know that the children (50% AC) were reared in the Catholic Church according to the Pre-nuptial Agreement ³.

Mixed-bloods who marry full-blood Acadians seem to identify themselves with the Acadian group rather than the English. They are Acadian-value oriented and show a definite preference for the Acadian culture in selecting Acadian mates rather than Irish mates.

¹ As an example, an Acadian Catholic male or female can marry respectively an English female or male.

² For most patterns, the number of cases is so small that it would not be significant to divide them according to sex or community.

³ In the Pre-Nuptial Agreement, the Protestant mate agrees that the marriage contract can only be terminated by death, that all children, regardless of sex, shall be baptized in the Catholic Church. Furthermore, he agrees that children shall receive a Catholic education, and that even after the Catholic spouse dies. He also agrees that no other marriage ceremony than that blessed by the priest shall follow and that he will respect the Catholic beliefs regulating birth control.

AC-EC PATTERNS
Acadian Catholic – English Catholic

There are *seven cases* of this type and it is of interest to note that all of them are AC males intermarrying with EC females. It can be explained by the fact these Acadians courted Irish women while engaged in work away from home. They are moving towards the English culture and are probably more acculturated than the former group.

1/2 AC-EC PATTERNS
50 % Acadian Catholic – English Catholic

There are only *four cases* in this category. However, it is different enough from the previous ones to keep it as a special sub-type. Like the mixed-bloods in sub-type AC-1/2AC these half-bloods are the offsprings of either an ethnic intermarriage, or a cultural intermarriage blessed by the priest. Unlike them they make a further step away from the Acadian culture by intermarrying English Catholics.

PATTERNS 1/2AP-EP and AP-EP
1/2 Acadian Protestant – English Protestant
and Acadian Protestant – English Protestant

The last of the four types of ethnic intermarriage includes two patterns which are similar enough in their meaning to be grouped together. There are *five cases* found in both patterns combined. Both patterns represent one of the last steps in the process of acculturation. The Protestant mixed-bloods (1/2AP) are the offspring of cultural intermarriages (AC-EP) performed by a Protestant minister. They were raised in the Protestant faith and have no interest in the Catholic Church or the Acadian group: They have been assimilated by the English.

B². *Religious intermarriages*. There are only *nine cases* of religious intermarriages in the Portsmouth ecological area. This is mainly a result of our definitions: all the Acadian descent individuals got classified in cultural intermarriages if they are mixed-bloods. For instance, the 1/2AC-AP pattern is considered as a cultural intermarriage since both mates have different ethnic derivation and belong to different religious faiths.

Of these nine cases, seven are between individuals with English ancestry, i.e., marriages between English Catholics and English Protestants (EP-EC). Although this type of intermarriage is not directly relevant to our acculturation study, it illustrates vividly the peculiar position of the Irish in a predominantly Acadian Catholic congregation.

The other two cases are Acadian Catholic males who have married Acadian Protestant females (AC-AP) from the outside and converted them to Catholicism.

b³. *Cultural intermarriages*. This type of intermarriage always involves at least one spouse with Acadian ancestry. The Protestant or the Catholic partner may change his/her religious affiliation at the time of the union¹. There are five possible patterns within this type and they are as follows:

(1) AC-EP	(4) EC-1/2AC
(2) AC-1/2AP	(5) EC-AP
(3) EP-1/2AC	

EC-AP pattern does not occur in Portsmouth ecological area.

AC-EP PATTERNS **Acadian Catholic – English Protestant**

There are *thirty-five cases* of cultural intermarriages and sixty-five percent (or 23 out of 35) belong to this type. Of all the AC-EP pattern of cultural intermarriages, seventy-eight percent (18 out of 23) are English Protestant males who marry Acadian Catholic females.

AC-1/2AP PATTERN **Acadian Catholic – 50 % Acadian Protestant**

There are *four cases* which belong to this pattern. These mixed-bloods are the offspring of cultural intermarriages blessed by the minister (invalid mixed marriage according to the Catholic Church's definition) who, for reasons of convenience, become Catholics.

1/2 AC-EP and EC-1/2AP PATTERNS

There are *eight cases of these* two intermarriage patterns combined, seven of which belong to the 1/2AC-EP type. In this type, the mixed-bloods are individuals born to ethnic or cultural intermarriage performed by a non-catholic minister. Among the seven Catholic mixed-bloods, five of them converted their spouses to Catholicism and two turned Protestants. On the whole, these mixed-bloods do not identify with the Acadian group. However, five of them still identify strongly enough with the Catholic Church to convert their marital partners.

c. *Changes in religion of intermarried spouses at marriage*. The following table deals with the changes in religious membership of the intermarried at the time the

¹ An examination of changes in religious membership at the time the marriage is formally sanctioned will be made in the following section.

marriage was performed. Purely ethnic intermarriages are excluded because both spouses have the same religious faith.

Table 18. *Changes of Faith of Intermarried Spouses, Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Change in Affiliation and Validity of Marriages	Types of Intermarriages		Total
	Religious	Cultural	
A *	1	3	4
B *	2	9	12
C *	5	22	27
D *	1	1	2
Total	9	35	44

* Key to symbols.

A: No change in Church affiliation. The marriages are valid according to the Catholic Church since the Protestant mate signs the Ante-nuptial agreement, even though he does not become Catholic.

B: These marriages are blessed by a Protestant minister and are considered to be, by the Catholic Church, invalid mixed marriages.

C: The marriage is blessed by the priest and the Protestant mate turns Catholic. Mixed convert marriages.

D: Validated marriages.

Only ten percent (4 out of 44) of the intermarried spouses maintained their own religious faith ¹ both spouses holding strongly to their religious values. Such a *status quo* is allowed by the Catholic Church (requirement of validity) only when the non-Catholic spouse signs the Ante-nuptial agreement.

¹ This is unusually low. Landis for instance, in his study found that in two-thirds of the mixed marriages spouses maintained their own religious faith. See Landis, Judson T. "Marriages of Mixed and Non-Mixed Religious Faith," *American Sociological Review*, June 1949, Vol. 13, n° 3.

In thirty-eight of the intermarriages (eighty-six percent) one spouse changed to the faith of his partner ¹. In the remainder the marital ceremony was performed by a Protestant minister. However, later on, the union was blessed by the priest and the marriage validated by the Catholic Church. This means two successive changes: the first one in the direction of Protestantism and the second one in the direction of Catholicism.

Let us examine now the changes in religious membership at the time the marriage was performed. We could hypothesize that the kinds of changes are somewhat indicative of the relative strength of the Catholic and Protestant churches in Portsmouth ecological area.

Table 19. *Changes in religious Faith of Intermarried Spouses by Sex, Types of Intermarriage and Faith in Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Religious Intermarriages									
	Turn Catholics		Turn Protestants		Turn Catholics		Turn Protestants		
	Prot.M	Prot.F	Cath.M	Cath.F	Prot.M	Prot.F	Cath.M	Cath.F	
Cases	3	1	0	3	15	8	2	6	
Total	4		3		25		8		38

The findings of Table 19 are the following: in the intermarriage situation, the Protestant spouse is likely to change his religion 2.3 times more often (71% of the Protestant spouses turned Catholics whereas only 29% of the Catholic spouses turned Protestants) than the Catholics. This raises a very interesting question: how can we explain this trend in a culturally mixed area where both the English culture and the Protestant denominations are the dominant groups and where, in general, individuals with Acadian ancestry are acculturating towards the English way of life and are in the process of acquiring English traits and English value-orientations? A few preliminary remarks have to be made to answer this question.

¹ Cases of inter-denominational marriages among the Protestants aside (where this may occur), there is no case of intermarriage in Portsmouth ecological area where both partners change to a different faith than their respective ones.

As a rule, the majority of Catholic-Protestant intermarriages occur among people who belong to middle and low economic brackets. It seems that most people who break in-group marriage patterns (Catholics and Protestants) do not hold very strongly to their religious values. It is especially true of the Protestant spouses, who, in seventy percent of the cases, sever themselves from their religious heritage and turn Catholics. It is my personal feeling, that their conversion is a nominal one. They do not desire to be accepted in the Catholic community for religious reasons or because of a yearning for truth, but rather because the Catholic spouse will not consider having an invalid marriage. Therefore, they agree to have their marriage blessed by the priest. The Protestant mates (oftentimes not a Church-goer and who wishes to marry a Catholic), conversion seems to be the only way out. To many Protestants any religion is as good as the other; but even among the very weak Catholics, leaving the Church has many more implications. This one of the reasons why fewer Catholics than Protestants break their religious ties with their Church. Catholic mates, who dropped their membership in the Catholic Church by having their marriage blessed by a Protestant minister (which is invalid from the Catholic standpoint) rarely become “good” Protestants.

Thus, to answer the question raised a while ago, the Protestant partner who becomes Catholic, does not change his religious affiliation for religious reasons (wanting to become an active member of the Catholic community). Furthermore, the Protestant partner who becomes Catholic is not acculturating towards the Acadian way of life: even in such cases, the Acadian spouse continues to acculturate towards the English way of life.

In the intermarriage situation, regardless of church affiliation, females are likely to change their religious affiliation slightly more often than the males¹. This is somewhat an unexpected finding and we do not know, without doing some further work along these lines, what kinds of interpretation can be offered to explain this trend.

¹ To compare the degree of changeability within Protestant and Catholic Churches according to sex the following ratios are established: Out of the eleven Catholic males who entered the intermarriage situation, nine of them converted their spouses (or did not change) and two of them were converted by their spouses (or changed). Therefore among the Catholic males two out of eleven changed, or a proportion of 18 %; among the twenty-seven Catholic females who intermarried, eighteen of them converted their spouses (did not change) and nine of them were converted by their spouses (or changed) – therefore among the Catholic females 9 out of 27 changed, or a proportion of 33 %; there are twenty-seven Protestant males who intermarried and of those nine converted their spouses (did not change) and eighteen were converted by their spouses or a proportion of 18 out of 27 (67 %) who changes; finally among the Protestant females two converted their spouses (did not change) and nine of them were converted by their spouses; so nine out of eleven changed (or a proportion of 82 %).

d. *Characteristics of Acadian descent individuals who intermarry.* Table 20 indicates that individuals, with Acadian ancestry, who intermarry¹ are younger than Acadians (always full-bloods in the inmarriage situation) who marry within their own ethnic and religious group. This table also provides some rough information about the rate of intermarriage in the past. It is interesting to note that the intermarriage incidence decreases with age, the only exception to that rule being the 70-79.9 age class. Assuming that the rate of out-migration for the inmarried as well as for the intermarried, is approximately the same now as it was some twenty or thirty years ago, there are more intermarriages in Portsmouth ecological area now than in the past²

Table 20. *Age Distribution of Inmarried and Intermarried Acadians by Type, in Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Decennial Age Classes	Acadians Inmarriages	Intermarriages Ethnic	Religious	Cultural	Total
20-29.9	11	4	0	4	19
30-39.9	35	9	2	12	58
40-49.9	40	10	0	8	58
50-59.9	33	7	2	5	47
60-69.9	29	3	0	1	33
70-79.9	9	5	0	1	15
80-90	2	0	0	0	2
Total	159	38	4	33	234 *
Average age	53.7	47.9	45.0 45.5	42.6	51.1

* There are 6 individuals for whom we do not have the age: two in inmarriages, two in ethnic intermarriages and two in cultural intermarriages.

¹ When a full-blood Acadian marries another full-blood Acadian, I consider this family unit as one inmarriage, (not two inmarriages) which include two inmarried Acadians. Hence, the age of both living spouses in Acadian inmarriages is taken into account when I try to see the relationships between the age of the intermarried and the inmarried Acadians. If we look at Table 21 for instance, the ratio .42 (or 8/19) for the 20-29.9, age class means that there are *eight intermarried* Acadians as compared to *nineteen inmarried* Acadians for the same age class. This also means that out of a possible total of 27 inmarried Acadians (eighteen plus nine) two thirds (or eighteen) follow the in-group marriage norms and one-third (nine) marry out of the group. Therefore the larger the ratio is in Table 21, the greater is the number of intermarriages.

² This seems understandable in view of the fact that contacts between both groups have increased during that time reducing, as a result, social distance between Acadian Catholics and Anglo-Protestants.

