

*Anglo-French Relations and the Acadians in
Canada's Maritime Literature:
Issues of Othering and Transculturation*

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Abstract

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Anglo-French relations have had a significant influence on the fiction created in Canada's Maritime Provinces. The 18th century was a period of colonial wars. Contacts between the English and French in Canada were established and determined by the hostilities between the two colonizing nations, France and Great Britain. The hostilities passed on a sense of difference between the two nations through situations of othering. Contacts, however, always generate transcultural processes which transcend or mediate cultural difference. Othering and transculturation are closely interdependent phenomena acting in conjunction. They work in processes manifesting themselves in so-called contact zones both during the colonial era and in a postcolonial context. This study investigates how processes of othering and transculturation are explored and discussed in a number of Maritime novels, Anglophone and Acadian, published in different decades of the 20th century, in order to account for a broad perspective of the interdependency of othering and transculturation.

With the deportation of the Acadians in 1755 and the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1763, French and Acadian influence was eclipsed in the Maritime region until 1881 when the first National Acadian Convention took place. A new Acadie was born, without territory, and today Anglophone Maritime fiction and Acadian fiction narrate a co-existence and a cohabitation where the historical past is an important agent in contemporary society and its literary production.

Keywords: Maritime Provinces, Acadie, othering, transculturation, colonialism, postcolonialism, Mary-Louise Pratt, Fernando Ortiz, Roland Walter, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts, Thomas Head Raddall, Antonine Maillet, Claude Le Bouthillier, David Adams Richards, Janice Kulyk Keefer, Jeannine Landry Thériault.

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1. *Introductory Chapter*

By Canadian history also is to be understood one history, not one French and one British, but the entire history of all Canada. There are not two histories, but one history, as there are not two Canadas, or any greater number, but one only. Nor are there two ways of life, but one common response to land and history expressed in many strong variants of the one, it is true, but still one in central substance. The reason for this is that the history of Canada after 1760 is only a continuation and extension of the history of Canada before 1760. There is but one narrative line in Canadian history.

(Morton, W. L. qtd. in Bennett 164)

Il nous reste encore un peu de vie pour faire renaître un pays.

(Comeau, C. qtd. in Runte 94)

Canada's Maritime Provinces, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island, constitute a region historically and culturally contested as well as shared by the native Amerindians, primarily the Micmacs,¹ and by the French and the British colonizing settlers, and their descendants. On the arrival of the first European explorers to the Maritimes in the 16th century the Micmacs were a hunting and gathering people, socially organized in harmony with the seasons (Plank, *Unsettled* 26). In the summers they congregated in the villages, while in wintertime they travelled inland in small groups (26). The Micmacs were the first

¹The most common contemporary denomination for Mi'kmaq Indians.

Amerindians to come into contact with Europeans (Upton xii), contacts exposing them to harm, new diseases, and the influx of European religious conflicts. During the colonial wars between France and Great Britain in the 17th and 18th centuries, the Micmacs chose to collaborate with the French, having traded with them for a long time before the arrival of the British and many having converted to Catholicism (xiii). In the colonial epoch, France and Britain vied to establish permanent colonies on this northern Atlantic seaboard. France set up its first colony, *Acadie*, in 1604 on St. Croix Island in the St. Croix River on the present-day border between the U. S. and Canada. Having transferred the colony to Port Royal on the eastern shores of the Bay of Fundy, near Annapolis Royal, the first Acadians² were subsequently to suffer military attacks and offensive campaigns from British flotillas during all of the 17th century. Finally, in 1710 New England militiamen and British troops took possession of *Acadie* during the Spanish War of Succession that raged between 1701 and 1713. *Acadie* was renamed Nova Scotia in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (Plank, *Unsettled* 40).

A decisive event in the 18th century Anglo-French relations was the deportation of the Acadians from the region in 1755, a project of annihilation designed in New England and executed in conjunction with British regular troops by the orders of the acting governor of Nova Scotia, Charles Lawrence (143). Nine years later, in 1763, the colonial wars between France and Britain having come to an end, the Peace Treaty of Paris stipulated that France cede all of its colonial possessions in North America to Britain. The exiled Acadians were allowed to return on the condition that they swear an oath of allegiance to the British crown and that they re-settle in peripheral communities (Basque 23). By 1771 approximately 1000 Acadians had returned to their former territory (Cazaux 373).

A few years later the influx of the Loyalists, American refugees who had sided with Britain during the American War of Independence, further contributed to

² French-speaking Catholic inhabitants of the colony *Acadie*.

the uncertain prospects of the Acadians in the Maritime region. In 1881, however, after the creation of the Dominion of Canada in 1867, the first National Acadian Convention took place where the rights of the Acadians were openly discussed (Basque 26). A new *Acadie*, non-territorial, was born, consisting of tiny Francophone³ groups and communities. Today the Maritime Anglophones,⁴ descendants of British, Scottish, Irish, and Loyalist settlers, cohabit and interact with the new Acadian communities and the remaining Micmacs in a region frequently characterized, as Janice Kulyk Keefer points out, by a so-called “loser ethos” deriving from the history of the exiled population, the Acadians, and exiles from abroad—the Loyalists and the Scots Highlanders (Keefer, *Under* 16) and from tensions of contemporary “underemployment and underdevelopment” (Creelman 5). These circumstances have, nevertheless, proved fertile ground for transcultural contacts, i.e. for intercultural contacts of unequal power relations between the Anglophones, the Acadians, and the Micmacs of the region.

The argument of this thesis is that contacts, as expressed in a number of Maritime novels, are reciprocal though unequal processes, where the three different cultures of the region are involved, clashing in “dominance and subordination” (*Post-Colonial* 233) of othering, but always engaging in transcultural interaction and exchange, processes in which ethnic differences are constructed as sets of binary oppositions. I aim to show that othering and transculturation are interdependent processes, othering being a precondition for transculturation, and that the interdependency results differently in the analysed Anglophone and Acadian titles, all published in the 20th century. As I argue in this study, the legacies of history and of the loser ethos have found their specifically literary expressions in 20th century Maritime fiction, Anglophone and Acadian. My analysis of the interdependency of othering and transculturation, in representative novels selected from this body of fiction, will show that the characterization of Anglo-

³ Someone who habitually speaks French while residing in an area where a different language is spoken.

⁴ Someone who speaks English in an area where other languages are spoken.

French Canada as “two solitudes” is inadequate in a Maritime context. Originally, the term was created by Rainer Maria Rilke in a letter to a young poet in 1904 (Rilke) as a definition of love and was later used by the Maritime writer Hugh MacLennan (1907–1990) in an epigraph to his novel *Two Solitudes*: “Love consists in this, that two solitudes protect, and touch, and greet each other” (Mac Lennan 1951). The epigraph was written to emphasize MacLennan’s opinion “that respect and love must characterize the relationship between English and French in Canada” (Cameron 177). MacLennan was a well-known and esteemed writer, “a Scotsman, a Presbyterian, and a Nova Scotian” (qtd. in Creelman 38), a teacher and scholar, born in Cape Breton, who made Montreal his home. With bilingual Montreal as his principal scene he wished to narrate the Anglo-French polemic from a national Canadian perspective rather than from a regional Maritime one. Keefer explains this as MacLennan’s conviction that “Maritime writing should not consider itself to be ‘regional’ at all, but rather, an unapologetic part of world literature” (Keefer, *Under* 214). In 1941 MacLennan published his novel *Two Solitudes*, a “story of the drifting apart of French and English during the years of 1914 and 1917” (MacLennan 1951, viii-ix), based on the heated and debated issue of enlistment during World War I. In the introduction to the school edition (1951) of MacLennan’s novel, Claude T. Bissell gives the following explanation:

But whereas the English-Canadian, more often than not, discovered that his real spiritual home lay across the seas, the French-Canadian knew that he was first of all a *Canadien* and that the values he cherished had been shaped by generations who had tilled the same fields and worked in the same cities and towns. It was inevitable, then, that his first thought should be of Canada, and that he should be concerned about the magnitude of the Canadian commitment abroad. (ix)

MacLennan, for his part, writes in the foreword of his novel:

[I]ts scene is laid in a nation with two official languages, English and

French. It means that some of the characters in the book are presumed to speak only English, others only French, while many are bilingual. No single word exists, within Canada itself, to designate with satisfaction to both races a native of the country. When those of the French language use the word *Canadien*, they nearly always refer to themselves. They know their English-speaking compatriots as *les Anglais*. English-speaking citizens act on the same principle. They call themselves Canadians; those of the French language French-Canadians. (Foreword 1945)

The difference of wartime sympathies made MacLennan entitle his novel *Two Solitudes*. In later decades the title of the novel has been used as a term for a divided but supposedly stable reality of Canada's Francophones and Anglophones, "[t]wo halves: two more solitudes, binaries that can never touch" (Bowen 27), also before and after the time-span MacLennan set out to narrate. With time the solitudes have become "a major social problem, the distrust and animosity that separate different racial groups within the community" (McPherson 212). The term "two solitudes" has usually been conceived as Canada's "national schizophrenia", the irreparable division and isolation of English and French Canada from each other (Cameron 166). Today this kind of opposition, however, is inadequate for an understanding of 20th century Maritime Anglophone and Acadian life as expressed in fiction, as my analyses will show.

The novels selected for this study represent fiction written in English and in French. Certain Acadian titles are translated into English, and I have used these translations. The novels were all published during the 20th century, as the literary production of the Maritimes was scant in previous centuries. I have selected works from different periods of the 20th century to account for a broad perspective of othering and transcultural contacts as developed between Maritime Anglophones and the Acadians. The earliest work, Sir Charles G. D. Roberts' *A Sister to Evangeline*, was available to the public as early as 1898, while the most recent novel of my selection is David Adams Richards' *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace*, the second part of the Miramichi trilogy, which was published in 1990.

The remaining Anglophone novels are *Roger Sudden* (1944) by Thomas Head Raddall, *Constellations* (1988) by Keefer, the first novel of the Miramichi trilogy, *Nights Below Station Street* (1988) by Richards. Roberts' and Raddall's novels both narrate colonial events of the 18th century, while Richards' and Keefer's novels depict the contemporary problematic cohabitation of the Anglophone Maritimers and the Acadians. The Acadian works are *Phantom Ships* (2004, first published in French as *Le feu du mauvais temps* in 1988); and *Les marées du Grand Dérangement* (1994) by Claude Le Bouthillier; *Pélagie* (1982, first published in French as *Pélagie-la-Charrette* in 1979) by Antonine Maillet; and *Le soleil mauve sur la baie* (1981) and *Le moustiquaire* (1983) by Jeannine Landry Thériault. Le Bouthillier brings into focus the Acadian relationship with France and Britain in the 18th century and the ensuing exile of the Acadians and their return. Maillet's novel is a powerful narrative of the Acadian odyssey through the American colonies between 1770 and 1780. Landry Thériault narrates how three cultures of the Acadian Peninsula merge. Roberts', Raddall's, Le Bouthillier's, and Maillet's novels are, as far as I know, the only texts focusing on major landmarks of Maritime 18th century history, such as the deportation of the Acadians and their exile, the fall of New France, and the implications these events had on othering and transculturation. Although very different in theme and style, they have nevertheless all acquired a wide and popular reputation. The contemporary texts by Richards, Keefer, and Landry Thériault account for a broad spectrum of othering and transcultural processes in modern contact zones.