Inmarried families are better off economically than intermarried families (see Table 22). Among the intermarried, almost none of the family heads owns a farm or a woodlot: they do not hold steady jobs. They are sawmill workers and day laborers who are engaged in two, three and sometimes four different occupations during the course of the year, with periods of unemployment in between. Much of their social activities are confined to drinking and loafing. Although some of these acculturated Acadians have made one of the very last steps in the process of dissociating themselves with the Acadian-value-orientation (leaving the Catholic Church), they are not considered English by the Anglo-Protestant elite and middle classes. They are always characterized by the English leaders in the following manner: “He is a Frenchman, but he isn’t Catholic and is unable to speak French. He drinks a lot; he’s just a common laborer and doesn’t know better...”

Table 21. *Intermarriage – Acadian Marriages Ratios in Portsmouth Ecological Area, According to Age Classes, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Decennial Age Classes	Number of Inmarriages*	Total Number of Acadian Marriages (1 sp. with Acad. ancestry)	Ratios
20-29.9	8	19	.42
30-39.9	23	58	.39
40-49.9	18	58	.31
50-59.9	14	47	.29
60-69.9	4	33	.11
70-79.9	6	15	.40
80-90	0	2	.00

* The family is analyzed as a functioning unit.

Another point, which is of theoretical importance and which we plan to examine here, is the place of birth of inmarried Acadians as compared to intermarried Acadians. Conceivably the Acadian descent individual, who lives either in a mixed or predominantly English community, is more likely to intermarry than one residing in a predominantly Acadian community. In other words, Acadians living in Saint-Malo hold the in-group marriage norm more strongly than those living in Portsmouth, who hold it more strongly than those in predominantly English communities. Table 23 presents the findings for Portsmouth community only.

Table 22. *Economic Levels of Inmarried and Intermarried Families in Portsmouth and Pulp Creek Communities, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Economic Classes ¹	Acadians Inmarriages	English Inmarriages	Intermarriages	Total
1	2	1	0	3
2	4	13	3	20
3	35	50	26	111
4	14	16	18	48
5	4	1	6	11
6	0	0	3	3
Total	59	81	56	196

Table 23. *Marriages Types in Portsmouth Community, According to Place of Birth of Spouses, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Place of Birth	Acadian Inmarriages	Intermarriages	Total
a *	18	12	30
b	0	1	1
c	4	0	4
d	0	7	7
e	10	5	15
f	2	0	2
g	14	4	18
h	2	1	3
i	1	3	4
Total	51	33**	84

* Key to symbols.

- a. Both spouses were born in Portsmouth ecological area.
- b. Both spouses were born in a predominant English community.
- c. Both spouses were born and married in Saint-Malo Municipality.
- d. One spouse was born in Portsmouth ecological area and the other was born in a predominant English community.
- e. One spouse was born Portsmouth ecological area and the other was born in either Saint-Malo Municipality or in a predominant Acadian community.

¹ Each family has been rated, and ratings are the same than those used in Chapter 15.

- f. One spouse was born in Saint-Malo Municipality and the other was born in a predominant English community.
- g. Physically broken homes, due to death, separation or divorce. Thus, we do not have data on the dead or the separated spouse who does not live in the community any more.
- h. Other patterns.
- i. Unknowns.

** In Portsmouth community there are six intermarriages of the EP-EC type (therefore not including individuals with Acadian ancestry) which added to the 33 cases presented here give us the total number of intermarriages in Portsmouth.

One question which is of prime importance in analyzing intermarriages according to place of origin is: What is the percentage of the Portsmouth born Acadians who intermarry? The number of Portsmouth born Acadians who marry a Portsmouth born English Protestant mate, would give us a rough index of social propinquity between the two groups in Portsmouth. Of the sixty-five Portsmouth born Acadians, 29.2 % intermarry ¹.

Examining the mate selection patterns among Portsmouth Acadians who marry somebody from the outside, we find that ten of them inmarry with full-blood Acadians living in Saint-Malo and twelve of them intermarry with the English.

This indicates that some Portsmouthites have kept some close ties with Saint-Malo Acadians and inmarried with them. This marriage pattern brings some counter-acculturative influences at the family level, especially when the mother is from Saint-Malo. The acculturating influences of the mixed school and of the mixed neighborhood are somewhat counterbalanced by the interest on her part to teach the Acadian language to her children, to give them a fair knowledge of religious precepts, in other words to interest them in their ethnic origin and its cultural implications.

¹ These figures are derived in the following manner in using categories a, b, c, etc., found in Table 23. In category (a) there are 48 full-blood Acadians born in Portsmouth ecological area. Of those 36 inmarry between themselves to form eighteen families and twelve of them intermarry with English individuals. In category (b) there is one Acadian born in a predominantly English community who intermarries with an English mate who also was born in a predominant Anglo community. In category (c) there are eight Acadians who were born and married (four inmarriages) in Saint-Malo Municipality. In category (d) there are seven Acadians born in Portsmouth ecological area and who intermarry with spouses (seven intermarriages) born in a predominant Anglo community. In category (e) there are ten Acadians born in Saint-Malo Municipality who marry ten Acadians (ten inmarriages) born in Portsmouth ecological area. There are also five Acadians who were born in Saint-Malo Municipality who moved to Portsmouth ecological area and married English spouses (five intermarriages) born in Portsmouth ecological area. In category (f) there are four Acadians (two inmarriages) and two of them born in a predominant Anglo community marry with two Acadians born in Saint-Malo Municipality. Altogether there are 65 Acadians who were born in Portsmouth ecological area, 48 in (a), ten in (e) and seven in (d). Of those 46 (thirty-six plus ten) inmarried and nineteen (twelve plus seven) intermarried.

But, looking at the overall picture it indicates that if an Acadian from Portsmouth selects a mate outside the community, in the majority of the cases (54 %) he will chose among the Anglo-Protestants. We have seen previously that if he marries someone from the community, in roughly seventy percent of the cases he will marry another Acadian. This points out to an interesting difference which may mean that the Portsmouth Acadians prefer to marry among themselves rather than marrying Acadians from Saint-Malo.

There are only four Acadian (non-broken) inmarriages in which both spouses were born and married in Saint-Malo. However, if we include the physically broken Acadian inmarriages in Portsmouth (14) with the former, the total number of inmarriages contracted in Saint-Malo represents a little more than one third of all Acadian inmarriages in Portsmouth. Up to now, Portsmouth Acadians have kept their Acadian identity mainly because Acadian families from Saint-Malo migrated to Portsmouth and counteracted the influences of the dominant culture on the Portsmouth born Acadians.

C. Some Consequences of Inter-marriage.

In this section, we shall examine very briefly two problems: (a) degrees of acculturation among the inmarried and intermarried and (b) marital stability among the intermarried.

a. *Acculturation of the intermarried and inmarried Acadians.* We would like to examine the hypothesis that intermarriage leads to more acculturation. Upon examining the following Table (Table 24) this hypothesis is substantiated for the whole ecological area: the intermarried are more acculturated than inmarried Acadians. The intermarried have an average acculturation level of 9.4 as compared to 6.6 for the inmarried. Especially because there is no acculturational differences between the Pulp Creek inmarried and intermarried, this difference seems to be a very noticeable one.

Among the inmarried Acadians, there are differences in the degree of acculturation as seen in Table 24. The inmarried Acadians in Frontière and Portsmouth have an average acculturation score of respectively 5.5 and 5.9, whereas in Pulp Creek the average acculturation score of the inmarried Acadians is 10.0. This represents quite a large difference which can partly be explained by (a) differences in Acadian-English contacts, (b) lack of Acadian leadership in Pulp Creek.

There are also differences in degrees of acculturation among the intermarried, and this is presented in Table 25. Full-blood Acadian Catholics who marry mixed-bloods (ethnic intermarriage) have an acculturation score of 8.04 whereas the full-blood Acadian Protestants who marry English Protestants (also ethnic intermarriage) have an acculturation score of 13. What is the meaning of such a

difference? In the first case, the mixed-blood is more or less returning to Acadian culture in marrying another Acadian Catholic. In the latter case, the Acadian Protestant has already lost his language and his religion. It is logical for an Acadian who has lost his complete ties with the Acadian group to marry with an English Protestant.

Table 24. *Acculturation Position of the Intermarried and Inmarried in Portsmouth Ecological Area, by Community, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Scale of Acculturation *												
Communities	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	Total	Averages
Northport Inmarried	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	3	7.00
Northport Intermarried	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	5	7	11.7
Portsmouth inmarried	22	21	16	10	8	4	2	—	2	—	85	5.9
Portsmouth intermarried	—	3	4	6	9	4	5	3	4	6	44	9.0
Pulp Creek, Inmarried	—	1	2	3	2	4	2	1	15	—	30	10.0
Pulp Creek intermarried	—	—	1	1	2	3	6	2	8	—	23	10.1
Frontière inmarried	12	15	7	5	2	1	1	1	—	—	44	5.5
Frontière intermarried	—	—	1	3	1	1	1	—	—	—	7	7.7
Total inmarried	34	38	25	18	14	9	5	2	17	—	162	6.6
Total intermarried	—	3	7	10	12	8	12	6	12	11	81	9.4
Total for each acculturation position	34	41	32	28	26	17	17	8	29	11	243	7.6

* Spouses were rated individually.

Table 25. *Average Acculturation Score of Mates with Acadian Blood, in Ethnic and Cultural Inter marriages Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*[To Tables](#)

Types of intermarriages	Patterns	Acculturation scores	N
Ethnic Intermarriages	Pattern A (AC-1/2AC) *	8.04	13
	Pattern B (AC-EC)	8.43	7
	Pattern C (1/2AC-EC)	10.75	4
	Pattern D (EP-1/2AP-EP) (AP-EP)	13.0	5
Cultural Intermarriages	Pattern A (EP-AC)	9.09	23
	Pattern B (AC-1/2AP) *	10.00	4
	Pattern C (EP-1/2AC)	10.00	7
	Pattern D (EC-1/2AP)	10.00	1

* Spouses were rated individually.

[To Graphs](#)**Graph 2.** *Average Acculturation Position of Acadians in Ethnic and Cultural Inter marriages, Portsmouth Ecological Area, Family Census, December 1951.*

Table 26. *Psychological Stability of Inmarried and Intermarried Acadians in Portsmouth Ecological Area, by Community, Family Census, December 1951.*

[To Tables](#)

Communities	Acadians Inmarried		Total	Acadians Intermarried		Total
	Broken	Non-broken		Broken	Non-broken	
Northport	0	2	2	1	6	7
Pulp Creek	2	14	16	5	16	21
Portsmouth	1	50	51	4	29	33
Frontière	0	24	24	1	4	5
Total	3	90	93	11	55	66 *

* Seven intermarriages are of the EP-EC type; they are not relevant for the acculturation study.

b. *Marital stability.* If we can assume that “broken homes” are a reliable index of psychological maladjustment and instability, the inmarried Acadians are better adjusted than the intermarried. It seems that when the marital partners have identical backgrounds, and were raised according to the same cultural values, their chances of making their marriage a success is greater than among those whose ethnic or religious background were different. As an example, separation and divorce seldom occur among the inmarried as compared to the intermarried. Among, the inmarried in only four percent of the cases marriage ends in a separation (three times for ninety-three families) whereas among the intermarried seventeen percent (eleven times for sixty-six families) of the sanctioned marriages ends in separation.

Probably the greatest source of tensions between intermarried spouses is their children ¹. In the great majority of the cases they have to decide about the religious affiliation of their children. The Protestant partner may want his children to become Protestant whereas the Catholic partner insists that they must be christened in his/her Church. Compromises are sometimes reached; the girls will belong to the mother’s church and the boys, to the father’s church.

I am sure that there are other grounds for discords but little is known about them since the study was not focused on that particular problem.

As a conclusion to this chapter, with the evidence we have and all its limitations, we can say that intermarriage promotes acculturation.

¹ See Landis, *op. cit.*

PART IV – PROCESSES OF ACCULTURATION OF THE PORTSMOUTH ACADIANS

Chapter 19: The mixed School

(A case Study in Ethnic Relations and Acculturation Process)

1. The Portsmouth School System

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The public schools of Nova Scotia are under the jurisdiction of the Nova Scotia Department of Education. They provide all grades of instruction, from kindergarten to university preparation. The Portsmouth school section is classified as a “Village School.”¹

A school section, as defined in the 1949 Report of the Superintendent of Education is “the self-governing school territory, in rural regions normally about four miles in diameter, administered by a board of three trustees serving three years, one of whom is elected in place of the retiring trustee at the annual meeting of ratepayers, who also vote supplies to be levied on the section”.²

A municipal board, which administers municipal funds, oversees the local unit. It hires and pays teachers, pays operating costs of both rural and village school sections and makes arrangements for conveyance. The board acts as an intermediary administrative body between the local school sections of the municipality and the Provincial Department of Education. The Portsmouth school

¹ “For statistical study, school sections are divided into three classes (1) Urban – consisting of incorporated cities and towns. (2) Village – consisting of all other school sections having more than one regular teacher, and (3) Rural, school sections in which only one regular teacher is employed.” *Province of Nova Scotia Annual Report of the Superintendent of Education* for Nova Scotia for the year ended July 31st, 1949, Halifax N. S., King’s Printer. Page XXXIV.

² *Idem*.

section is therefore under the immediate jurisdiction of the Bristol Municipal School Board.

The new system of financial support for school sections was adopted in 1943 and is called the Municipal Unit, under this system each school section, in villages and rural areas, contributes to the financial support of the school by levying, on the property owners of the municipality, a certain sum of money equal to one dollar per head of the population. This money (school taxes) makes the Municipal School Fund and is turned over to the Municipal School Board.

A school division is an inspectorate, that is, the territory under the charge of an inspector. Bristol and Plymouth Municipalities form one school division under the leadership of Inspector A. M. Howe. Inspector Albert Campeau is in charge of the school sections of Saint-Malo and Campbell Municipalities, which constitute another inspectorate. In the Province of Nova Scotia, the School Divisions usually correspond to county boundaries.¹ Even though Saint-Malo and Campbell are in different counties, they are combined, because they are both inhabited predominantly by Acadians.

Educational Organization Structure

In 1951, the school of Portsmouth is headed by Mr. Rosaire Blanchet. The school Principal is a young Acadian (French speaking and Roman Catholic) from Saint-Malo Municipality. Apart from his teaching, one of his responsibilities is to direct and supervise other teachers. The school has elementary (the first six grades) as well as junior (grades VII up to IX inclusively) and senior (grades X and XI)

¹ See Report of the Superintendent, *op.cit.*

high school grades. The Principal is the only staff member who is of Acadian ancestry. Three of the teachers are English Protestants and the fourth is Irish Catholic.

As a territorial unit, the Portsmouth school section comprises the area along the main road from the Church building of the Disciples of Christ to the railway crossing which divides the municipalities of Bristol and Saint-Malo. It includes all the houses on Queen's Road, the section on the Pulp Creek road up to house n° 281 inclusively (see map of Portsmouth with numbered houses ¹), the section on the Frontière road up to house n° 443 inclusive and the section on the Langston road up to house n° 347.

The school population is composed of both Catholics and Protestants of the various denominations. The Acadian Catholic schoolchildren outnumber the English Protestant pupils, in a proportion of almost two to one. Although the School Act permits the teaching of some courses in French in the predominantly Catholic Acadian Municipality of Saint-Malo, these regulation do not apply to the mixed educational (non-denominational) institution of Portsmouth. The teaching of all subjects (with the exception of French itself), for all grades is carried on exclusively in English.

The Portsmouth school differs from those of Saint-Malo, with respect to cultural backgrounds of schoolchildren, curriculum, staff members and the teaching of religion. In Saint-Malo, even though the school is "public" (which means that it is financed and administered by the State) it is well integrated with other important institutions of the area, like the parish, the family, and voluntary associations. Because church and lay leaders have agreed as to the importance of working together in the area of education, and also because the layman has recognized that it was part of the priest's duties to provide for the religious needs of the pupils in the school situation, the educational system has been well coordinated to other parochial institutions. The teachers, Catholic themselves, usually carry on religious instructions during school hours. The heads of the parishes in which the various schools are located visit them at regular intervals, and directly supervise the work of the teachers in the religious field.

In Saint-Malo, courses are taught in French during the early grades; the teaching of English is introduced in the fourth or fifth grade and is given increasing emphasis in the subsequent grades. At the ninth grade level the teaching, of the various subjects is done entirely in English, thus directly preparing students to write their provincial exams with proficiency in the English language.

Saint-Malo – Campbell School Divisions has its own Acadian Catholic school inspector. Acadian leaders, interested in the educational problems of their

¹ [Map not available, MB]

municipality, openly discuss among themselves the ways of improving the efficiency of the school system. They work as a group towards formulating, through established channels, appropriate recommendations to the Nova Scotia Department of Education, thus gradually finding a way to have more and more recognition of the specific needs of the Acadian schoolchildren. Policies, which represent the viewpoint of the majority and which are cleared by Halifax authorities, are carried through in a consistent way. As a result, the expectations of the group are fulfilled and a minimum of friction arises about school problems. Let us now turn our attention to the mixed community and find out in which ways its school organization differs from Saint-Malo.

2. The Function of the Portsmouth School

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As an educational institution, the Portsmouth school has definite functions to fulfill, not only in terms of transmission of knowledge by competent functionaries, to equip the schoolchildren with adequate training to earn a living, but also in terms of the implementing of values which will make them responsible and good citizens. Moral integrity, for instance, might be a component of good citizenship; so might be community mindedness. But community mindedness for a Protestant may mean that the child must learn to participate in community organizations, regardless of religious differences in the background of its members. For a Catholic, it may mean that the child must learn to participate only in the organizations that are either sponsored or encouraged by his Church. To carry the point further, many of the functions of a mixed school might be perceived differently by distinct ethnic and religious groups. Consequently, it becomes harder for functionaries to follow rigidly a set of rules which will satisfy equally well, both parties involved. These preliminary remarks suggest that certain prerequisites must be met if the mixed institution is to fulfill its functions smoothly.

The most important prerequisites are as follows: (1) the understanding, by all groups concerned, of the role of the mixed school in a bi-cultural community. This implies that people would be aware that the aspirations of any particular group, taken alone, cannot be satisfied in all respects unless they are shared by the other group(s) involved, (2) A definition of the structure and functions of the mixed school. This implies that, when there are divergences in aspirations, motivations, and goals of various groups, meetings would be held during which decisions and compromises could be reached. (3) The carrying out of the policies in the ways they were defined.

Theoretically, at least, within the realm of local authority, it is conceivable that the structure and functions of the mixed school could be established and defined in such a way as to minimize the conflicts and reduce tension between the English-Protestants and the Catholic Acadians of Portsmouth. This might imply, on the part of leaders of both groups, planning sessions at which baseline policies could be adopted. These basic policies, of course, could be subject to redefinition whenever changing circumstances render them inappropriate or inadequate.

My experience leads me to think that both groups misunderstand the role of a mixed educational institution. Some of the functions of the school have already been defined by the Provincial Department of Education for English Municipalities (like the curriculum and the teaching of courses in the English language for instance). However, some decisions are left to local initiative (like the hiring of teachers and the election of the board of trustees). Such decisions would require the full cooperation of both groups.

Up to the present time in Portsmouth, no overall planning has ever been undertaken to solve some of the problems inherent to a mixed school. It is only fair to mention that attempts have been made by one Anglo-Protestant group (considered by many informants as being one of the most influential groups in the community) to meet with Acadian and other Protestant leaders to discuss the problems of the school. It never materialized because it was perceived by the Acadians to be threatening to their position and aims. Foreseeing that these people wanted to implement policies which were diametrically opposed to theirs, they failed to see the particular advantages that could be gained from such a meeting.

It might well be appropriate to describe here in detail how this event took place. For the description of this situation, I rely on the accounts of one informant, who is the leader of the Portsmouth Acadians, the following is his account of the steps taken to prevent the meeting.

“I will tell you another story about the school, he said. This one is longer but I think it is worth telling if you are interested in understanding the relationships between French and English in this community. It was in the midst of the fights over the firing of one Saint-Pierre teacher (French speaking Acadian from the neighboring community) to teach at the Portsmouth school. She was replaced by an English teacher. She had been hired during the summer by the school trustees and due to the pressures of the Protestants, she was dismissed even before she could start teaching at the school. My golly we were angry. And the Lang-Westman-Fox clique wanted very much to have a meeting to which representatives from both sides would attend. They said that they would discuss openly the whole matter of school problems. So the three sent a petition to the school trustees, telling them that they wanted a meeting to which they would send a delegation. They were expecting that we would also send a delegation. We played on the word delegation to defeat their purpose. In legal

terms, delegation has a specific meaning to which they were not referring at all in that particular instance. They wanted to have an open discussion on school problems with French people thinking that we would accept such a deal. When Cyrille Campeau who was then chairman of the School Board of Trustees, paid me a call and told me that Lang and his people wanted to send a delegation I was very embarrassed. I knew before hand that nobody would like to come with me to the meeting. I was left alone to present the Acadian viewpoint, and I anticipated that I would be defeated. I told Cyrille Campeau that I would give him my answer in sixty hours. The next morning, I closed the office (the informant is a dentist) and I drove to Maltapan River to see the School Inspector (for the Saint-Malo – Cambell Division). He has nothing to do with the Portsmouth School, but I knew that he would be willing to help me just the same. I knew that he is well acquainted with all aspects of the School Act. So I put my cards on the table and told him what happened. He asked me to repeat what the Protestants wanted to do. I answered: 'They want to send a delegation to the School Board of Trustees for making a request'. 'Well', he answered, 'I have an idea. The trustees have been elected by ratepayers, haven't they? The school trustees have full authority to take any decision on school problems, haven't they?' 'Then', he continued, 'what is the use of having two groups facing each other and arguing between themselves. What would be the result of such a discussion on school matters?' 'The result will be', he answered, 'that the trustees will have to meet and take a vote. If you think, Marc-André (the dentist) that nobody wants to go with you, the best thing for you to do is not to attend that meeting. They want a delegation, they can send their own; make their requests to the trustees who will have to take it into consideration. So they can have a delegation and you do not have to be there'. I told the inspector 'You are right; this is what I will do'. So I came back home around dinnertime and I was feeling very relaxed. After dinner time I dropped in at Doris Boisvert place (Acadian owner of a garage in Portsmouth) and explained to him what was going on. He let me understand that because of his business he would not be able to take an active part against the English. So I asked him to come with me to see Inspector Campeau. He was glad to come and I was glad he came; that was good company. We had another meeting with the inspector and he planned how things should be handled. 'Tell the chairman of the school trustees', he said, 'to welcome the delegation and to bring the meeting to order. If they start to ask irrelevant questions, stress the fact that he is there to acknowledge the request of the delegation'. He went on telling me things to do and things to avoid doing. When we left him, it was four o'clock in the morning. It was four-thirty when we arrived in Portsmouth. I awoke Cyrille Campeau and repeated to him everything which the inspector had told me. I told him, 'The meeting is scheduled for to-night. I will not be there. You will be present with the other trustees. Do not say a word about me. Just welcome the delegation when it is eight o'clock; ask them to make their request and mention that everything will be recorded in the minute book. If they start arguing or speaking against me, bring the meeting to order and tell them that

you did not come to argue with them but to hear their request. Tell them also, after the request has been made, that the answer will be sent to them by letters'. I explained thoroughly to him the ambiguity of the word delegation and told him what it meant in legal terms. So Cyrille was satisfied with everything. I went to bed, slept a few hours and started to work early in the morning. I was busy and tired all day long. At half past seven o'clock p.m., thirty minutes before the meeting, I called John Dobbs over the phone (John is Anglo-Protestant, owns a garage in Portsmouth, and the majority of his customers are Acadians – and is one of the school trustee) and asked him to come to my house or name a place where we could meet. I told him that I wanted to tell him a very important decision, which he ought to know before the meeting started. So he came to my house and was he ever surprised when I told him that I would not attend the meeting! I added 'I cannot explain to you why I will not be there to-night, but believe me, I do not want to put something over on you. It is better for me that I do not attend that meeting. It would be too long to explain right now why I reached that decision. Do not say a word; the Chairman will say all that has to be said.' 'All right', said John, and he left for the meeting. John is obligated to me because I buy my cars from him; most of his customers are French and the best of his business comes from the French Shore. He knows it. He knows also that pressures would be applied if he were not on our side. At eight o'clock, Lang, Westman and Fox arrived for the meeting. They were speaking among themselves waiting the other delegation to come. At eight-fifteen, the Chairman called the meeting to order. He welcomed the delegation and asked them to make their request. He added that everything would be recorded in the minute book of the school as an official request made by some Portsmouth citizens. Henry Long said to the Chairman: 'This meeting cannot start before the others arrive'. 'What do you mean by the others said the Chairman'. 'I mean Marc-André Campeau and his group of people,' he answered. The chairman answered: 'Mr. Lang, I regret to tell you that neither Mr. Campeau nor anyone else has advised me that they wished to make a request. As far as I know, you are the only ones who wish to present a request to the School Board of Trustees. So I repeat that the meeting is called to order. Please let us know what your request is and it will be recorded'. They made their request (the content of which was not divulged to the researchers) and every word was recorded. After the request had been presented Wagner started to say that I was a newcomer to town, that I was making all the trouble, that I was attempting to put something over on them, etc... but they talked to the walls because the trustees left the hall and invited the delegation to leave also. The chairman reiterated that he would send his answer by letter. I wrote the answer to their request and it was approved by the trustees, two votes against one (the dissenting vote being the pro-English Protestant trustee). That was another defeat for the Lang clique. When the Sisters came that was another defeat. When I hired Rosaire Blanchet as the school Principal that was also another defeat. I have a program that will bring them some more defeats... (Marc-André Campeau, 11/16/1951/MAT.)