Anglophone Maritime Fiction

Maritime fiction is mostly written in English or in French and in two separate traditions.⁵ Contemporary Anglophone literature is produced in the European realist tradition, rooted in the "assumptions of historicism" (Creelman 21), the aesthetics of which laid the foundation for modern realism, "by demonstrating

⁵ There is also Micmac poetry that this study will not examine.

that all particular events become comprehensible only as they are seen to be partial links in a larger economic and historical chain” (21). David Creelman describes how this tradition became a Maritime literary genre at the end of the First World War:

The genre’s rise corresponded with a dramatic period of economic and cultural disruption. Since the early 1900s, the Maritimes have been transformed from one of the most developed, prosperous, and promising regions in Canada into one now characterized by underemployment and underdevelopment. As the region negotiated between its memory of an earlier, more traditional social order and its experience as a modern industrial society, the tensions that emerged within Maritime culture were imbedded in the character of its inhabitants. Indeed, these transformations have not only affected the lives of the region’s people, they have also shaped the imaginations and the texts of its writers. (5)

The transformations refer to the financial decline of sectors vital for the prosperity of the region such as fisheries, lumbering, and agriculture. The near demise of these sectors has resulted in a “persistent sense of longing and nostalgia in Maritime society” (11). The subsequent “chronic unemployment, underemployment, and underdevelopment” (12–13), endured during most of the 20th century, have been conducive to a sense of an absolute loss of a past idyll.

The writers referred to by Creelman are Raddall and Richards. I agree with Creelman that Roberts, whose historical romances may be best known to contemporary readers, can equally be included among realist writers because of his wild life stories (26). Also, Keefer belongs to this group because of her first novel, *Constellations*, written in and about the Maritimes. These writers share, as Creelman observes, “a common regional identity that shapes the subtexts of their fictions as they find their own paths through the tensions of their day” (5).

The Maritimes being a region characterized by the convulsions of past history, 20th century writers have been and still are intensely aware of the historical contexts of their region. Moreover, the historical awareness, bred by the French

and American Revolutions at the turn of the 19th century, has persisted well into the 20th century in Canada as in most nations. Creelman's statement that the realist novel "links each effect to an earlier cause" (22), i.e. each event is set in a previous setting and frequently in the historical past, is consistent with this study. This is true of Roberts' historical romance, of Raddall's documentation of historical fact, of Keefer's nihilistic representations of the eastern shores of the Bay of Fundy, and of Richards' deterministic scenes of Miramichi. In describing transcultural contact zones within the realist tradition, all the Maritime Anglophone writers selected for this study have performed transcultural acts, serving to mediate and overcome cultural difference.

Sir Charles G. D. Roberts (1863–1943)

Roberts may not be widely known as a realist writer, but his wild life-fiction contains, as Keefer points out, the "reality of the universal and original impulses" (qtd. in Keefer, *Under* 85). Born as the son of an Anglican clergyman in Douglas, New Brunswick, he was to become a productive writer. He worked mainly as a schoolteacher and later as a professor at King's College, Windsor, Nova Scotia. He was knighted in 1935. His *œuvre* includes poetry and prose, and a large number of novels. Although his wild-life production was created within the realist tradition, Roberts abandoned the realist perspective when focusing on events of history. Like many of his contemporaries, he seems to have favoured the historical romance over the historical novel, arguably aiming to satisfy the literary taste of his day. In later decades, his historical romances on the Acadians and their deportation, *The Forge in the Forest* (1896) and the sequel *A Sister to Evangeline* (1898), have received "notoriously bad press" (95). Whatever his reasons for writing these novels, Roberts showed a "better grasp of Acadie's historical and geographical particulars than ever Longfellow troubled to secure", as Keefer notes (96). The American Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807–1882) may have revived Grand Pré, the mythic village on the shores of Minas, and *Acadie* in creating his poeticising tale, *Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie*, published in 1847. Certain

details, however, such as the alliance between the Micmacs and the French and the presence of the Black Abbé,⁶ gave Roberts' version more accuracy than Longfellow's (96). Critics have implied that Roberts aimed to react to Longfellow's poem. The title of the novel, as William Owen suggests, shows that Roberts even wished to enter into dialogue with Longfellow (Owen 122). Whatever the case, Roberts provides a personal account of Britain's extinction of *Acadie* and the reasons for this violent scheme.

Thomas Head Raddall (1903–1994)

In contrast to Roberts, who was thought historically naive and dishonest by many of his contemporaries, Raddall wished to show regard for the so-called historical truth which for him meant British superiority in Canada and globally. In his historical novels the characters are integrated with the historical events of the past, a method that has evoked Lukácsian claims for him (Keefer, *Under* 104). The novel that best epitomizes Raddall's view on Anglo-French Maritime relations in the 18th century is *Roger Sudden*, published in 1944. A British Maritimer, born in England and raised in Nova Scotia's Halifax, Raddall was proud to narrate how Britain gained supremacy in Canada with the ruthless Jacobite Roger Sudden as protagonist. It is also a novel about the superiority of the British in the Maritimes and the French mistakes and failures (105). The last words of the novel are "Invicta! Invicta" (Raddall 358), the motto of his long-forgotten Kentish family, the Suddens, uttered by Roger in the moment of his death. They are also "a fitting tribute to the common people of England who [...] were proving themselves unconquerable back on the other side of the Atlantic" (Keefer, *Under* 107), signifying that the British are superior and unconquerable even in the moment of death.

⁶ Abbé Jean-Louis Le Loutre (1709–1772) was a Catholic Missionary to the Micmacs.

Janice Kulyk Keefer (1953–)

The loser ethos to which Keefer so frequently refers in her book on Maritime literature is the theme she herself addresses in her first novel, *Constellations*. It is a realist text, stark to the point of sterile nihilism, a novel reflecting “a nether world, somewhat like an outer ring of hell, where wrongdoing is not so much a character’s intent as it is a by-product of personal depletion; where sex is usually sickening, often damaging, even murderous; and where love of anything worthy seems, in the end, beyond reach” (Bradbury 64). The Anglophone and Acadian inhabitants of the nether world of imaginary Spruce Harbour, St. Mary’s Bay, Nova Scotia, emerge as deprived victims of historical up-rootedness and economic decline, losers in a spiritual exile with no possible return. Born and raised in Toronto and of Ukrainian descent, Keefer lived and worked for a time at Pointe-de-L’Église on Nova Scotia’s French shore, St. Mary’s Bay, but has since left this part of Canada, and *Constellations* remains her major contribution to Maritime contemporary fiction.

David Adams Richards (1950–)

Using his childhood stage of Miramichi as the setting for his novels, Richards, of Irish descent, emerges as one the most prominent realist writers of the Maritimes. His corpus includes works stretching from 1974 until well into the 21st century. The texts are often set in a culture caught between painful experiences of a modern, industrial society and the memory of an earlier traditional order. Marie-Linda Lord delineates the consequences as follows:

Richards puts his stories and his plots within the context of an alienated family, within a social space, that frequently enough, constitutes a hostile environment for the marginalized protagonists grappling with the circumstances and the maze of human existence. [...] The conflictual core of the sociogram creates the background of tormented and discordant interac-

tions for the protagonists of the stories.⁷ The sociogram moves and is displaced from one plot to another with denouements that do not all have the same signification.⁸ (Lord, *Marginalité* 165, all translations mine)

Richards has interested many critics. Creelman observes that Richards is the first writer to bring up contemporary social issues of his region (146). Equally, Herb Wylie and Christopher Armstrong claim that Richards is the “voice of the marginalized, making the lives of the dispossessed and inarticulate available to and palatable for his readers through his sympathetic portraits” (Wylie & Armstrong 4). Kathleen Scherf points to Richards as “a social regional realist” (Scherf) without nostalgia for the past. Richards’ Miramichi is a regional foil used to reflect humanity itself with shared characteristics of humanity elsewhere, a kind of universalism (Scherf). By contrast, Lord points to the Miramichi marginality “as the inexorable loss of identity, the internal exile in the absence of a community, an ‘us’” (*Marginalité* iii). In my view, the specificity of Richards’ regional work is that, in depicting humanity he also includes the somewhat problematic cohabitation with “Jesus Frenchmen” (*Nights* 10), especially so in the first two volumes of the Miramichi trilogy, *Nights Below Station Street* and *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace*. These novels emphasize the relations and interactions of the unemployed, the alcoholics, and the socially marginalized in both Anglophone and Acadian areas. The narrative strategies of the trilogy come out as “the pragmatic negotiation of [...] characters in their environments” (Armstrong & Wylie 7). The language of the characters is the product of their paltry environment. Incapable of using an adequate vocabulary, theirs is not a vernacular use, but a stigmatized and stigmatizing language. As Lord comments: “In the fictional

⁷ The sociogram can be defined as a method of reading literary texts and historical facts in a serial correspondence (Lord, *Marginalité* 12).

⁸ Richards cadre ses histoires et ses intrigues dans un contexte familial aliéné, au sein d’un espace social qui, plus souvent qu’autrement, constitue un environnement hostile pour des protagonistes marginaux aux prises avec les contingences et les dédales de l’existence humaine.

characterization of the working class and the poor, the characters adopt an incoherent, vulgar, even stigmatized and stigmatizing language. The protagonists have no control over the language”⁹ (Lord, *Marginalité* 223–24). In sum, Richards’ aesthetics appears as a naturalist practice “set within a resolutely deterministic framework” (Wylie & Armstrong 7).

Acadian Fiction

Acadian literary history is very short, its development almost unnoticed by the rest of Canada and the world. It was in the 1960s that “thrice centenarian Acadia¹⁰ finally undertook to give herself her very own, a truly national literature and with it, a means more powerful than any other, be it religious, political or economic, of uniting her people as a people” (Runte 5). *Acadie* has, as Hans Runte claims,

for most of her history provided barren ground not only for the seeds of literary imagination and creation, but even for the urge to write. The first one hundred and fifty years, from the establishment of Port-Royal by Champlain to the expulsion of the Acadians from Grand-Pré and elsewhere, were occupied with discovery, exploration, settlement, and survival. And during the hundred years following the expulsion, all collective energies were directed toward reconquering the lost land from the usurpers, resettling it and surviving the dreaded majority. (7)

There were no opportunities for the Acadians to write fiction in the aftermath of the deportation and exile. Instead an oral tradition of narrating stories and tales flourished among the dispersed and migrant Acadians, “a more natural, cultural

[...] Le noyau conflictuel du sociogramme procure le fond des interactions tourmentées et discordantes des protagonistes dans les histoires. Le sociogramme bouge et se déplace d’une intrigue à l’autre, avec des dénouements n’ayant pas tous la même signification.

⁹ Dans la fictionnalisation [*visé*] et la caractérisation de la classe ouvrière et des démunis, les personnages adoptent une langue relâchée, vulgaire, voire même stigmatisée et stigmatisante. Les protagonistes ne maîtrisent pas la langue.

¹⁰ English variant for *Acadie*.

phenomenon” (9) in tune with their fate. Orality, in Runte’s interpretation, is “the art of collecting, sifting, formulating and disseminating the myriad facets of the life of family, village and nation, and distilling from them a collective manner of understanding oneself and others, an art institutionalized most prominently in the Acadian ‘veillée’ or evening gathering of clan and neighbours” (9). The main task of oral fiction remains, as Runte argues, “the exchange between tellers and listeners which over time transcended in the telling the reality of individual experiences and gave rise to a sense of communal belonging, of national identity” (10). This exchange was vital for *Acadie* during the years between 1755 and 1881. The oral tradition bred in this exchange has had enormous impact on most Acadian writers and especially so on Maillet, the most renowned of them all. Thus, Acadian fiction is rooted in an oral, historicist, and realist tradition. Most novels deal with the traumatic memories of the past. Characters generally belong to the “uneducated and economically deprived [...] all those whose poverty extends as far back as their genealogies and who possess only one form of wealth, their native tongue” (Keefer, *Under* 177–78). The tradition of the European literary canon may lack relevance for the growth of Acadian literature. There is, however, a strong streak of realism in many Acadian novels, an influence that writers like Maillet, Le Bouthillier, and Landry Thériault have explored further in recent decades.