This quote was included in its entirety because it is a good example of the attitudes of some Acadian leaders towards their cooperation with the Anglo-Protestant group. They feel that nothing advantageous can be gained by meeting with representative elements of the dominant English group. They also feel that the cultural survival of the Acadians is already endangered and cannot be compromised further by agreeing to policies favorable to the Protestants. It is their opinion that if compromises were to be reached at any such meetings, it would be through the renouncing of their privileges.

This suggests that what is for the English Protestants a legitimate aim for their children's good, might be perceived by the Acadians as a violation of their inalienable rights.

Because both groups seem incapable of working together, the principles of organization of the school are ill-defined and subject to opposite interpretations by both groups. Each faction plans its own policies, its line of action; inevitably, conflicts arise and develop. These conflicts are not merely localized in the school, their ramifications extend to the social structure and disrupt inter-religious and inter-ethnic relations in the community.

It is evident that the functioning of this particular institution affects the entire socio-cultural universe of Portsmouth of which it is a component. Moreover, if we accept the thesis that acculturation is "cultural transmission in process" the mixed school is the most important locus where this process takes place. This process of culture transfer will be examined at the end of this section.

Conflicts arising, at the school level, are mainly due to differences in the sentiment patterns of the English and the French. Some members of "the recipient culture" are resisting the structuring of situations which would promote the infiltration of alien cultural elements into the Acadian children's system of beliefs and the mechanism by which this could be implemented.

3. Events which Promote Inter-ethnic and Inter-religious Conflicts.

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This section is an attempt to cover the sentiments and the situations which allow for conflicts between Anglo-Protestants and Acadian Catholics. They reveal, to some degrees, strengths and weaknesses of both groups in their strivings to control the school. These situations are:

- (a) The election of the School Board of Trustees by the ratepayers.

- (b) The hiring of the staff.
- (c) The teaching of religion in school.
- (d) The coming of the Nun-teachers to Pulp Creek public school.

The kinds of questions which we plan to examine and underscore in this section can be summarized in the following way. How do these conflicts arise, who are the leaders in conflict situations, what are the channels used for exercising power and pressures, what is the impact of these conflicts on the population at large and other community institutions, and what is the outcome? These conflicts have arisen in the past because the Acadians have made definite attempts to strengthen their position and gain advantages for their schoolchildren. The resistances of the Acadian group have mainly been organized, as it has been seen in a previous section on leaderships, by a young Acadian dentist who migrated to Portsmouth.

A. The Election of the School Board of Trustees

In 1948, the Portsmouth School Board of Trustees was composed entirely of Acadians: Mr. Doris Boisvert (a garage owner), Mr. Conrad La Fleur (a car salesman) and Mr. Cyrille Campeau (a carpenter-contractor). In the following year, after Mr. Boisvert's three years term had expired, Mr. John Dobbs¹ (Anglo-Protestant garage owner) was elected to replace him. This change in the composition of the School Board of Trustees meant a weakening of the Acadian influences at the school level.

In 1949-1950, one of the school teachers was Catholic and the four others were Protestants. Therefore, even though the Catholic Acadians had the numerical majority in the School Board of Trustees they had not succeeded in hiring more than one Catholic teacher and that one was not of Acadian ancestry. Three reasons can be offered to explain this situation:

- (1) In the town itself there was a lack of well qualified Acadian teachers who were acceptable to the English Protestants.
- (2) The two Acadians who were on the Board at that time were considered by the Protestants to be "middle-of-the roaders." In other words, they had succeeded in being elected because of their past role in the community; they were thought of by the Anglo-Protestants as belonging to the Acadian faction which was willing to

¹ There are some Acadians who think that Mr. Dobbs is essentially pro-Acadian. They come to this conclusion and bring the fact that clientele is predominantly Acadian as an evidence. There are some other Acadians who are of the opinion that he is playing a dual role, being pro-Acadian on the surface with the Acadian group for strictly business reasons, but being pro-English in his deeper sympathies. Because his mother is the strongest anti-Catholic in town and because of his diplomatic maneuvers, the latter opinion is probably a closer approximation of his role in the community.

work compromises with the English. Since they were thought to represent the interests of both groups equally well, they could not come out openly for the Acadians.

(3) The Anglo-Protestants were not getting their influences through the local school board, but through the Municipal School Board, which is predominantly English and Protestant.

In the summer of 1949, the Portsmouth trustees fired Miss Joan Stonehouse, one of the English Protestant teachers. Complaints we made and she was found to be incompetent as well as to have very little authority over the schoolchildren. Moreover, the Acadians suspected her to be an instrument of the Lang-Westman-Fox clique in the school and to have strong supporters among other Protestant denominations as well. The English perceived her firing as being an Acadian maneuver for replacing her by an Acadian teacher.

In the meantime, the predominantly Acadian Catholic School Board hired an Acadian schoolteacher from Saint-Pierre. However, in the following fall, her teaching appointment was cancelled. The Anglo-Protestant leaders promoting Miss Stonehouse's candidacy, had the local School Board of Trustees' decision overruled by the Municipal school Board.

Thus in the fall of 1950, despite strong opposition and protests on the part of many Acadians, Miss Stonehouse had her appointment renewed and the teaching staff remained English Protestant in majority. This incident was the starting point in a long series of Anglo-Protestant-Catholic Acadian tensions during Gerard Mouser's principalship¹. One of the Acadian school trustees referred to this incident in the following manner:

There is a small minority of narrow-minded people in town who have something against the Catholic Church. The minute that these people hear the word "French," because to them it is synonymous with "Catholic," they go wild. The trouble was that those people hold power positions in the community. They were influencing one of our teachers in every conceivable way. (Conrad La Fleur, 24/8/1951/MAT.)

Although I have no formal statement by a member of the Anglo-Protestant group, I learned through informal discussions with them that they were dissatisfied by the way in which the Acadian-dominated School Board of Trustees was handling school matters. On the other hand, the Acadian members of the School Board were equally dissatisfied by the ways in which some Protestants were attempting to neutralize their influences in matters which were within the realm of their authority.

¹ Mr. Gerard Mouser was Portsmouth School Principal for the years 1949 and 1950.

This victory of the Anglo-Protestant group was perceived by the Acadians to be quite a setback. The Acadian faction led by the Church organist became worried over the fact that only one of the teachers was Catholic. Their dissatisfaction increased because they considered the School Principal who was spreading his religious ideologies during class hours, as incompetent. One informant told the following story. Unfortunately, it has not been checked for its entire content, but two different sources of information agree as to its occurrence and its topic. Said barber Campeau:

“Mr. Mouser was giving a lecture on the three Popes who existed at one time in the history of the Catholic Church. He distorted the facts and ended the lecture in saying that the Catholics were kind of foolish people because at one time they believed in three different heads of the Church. My son Angus who was at that time a student in the 11th grade at the Portsmouth school did not swallow Mr. Mouser’s comments and was bright enough to tell him that he did not understand too well the content of the lecture and that he would appreciate very much if he could repeat it on the following day. It was the end of the day and therefore it was too late for the Principal to start the discussion that Angus was initiating. After class Angus went to see the parish priest and told him: ‘Listen, Father, I am not a child, I have a purpose in mind. You are going to tell me the truth about the story of the three Popes who headed the Catholic Church at one time. I want nothing else but the truth; I want to be able to discuss the matter with the Principal who will lecture on that topic tomorrow. I would like to be well prepared enough to raise questions and see by myself to what extent Mr. Mouser is biased, if he is’. Father O’Brien picked up some books in his private library, and they worked for a couple of hours on the subject. Angus took down notes on the name of people involved in the incident and dates of the event. When Mr. Mouser, on the next morning, repeated his lecture on the Popes in the same way he had done it on the previous day and made a mistake about a certain date, my son got up and corrected him. He added to the Principal: ‘If you will allow me, I will tell the story in the way I learned it and we will compare the differences in both versions’. He told the story he learned from Father O’Brien. He talked for fifteen minutes without being interrupted either by the School Principal or the students. At the end, he said to the Principal, ‘Do you find anything wrong in what I said?’ According to the informant, Mr. Mouser did not make any comment. ‘Well’ said Angus ‘that is the way I learned it’. At this point Mr. Mouser is reported to have said, ‘You are not that well learned, somebody must have taught you that lesson.’ ” (Bob Campeau, 7/18/1951/MAT.)

The accuracy of the content is not too important. Inasmuch as the event took place, it provided one Acadian group with an incident to criticize the ways in which the school Principal was handling subjects in the classroom.

The Parish priest tried to counterbalance the influences of the Protestants in the school situation by bringing up the subject in the pulpit. Well aware of the fact that some of his parishioners did not pay their school taxes and did not attend meetings at which trustees were elected, he urged them to pay their taxes. This, on the one hand, would enable trustees to hire better teachers, and on the other, would arouse them to attend annual school meetings and elect Catholic trustees.

One of the pastor's main propositions, as conveyed to the writer, was that since the majority of schoolchildren were Catholics, the majority of school teachers should also be Catholics ¹. A few weeks before the election of the new trustee took place in the spring 1950, Father O'Brien went to see the tax collector (an Acadian Catholic) and asked him to produce the list of ratepayers. The latter reported the incident in the following way:

"Father O'Brien came to see me and asked me if it would be possible to show him the list of ratepayers, in order to see if there were more French than English. I told him that, if he wanted to have the list he would have to ask somebody to copy it because I did not have time to do it myself. I cautioned him that it would do more damage than help anyway. He answered to me: 'Do not worry and do not tell anybody'. Father O'Brien never came to copy the lists, but on the following Sunday, he urged all parishioners to elect a Catholic school trustee at the meeting. There was a Catholic who repeated that to a Protestant, he was not much of a Catholic I guess, and when the Protestants heard that, they all came to the meeting and elected Mr. Dennis an English Protestant." (Mr. Edmund Lavoie, 11/29/1951/MAT.)

Mr. Dennis filled the vacancy made by Mr. Cyrille Campeau who had then completed his term. The preceding account represents somewhat the rationalizations of the Dean-O'Brien faction about why they failed to get a Catholic school trustee. It left them with a sense of frustration and failure.

After the Stonehouse incident, the Acadian group developed (so they say) a plan by which a faked compromise would be reached with the Protestants. They would simulate their willingness to cooperate with the Protestants and try to get the lion's share in the deal. The dentist described his maneuvers. Some Portsmouth Acadians wanted to propose him as a trustee. He violently opposed the suggestion on the grounds that in becoming "front leader" he would lose his power and control, or he would be so much hampered in his activities that he could not be efficient. Being "behind the scene and controlling the strings" he never had to account for his sudden decisions to the group at large. He could also be flexible in his decisions and reverse them as seemed fit to circumstances. His goal was to

¹ I would like to repeat that when all the trustees were Acadians, they failed to hire a staff of Catholic teachers. I already explained the factors which prevented such a move, in a previous section. Interestingly enough the Board of School Trustees was still predominantly Acadian during the year 1950, and again they were unable to hire more than one Catholic teacher.

have one of his faithful followers on the Board. He could dictate to him his innermost wishes. He also felt that it would be a good compromise to let the Protestants have their own man on the Board. "If they are satisfied by our cooperation we will be able to get our requests implemented," he thought. All these, were various reasons why he wanted his partisans to jeopardize any Acadian nomination. That was why, he said, Mr. Dennis was elected by acclamation.

According to the dentist's account, about two-thirds of the audience were Acadians. I have strong reservations about this figure since, according to some other informants, many Acadians had lost interest in the school meetings recently. The tax collector reported:

"Up to 1949, I attended all school meetings and always voted for a French trustee. I did not attend the meetings in 1950 and 1951. I remember that in 1949 I went to Bert Chiasson and asked him to come with me to the school meeting. He turned me down under the pretext that he had to go to Saint-Pierre to buy something. That was a shame for a man who had some children in the school at that time." (Mr. Edmund Lavoie, 11/29/1951/MAT.)

The dentist described the meeting in this fashion:

"The meeting was called to order by the Chairman and after five minutes of complete silence, Mr. Arnold Fox was proposed. It took five more minutes before an Anglo-Protestant supported the motion. The chairman, an Anglo-Protestant and all the other English were bewildered by the lack of Acadian opposition. The motion for ceasing nomination was passed and the chairman was about to announce that Mr. Hatt had been elected to the Board of Trustees by acclamation, when Mr. Hatt got up and said: 'I am very sorry, but I do not see my way clear. I do not accept the nomination to become a school trustee'. The chairman reprimanded him for waiting until the very last moment to withdraw his nomination. He mentioned that this was not regular in election procedures and should not be tolerated. My explanation to why he withdrew is that he was very deeply hurt because we, the French, did not propose a candidate. He wanted a formal election and to be proud of gathering the majority of votes." (Mr. Marc-André Campeau, 11/16/1951/MAT.)

The dentist's rationalizations and perceptions, point out to some of his personality characteristics, but fall short of explaining why Mr. Fox's election could be achieved when the audience was predominantly Acadian. My interpretation of this withdrawal, and it is supported by one English informant is that Mr. Fox failed, for unknown reasons, to draw a ready support from the Protestant group and felt that his nomination was not a popular one. This, more or less persuaded him to withdraw.

B. The Hiring of Teachers and Principal

For the last twenty years, Portsmouth school principals have been imported from the outside and were Anglo-Protestants. Prior to that period, two Catholic Acadians, held the office: Mr. Charles Campeau and Miss Reine La Fleur. They succeeded in getting the appointment because of their past achievements as local teachers. At that time, Portsmouth Acadians, due to looseness of their ethnic bonds and the lack of strong in-group feelings, did not pressure the principal for Acadian achievement at the school level.

For two years (1949 and 1950) Mr. Gerard Mouser, a Baptist licentiate, was principal of the school. He was criticized by the Acadians and the English as well on account of his poor academic achievements. The Pastor of the Portsmouth Anglican Church related to me:

“Last year in Portsmouth High School, only one student out of twenty-six succeeded in passing his provincial exams. I think that with this type of evidence, we can put the blame on the Principal.” (The teacher was the Principal, MAT) (Rev. Alexander De Witt, 7/26/1951/MAT.)

In the fall of 51, his appointment was not renewed and an Acadian Catholic from Grande Rivière, Rosaire Blanchet, breaking a tradition of twenty-years became the new Portsmouth Principal. All the teaching staff, except one teacher in the lower grades, was dismissed and new teachers hired¹. Blanchet's candidacy for school principal was promoted by the dentist and the Parish priest. Blanchet carried with his new assignment not only a teaching aspect, but an important role as well, in regard to the advancement, of the Acadian Portsmouthites and the strengthening of the Catholic Church's position in the school. The parish priest commented on his appointment:

“Of course, many of the Protestants do not know that I was with Marc-André, the ones who were behind the fight for Catholic rights in the school. This year, for the first time we have a Catholic School Principal and a Catholic teacher; that makes two Catholics in the school. According to the number of Catholics attending school, we have only one Catholic trustee and his boss, (a Protestant), who is also a trustee, has enough power in his command to hide his real sentiments towards the Catholics. It will be a policy forced by the circumstances. If the Protestants don't want to show their good will, they will force us to establish a separate school. (Rev. Vincent O'Brien, 10/16/1951/MAT.)

¹ The main reasons for their dismissal by the Municipal Board were (a) the poor quality of teaching and (b) an attempt to decrease English-French tensions.

This statement by the Catholic pastor shows his strong interest and concern over the religious problems of a mixed school. So far he has been unable to draw enough emotional and financial support for establishing a parochial school.

The new school principal was well aware of the difficulties involved in his job.

“My position as I understand it, he said, is very peculiar and the situation will have to be handled with great diplomacy. During the first year, the only thing I want to do is to be well prepared and give good lectures. I have to refresh my English and polish my accent a little... Then later on my influences might be stabilized and I may be able to introduce some French. You know that the school laws of the Province are fair for the minorities. I am not too familiar with the school situation here but my impression is that the English speaking group is not against the teaching of French in school. But they are against the influences of the Catholic Church in the school. Take my words, some of them are quite bigoted. I have to take over after a year of terribly bad experiences in the school.” (Mr. Rosaire Blanchet, 7/9/1951/MAT.)

Some of the difficulties of course are inherent to his ethnic and religious backgrounds¹, but some others are inherent to the mixed school situation itself. The Principal as well as some other Acadians wondered if he could successfully accomplish his mission. They doubted if he would (1) be successful as a teacher with his students and (2) be liked by the Portsmouth Protestants, not only as a school principal but also as an individual. On the one hand, he was a French speaking and Catholic Acadian and a graduate from Saint Ann's College, on the other, he had one year of training at Saint Francois Xavier University in Education and was thought to be able to do better than his predecessors.

Rosaire had another advantage when he took over as School Principal; the dentist had a meeting with him and singled out Mr. Mouser's mistakes.

“You know’, said the dentists, ‘how much Mr. Mouser was liked by some Protestants and how much he was disliked by the Catholics. His policy was one of ‘direct approach’ and this was where he failed to achieve the goal of his clique. Now when I worked out to get Rosaire as school Principal, I wanted him to learn from the bad experiences of his predecessor’.” (Marc-André Campeau, 11/16/1951/MAT.)

The hiring of the French school principal got various responses among the Protestants. Some of them were confident that despite the fact that he was French and Catholic, he could still get good results after a few years of teaching in Portsmouth, some others saw his appointment as a compromise to the French-

¹ Interestingly enough Mr. Blanchet master's thesis topic was “*The Bilingualism in the Provincial Exams for the 10th and ninth grades in Nova Scotia.*”

English relationships in Portsmouth. Still some others resented his hiring¹. They wanted to use this event as a springboard for renewing fights against the Catholics and electing an entire Anglo-Protestant Board of School Trustees. The Bank Manager, a newcomer to town of Anglo-Protestant background, expressed his own feelings about the principal when he mentioned the following:

“A compromise would be a solution to race relationships... It is a fact that the school in Portsmouth is the burning question. The Catholics want their teachers and the Protestants also want to hire some of their own people. That seems logical to me... What differences does it make if the school principal is French? As I said to my own people, ‘Rosaire Blanchet is bilingual, is he not? He is a Catholic, but again that does not entitle him to teach religion in the school, does it?’ ‘He may not’, they answered. ‘Then’, I said to them, ‘we should try him for a couple of years.’ (The informant was then President of the Municipal Home and School Association)... I know that some Protestants resent the fact that the principal is a Catholic. The Catholics have many pupils in school; as a matter of fact, I think that they have the majority. To me it also means that they have the right to have a Catholic school principal. I met a Protestant the other day, who told me: ‘When time comes to elect a school trustee next spring, I think that we should make a fuss’. I said to him, ‘Why’? He answered: ‘Since the Catholics have a school principal now, I think that all school trustees should be Protestants’. I see only one solution to this problem. Trustees should alternate; one year two trustees would be Protestants and the other year two trustees would be Catholics. As far as the teachers are concerned, some of them should be Catholics and the other half should be Protestants. The problem operates in both directions; so far the Protestants have tried to absorb the Catholics, and now that the Catholics are strong they would like to absorb the Protestants.” (Mr. Jerry Harrington, 11/28/1951/MAT.)

This informant’s viewpoint is very significant, especially because he is a newcomer to town. He looks at the inter-ethnic and inter-faith conflicts with the eyes of an outsider and mentions as the central problem (a) the lack of principles of organization of school and (b) the unwillingness on the part of groups concerned to come together and reach common agreements, as basis impediments towards solving school problems.

¹ Mr. Blanchet was hired by the Municipal Board. He had been recommended for the job by the Portsmouth School Trustees, who had learned that he was available by Marc-André Campeau and Father O’Brien.

C. The Teaching of Religion in the School

The school laws of Nova Scotia are based on the separation of Church and State. This implies that religious instructions should not be given during school hours.

The Catholic group carries on religious instructions for Catholic schoolchildren in the school building after class hours. The priest says that it is the only place where all Catholic children can be assembled, and that if classes were to be held in church, children who come from non-practicing Catholic families would not attend such religious sessions. This practice is strongly resented by some Protestant groups of Portsmouth. According to them, the school should only be used for secular instruction and not become the locale for giving religious instructions, even after class hours. This, they say, violates the non-denominational character of the school.

The teaching of religion has therefore become the focus of violent tensions between Catholics and Protestants. When informants (whether Catholics or Protestants) were asked to comment on how the school was functioning, many brought forth the teaching of religion in school as the crux of the problem. The Catholics complained that some Protestant teachers voluntarily colored their teaching with religious anecdotes, which have anti-Catholic connotations or anti-Catholic slogans; and that some of the teachers will do everything to upset religious classes given by lay Catholic women. The Protestants, on the other hand, explained that the Catholics are attempting to exert undue influences on the children and that these activities are illegal in the school.

Some of the disputes which involved Protestant teachers (who wanted to remain in the classroom during religious instructions) and the lay Catholic instructors (who wanted to force them to leave), magnified the misunderstandings between the two groups. The parish priest pressed the principal to set a new policy which would force the teachers to leave the classroom after class hours, even against their will. The school principal, upon conferring, with the dentist, turned down his request. He felt that he did not have either the authority or the prestige to do it without antagonizing his subordinates, and creating sore feelings.

D. The coming of Nun-Teachers at Pulp Creek

Pulp Creek has the reputation of having the poorest teachers in the whole municipality. In the spring of 1951, Mr. Rubi Payne, a well-to-do and most-respected Protestant met with the priest to discuss this problem. Mr. Payne at that time was a school trustee. The priest himself was concerned over the situation because his Acadian parishioners living there had a reputation comparable to that of The Bog and Monkeytown Acadians. The priest mentioned to Mr. Payne that the only way of bringing about a lasting improvement would be to have some

Nuns to teach at the school. The latter brought up this matter to the local School Board which passed on the resolution. Early in the summer a formal request for Nuns was sent to the Catholic pastor, giving him the authority to look for Nun-teachers.

Father O'Brien made contacts with both Mother Superiors of the Sisters of Charity in Halifax and Les Filles de Jésus at Chartierville. Neither Order could provide teachers for the Pulp Creek School for the coming year. Then the pastor conferred with the dentist to get his advice on the matter. Follows an account of his meeting.