Antonine Maillet (1929–)

Maillet is a writer using the literary traditions current in contemporary *Acadie*. With her native Bouctouche as vantage point she has determinedly pursued, since 1958, the year when her first novel *Pointe-aux-Coques* was published, a life project reclaiming her country while focusing on the Acadian folk traditions long vanished in the tangle of historical events (M. Maillet 182). She has consistently used her voice on behalf of her poor, colonized, and marginalized people with the aim of embracing a global reality: “I would like my dramatic and literary work to bestow a sense of poetic transposition of the natural and human reality

of my country, *Acadie*, in so far as it reflects a larger reality, named man of all times and of all the world”¹¹ (qtd. in M. Maillet 182-83). With this perspective in mind she has placed her enormous production of fiction within the oral and realist traditions of the Maritimes, emphasizing the role of the storytellers (Runte 10). In her *œuvre* the linguistic acts have a role of promoting “a development of the collective identity of a minority living on the margin of the margin”¹² (Lord, *Marginalité* 249). It is a vernacular idiom manifesting a “valorisation of the *original* language”,¹³ bestowing an illusion of a linguistic communism (223). “Raw orality [...] grounded in the spoken word and told largely through it” (Runte 19–20) is Maillet’s method to narrate the return of the exiled Acadians through American colonies during the 1770s in her celebrated novel *Pélagie*, a novel awarded the French Goncourt Prize in 1979. *Pélagie* has become *Acadie*’s national epic and has survived beyond historical interest and record thanks to Maillet’s linking of historical events to contemporary conditions through the tales of story-tellers of then and now. *Pélagie* is the name of the female protagonist, the leader of some thirty families heading back on wooden carts to their lost homeland. The returning deportees make up a cross-section of young and old. Some of them are born Acadian storytellers. There are also among the travellers a fool and a Rabelaisian giant. As their leader, *Pélagie* takes on the role of an 18th century American Moses, a “defiantly feminist one” (Keefer, *Under* 120), “an anti-Evangeline” (116). The journey back is a “dialectic between life and death” (A. Maillet 110). It is narrated “between history and story” (Keefer, *Under* 117), keeping the “historical record straight” in order to “release the balloons of fantasy or to put their strings back firmly in the readers’ hands” (117). All Maillet’s characters, like Richards’, are to be found among the poverty-stricken, uneducated, and eco-

¹¹ J’aimerais voir donner à mon œuvre dramatique et littéraire le sens d’une transposition poétique de la réalité naturelle et humaine de mon pays, l’Acadie, dans la mesure où celle-ci est visage d’une plus vaste réalité qui s’appelle l’homme de tous les temps et du monde entier.

¹² la valorisation de l’identité collective d’une minorité qui vit dans la marge de la marge.

¹³ la valorisation de la langue *originale*.

nomically deprived (177). But they are not impoverished, as they incessantly question their fate rather than endure it passively. A change for the better is in sight on the horizon, and this change is as real as the “grudging reality of the present” (177). One might perhaps conclude that Maillet acts as the fabulist of the destiny of her people under the influence of Rabelais. Yet, as Keefer points out, there is “an overwhelming sense of particular time and local place in her writing, an impassioned commitment to ‘mon pays’ as a social and political entity, and a need to make that country comprehensible to itself and recognized by outsiders” (177–78). Therefore, Maillet may be categorized as a realist since she communicates ineluctable realities originating in brutal historical events (178).

Claude Le Bouthillier (1947—)

The Acadian Le Bouthillier is a writer who has followed in Maillet’s footsteps in fictionalizing *Acadie*’s historical past. In his novels Le Bouthillier answers the call to describe a tragic episode of Canadian history, but “certainly not to entertain a defeatist discourse”¹⁴ (Viau 129). His two novels, *Phantom Ships* and *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, are results of this call. In the first novel Le Bouthillier creates a profusion of characters and a tangle of historical intrigues (120). The novel reflects the life of Micmac, Acadian, French, as well as British society of the 18th century. Le Bouthillier makes himself into the “impassioned partisan”¹⁵ of the ease of Micmac and Acadian life, very much in contrast to the “civilized” life of the French aristocracy (120). The novel also narrates the deportation of the Acadians and the subsequent years of migration and “errance”¹⁶ in North America and Europe. It narrates in great detail the last years of the colony New France¹⁷ in North America. Besides being a realist documentary it is also a novel

¹⁴ mais certainement pas à entretenir un discours défaitiste.

¹⁵ partisan passionné.

¹⁶ restless wandering. I will use the French term within quotation marks.

¹⁷ Nouvelle France (1534–1763) is the name of all the French colonies of continental North America, initially embracing the shores of the St. Lawrence River, Newfoundland, and *Acadie*

of adventure and a love story. It narrates, above all, the resistance of the Acadians and their obstinate will to survive.

The sequel, *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, continues the story of the “errance” of the Acadians, particularly in Britain and France. As it turns out, neither Britain nor France, nor even Louisiana, are alternatives for the itinerant Acadians in search of a permanent habitation. In the critic Robert Viau’s words, it is an “agonizing epoch”¹⁸ (123). The journey back of the Acadians to the former homeland can be summarised as an expression of the unwavering will to survive, and the aim to pass on their language and their culture to future generations.

Jeannine Landry Thériault (1937–)

Landry Thériault has been hailed an important writer in having brought to life the geography and the people of the Acadian Peninsula in New Brunswick. Paul Robinson describes the peninsula as follows: “This is fishing, farming and woodlot country, where traditional occupations follow the seasons” (Robinson 35). Her literary milieu borders Richards’ Miramichi. She has to date published two novels, *Le soleil mauve sur la baie* and *Le moustiquaire*. As Michèle Salesse rightfully claims (76), the two novels focus on the cohabitation and interaction of the three cultures in the villages of Les Falaises, Bois Tranquille, and Four Corners, i.e. the cultures of the Acadians, the Anglophone Canadians, mostly of Irish descent or descendants of the Channel Islands, and of the métis population. The result of Landry Thériault’s literary creation is a narrated transcultural space where three cultures merge. However, no new vigour is to be found in the cohabitation described. As Salesse points out, the villages are communities marked by immobility crippling all efforts for new ideas and change (76). In this respect, Landry Thériault’s work has affinities with the works of Richards and Keefer.

(present-day Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island), part of the Great Lakes Region and of the trans-Appalachian West.

¹⁸ époque déchirante.

The Postcolonial, Othering, and the Transcultural

The relation between othering and the transcultural in this thesis will be studied as processes that are reciprocally interdependent, denoting acts and actions in conjunction. “Othering”, a term coined by Gayatri Spivak, is “a dialectical process because the colonizing Other is established at the same time as its colonized *others* are produced as subjects” (*Post-Colonial* 171). The term “transculturation” refers mainly to “reciprocal influences of modes of representation and cultural practices of various kinds in colonies and metropolises” (233). It was originally introduced in order to replace “overly reductive concepts of acculturation and assimilation used to characterize culture under conquest” (Pratt, “Arts” 36). Processes of othering and transculturation are all processes of oppositionality between several ethnic groups, hostile or friendly, influencing each other culturally, briefly or permanently. In my line of argument, the Canadian framework of these processes is post-colonial. The framework has similarities with Homi Bhabha’s “Third Space of enunciation” implying “a willingness to descend into that alien territory [that] may open the way to conceptualizing an *international* culture, based not on the exoticism of multiculturalism or the *diversity* of cultures, but on the inscription of culture’s *hybridity*” (qtd. in *Post-Colonial* 118–19), a space, then, constituting discursive conditions for “the meaning and symbols of culture” (Bhabha, *Location* 55). Although processes of othering and transculturation are to be found in a hybrid and “heterogeneous set of subject positions” (*Post-Colonial* 188) of fictional encounters and contact zones, in this study these concepts are nevertheless generally used in relation to specific locations and their oppositional interplay.

Canadian postcoloniality has remained an issue of heated debate for a long time, due to “the vastly different histories, relationships with imperial power, contemporary social and political environments, and current relationships to globalization” (Moss 2). The postcolonial may be defined as “the contestation of colonial domination and the legacies of colonialism” (Loomba 12). Or more laconically, postcolonialism is an approach to the colonial condition (Besner 43).

Some critics argue that postcolonialism proposes the issue of “how to remember” and of how the past can survive into the present (Brydon 55). As Bill Ashcroft, Gareth Griffiths, and Helen Tiffin argue in their book *The Empire Writes Back*, the term “postcolonial” can be used to cover all cultures and literatures affected and influenced by the colonial era and the imperial process until the present day:

What each of these literatures has in common beyond their special and distinctive regional characteristics is that they emerged in their present form out of the experience of colonization and asserted themselves by foregrounding the tension with the imperial power, and by emphasizing their difference from the assumptions of the imperial center. It is this which makes them distinctly post-colonial. (2)

From this perspective Canada is a postcolonial culture. However, Canada was a settler invader colony in contrast to colonies of occupation, a colony “where over time, the invading Europeans (and their descendants) annihilated, displaced, and/or marginalized the indigenes to become a majority non-indigenous population” (*Post-Colonial* 211). A critic like George Elliot Clarke, for instance, considers Canada to be postcolonial only in relation to Britain implying that the ancestral background of the Canadians is sympathetically British (Clarke 29). However, I will argue that the background and history of Canada’s Francophones are “inextricably tangled” (29) with France. Further, if the postcolonial is to be understood as an approach to find “strategies to recognize many-voiced and suppressed heterogeneity and free it from the silencing straitjacket of the colonial condition” (Besner 43), then contemporary English Canada “*was* always a ‘state’ of disadvantaged minorities: Aboriginals to Europeans, French to English, English to Britons (and Americans), and other racial, ‘ethnic’, and linguistic groups to the English and to the French” (Clarke 33).

An interesting French aspect of postcolonialism, as proposed by Jean-Marc Moura, emphasizes the literary and linguistic consequence of the colonial era, “littératures en contact” (Moura 31), i.e. a situation where literature written in

French co-exists with one or several literatures written in one or several other languages. It is an important perspective that takes into account a “situation of co-existence originating in a colonial history of the imposition of one culture (in which norms and literary forms participate), presented as superior to cultures of colonized countries and that this fact has been a source of specific creations”¹⁹ (31). The linguistic conscience of especially European writers is one of manifest plurilingualism (42–43). Although “écritures” represent conflict, compromises, and consent, they also form a symbolic universe of the mutual mental space: “They grant hybrid forms, a new and mixed reality simultaneously stated and constructed by literature”²⁰ (43). Moura’s argument is that European postcolonialism is formed by a consciousness of linguistic multiplicity, in Pratt’s view a characteristic literary condition of the transcultural contact zone (“Arts” 37), and the experience of “exploding speech” marked by diglossia and “métissage” (Moura 43).