“I mentioned to Marc-André that it would not be possible to get either the Sisters of Charity of Halifax or Les Filles de Jésus of Chartierville. I also expressed to him my doubts as to whether the Archbishop would allow a new Order to come to teach in his diocese. Jean-Eudes answered: ‘I know some Nuns who are very anxious to come to teach in Pulp Creek. The Sisters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart of Moncton. His wife has four of her sisters who joined that Order’. I answered to Marc-André that we would try to get the Bishop's consent. I feared that the Archbishop would have serious objections to our proposition since Moncton is known as being the center of Acadian nationalism in the Maritimes. From Halifax's viewpoint, it might be dangerous to let the Sisters of Moncton teach in Portsmouth parish which is considered by the Bishop as an English-speaking parish. He did not wait any longer. He took the phone and placed a call to the Mother Superior in Moncton... On the following day, she was looking at the Grierson house in Portsmouth and hoped that it would become their new Convent. Marc-André told me what I should say to the Archbishop in case he objected... I went to see him in Halifax in order to make the request. (Rev. Vincent O'Brien, 7/30/1951/MAT.)

The Halifax Archbishop gave his consent and sent his blessing to the people of Portsmouth. Before the Sisters could commit themselves to come to Portsmouth, they had to buy a house. The pastor wanted to buy Mrs. Mary Patterson's house but the latter had made it clear that she would never sell her house to the Catholics, especially when she knew that they would convert it into a Convent. She sold her house to James Westman since she thought that he would be the last one to sell to the Catholics. Westman sold it to John Dobbs who for a thousand dollars profit sold it to the Catholic Corporation.

The news of the bargain left most Protestants bewildered. Members of the strongly anti-Catholic faction overtly expressed their ill feelings and spread the news that Dobbs sold the Protestants down the river for money. The sale of the Patterson estate increased the Catholic-Protestant tension in the community. It was felt even by some liberal-minded Protestants that they had again failed to hold back the Catholics in their expansion. Commented the United Church Minister:

“Another story that Reverend Pearson told me involved the incident leading up to the sale of a house to the Catholic Church to use for housing their Sister teachers (Our lady of the Sacred Heart Order from Moncton’ MAT.) who came to Portsmouth. The story corresponded to that which Mat recorded in his field notes, but the point of view being expressed by Pearson was (to my surprise in the light of his generally liberal attitudes, RNR) that he was ashamed to admit that it was one of his own United Church member that had allowed this deal to go through, thus enhancing the cause of the Catholic expansion. This demonstrated how they were more interested in money and making a few dollars rather than working for the building up of our Church and the spiritual life of the community.” (Rev. Stanley Pearson, 10/23/1951/RNR.)

From this quote, it is rather obvious that “the spiritual life of the community” means Protestant as opposed to Catholic ideologies. It points out that the Protestants work as a united front against the Catholics in matters concerning religious welfare of community members. A failure to keep this front as a dynamic force meant also inter-denominational friction.

The Catholics, at high and middle class levels, were very pleased with the coming of the Sisters whereas the lower class of acculturated Acadians remained indifferent. Those who sponsored the coming of the Sisters and were responsible for the buying of the Patterson estate thought that their success was the greatest Catholic achievement in the last decade. The Saint-Malo-oriented Acadians saw this event as the beginning of implementing gradually the Acadian culture in Pulp Creek and re-orienting its Acadian inhabitants towards Saint-Malo. They also saw the coming of the Sisters as a symbol of Acadian resistance which would unite all Portsmouth Acadians and create an incentive for greater solidarity and achievement. Some of the high class Acadians were already optimistically predicting the time when the Sisters would also teach at the Portsmouth High School. An Acadian school trustee conveyed his hopes to me when he said:

"We hope that the sisters will come here in Portsmouth to teach. It will take about five years if everything goes well. The Mother Superior in Moncton knows all about it. If the Sisters make a success of their teaching at the Creek, it will take but a few years before they be requested to teach here in Portsmouth." (Conrad La Fleur, 8/24/1951/MAT.)

4. Acculturation of Schoolchildren and Future Outlook.

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In Western societies, the educational institution plays a very important function in the socialization process of the young. The school system of Portsmouth is a powerful medium for implementing English values. The structure of the school is such that it trains children to become English citizens. The curriculum is English, the teachers are English-value-oriented (exception made for the principal) and imperceptibly the Acadian schoolchildren are learning English ways of life. The school promotes contacts between, children of both ethnic groups, at a time when Acadian values (assuming that they are learned in the family situation) and conception of life are not yet crystallized. The child, of course, especially during his first years of schooling is unable to discern and discriminate among the values implied in the teaching, which of those are in line with his traditional culture and which are diametrically opposed. Thus he is unable, because he does not yet have the resources for doing it, to internalize only those values which are approved and familiar to the group in which he has membership. Hence, the schoolchild is almost a recipient “in toto” of cultural standards imposed upon him in the learning situation. Furthermore, the mixed school allows very little opportunity for Acadian identification and group feeling. The child’s incentives to learn the English language stem from the desire to achieve immediate (academic proficiency) as well as remote rewards (success in life).

We did not attempt to measure the degrees of acculturation of the schoolchildren, but most of those who are reared and educated in Portsmouth have little proficiency in the French language. As a matter of fact some of them do not understand even a word of French. But some others learn their French at home, during the pre-school period. With their school experiences, the latter come to use the English language in their daily activities, either while interacting with English schoolmates or even at home with their French-speaking parents. These children's attitudes towards their environment are different from their parents’. They have to be convinced that the Acadians of Portsmouth can live side by side with the English and preserve their cultural identity. Many of them also cannot conceive why some leaders in Saint-Malo try to introduce Quebec and New Brunswick cultural standards. One Portsmouth born and educated Acadian told me that the leaders of the Acadian nationalism are “dreamers and misfits.”

The counter-acculturational influences are generated by in-migrant families coming from the French Shore. Those in-migrants received their education in Saint-Malo and they usually moved to Portsmouth for occupational reasons. As years went by, they became important in the Acadian life of Portsmouth village.

In the past Acadian Portsmouthites were mere non-entities and resistance to acculturation took place at the individual level. But at present some leaders are organizing them in order to resist the infiltration of English traits. It is only fair to say that many of the Portsmouth Acadians in the school district are either neutral or so completely English value-oriented that they are unaware or against this resistance.

In terms of outlook, the problem can be stated as follow. Either the Acadians will establish a parochial school or the Portsmouth school will be consolidated and include still more English Protestant schoolchildren. It is more than likely that the latter plan will be implemented in the next years. The following is an excerpt from a letter received from the Liberal Member in February 1954.

“Since the last election, the Portsmouth group has been active in their efforts to secure a Rural High School for Portsmouth. Sometimes before Christmas, I met with a Committee from Portsmouth to discuss the latter and later took it up with the Department (of Education). I was told there was no hope for such a school until at least 1955-1956. To be frank, I questioned the wisdom of the proposal considering the economic standing of the communities involved and the fact that less than one hundred high school pupils would be served. My thought was that a consolidation plan with Portsmouth as the site would be better. I have discussed the latter with the school inspector (Mr. A. M. Howe), and we are to meet with the Portsmouth group Tuesday night to discuss this. Under the consolidation plan, the schools of Hughes’ Cove, Robertsville, Portsmouth Points, Northport, Portsmouth, Langston and Boulder Falls would be consolidated with some 439 pupils involved. It is estimated that ten teachers would be required against the fifteen now employed. A twelve-room school would do the job at the cost of some \$100,000.00. This figure amortized over thirty years would mean about \$6,000.00 or less a year which would be borne by all the Municipality. This plan would, I believe, receive government approval, as it would not involve the heavy capital cost to the government that a Rural High would. It will be interesting to see what happens. In this plan the high school pupil would be transported to Bristol where they could be handled with little disruption of the present set-up; whatever extras were involved would for the most part be chargeable to the provincial Department which would still be a better set-up than the building of a Rural High at Portsmouth.” (Mr. Georges Mondex, 2/1954/MAT.)

I do not think that the Portsmouth Acadians can afford to build a separate parochial school, unless they receive financial support from Saint-Malo parishes to do so. In any event, the point which I want to bring out applies to both situations.

Up to the present strong Acadian leadership as well as Saint-Malo oriented Acadians have come from the French Shore. The question then is, can Portsmouth

develop its own leader in Acadian matters, or will they have to be imported from Saint-Malo all the time?

Up to the present, most of the Portsmouth born and educated Acadians have avoided taking any overt part in the Acadian affairs of the town. Therefore, it is likely that leaders will continue to come from Saint-Malo. Unless the Acadian resistance is taken over by Portsmouthites, it could probably never become a total success, nor Portsmouth, an Acadian Community.

Part V — SUMMARY CONCLUSIONS

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Short summaries have been included at the end of some chapters embodying the salient findings they contain. It might look redundant to include these summaries in the conclusion if they are repeated in the same chronological order. Therefore, we thought of presenting them as a component part of a whole. It is difficult in a work of this kind to select, among the multitude of details elaborated in the course of it, those which are worthwhile repeating either because they are important findings or interesting from the point of view of the configuration to which they belong. A pertinent approach would be, we thought, to answer briefly the six questions which are listed in the introductory chapter as the focus of this inquiry. These questions will be answered serially in the order of presentation found in the introduction.

We would like to remind the reader that Portsmouth was picked out as the nucleus of this investigation because it offered promising ground for examining the dynamics of acculturational processes as well as the nature of inter-group relations. Another reason was that Portsmouth is becoming the stepping stone for the spreading of traditional Acadian sentiments in the English municipality.

The first question which concerned us was *the direction of acculturation*. The whole dissertation has been a systematic attempt to demonstrate that the Acadians living in Portsmouth are in process of acquiring English values and systems of beliefs and that the English Acadian acculturation did not occur or was of so little importance that it did not merit special attention. This type of unilateral acculturation, of course, corroborates the findings reported in a number of studies on culture-contact situations: the minority group acculturates towards the majority group's ways of life. Even though the Portsmouth Acadians are about in the same numerical proportion as the English and are acquiring increasing prominence in the fields of economic and political life, the minority group-majority group diffusion does not occur, mainly because the Anglo-Protestant institutions of Portsmouth are well integrated into the larger dominant institutions of the province. The geographical expansion and the growing importance of the Acadian group in Portsmouth has its repercussions in the struggle for controlling the village's main institutions and taking over some of the community functions which were previously fulfilled by the English.

What is unique though about the direction of acculturation is the fact that the Acadian Portsmouthites are drawn into another type of acculturation. It is hard to grasp its full impact as yet, or to predict its outcome with any kind of assurance. At any rate, until recently, few of the Portsmouth Acadians have clung with tenacity to their native system of beliefs, but in the last few years Acadian consciousness has been increasing multi-fold. This progress is the result of the efforts of a handful of Acadian leaders who are striving to re-orient their compatriots toward the values of the Saint-Malo group. This is a form of nationalism which has nothing to do with the establishing of a legitimate government of their own, or the creating of political boundaries or an autonomous system of laws. It claims however, a separate diocese and the election of an Acadian Bishop. This nationalism is as old as Acadia and its main constitutive elements are Acadian descent, membership in the Roman Catholic Church, the preservation of Acadian-French language, family traditions, in-group marriage pattern, closely-knit type of social relationships and the imperishable memory of the traumatic experience of the expulsion. It has its roots in the psychological attitudes transmitted and learned at the family level; the activities of the clergy as religious leaders, teachers and advisors; cultural isolation and the homogeneity of the environment. The main goal of this nationalism is to weaken the influences of the Anglo-Protestant culture upon the Acadians and to strengthen the ties of the Acadians with other groups in Canada. Because formerly this nationalism was weak in Portsmouth many of the residents lost what is considered to be the essentials of an Acadian-value-orientation: that is, the main constitutive elements mentioned above. This nationalism, of course, also includes acculturation of the Acadians towards North American French Canadian culture: higher education, the use of "correct French," participation in literary and artistic life of the Canadians.