Finally, Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson point to “the discussions of textuality and land, as these are perhaps the most enduring obsessions of settler post-colonial theory and practice” (375), a contestation, in fact, between settlers and the natives that “is a crucial site of contemporary cultural critique” (375) as it is played out in representational practice (375). Similarly, the complex nature of the interdependency of othering and transculturation in a Maritime literary context draws on the colonial in the construction of a postcolonial future (375).

With the arrival of the British in the late 17th century, the colonization of the North American continent took a new turn. The first British settlers arrived under various circumstances (Johnston & Lawson 362). Many of them were agents of commerce, religion, and administration, others were refugees or mere oppor-

¹⁹ situation de coexistence provient d’une histoire coloniale qui a consisté dans l’imposition d’une culture (dont participent des normes et des formes littéraires) présentée comme supérieure aux cultures des pays colonisés, et que cet état de fait a été la source de créations spécifiques.

²⁰ Elles consacrent des formes hybrides, une réalité nouvelle et mixte à la fois dite et construite par la littérature.

tunists (363). British victories across the globe eventually resulted in quite a unique situation in the Maritime region where British settlers colonized not only the Micmacs but also the French settlers, their former European neighbours. As expressed in the settler post-colonial theory formulated by Anna Johnston and Alan Lawson: “[T]he settler [was] both colonized and colonizing. This colonization was experienced politically, culturally, and socially, and in the most extreme cases led to revolution by the settler-colonists” (363). This meant for the settlers, especially so for the French settlers, a complex condition of being European subjects but no longer European citizens. The British colonization was politically, culturally, and socially extreme leading to destructive measures such as the Anglo-Micmac war in the 1720s and the deportation of the Acadians some thirty years later.

The typical settler narrative has two goals, as Johnston and Lawson claim (369). Primarily, it aims to narrate the conquest of the new territory and the near effacement of the indigenes. It also aims to tell the stories of the settlers and their subsequent “indigenization” and nation-building (369). Johnston and Lawson conclude that “[t]he text is thus marked by counterfeittings of both emergence and origination” (369). The postcolonial subject, they continue,

always speaks—wittingly or unwittingly—to both of its antecedent authorities/authenticities. In speaking back against the Imperium, in the interests of its own identity politics, the ‘settler’ site of enunciation will always tend to appropriate the position of all of those others with and against whom it has mediated that power. We need to identify, for any historicized, gendered, culturally specific site of enunciation, the ‘prior’ sites whose authority either licenses the utterance or provokes the resistance, the contra/diction. The settler, then, is always addressing both the absent (and absentee) cultural authority of the Imperium and the unavailable (and effaced) cultural authority of the indigene. (370)

Consequently, the settler finds himself in a “Second World”, a term coined by Lawson (Lawson 21), that refers to “that part of colonial space occupied by the

post-imperial, so-called settler colonies” (21) and interpreted as a world that acknowledges the “double inscription” of colonial space (qtd. in Lawson 22). As Homi Bhabha argues, this is

a *différance* produced within the act of enunciation as a specifically colonial articulation of those two disproportionate sites of colonial discourse and power: the colonial scene as the invention of historicity, mastery, mimesis or as the ‘other scene’ of *Entstellung*, displacement, fantasy, psychic defence, and an ‘open’ textuality. Such a display of difference produces a mode of authority that is agonistic (rather than antagonistic). Its discriminatory effects are visible in those split subjects of the racist stereotype—the simian Negro, the effeminate Asiatic male—which ambivalently fix identity as the fantasy of difference. (“Signs” 150)

Bhabha concludes that the recognition of the “difference” is a realization that the colonial text occupies a space of “double inscription” (150). In my line of argument the “difference” of the colonial text in a Maritime context occupies a space of treble inscription, a treble mark of two colonizers and “the other” scene of *Entstellung* or displacement as quoted above. Maritime settler postcoloniality is a “theory of difference”, as proposed by Lawson, insisting on the “representation, inscription, and interpretation” (Lawson 20) of the particular and the local, i.e. that which is different. The “Second World” is in sharp contrast to the first world of Europe. It is a space of “contending authorities of Empire and Native” (24). Colonial space is empty of European coherence, and as such it is a place of “nonmeaning” that has to be filled, settled, with both discourse and cattle (25). The settler, in conclusion, is the “very type of the nonunified subject *and* the very distillation of colonial power, the place where the operations of colonial power as *negotiation* are most intensely visible” (24). The role of the settler is that of a mediator between the different worlds, negotiating differences in colonial space. Therefore, I readily agree with Lawson in his conclusion that “[s]ettler postimperial cultures are suspended between ‘mother’ and ‘other’, simultaneously colonized and colonizing” (25). These aspects of Canadian post-coloniality

are associated with “a politics of accountability” (Brydon 61). Here issues of relationships of dominance and subalternity play predominant roles, “reconceptualizing” Canada as a second world consisting of contact zones rooted in the invader settler colony (62). In these contact zones the borders are porous “sites of rehearsal, of (re)negotiation” (Johnston & Lawson 370). The contact zones thus become zones of negotiation and relationality between the settlers and the natives (370). This relationality, indeed, involves a binary situation of othering with implications for a transcultural future.

Porous borders are subject to and cannot resist transcultural encounters. In this study, the term “transculturation” is based on the neologism created by the Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz (Ortiz, 1947 97) and its further elaboration by the scholars Mary Louise Pratt, Roland Walter, and Antonio Benítez-Rojo. The point of departure for an understanding of transculturation is Ortiz’s contrapuntal theory of transcultural encounters as exemplified in the binary actions of sugar and tobacco, major commodities of Cuban history and culture. The theory refers to baroque music where parts and tunes in fugal forms “not only confront each other but also superimpose themselves upon one another, in a parallel fashion, interacting with each other in a perpetual flight” (Benítez-Rojo 173). As commodities, sugar and tobacco have opposing qualities and attributes, and over time they have had shifting histories: “Sugar cane lives for years, the tobacco plant only a few months.[...] The one is white, the other dark. Sugar is sweet and odorless; tobacco bitter and aromatic. Always in contrast” (Ortiz, 1947 6). However, they “unfold not as fixed qualities, but as themselves hybrid products” (Ortiz, 1995 xxi). This means that in shifting Cuban circumstances and elsewhere their histories change and acquire transcultural significations. Transcultural encounters, therefore, inevitably imply renewal. The ideas of transculturation soon spread to the rest of the Americas and eventually also reached Canada and the Hispanicist scholar Pratt. Having defined the term “contact zone” in her book *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*, published in 1992, as a cultural space of the colonial epoch, mainly in Africa and

Latin America, where cultures have clashed in “asymmetrical” (Pratt, “Arts” 34) relations, she concludes that transcultural co-presence and interaction play important roles also in colonial situations. The concepts of “anti-conquest” (7) and “arrival scene” (78), essential terms in Pratt’s terminology, are also significant for the novels discussed. The former refers to male European strategies of imposing hegemony on continents while simultaneously asserting innocence:

The term ‘anti-conquest’ was chosen because, as I argue, in travel and exploration writings these strategies of innocence are constituted in relation to older imperial rhetorics of conquest associated with the absolutist era. The main protagonist of the anti-conquest is a figure I sometimes call the ‘seeing-man,’ an admittedly unfriendly label for the European male subject of European landscape discourse—he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess. (Pratt, *Imperial* 7)

Pratt argues that “arrival scenes are a convention of almost every variety of travel writing and serve as particularly potent sites for framing relations of contact and setting the terms of representation” (78–80). The structure of events of “arrival scenes” is either that of “mutual appropriation” or “reciprocity” (80). Events of “mutual appropriation” result in a condition of anti-conquest, i.e. same “strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony” (7). Reciprocity is “present sometimes as a reality achieved, but always a goal of desire, a value” (80). The tension is “almost invariably the desire to achieve reciprocity, to establish equilibrium through exchange” (80), a transnationalism of sorts, challenging “traditional homology of the cultural and the national” (Pratt, “Criticism” 84).

Walter has recently pointed to the contemporary contact zone as a liminal space of in-betweenness left by the colonial era, where cultural lives are recreated and where identities are migratory subjectivities (Walter, “Between” 24). He situates the term “transculturation” as an alternative “*cultural paradigm and critical mode to explore fractal relations and in-between spaces caused by mobility*” (23). Benitez-

Rojo has pointed to a “transwriting” (a new writing) of transculturation where “transcultural relations are characterized by a coexistence of culturally different dynamics which excludes a synthetic naturalization (e.g. subjugation-as-subtextualization) of elements of one culture into those of another culture. [...] These transcultural processes, then, do not neutralize but enhance the antagonistic and complementary tension between culturally diverse elements” (26). In sharp contrast to these ideas of transculturation there is the aspect of assimilation of cultures after the encounter where the universal gains ground from the particular, characterized by “a signifying time for the inscription of cultural incommensurability where differences cannot be sublated or totalized because ‘they somehow occupy the same space’” (Bhabha, *Location* 254).

The Contact Zone

As delineated above, the term “contact zone” is a colonial as well as a postcolonial space where contacts between different groups of people are established and lived. Throughout history the power relations of contact zones, where binary situations of othering and transcultural encounters occur, have been uneven and unequal. The contact zones are culturally defined spaces with focus on contacts and on their binary opposition and transcultural outcome, whereas terms such as “scene”, “site”, “location”, “place”, “village”, “space” and others set up the geographical background of the contact zone. As for the term “scene”, Heinz Antor argues in an article on MacLennan’s novel *Two Solitudes* that Montreal is a so-called “negative scene” of Anglo-French antagonistic situations of othering. It is a microcosm, he claims, where the Canadian Anglo-French polarity is most minutely presented (Antor 280). The negative scene is opposed to the so-called “ideal norm”, or the positive scene, that in a Canadian literary context might work towards a united Canada “in which the two main ethnic groups are no longer as solitary and as separate as they have been depicted so far” (297–98).

The term “negative scene” will prove contradictory in the context of Maritime fiction. As I will show, the literary scenes of the novels contain both posi-

tive and negative aspects. The scenes constitute contact zones of contending discourses of othering and transculturation, thus generating contacts of both binary opposition and transculturation. My argument here is that the condition of the scenes, such as history, location, and topography, creates and also determines the contact zones and the contacts created there. The scenes foster both antagonistic situations of othering and transcultural situations. I have used a number of scenes, as described in my selection of Maritime novels, to focus how contacts will work both as binary oppositions and transculturally.

The historical 18th century scenes explored are Roberts' Grand Pré, Raddall's Halifax and Louisbourg, on the Nova Scotian east coast, Le Bouthillier's Ruisseau, Louisbourg, Paris, Versailles, Maillet's Baltimore and Philadelphia. The 20th century scenes are Keefer's Spruce Harbour, St. Mary's Bay, Richards' region of Miramichi, and Landry Thériault's tiny communities of Les Falaises, Bois Tranquille, and Four Corners in the Acadian Peninsula. The scene of Grand Pré constitutes the mythical and transcultural contact zone that is devastated and becomes a negative scene of annihilation and plunder. Halifax and Louisbourg are two colonial towns of geopolitical importance, rivals fighting for the hegemony of this part of Canada in the 18th century. Le Bouthillier's scenes are transcultural Ruisseau in the Acadian Peninsula, hybrid Louisbourg that ends up as a scene of war and annihilation, and Paris and Versailles, European scenes where othering and transcultural contacts between the Acadians and the French are transferred. In Maillet's novel, Baltimore and Philadelphia are transcultural contact zones on the eve of the American War of Independence. The scene of 20th century Spruce Harbour is hardly more than an abandoned dump on the eastern shores of the Bay of Fundy where transcultural contacts are limited and brief. Richards' scenes of Miramichi are as marginalized and as they are anonymous, beyond the geographical map. Landry Thériault's assimilated communities are scenes of contending discourses where transcultural contact zones of coexistence and cohabitation between Anglophones and Acadians are set off against the the harsh-toned encounters between the two ethnic groups.

In this study the term “contact zone” is of utmost importance for the analyses of transcultural encounters in a Maritime literary framework. Pratt coined this term inspired by a manuscript, titled *The First New Chronicle and Good Government*, found by a Peruvianist in the Danish Royal Archive in Copenhagen in 1908 (Pratt, “Arts” 33–40). It turned out to be a text dated in 1613 in Cuzco, Peru, almost half a century after the fall of the Inca Empire. The manuscript, a twelve hundred pages long letter addressed to King Philip III of Spain, was written in two languages, Quechua and Spanish, by an indigenous Andean of noble Inca descent, an educated man most likely influenced by Christianity (34). The purpose of the text, Pratt claims, was “to construct a new picture of the world with Andean rather than European peoples at the center of it—Cuzco, not Jerusalem” (34). The giant letter was a product of the contact zone of 16th century Peru, in Pratt’s interpretation a social space of “intercultural competence and degrees of bilingualism” (37). Bilingualism, transculturation, collaboration, vernacular expression, and imaginary dialogue, Pratt contends, are some of the arts of the contact zone of the past and of our own time (37). Pratt defines the contact zones as “social spaces where cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power, such as colonialism, slavery, or their aftermath as they are lived out in many parts of the world today” (34). The contact zones were spread globally in colonial times, and contemporary contact zones challenge the ways many nations conceive of themselves, particularly in bilingual, multilingual, and vernacular countries such as Canada of today. Pratt argues:

The idea of the contact zone is intended in part to contrast with ideas of community that underlie much of the thinking about language, communication, and culture that gets done in the academy. [...] Languages were seen as living in ‘speech communities,’ and these tended to be theorized as discrete, self-defined, coherent entities, held together by a homogeneous competence or grammar shared identically and equally among all members. This abstract idea of the speech community seemed to reflect, among

other things, the utopian way modern nations conceive of themselves as what Benedict Anderson calls ‘imagined communities.’ (37)

In the novels discussed the contact zones fall into two distinct categories, i.e. the category of the colonial frontier of the 18th century and the 20th century liminal spaces, in-between contact zones “in terms of race, ethnicity, culture and nation” (Walter, *Narrative* 20). The Anglophone and Acadian novels discussing Maritime colonial themes all narrate and as a result also create transcultural encounters on the colonial frontier. The frontier is thus to be seen as a line of demarcation between warring nations, the British, the French, and the Micmacs. The colonial frontier is perceived and interpreted differently by the writers and is also occasionally transferred back to Europe. Therefore, transcultural contacts and encounters assume various forms. The term “border”, as used in this study signifies a boundary where adjoining districts meet. By contrast, the 20th century novels are set in liminal scenes of the colonial era. These scenes are interstitial spaces of dispossession and deracination, spaces that render a profound sense of alienation. Here equally, the contact zones differ and assume various forms influencing and determining contacts between the characters. However, the centuries of decolonization have developed transcultural forms of assimilated co-existence and cohabitation that work toward a unified region, albeit lived on the margin of metropolitan Canada.

Summary of the Thesis

In order to illustrate the interdependence between processes of othering and transculturation I have divided the thesis into four chapters, each of which is subdivided into sections. The chapter after the Introductory Chapter gives an overview of the historical events as described and explored in the novels discussed. The first European contacts with the Micmacs, the Anglo-French relations, the deportation of the Acadians, their exile and their “errance”, the fall of the French garrison Louisbourg, the birth of Halifax, the arrival of British and Irish immigrants, and the American Loyalists are all themes that have fully en-

gaged Maritime writers of the 20th century. The chapter will point to how the processes of othering and transculturation are created from historical circumstances.²¹ The third chapter provides instances of othering as expressed in the novels. The main point discussed here is how processes of othering construct difference and issues of identification linked to difference. The chapter is divided into two parts focusing first on othering in a colonial context. The second part of the chapter deals with how the Other²² emerges in our own age. The fourth chapter lays open how transcultural contacts are formed, established, re-created, and reasserted from situations of othering during the colonial epoch and in our own age, i.e. how binary contacts of difference become transcultural. Thus, the third and the fourth chapters are very closely interrelated.

This thesis does not attempt to be a comprehensive study of othering, transculturation, and transcultural contact zones in Maritime fiction. I have selected certain titles, Acadian and Anglophone, for a comparison of shared experiences. In this context it is worth noting that the first comparative study of Maritime literature was written by Marie-Linda Lord, a thesis focusing on issues of marginality and identity in Maillet's and Richards' literary production.²³ Lord explains her views of the comparative method as follows:

My aim is to interpret the comparison of novelistic practices and how they create a social and discursive space in the literary and social analysis of the novels. One of the objectives is to grasp how the extra-textual reality of the historical, economic, political, and cultural conditions that have shaped the collective identity of the authors is textualised by the intervention of marginal protagonists.²⁴ (3)

²¹ The historiographical sources may not be supported by any scholarly consensus.

²² In this thesis the spelling of the Other and the other will be used interchangeably. See *Post-Colonial* 172.

²³ Lord, Marie-Linda. *Marginalité et identité dans l'œuvre romanesque d'Antonine Maillet et de David Adams Richards* (2001).

²⁴ Notre but est d'interpréter la comparaison des pratiques romanesques, créatrices d'un espace socio-discursif, dans l'analyse de la littérarité et la socialité de leurs romans. L'un de nos objec-

In a similar vein, I aim to show how processes of othering and transculturation determine colonial and postcolonial realities, contacts, and contact zones as expressed in a selection of Maritime novels, Anglophone, and Acadian.

tifs est de saisir comment la réalité extra-textuelle des conditions historiques, économiques, politiques et culturelles qui ont façonné l'identité collective des auteurs est textualisée par l'entremise des protagonistes marginaux.

2. *Historical Context*

As I have declared in the introduction, historical contexts have determined the contact zones of the Maritimes, and the contacts of othering and transculturation established there. This means that processes of othering and transculturation and their literary outcome can only be fully understood against a historical background. In the following chapter, I will summarize the significant historical events represented in the novels of my study, focusing on the historical contexts which have determined the Maritime contact zones. My argument is that the historical past, from the first colonization in the 17th century to the present situation of social marginality, has left vestiges in Maritime fiction and that writers still address these vestiges in their work. The selected fictional works discuss historical landmarks such as the French and British colonization and the following struggle for imperial supremacy, the first European contacts with the Micmacs, the deportation of the Acadians, their exile and “errance” during the subsequent centuries in North America and Europe, the rivalry of the two major colonial towns, Louisbourg and Halifax, the fall of the former in 1758, the Seven Years’ War, the Peace Treaty of Paris in 1763, and the subsequent political turmoil of the late 18th century.

The 20th century Anglophone and Acadian fiction of the Maritimes was thus marked from the start by opposing imperialist ambitions of Britain and France in North America during the 18th century. The rivalry between the two nations and the recurrent wars in Europe and North America from the War of the Spanish Succession until the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, determined their intercultural relations for centuries. Notions of difference, as initially moulded by the division of 18th century Catholic and Protestant Europe, were transferred to a North American colonial situation. Moreover, the first colonial contacts, conflicts, and the ensuing cohabitation with the Micmacs added ethnic perspec-

tives to an understanding of difference, perspectives that grew in importance. In Maritime fiction, these perspectives which involve processes of othering and transculturation have been reworked and re-narrated in various ways by many Anglophone and Acadian writers until contemporary times.

First Contacts with the Micmacs

The contacts with the Micmacs were important for the intercultural relations of both the French and the British settlers during colonial times. The earliest records of the contacts with the natives were written by French explorers sent out by King François I (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 22). The records tell more of greed and exploitation than of contacts: “In the 1500s the strangers from France were more interested in mineral wealth and fish than in native souls and fur pelts. The newcomers hoped to repeat the success of the Spanish, who had discovered astonishing sources of silver and gold in Mexico and Peru, or, at least find a westerly route to Asia, whence might be drawn spices, silk, tea, and porcelain” (22). Later the ambitions of the French changed. There seems to have been a sincere wish to introduce Christianity to the native inhabitants mainly for reasons of solving problems of emigration to the new colony, *Acadie*, established in 1604. Despite the exploitation, an almost transcultural co-existence between the two ethnic groups seems to have resulted from these initial contacts. This co-existence is amply reflected in Le Bouthillier’s historical fiction.

French colonial experience started with a commercial enterprise, a Royal Commission in fact, from the French King Henry IV to the Protestant officer Pierre Du Gua de Monts (Basque 15). The royal charter stipulated that Du Gua de Monts transport French settlers to the new colony, *Acadie*. In return he was granted “seigneurial rights and commercial monopoly over eastern North America from Philadelphia to Newfoundland” (Choquette 250). The French contacts with the Micmacs were influenced by the European notion of “l’homme sauvage’, an unkempt man without religion, government, society, living in the woods and living in freedom, in innocence, closer to nature than 17th century

Europeans”²⁵ (Moogk, “Others” 77), thus a human being both wild and innocent. Moogk clarifies: “From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century, the view of Amerindians as kin of the mythical wild people of the forests was gradually eclipsed by the stereotype of Native Americans as the unspoiled children of benign Nature” (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 50).

The myth of *Acadie* as the promised land with “fertile fields, the waters abundant with fish, the woods full of game, where work is agreeable, and food is rich and varied”²⁶ (M. Maillet 18) was already explored in the early 1600s. The rendition of the “savages” as a happy and nude people fitted well the idyllic surroundings. This rendition was later to be revised and completed by other writers, in that the contacts were formulated as encounters of two ethnic groups of equal standing. The origin of the Amerindians was very much debated at the time. The speculations ranged from Egyptian to Mongol origin (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 19). Yet, a bewildering fact for the French colonizers was the physical resemblance of the Micmacs to Europeans. The historian Marc Lescarbot wrote that the Micmacs looked like Spaniards (20). Other colonists found that the natives “might walk the streets of Bordeaux in European dress without provoking comment” (20). They would be as “white as Europeans”, had they not greased their bodies (20). A striking characteristic of the natives, the French found, was their sense of humanity. They evinced qualities of the heart such as courage, fidelity, generosity, and humanity (Moogk, “Others” 80). Consequently, since the French thought they had no reason to feel racially superior to the Micmacs (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 20), they perceived few obstacles to the cultural assimilation of France’s new citizens. There was even royal approval of intermarriage between the French and the Micmacs (21). Louis XIV facilitated intermarriage as a method of cultural assimilation as early as 1644, when the first sacramental marriage took place between a

²⁵ homme hirsute qui, sans religion, ni gouvernement, ni société, habitait des bois et vivait, libre et innocent, plus proche à la nature que les européens du dix-septième siècle.

²⁶ la terre est fertile, les eaux regorgent de poissons, les bois sont plein de gibier, le travail est agréable, la nourriture est abondante et variée.

Frenchman and an Indian woman (Jaenen 29). Ethnically mixed marriages are important cornerstones for the transcultural development of plots developed by writers like Le Bouthillier in his historical novels and by Landry Thériault in her novels set in the contemporary Acadian Peninsula.