The second question referred to *the nature of acculturation processes*. We meant the distinguishing characteristics of the acculturative processes of the Acadian Portsmouthites. The main sentiments described for Saint-Malo are not present among the medium and highly acculturated Acadians of Portsmouth. In many respects, the loss of these sentiments made easier the shift in behavior and overt attitudes because they supported the urge for keeping one's religion, one's language, one's participation in Acadian affairs, one's in-group marriage patterns, so on. In other words, once these Acadian sentiments disappear, the individual no longer nourishes the ambition of remaining Acadian, the necessity of maintaining a separate ethnic identity in a mixed environment and no longer sees the purpose of promoting Acadian values. The sentiment relating to the interdependence of Roman Catholicism and the use of French language, which in Saint-Malo has worked against acculturation, may have had a different role in Portsmouth. As a matter of fact, one wonders if it is not that very attitude which makes some of the Acadians lose their faith in an Anglo-Protestant environment. It seems that Christian attitudes may be limited to these areas of communication, which are in the French language. Since, in the traditional Acadian community French is the only language used in the Church and religious ceremonies, the young man from

Saint-Malo is not at all prepared for his migration to a mixed milieu where Church services are carried on in English. Thus, this sentiment, which is a force for conservatism in the traditional milieu itself may be damaging and defeating its purpose in a mixed community or predominantly Anglo-Protestant community.

When we compare the degrees of acculturation of Portsmouth and Saint-Malo Acadians, the pressures which facilitate acculturation are more numerous in Portsmouth, and the pressures which promote conservatism (resistance) are abundant in Saint-Malo whereas they are only emerging in Portsmouth. From both aspects of the process, however, Portsmouth is a disadvantageous position. It becomes easy to understand that the Portsmouth Acadians are more advanced in their process of acculturation than those of Saint-Malo. Another difference is in acculturation levels. Saint-Malo Acadians have the same general low level of acculturation whereas in Portsmouth there are striking differences in the acculturation position of its inhabitants. An additional difference is in the rate of culture change; the Acadians of the French Shore experience changes at a much slower rate than those of a mixed village or a predominantly English community.

The third question embraced *the nature of the socio-cultural environment in which the Portsmouth Acadians live*. The contrast between Saint-Malo and Portsmouth will be abstracted here. Saint-Malo is rural, Portsmouth semi-urban. The geographical distribution of houses in the former follows the pattern of Acadian inheritance. The industries in Saint-Malo are owned and financed by Acadian capital; in Portsmouth almost half of the industries are owned by the Anglo-Protestants who hire most of the Acadian laboring population. Physical proximity in the neighborhood and on the jobs is translated into social proximity and is among the most important foci of Acadian-English contacts, therefore of English acculturation.

Saint-Malo has a growing class system where moral ascendancy, religiosity and high educational level are of utmost importance in distinguishing social classes. The general feeling remains however that everybody is more or less equal and that this equality is highly desirable. This equality is broken in Portsmouth. There are two class systems each based on ethnic and religious loyalties, the Anglo-Protestants versus the Acadian-Catholics. The lower in class, the more indistinguishable are the system; the higher up, the more complete is the divorce. There are strong currents of hostility not only between the two class systems but also within each class system itself. Social distance between upper class Acadians and upper class English is great. The same distance, if not greater, exists between upper and lower class Acadians. This is an indirect force for acculturation since the lower class Acadian has very little chance of entering in contact with his brothers higher up in the social ladder from whom he could learn and be influenced in their values. The fact that the majority of individuals who acculturate occupy a lower class position has been a factor limiting acculturation; acculturation at the lower level is less attractive and therefore less apt to be imitated than might be the case if

the upper class Acadians were to present a model of acculturation. To sum up, the class system in Saint-Malo is closely tied to the holding of Acadian values and the perpetuating of Acadian traditions. In Portsmouth, this class system is much more tied up to financial achievements and participation in the affairs of the community.

In Saint-Malo, most of the organizations are church-centered or church-connected. The Church and the priests are promoters of Acadian nationalism, therefore an element for conservatism. In Portsmouth, most of the organizations are community-centered. By this I mean that they are non-denominational and open to people of all religious faiths. Participation of the Acadians in these organizations means contacts with the English. The pastor in Portsmouth does not take an active part in the Acadian affairs because of the structure and ethnic composition of the Catholic Church membership in Portsmouth. The doctors in general do not take active part in the organizations of the community as they are expected to do in Saint-Malo. The efficiency of Acadian leadership in the community is further reduced by division and factionalism among the Portsmouth Acadians on the basis of differences in value-orientation and sentiments.

It can be said that the amount of communication and the nature of the channels which allow for interaction and exchange of experiences, are related to the social structure of the community. No group solidarity or group cohesiveness can be achieved in a community unless the social organization is such that the channels which it contains are numerous accessible and shared by all its members. In Portsmouth where the social organization has complex and ramified sub-groups, the patterns of interaction are more varied than they are in culturally homogeneous Saint-Malo. Thus, the complexity of the social structure and associational life in Portsmouth are additional factors in the acculturational processes of the Acadians.

The variety of competing religious systems in Portsmouth, as contrasted to the religious homogeneity of Saint-Malo is also a contributing factor in the process of secularization/acculturation of the Acadians in the sense that it brings about confusion in the minds of some Acadians and reduces considerably the effectiveness of the Catholic Church as a mechanism for social control.

The fourth question related to *the modes of operation of the processes of acculturation in Portsmouth*. It seems justifiable to say that a departure from Acadian values will be manifested in the loss of language, secularization, out-group mate selection, lessening identification patterns, and so on. Even though we acknowledge the fact that there are many roads to high levels of acculturation there is probably an order in which the Acadian characteristics are abandoned. We have alluded in this thesis to the fact that in our FLS we obtained a Guttman scale with five acculturation items. The scalogram technique, we think, approximated that order. Taking this as a basic assumption and a point of departure, once we knew which of the five items was abandoned first and last, we also know which were held more strongly than the others in the culture-contact situation. The scale

implied for instance that if an individual identifies strongly with the Acadian group and has either medium or low contacts with member of the donor group, he is also likely to be French speaking, to be a good Roman Catholic, to have married within the Catholic group and to be a full-blood Acadian by descent. Of course, as is always the case with generalizations, there are individual cases which do not fit this model process given by the scale. These findings seem consistent with what we know by anthropological techniques. Religious affiliation seems to be the last Acadian characteristic to be shed away. The main factors promoting acculturation in Portsmouth are: mass media of communication; isolation from the main stream of French life; church hierarchy; contacts with the English in the neighborhood, on the jobs and in leisure activities; migratory experiences; mixed marriages; and the mixed school. The factors which limit the pressure for acculturation are: religion, the family system, the rise of Acadian leadership and Saint-Malo immigration.

In the framework for studying acculturation, we have presented the two polar aspects of acculturation processes: the process of acceptance and the process of resistance, each of which had two component parts. As I have said repeatedly, the process of acceptance is by far the most important one in Portsmouth. Resistance is a function of Acadian leadership which is awakening and reinforcing group consciousness. In the process of culture transfer some of the acquired values do not necessarily replace those which have been abandoned. Conversely, the sentiments which are shed away are not necessarily replaced by their counterpart. The acculturated Acadian who loses his Catholic faith does not necessarily become a Protestant believer.

Intermarriage is an important process of acculturation because it means continuous contacts with the English at the family level. Intermarriage is a function of class: the lower the class the higher the prevalence of intermarriage. It is interesting that the greatest number of contacts with the English is also associated with a lower class position. At the time the union is performed, there is usually a change in religious affiliation: the Protestants change their faith more often than the Catholics, but these conversions are rather nominal than real. Intermarriage is not only a facilitator for acculturation in the sense that it promotes Acadian-English contacts but also because of the repercussions on the identification of the mixed-bloods. In Saint-Malo where the Acadian culture is strong and homogeneous, the mixed-bloods usually identify with the Acadian group. In Portsmouth, the situation is drastically different: they identify with the dominant group.

In a case study of inter-group relation, the mixed school was selected for examination because we thought it represented the focus where most of tensions were manifested. It is obvious that most of the tensions and frictions between majority and minority groups in Portsmouth are derived from religious differences. This is very well illustrated in the case of the mixed school. The first characteristic of the high school was that it did not fulfill its teaching functions very well. The

school was the focus of tensions because important issues were at stake at the community level. As we have seen in the previous chapter these circumstances were the hiring of the principal and of the teachers, the election of the school trustees, the coming of the Nun-teachers at the public school of Pulp Creek, and the teaching of catechism outside of class hours. Both groups tried to control the school because it is a powerful medium in the hand of the majority group. The only reason why the Acadians want the control of the school is to limit the influences of the Protestants on the schoolchildren.

The last question has to do with *a method for measuring the acculturation position of the Acadians*. We have established a general index of acculturation with the help of two items: degrees of religiosity and language use. The rationale for using both of them is that they are central in the system of Acadian sentiments. We established therefore a measuring stick of acculturation and established the position of each Acadian Portsmouthite along this continuum of acculturation. Once we determined this position, we could analyze the particular socio-characteristics which go with certain levels of acculturation. It was found that youth, masculine sex, low socio-economic status, lower class position and mixed-blood were associated with a high acculturation position. Conversely, old age, feminine sex, high socio-economic levels and upper class position were associated with low degree of acculturation. One of the most important findings in this respect is the fact that not the individual, but the family, acculturates as a unit in the culture-contact situation of Portsmouth.

As long as the individuals who acculturate are considered social delinquents by both the Acadian and the English groups, the acculturated will continue to lose their membership in their group of origin but will fail to gain recognition from the dominant group. In Portsmouth, acculturation leads to marginality.

APPENDIX A: METHODOLOGY

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This work on the acculturation processes of the Acadians living in a bi-cultural community was a part of a larger multi-disciplinary research program in psychiatry and social sciences. I joined the Project in June 1950 and have been associated with it since then. During that period of time, I made four field trips to Stirling County. These trips varied in length from one to seven months and implied a variety of research assignments.

Although the second trip (from June 15, 1951 until January 15, 1952) was by far the longest and most important one because a great part of the data for this dissertation was gathered then, all three others have directly and indirectly contributed to this work. Brief summary comments will be made about the secondary trips and greater attention will be devoted to the main one.

I first went to Stirling during the summer months of 1950. The main topic of research: technological changes in lumbering and fishing industries. I studied the impact of technological changes in the lumbering industries on the lives of the Acadians of Dubois, a community in the backwoods of Saint-Malo. I conducted quite a number of interviews on social or organization and family life of the Acadians and acquired a fairly good preliminary knowledge of their modes of life. It was in the course of doing my fieldwork that I became overwhelmingly impressed by the acculturational processes of the Acadians living in the borderline community of Portsmouth. I was further encouraged forward carrying on this research when "Acculturation-marginality" became a variable of the Stirling Project. Before covering extensively the second field trip, I will say a few words about the third and fourth trips.

The third trip was made during the early part of the summer of 1952. During that summer, the Project conducted a Family Life Survey throughout the entire county. I went to the field for (a) pre-testing the Acadian version of the questionnaire and (b) administering it to the French speaking Acadian Portsmouthites.

The fourth trip was made during the fall 1952 and lasted three months. The goal of the research trip was two-fold: (a) to make a community study of one of the wealthiest communities of the county (L'Anse des Lavallée) and (b) to carry preliminary anthropological research on some seven minor socio-disorganizational variables not covered in the previous survey.

These trips are mentioned in order to give the overall view of my research experiences in the county. These field researches provided me with exceptional opportunities for filling gaps after the analytical phase had started.

1. Preparatory Stage

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A Faculty Seminar was held at Cornell in the fall of 1950 at which participants from a variety of backgrounds in the behavioral sciences attended. The general framework of the Project was discussed at these sessions. The Stirling group presented theoretical problems in the hope of getting response from the participants that would help to find a solution. When “acculturation marginality” was presented, it was suggested that anthropological work be done in order to find the facets involved in the whole field of acculturation (thus enabling the group to include relevant questions in eventuality of a questionnaire-survey). But in order to establish correlations between prevalence of mental disorders and marginality, the phenomenon needed to be quantified. Equipped with these two clear-cut purposes I searched for pertinent literature and prepared myself for the field period which started mid-June 1951. All references about the acculturational processes in the ecological area are for the time period –June 1951 – January 1952. The field data, from which the resume on L’Anse de Lavallée was made, were gathered during the summer of 1952. The same date applies for the chapters on Acadian sentiments.