Another more aggressive method of assimilation was evangelisation. The objective was to create a new people, “*un mesme peuple et un mesme sang*”²⁷ (qtd. in Moogk, “Others” 82) in North America, French-speaking, Catholic, and sedentary (Moogk, *Nowelle* 21). The Catholic Church and its missionaries, of whom Roberts’ Black Abbé appears as the most infamous, were to have the leading role in this agenda:

This program of cultural transformation accorded with the French crown’s aim at home. Ruling a culturally diverse and politically divided kingdom, the Bourbon monarchs of France had begun a centralizing program to impose Roman Catholic orthodoxy and to culturally assimilate the kingdom’s ethnic minorities. Because religion was regarded as the key to political loyalty in seventeenth-century Europe, the achievement of religious uniformity was given priority as the surest means of ensuing loyal subjects. (15)

Extensive Catholic missionary work was initiated among the Micmacs by the missionaries of the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit,²⁸ Recollets and Jesuits sustained by Pope Paul III’s reassurance that “the American natives were ‘true men’, who should not ‘in any way be enslaved’ and ‘who were capable of understanding the Catholic faith’” (Jaenen 22). Evangelisation, then, contributed from early on to “policies of assimilation, economic exploitation and imperialism” (22). The renowned cartographer Samuel de Champlain summarised the objectives of the missionary work among the Amerindians in these terms:

²⁷ one and the same people and one and the same blood.

²⁸ Jean-Louis Le Loutre was a priest and missionary, sent out by the Séminaire du Saint-Esprit, Paris.

You will perceive that they are not savages to such an extent that they could not, in course of time and through association with others ... become civilized ... with the French language they may also acquire a French heart and spirit ... It is a great wrong to let so many men be lost and see them perish at our door, without rendering them succour ... which can only be given through the help of princes, and ecclesiastics, who alone have the power to do this. (Qtd. in Jaenen 23)

Accordingly, in 1627 a charter of the Company of New France promised a Catholic Micmac all the rights of a French citizen (Moogk, *Nowvelle* 20). All the policies of assimilation aimed at merging the French immigrants to Canada with the natives into one enlarged ethnic group, destined to be an alternative to continued emigration from France. In reality, the outcome was, as Moogk claims, “four new peoples: partly Christian Amerindians dependent upon European trade goods; *Canadiens* and *Acadiens*, who had a small admixture of native culture and blood; and, eventually, the prairie *Métis*, who were equally the heirs of their native European parents, without belonging to either ancestral group” (50). Nevertheless, these peoples and especially the Acadians and the Micmacs were to live together transculturally, establishing closely knit ties also after the fall of New France in 1763. Le Bouthillier brings these ties into focus in his two novels *Phantom Ships* and *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, where transcultural intermarriage between the French and the Micmacs is as natural a circumstance as a past of noble Breton origins. The long-term failure of the policies, however, meant that the growth of the colony depended entirely on reluctant immigrants from France (50). Therefore, the future of New France was in peril.

In 1710, while the War of the Spanish Succession was still raging, British regular troops took possession of Port Royal. They established a garrison there which was in existence until the Treaty of Utrecht was signed in 1713 and *Acadie* was handed over to Great Britain. Port Royal was renamed Annapolis Royal for Queen Anne, and *Acadie* was renamed Nova Scotia for the plans of establishing Scottish colonies earlier in the century (Plank, *Unsettled* 40–41). Like the French,

for reasons of imperial hegemony, the British also adopted a policy of assimilation in Nova Scotia, intending to establish a Protestant colony there at all costs (41). The Micmacs were to be assimilated through missionary work (41). This policy was strongly reinforced by the intention of dissociating them from the Acadians and thus integrating them into British colonial society. Governor Richard Philipps had been given precise instructions:

His instructions directed him to offer subsidies to any colonists who married Mi'kmaq partners. Under the terms of the program he was told to implement, the European partner in any interracial marriage—the wife, if the husband were identified as Mi'kmaq—would receive prizes in the form of cash and land. The proposed program served dual purposes: introducing 'civility' and Protestantism to Mi'kmaq individuals who entered into bicultural marriages, and forging social links in the form of family ties between the unassimilated Mi'kmaq and the English-speaking community. (72)

The project failed, however, since the natives showed no interest in British wooers, unless they joined the Micmac communities (72). One of these wooers is Raddall's Jacobite protagonist Roger Sudden who, after having resisted the temptations of a "savage" woman, is saved to British civilization. More importantly, the project was disrupted by the fortification of Canso Island, a major Atlantic fishing station off the north-eastern coast of Nova Scotia (77). The conflict acquired warlike dimensions between 1722 and 1725 (78). At the end of the conflict the British had not managed to separate the Micmacs and the Acadians (81). The tension between the natives and the British remained until 1744 and the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession. Hostilities were resumed, and the first armed combat occurred on Canso Island (86). Peace was finally made during the Seven Years' war in 1761. The Micmacs, however, never acknowledged defeat. Leslie Upton summarises their ensuing dispossession as follows:

When the Micmacs did conclude peace with the British in 1761, it was in the expectation of re-establishing the equilibrium they had once enjoyed with the French. This was not to be. The British enjoyed total control of the Atlantic seaboard for only a few years, losing most of their colonies in the American Revolution. Halifax, unexpectedly, became their only base on the North Atlantic and so remained vital to imperial strategy. The British moved in Loyalist refugees to stabilize the area. Forced to contend with both settler and strategic interests, the Micmacs were rapidly dispossessed. (Upton xiii)

After the Acadian deportation in 1755 the Micmacs assumed passive resistance, rejecting sedentary residence in assigned reservations (xiv). The passivity was later to lead to a condition of marginalized subalternity shared with the returned Acadians.

In Anglophone fiction, the colonial history of 17th and 18th century English Canada is “sparse, desultory, and shadowy compared to French Canada and the New England colonies” (Galloway 10). There are few fictional testimonies of British contacts with the Micmacs. Douglas Huyghue’s *Argimou*, published in 1847, is a rare exception. Huyghue uses his novel to “seal the tragic end of that harmonious co-existence between European and Indian in what had been ‘Acadie’” (Keefer, *Under* 111). Also, he “fulminates against the ‘cruelty and injustice’ of the English, who are the ‘sole and only cause of [the Micmacs]’ overwhelming misery, their gradual extinction” (qtd. in Keefer 113). Huyghue’s rendition of British and Micmac relations is now judged “a relativistic analysis of two equal but opposite cultures” (111), more accurate than Raddall’s pro-British *Roger Sudden* published some hundred years later.

Anglo-French Contacts

Anglo-French colonial contacts in the Maritimes are frequently fictionalized through stereotypical imagery and symbols of a complex nature. The background to this is that the outbreak of the Seven Years' War in North America gave rise to "the essentializing of ethnic and racial differences" in France, particularly as concerned French relations to Great Britain (D. A. Bell, "Jumonville's" 35). Many historians judge the Seven Years' War to be the first war on a global scale as combats occurred in North America, Africa, India, and on the oceans (37). It was also an imperialist war that was to end France's presence in North America. The French war propaganda "portrayed the English as 'vultures', a 'perjurious race' [...] grasping, mercantile Carthaginians" (qtd. in D. A. Bell, "Jumonville" 38). The British were even described as "savages" and "barbarians" (40–41), demanding a "war of nations" (45), thus rejecting qualities of "advanced nations" (D. A. Bell, *Cult* 95). The British providing standards "of alien and primitive behaviour (of 'otherness')" (D. A. Bell, "Jumonville's" 49), against which to measure their European neighbours implied fundamentally, as David Bell expresses it, "the idea of an essential, unalterable difference between two nations" (52). By making national difference into nationalism (59–60) a "European racial science" was established proving racial differences "within the European family itself" (60). As Bell maintains:

And it is precisely here that the language of 'savages' and 'barbarians' was so important. It was not a scientific language in the least. But it set forth a problem that biological science could later answer: the problem of difference. [...] The language of barbarism suggested that the English, despite their membership in the white race, and in a common European civilization, in fact were fundamentally alien, as alien as heretics had been to the mother church. And not only alien, but inferior, and deserving of hatred, subjugation, and even extermination. (60)

In Great Britain the relations between Britain and France in the early 18th century have been considered by historians as those of

‘unruly twins’, sibling carriers of European culture, over the centuries constantly exchanging ‘ideas, customs, blows, compliments, or complaints,’ with Britain sometimes striving for ascendancy (as during the Elizabethan Age), or France (as in the age of Louis XIV), but together weaving through their strife, agreement, and mutual influence a wider pattern whose original threads cannot be easily traced to the one or the other. (Newman 2)

The intellectual interchange was intense during the entire reign of Louis XIV. The pattern expanded because of Voltaire’s great interest in Britain. His circle of notable English acquaintances made way for a tide of Anglomania in France up until the inception of the Seven Years’ War. Francophilism took hold of the British upper classes, which was noticeable above all in the world of fashion, courtesy, and cuisine (15–16). At the outbreak of the war a growing “English popular opposition [...] to France as historic enemy—as ‘competitor, aggressor, oppressor, plunderer, defiler, enslaver and destroyer’” (qtd. in Newman 74–75) supplanted Francophilism. The opposition turned into the “rampant racialism” that raged especially between 1760–1789:

We thus have a general context in which to view evolution of English racial discussion during the literary period 1740-89. On the one hand, a myth of geneological descent was being elaborated; a myth which traced the ‘truly’ English community (or British—a point insisted upon by some contemporary ethnologists) back to the humble Saxons (a branch of hitherto despised ‘Goths,’ a shorthand term for all the barbarian tribes which had defeated Rome), and, through this Germanic group (some authors maintained also that the ancient Britons were ‘originally’ Germanic, contrasting them with the Celts of Gaul), back to an assortment of glorious Biblical and Homeric ancestors. [...] The political implication, of course, was the innate moral superiority, historic precedence in the British Isles, and Germanic institutional inheritance of ‘the people’ entitled them to a much larger share of legitimacy and power than they currently suffered to

enjoy by their ('Gallick,' Norman, French) oppressors. (Newman 117)

These racist notions gave rise to anti-French stereotypes of othering. In the British opinion the French, and as an extension also the Acadians, were impure and dishonest apes, the Other in fact, neither serious, nor forthright (146). Voltaire, from 1789 and on, appeared as “the supposedly conspiring mastermind of universal atheism and pan-European revolution” (232). France was the country of Great Satan (79). The ethnic stereotypes were generally to haunt all British and French immigrants to North America for a very long time, and they have left an imprint in narrative fiction as for instance in Roberts', Richards', and Keefer's novels. Variations of the Other as the devil and barbarians have become repeated stereotypes in many novels discussing Anglo-French relations in a Maritime setting.

The Deportation of the Acadians

After the recurrent warfare between Great Britain and France throughout the 18th century, Britain finally, in 1815, emerged as the most powerful nation of the world. The battle of Waterloo was of decisive importance. Linda Colley concludes:

GREAT BATTLES ARE NOT ALWAYS TURNING-POINTS in history, but Waterloo emphatically was. Although the British might never have won it without their Continental allies, it was they who claimed prime credit, and it was they who reaped the most substantial and territorial rewards. Waterloo destroyed Napoleon and established Great Britain as indisputably the foremost European power. Moreover, the ensuing division of the spoils at the Congress of Vienna ensured that the British Empire emerged from the war the largest the world had ever known. (Colley 321)

By this time France's presence on North American soil was totally eclipsed. The colony of New France was definitely ceded to Britain in the Treaty of Paris in 1763. In fiction, one of the first Maritime writers to address a major event of the

18th century from a historical point of view is Roberts, “the Maritimes’ premier historical novelist” (Keefer, *Under* 93), who in the romance *A Sister to Evangeline* narrates the actions leading to the deportation of the Grand Pré villagers—*Le Grand Dérangement*—in 1755. The scene of Grand Pré on the western shores of Minas is in focus, a village he conceived, like Longfellow, as the transcultural scene epitomizing all of *Acadie*. In opposition to Longfellow, though, Roberts creates an ordinary Acadian village, in transcultural cohabitation with the British, disowning the ring of idyllic innocence to the name. Roberts’ case in point rather simplistically justifies the drastic strategy undertaken by the British to dispel the joint resistance of Acadians and Micmacs at Grand Pré at the time. He wished to bear out the claim, held by British colonials, that the Catholic Church conspired to strengthen already strong ties between the Acadians and the Micmacs, both adhering to the Catholic faith, in an effort to re-conquer *Acadie*. Roberts’ claim is substantiated by historical evidence. Geoffrey Plank, for instance, argues that the British “worried that Catholic clergymen issued orders to the Mi’kmaq and the Acadian villagers and that the church functioned as a shadow government undermining the authority of the governor and the provincial council, and furthering the imperial interests of France” (Plank, *Unsettled* 6). Plank’s conclusion is that “[t]he provincial authorities believed that separating the two groups would establish peace in the region; increase the political power, cultural influence, and economic position of English-speakers in Nova Scotia; and assist the government in its ongoing effort to recruit Protestant, English-speaking settlers” (2). Therefore, Charles Lawrence, governor of Nova Scotia at the time, in collaboration with the Massachusetts governor William Shirley, designed a plan to separate the two groups to this end. The Seven Years’ War, having begun in the vicinity of the Ohio River, Pennsylvania, in 1754 (141), was a catalyst to the Nova Scotian authorities to realize “the eradication of an idea of an Acadian community” (Griffiths 63). They argued that “the Acadians must cease to exist as a coherent and separate society and become, in terms of political and civic

standing, absorbed into the mass of the *other* (italics mine) culture” (64) or leave the region.

For the British, during all the wars in Europe and North America, Protestantism provided effective security and defence keeping their enemies at bay. Protestantism was thus to have far-reaching political ramifications:

From the Act of Union to the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, Great Britain was involved in successive, very dangerous wars with Catholic France. At the same time and long after, it was increasingly concerned to carve out a massive empire in foreign lands that were not even Christian. In these circumstances of regular *and violent* contact with peoples who could so easily be seen as representing the Other, Protestantism was able to become a unifying and distinguishing bond as never before. More than anything else, it was this shared religious allegiance combined with recurrent wars that permitted a sense of British national identity to emerge alongside of, and not necessarily in competition with older, more organic attachments to England, Wales, or Scotland, or to county or village. (Colley 18)

It was, therefore, a natural consequence that Britain, in the process of forging a nation in accordance with the religious and political agenda of Protestantism, viewed Catholic France as the chief enemy. France was Europe’s indisputably greatest nation. In 1789 the country was a demographic giant numbering 29 million inhabitants, whereas the population of Britain totalled a mere 9 million inhabitants (Pomeau 49–50). France was also the most centralized and unified country of Europe (50). The French monarchy was held in awe, being the most powerful of all. Moreover, the power of the French monarchs was absolute, and the connections to the Catholic Church were, as J. F. Bosher argues, “all parts of the same threatening force” of persecution (8). The threatening force targeted Britain in all respects:

Under Louis XIV, France was becoming more and more heavily armed, more and more aggressive. Mixed with its economic and political motives

were the religious purposes of a state inspired by the Roman Catholic Counter-Reformation which had flooded across France during the reign of Louis XIII (1617–43). [...] French support for the authoritarian, Catholic purposes of Charles II and James II might well arouse fears in the English public. So might the several invasion projects during the wartime years 1689–1713, projects which failed but were not foredoomed to failure. [...] Then, there was every reason to believe that, once French forces were in command, they might impose a Stuart absolute monarchy resembling their own and, as they have done so often, turn to persecuting Protestants in an effort to catholicize this newly conquered country. (Bosher 30)

North America was not exempt from the religious contests of Europe (17). In the 1690s Louis XIV planned an attack on New York. Troops were sent from the Canadian colonies with the mission to hunt down all Protestants. The same fate befell Newfoundland in 1697. In both campaigns French priests and missionaries were used as the “advance guard” (18). In Europe a fear spread throughout the continent that France aimed at establishing “la monarchie universelle” (Pomeau 50). It was out of this background that the custom of oaths of allegiance, a crucial issue in Roberts’ novel, resurfaced, a custom with roots in feudal times. In France the origins of oaths carried religious overtones, but oaths were also used in political contexts. Beyond this, oaths of allegiance became a means to pronounce loyalty to a reigning monarch. In Britain and the British Empire the custom eventually developed into a tradition connected to land ownership, as discussed by A. J. B. Johnson (33-34). He writes:

[E]vents from the mid-seventeenth century on demonstrated that no one’s loyalty could be taken for granted. First, there were the upheavals of the Civil War and the interregnum period (1642–1660); then, there was the parliamentary ouster of a Roman Catholic monarch in 1689, and the invitation of Protestant rulers to take over the throne. The allegiance question remained in doubt for generations, with a succession of British administrations worrying about Stuart pretenders, French supporters, and Roman

Catholic Jacobite sympathizers. [...] It was out of that background in England that the formal use of oaths took on increasing importance in the eighteenth century. Anxieties grounded in the British domestic setting found their echo in Nova Scotia whenever the uncertain loyalty of the Acadians was discussed. (33–34)

As Johnston claims, the fact that the British crown was a Protestant crown may have been the major reason why the Acadians refused to pronounce the required oath of allegiance stipulated by the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (35). In addition, *Acadie* was divided and the definition of its borders unclear (Evans 107). The treaty renamed the region around the Bay of Fundy Nova Scotia. Most Acadians willingly chose to remain out of attachment to their old land, while others settled in Ile Saint-Jean²⁹ and Ile Royale.³⁰ George I was recognized as sovereign of Nova Scotia by the remaining Acadians. In return, they were promised not to be obliged to take arms against France (Durand 81). From 1730 through the War of the Austrian Succession and on they were labelled “French neutrals” (Plank, *Unsettled* 104–05), a term of derision. Since the Acadians and the French by far outnumbered the British in Nova Scotia, the issue of the Acadians not taking the oath eventually became crucial. In fact, as early as the 1720s plans were made to deport them (87). Claiming neutrality, they kept refusing to take the oath, a strategy that was allowed to last until 1754, when political circumstances allowed reprisals against the priest and missionary Le Loutre’s political and religious actions, which led to an indictment of treason against him and the Micmacs (Durand 82). Le Loutre, stationed at Beaubassin,³¹ acted passionately with the assistance of the Micmacs to recover *Acadie*. He and other Catholic priests were openly hostile to the British authorities. Occasionally, they also threatened to excommunicate those who accepted to work for the British colonial administra-

²⁹ Prince Edward Island.

³⁰ Cape Breton.

³¹ Cumberland.

tion. Moreover, they would deny access to the sacraments if they thought fit (Plank, *Unsettled* 99). The Acadians, however, were mostly indifferent to these “urgings” (Evans 109). With the inception of the Seven Years’ War in North America, the British authorities made the final decision to deport the Acadians. Plank argues that the outbreak of the war was an appropriate opportunity to “take action” for the deportation (Plank, *Unsettled* 140). In 1755, then, between the months of September and December some 7000 Acadians out of an estimated 15000 were deported to the American colonies south of Nova Scotia, where they were exiled in towns and villages from Massachusetts to Georgia in order to be assimilated with their Protestant and Anglophone neighbours (149). It was a deportation based on a “family-break-up-and-reunion tactic” (148). Several reasons for this tactic are plausible:

The deportation was bound to take time, and long-term incarceration was not a common punishment for women in the 18th century New England or Great Britain. When men were held in jail for extended periods it was common for the authorities to expect their families to feed them—British colonial jailers felt no compulsion to keep their prisoners well fed. [...] By requiring the Acadians to make sacrifices for their family members, however, the British exploited and reinforced the Acadians’ sense of familial loyalty. (148)

Some historians, as for instance Naomi Griffiths, still excuse the British by claiming that there was no “planned policy of terror” (Griffiths 91) aligned with the cruelty of circumstance. There is, nevertheless, ample enough evidence that most Acadian towns and villages were burnt during and after the deportation (Plank, *Unsettled* 149).

As for the deportation, the historical records are precise (Cazaux 323–26). At Grand Pré on the 2nd of September 1755 Major-Colonel John Winslow,³² in

³² Major General John Winslow was a Massachusetts colonial officer and his troops were volunteer militia from the New England colonies (Evans 105–06).

charge of the operations there, ordered the villagers to assemble in the village church the following Friday at three o'clock p.m. for instructions regarding the imminent deportation. On the 10th of September a group of deportees embarked for Boston. This action could not be performed without the support of 300 soldiers armed with bayonets and cannons. Roughly 80 families were put in hulks in early October. On the 27th of October several thousands of Acadians were deported on 27 ships (325). In late December, 600 French nationals and some hundred refugees were the last ones to leave Grand Pré (325–26).

In *Sister to Evangeline* Roberts perfunctorily deals with the critical issues of the Acadian refusal of the oath of allegiance and the ensuing deportation. The Versailles Acadian De Lamourie, the father of the heroine, in passing expresses regrets “to go counter to opinions which [he] held well-nigh-sacred” (Roberts 62). Nevertheless, he feels a duty stronger than these opinions to take the oath of allegiance to the Protestant crown (62). This performance of duty is ascribed to a sense of loyalty to the British, who had offered propitious conditions of a transcultural nature to the Acadians after France’s cause was lost in *Acadie*. However, the transcultural reconciliation at Grand Pré is disrupted, and the village becomes a place destined to annihilation. Roberts emphasizes the hypothesis that the upheaval of the transcultural conditions was due to the manipulations of the Catholic Church in the shape of the French Black Abbé, created in the image of Jean-Louis Le Loutre. In Roberts’ novel he emerges as the different and threatening Other, Great Satan, at the behest of an infamous madman, in his machinations with the Micmacs to deter the Acadians from taking the oath. Thus, the Catholic Church is made responsible for the deportation. The cruel embarkation procedures are realistically narrated to reflect the corresponding historical scenes. In the end, however, for the heroine and her lover the deportation turns into a tragic background, where “that painful submission to temporal or divine authority is ultimately rewarded elsewhere by either material prosperity or spiritual ascendancy on a scale undreamed of on one’s former home ground” (Keefer, *Under* 100). This “reward” is an exculpatory pointer to

posterity, still embraced by some historians, that the Acadians, despite all, managed to survive the impossible: deportation, exile, and the return.

Louisbourg and Halifax

In the 18th century the towns of Louisbourg and Halifax played binary and opposing roles in the Anglo-French drama of hegemony over the Maritimes. The drama was a cherished theme for especially Raddall, who set out to vindicate the claim that Anglophone Halifax, a Protestant town, was superior to the older French garrison town of Louisbourg. As geopolitical opposites the towns were to reflect the Anglo-French power balance thus embodying a colonial situation of difference.