2. Entering the Field

During the field period preceding my entrance in the village of Portsmouth in 1951, I had made a number of interviews with some residents (the parish priest, the dentist, one of the Acadian doctors, the Acadian garage owner and one of the Acadian barbers) which made the entry into the community much easier. We rented the house of an Anglican spinster. This house had been previously inhabited by a Protestant minister. Many acquaintances of ours felt surprised that the landlady rented it to a French Canadian. This attitude revealed at once the problems I would have to face in the community (a) avoid being identified completely with the Acadians and (b) become accepted by the English. Even though I do not maintain that both these propositions were entirely solved, I became well enough accepted by the Anglo-Protestant group to do all the work I needed with them. I was for instance a close friend of the Registrar of Deeds, the Anglican Minister, the Bank Manager, one of the taxi drivers, and a clerk, all of whom were key informants. I spent more time with the Acadians than with the

English, but this emphasis was dictated by the nature of the problem under investigation.

Dominion Day was celebrated a few days after I entered the community. This festival offered me an opportunity of meeting and being introduced to residents of the ecological area. Quite a number of contacts made during that day proved to be valuable at a later stage of the study. Few of the community leaders attended this field day, but it was always possible to arrange interviews with them, either at their offices, or at their homes. I never made a first contact over the phone and scheduled interviews by phone in only half of the cases. Among the first people to be contacted were the parish priest, the Registrar of Deeds, store owners, the barber and his family, municipal councillors, business owners and our neighbors.

Some people of the area were acquainted with the Stirling Project through having attended one or more of the public meetings held during 1950 and 1951. Some others had read about the Project in the *Bristol Courier* and some others had associated with previous field workers. At any rate, upon entering the community I did not notice any adverse reactions or comments on the part of Portsmouth villagers. Of course people had a variety of explanations for my being there, such as I was vacationing, writing a book on the Acadians, writing a novel. In informal talks with casual informants on the street as well as formal interview situations I always made it clear that I was a member of the Stirling County Project in Community Development who was particularly interested in the history of Portsmouth as well as its economic and social development. This broad focus was narrowed down as time progressed and I started to select informants for specific tasks. The main principle governing my explanation was the ability of the informant to capture the main purpose of what I was asking him to talk about. Some key-informants needed to be informed totally of the purposes of indices in order to give a better evaluation of each individual.

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3. The Methods of Data Collection

The methods used for gathering data during my stay at Portsmouth will be discussed under the headings of: A. Mapping the Community, B. Interviewing, C. Participant-Observation, and D. The Building of Indices.

A. Mapping the Community

During the first two weeks after my arrival, I gathered information on the economic and social history of the area. Then, working with a map of the community all houses were spotted and numbered. A similar map was made of the

Portsmouth business section. Using these maps, I made a census of all the families living in the Portsmouth ecological area. The type of information sought in this census was, of course, related to the problem of acculturation. Since this census was to become of extreme importance in the study of acculturation, it had to be made as reliable as possible. A large number of informants were specially picked out for filling various part of the census which were:

- (a) Identifying the families living in each of the house
- (b) Age and sex of all adults over twenty-one years of age
- (c) Occupation of Portsmouth residents gainfully employed
- (d) Descent of adults
- (e) Marital status
- (f) Religious affiliation of all adults
- (g) The number of years of residence of immigrant Acadians in the ecological area and their place of origin
- (h) Language use of all Acadians over twenty years of age
- (i) Economic status of households.

The typology of marriages we derived from the information on descent and religious affiliation.

For identification of houses and data on age, occupation, two informants were interviewed extensively. One of them, Registrar of Deeds (for Bristol Municipality) was a Dominion Census-taker and a Dominion Labor Survey employee and had considerable first-hand knowledge of all families living in the ecological area. The other was a young teacher at the Deaf and Mute School in Halifax, born in Portsmouth and particularly interested in the history of the village. His interest gave him an opportunity to enter into contact with a great many families of the area. The information contained in the census was kept in a Master Book. Constant checking was made as the research progressed and large segments of the population identified. Most of the interviews contributed to the census in the sense that it checked previous information and filled some of the gaps. This census taking method proved to be extremely useful in quite a number of ways.

B. Interviewing

Three types of interviewing techniques have been used during my field trips to Stirling. One type was with schedules and was referred to in the thesis as *The Family Life Survey*. The major reason for its limited use in this dissertation was the fact that the census covered the entire population and the Survey about one third of heads of households. Another type of interviewing, used at the beginning of the work in order to gain knowledge about the variety of problems in a mixed community as well as the range of significant phenomena in the acculturational field, was the nondirective interviews, sometimes called *unstructured*. In this type of interview, the informant free-associates and talks about the subjects he chooses

without the interviewer interfering with his flow of speech. As soon as the main components involved in the acculturational processes had been found, the directive-type interviewing was used almost consistently from that time on. This technique has some resemblance with the questionnaire interview. The interviewer, for instance, always comes to the interview situation with a series of questions he intends to query about. More initiative, however, is left to the interviewee, in the sense that he can answer the questions asked in almost any way he wishes, from a simple "No" or "Yes" answer to a half-hour discourse. When these informants are repeatedly interviewed, they become key-informants. Individuals such as the Registrar of Deeds, the dentist, the Anglican minister, the parish priest, and the wife of the Dubois doctor, the wife of one of the storeowners, the teacher at the Deaf and Mute School, the barber and his wife, the Bank Manager became key-informants because they were good observers and had unusual abilities to reconstruct situations.

When the Registrar of Deeds and the teacher were interviewed, word for word recording was made on the spot. In interviews which involved the rating of individuals on language use and religious indices the same rigid recording technique was made. In all other cases, no notes were taken during the interview but extensive pencilled notes were made at home right after the interview, keeping the sequence of ideas, the same words (of course in interviews conducted in French, a translation was made and notes recorded in English), and the particular affect emphasis as close as possible to the original interview situation. Usually these pencilled notes were typed and coded the same day or during the day immediately following the interview (especially in cases when interview took place at night). In no case did more than twenty-four hours elapse between the time the interview was made and its final recording. All interviews which were directly related to the problem of acculturation were recorded in their totality ("*total recording method*") whereas interviews which were remotely connected to acculturation were recorded in their most salient features. This recording technique particularly applied to many of the interviews of participant-observation.

C. Participant-Observation

The *method of participant-observation* is one in which the investigator becomes an active participant in the social group's activities and immerses himself in the life of the community. My wife and I became very close friends of our neighbors and quite a large number of Portsmouthites. We had direct contact (for interviewing purposes) with some sixty to seventy families and could identify fifty to ninety percent of the total population living in the larger Portsmouth. I participated in as diverse activities as leading a Bingo Game, attending pie socials, dancing at the parish halls, to giving a talk on Social Sciences, attending a bridge party at the Anglican Church and the New Year's Eve party given by one of the most prominent Northport families. More routine activities involved getting the mail at the Post Office every day, shopping at stores, chatting with people on the

street, paying calls on friends, attending most of the services of the Catholic Church, playing cards with the neighbors and friends, picnicking with informants, etc...

As already noted, my participation was greater with the Catholics than it was with the Protestants. This was known to my non-Catholic friends and informants, and it was accepted for what it was. No Protestant ever refused his cooperation when he was contacted for an interview appointment.

One group has been neglected and was not as well covered as the others: the lower class Pulp Creek family heads working at one of the sawmills. Intensive work with these people would have been at the expense of broader interests. In addition to the difficulties of finding these people home it would have involved new definitions of my role as researcher and a definite shift in emphasis. It would have been desirable to get life stories of highly acculturated Acadians in order to get the interrelationships of dynamic patterns in the processes of acculturation. This was impossible to achieve within the limited period of time spent in the ecological area.

D. The Building of Indices

a. *The language index.* The index was made of six cutting points which were described in Chapter 14. Each informant was rated in the following way. (By rating, I mean placing the individual on one of the language index cutting points.) After the index had been constructed, we worked with four key informants and asked them to rate each individual of Acadian ancestry on the index. Because of the nature of the scale, only the bilinguals could be used as informant-judges. They were the only ones to have first-hand knowledge of the language skills of Acadians. Another requirement for qualifying as informant was an extensive knowledge of all the Acadians in the ecological area. Upon examining the list of individuals who could possibly qualify for the judging of the Acadians on the language use index and making pre-test interviews with a few to select the best informants, the dentists, the Acadian doctor from Plymouth and the barber and his wife were chosen.

From the voting list and from the census work I had done, I was able to compile a list of all adults residing in the ecological area. The language index was thoroughly explained to each individual informant. Looking over the list of names, each informant rated each individual with Acadian ancestry living in the area. The Acadian doctor from Plymouth is the exception: he did not rate people from Frontière. I then selected a businessman from L'Anse who knew these people very well. All informants, except the dentist, had over thirty years of experience in the community.

The barber and his wife worked together as one informant. When there was disagreement about a rating, they would discuss the pros and the cons until they reached a final decision. As an average, it took three interview sessions of two hours each to complete the rating of all individuals. The length and number of interviews required to complete the scale varied with the quantity of information given by the interviewee. In the case of the barber and his wife, it took some sixteen hours of intensive work before all the ratings could be completed. This was due to the fact that these informants gave quite a number of details about the personal lives of individuals rated, their relatives and close associates.

These interviews were started in September only after I had had a chance to know a large number of individuals and judge the quality of their information. Three ratings were obtained for the majority of individuals residing in the larger Portsmouth, one from each judge. I had to select the rating which would describe best the language use of each Acadian. Almost fifty-five percent of the Acadians received identical ratings from the three separate judges and as many as eighty percent received identical ratings from two different judges, the disagreeing judge usually giving the individual a higher or lower score of one point. Thus, in eighty percent of the cases the rating of all or the majority of informants was selected. In about twenty percent of the cases where none of the judges' ratings agreed (in some of these cases there were only two ratings), I had to make the final decision on the basis of my own knowledge of the individual. In cases where there were differences of one point between the ratings (this represented the majority) the middle rating was picked out. For instance, if the judges rated an individual 3, 4 and 5, the final rating would be 4. In cases where there were only two ratings, I would rely on my knowledge of the individual. I had to inquire about some of these people from some people who knew them in order to arrive at such a decision. The chances of error were therefore reduced to their minimum and the rating chosen represented the final score of the individual on the language use index.

b. *The religious index.* The ratings on the religious index for each Acadian in the area were made by the Roman Catholic priest. The scale was built in cooperation with him and included such criteria as religious beliefs, religious practices, participation in church organizations and financial contribution to the Church. The priest was the only one to have an even knowledge of the religious beliefs of individuals and their financial contribution to the church. He had fifteen years of ministerial experiences in his parish and knew all the Catholics, the non-practicing, as well as the practicing. The priest was also intensively interviewed on cases of intermarriage.

E. Individuals with Acadian Ancestry

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A number of people were formally interviewed in order to determine the ethnic descent of adult people in the ecological area. I interviewed four Acadians, one mixed-blood and one man of English descent on the subject and the information which they gave complemented each other and was cross-checked at all times with information gathered from different sources. At the same time data on place of birth, maiden names of married women, and if born outside of the ecological area, the date of their migration was gathered for all Acadians. In addition to getting a history of the migratory trends of Acadians to Portsmouth, we also obtained information on the generation of those born in the ecological area. This was used in conjunction with the acculturation position of the individual. Various other socio-cultural characteristics of the Acadians were also related to their acculturation position: these were obtained either while doing the family census or by directive and non-directive interviewing. The information on the economic status of the whole population of Portsmouth was given by the Royal Bank Manager.

In concluding, I wish to say a few words about the analytical aspect of this work. Being part of a group effort the analysis has been facilitated to a great extent by data already collected by other team members. For instance, by using the Project files, I was able to use extensively not only my own field notes but also the field notes of all other workers who had done research in Stirling.

Another equally important source of information was the extensive use of reports of field workers who did research among the Acadians. The last and certainly not the least, source of information was the presence at Cornell of a number of fellow project members with whom I engaged in numerous discussions about the work at various stages of completion, getting extensive intellectual stimulation as well as new points of view. I wished to acknowledge here the important contribution they have made to the formulation of this work, especially, Dr. Robert N. Rapoport, the Field Director under whom, I worked in the field and at Cornell for three consecutive years.

APPENDIX B MAT.

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