By 1757 the Seven Years' War in North America took a decisive turn to Britain's advantage. William Pitt the Elder had taken on the leadership as the British premier. He viewed a victory in North America as the victory of the "world-wide struggle" for the British Empire and organized the war accordingly ("Seven Years' War"). In 1758 the British won major victories in several battles, among them the battle of Louisbourg on the north-eastern tip of Ile Royale. A few years later all of New France was completely vanquished. The peace treaty stipulated that France cede to Great Britain all its territories in North America east of the Mississippi River, including Canada ("Treaty of Paris").

Before all this Louisbourg, from its foundation in the 1720s, was a major commercial and fishing centre of New France. The first French immigrants to Ile Royale arrived from Newfoundland, which had been ceded to Britain in the Treaty of Utrecht (McNeill 18). Out of these, 110 men, 10 women, and 23 children were the first founders of Louisbourg. The population of Louisbourg and the island later gradually increased through mainly three sources:

The first of these was Acadia, an agricultural community of perhaps 10,000 people of French origin, officially British subjects since 1713 but in practice quite independent. With the birth of the colony at Ile Royale, the French conceived the policy of recruiting Acadians, first to Ile Royale and

then to Ile St. Jean as well, a policy they never abandoned. The second source of immigrants to Ile Royale was the French army. Officials encouraged discharged soldiers to stay in the colony. [...] Sailors, traders, and fishermen from Brittany, Normandy, and the Basque country formed the third source of immigration. Normally hundreds of French fishermen flocked to the shores of Ile Royale early each summer, and others followed to supply the fishermen with food and supplies. (18)

The population of Ile Royale was never stable. Fishing conditions contributed to seasonal migrations of fishermen. The Acadians were also mobile, returning regularly to the area along the Bay of Fundy (19). At the time of the fall of Louisbourg in 1758 the island inhabitants totalled roughly 7000. 4000 out of these were soldiers (20). Named for Louis XIV, Louisbourg was over time heavily fortified and had a reputation to be a “*forteresse imprenable*” (LeBlanc 24), a myth that lasted until 1745, when New England managed to subdue the town, its garrisons and fortress. After the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 Nova Scotia’s southern neighbour followed very closely the hostilities between Britain and France in order to make immediate use of the right opportunity to drive out the Acadians and the French from Ile Royale and transform the island to “New England’s Outpost” (Rawlyck XVI). For the New Englanders the capture of Louisbourg signified that the “validity” of Protestantism had won a victory over Catholicism. As G. A. Rawlyck concludes, they “were now certain that ‘ye God of Heaven’ was ‘ye God of England’, since [t]he finger of God has been so conspicuous in every circumstance of this expedition” (qtd. in Rawlyck 153). In 1748 Louisbourg was restored to France in the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle that ended the Austrian War of Succession. In early 1756 the British reinforced their military activities in Canada. Two years later they conquered Louisbourg. The inhabitants were deported, and by 1760 the fortifications were demolished (“Louisbourg”).

At this time the Micmac population of Ile Royale numbered some hundred individuals. The Micmac presence in Louisbourg, however, was inconsiderable.

From early on, the French had established relatively good relations with the Micmacs. The Micmacs lived primarily in the island interior on fur trade, fishing, and hunting:

They planted no crops, domesticated no animals other than the dog, and confined their fishing almost exclusively to fresh water. [...] By 1713 the Micmacs had already had some experience with Europeans in the context of a small fur trade with visiting fishermen. After 1713 this trade diversified, assuming the character so common in relations between whites and Indians in North America: the Micmacs exchanged scouting and fighting services as well as furs, for blankets, muskets, ammunition, hatchets, and sundry other items. (McNeill 17)

In his novel *Roger Sudden*, Raddall emphasizes the myth of Louisbourg as a stronghold of power and strength, the strongest outside Europe (179–80). Eventually, he shifts the focus to the decline of the garrison town consisting, in his view, of an ethnically hybrid population, which was, he claims, the cause of its final crumbling in 1758. By contrast, Le Bouthillier accounts for a different picture of Louisbourg's decline in his novel *Phantom Ships*. In contrast to Raddall he points to a more plausible reason for the fall of the town, i.e. the insalubrious conditions brought about by the wars: "Life in Louisbourg was far from easy. The barracks were dirty and infested with vermin. The straw mattresses, which were only changed once a year, were home to many an undesirable guest. [...] Since the city was threatened with famine, there was no flour left with which to make six-pound loaves of bread, each soldier's ration for four days. A riot was brewing among the fishermen" (*Phantom* 71).

In the 1740s the British drew up plans for establishing a new British settlement, Halifax, for British Protestants in Nova Scotia. Chebucto Harbour was the selected site for the new town of Halifax (Plank, *Unsettled* 126–27), a site recommended by the Massachusetts governor William Shirley. Edward Cornwallis, governor of Nova Scotia between 1749 and 1753, was in charge of the construction of Halifax. His instructions included measures to join "Protestants and

'French' Inhabitants (Acadians), to the End that the said French Inhabitants may be subjected to such Rules and Orders as may hereafter be made for better ordering and governing of the said Townships" (qtd. in Plank 120). Protestant schools were built so that "the said French inhabitants [might] be converted to the Protestant religion and their children brought up in the principles of it" (120). Further, intermarriage was encouraged between Acadians and Protestants. The Micmacs violently resisted the new settlement carrying out intermittent raids against the settlers (130). Following this, the British intensified their strategy aimed at disrupting the ties between the Acadians and the Indians. The Acadians for their part found themselves in a predicament:

These circumstances placed the Acadians in a difficult position. Economic interests, family ties, religious convictions, and friendships tied them variously to the Mi'kmaq, the British, and the French. Each Acadian village was divided in its loyalties, and physical coercion, in the form of threats of military action, forced many Acadians to behave in ways that may have reflected not their true convictions. (130)

Thus, the conditions for the newly arrived Protestant settlers seemed favourable. However, they were generally considered "worthless":

In spite of materials and implements provided by the government some of the more worthless immigrants could not be induced even to provide any solid shelter for themselves against the first winter. Others were hopelessly lacking in any skill to make effective use of the materials provided. A few of the arrivals had some means of their own and could provide themselves sooner or later with good framed houses. (W. P. Bell 337)

Simultaneously in London, the British government campaigned to recruit "good Protestants" to Nova Scotia (Plank, *Unsettled* 120). Very favourable terms were offered to labourers and former soldiers. As the campaign ended, the number of British prospective settlers was deemed far too insufficient for an assimilation of the Acadians (120). To improve the situation, and on Shirley's suggestions, Pro-

testants from Europe—mainly Germany, Switzerland, and the Netherlands—were recruited to Nova Scotia. Nearly 3000 continental Europeans were persuaded to move to the new British colony. Historical facts, then, do not support Raddall’s argument that Halifax was built by Southwark’s “unconquerable” cockneys alone (Raddall 358). Halifax was, in fact, as ethnically hybrid as Louisbourg. As a complement, Le Bouthillier adds the view of Halifax as the administrative centre of the extinction of the Acadians. The town represents a death knell: “[T]he bell had tolled for Acadia with the founding of Halifax, and [...], in the future, the English would be in a position to rid themselves of the Acadians” (*Phantom* 106). Moreover, as the plans for the Acadian deportment were progressing, Paul Mascarene, a French-born Protestant stationed at the British garrison of Annapolis Royal, sent a report, in support of the deportation, to William Shirley, testifying that the Acadians were disloyal to the British (Plank, *Culture* 240).

In the 18th century Louisbourg and Halifax were rivals on the Nova Scotian scene, rivals reflecting the colonial power balance between France and Britain. The rivalry and the religious differences aimed to foster splits and notions of othering between the inhabitants whereas, in fact, both towns had developed as transcultural contact zones.

Exile and “Errance”

The memory of the deportation of the Acadians has been a source of literary inspiration especially for contemporary Acadian writers. The deportation entailed a silencing of the Acadians for more than a century. In the 20th century Maillet’s and Le Bouthillier’s narrative voices have broken this silence to bear witness to a silenced people and to the will to survive. Richards and Landry Thériault are writers implicitly referring to the past silencing by narrating the contemporary marginalization in the 20th century.

The deportation was designed to annihilate Acadian life and culture. It was, in fact, an act of war on a tiny community built on nuclear families (Griffiths 103).

For the Acadians the expulsion also meant the start of a tortuous itinerary, through time and space, from *Acadie* in 1755 to their political re-emergence in Nova Scotia in the 1880s. The itinerary brought about a far-reaching exile and “errance”:

[Exile] denotes both the condition imposed on and the experience undergone by the Acadians forced off their lands in 1755. Arguably, both condition and experience continued for those Acadians who managed to return to their remembered homeland some years and decades after the deportation. Returned Acadians were not, of course, permitted to resume residence in the settlements, never mind on the farms and in the homes from which they’d been expelled: for the most part, they were only permitted to establish themselves in coastal communities where they became involved in the fisheries. (Keefer, “Performing” 22)

After the official declaration of the Seven Years’ War in 1756, the exile forced the great majority of Acadians into a state of “errance” in North America, Europe and the Caribbean, an “errance” which continued well into the 1780s. As Griffiths explains: “The places of exile were themselves embroiled, to a greater or lesser extent, in the Anglo-French battle for dominance of North America” (Griffiths 97–100). In addition, the American War of Independence broke out in 1775. The tactic of separating families, implemented during the deportation, entailed that the exiled Acadians in the ensuing decades of “errance” kept searching for lost family members (109). With the peace treaty eight years after the first embarkation, they were re-admitted as subjects of Nova Scotia (125). Scattered in assigned communities, they were destined to ethnical absence until 1881 and the Acadian National Conference of Memramcook, when after more than a century they were called “from the woods” (qtd. in Doucet 160). However, the exile has continued spiritually until today. Keefer argues:

First, they are a people without a state, a nation without a country; *Acadie*, after all, is a network of communities spread throughout the Canadian

Maritime provinces and as far afield as Louisiana. And as far as individuals are concerned, the diaspora extends world-wide. If the opposite of being exiled is coming home, and if home, as Canada's national anthem infers, is one's native land defined both politically and geographically, can Acadians be anything but exiles, even in a world defining itself as post-national and globalized?³³ (Keefer, "Performing" 23)

The primary destination of the Acadian deportees, the "French neutrals", decided by the Nova Scotian authorities, were the American colonies. The 7000 deportees were scattered from Massachusetts to Georgia. They were received by the American colonists with fear, hostility, and outright hate. With the Seven Years' War imminent the Acadians were "unexpected and unwelcome refugees" (Griffiths 105). They spoke French and they were Catholic. Also, they carried diseases, especially smallpox (111). In sum, they were the Other. A historian from Georgia notes:

Seven thousand refugees scattered like leaves in the autumn wind, amidst people that hated their religion, detested their country, made fun of their habits and laughed at their language... Disembarking on distant shores these people who had known abundance and wealth were pointed at and rejected as vagabonds, as beggars. There existed hardly good Samaritans to heal their hearts broken by all the suffering.³⁴ (Qtd. in Arsenault 195–96)

1500 persons disembarked in Georgia and in the Carolinas in December 1755. Most of them were supposed to be rebels and for that reason deported as far

³³ There is in contemporary Acadian discourse of New Brunswick a tendency to disregard the Acadian exile. Acadians are becoming more and more aware of the necessity to define their identity in accordance with citizenship principles. (Marie-Linda Lord, private correspondence).

³⁴ Sept mille proscrits ainsi dispersés, comme des feuilles par les rafales d'automne, au milieu d'un peuple qui haïssait leur religion, détestait leur pays, se moquait de leurs coutumes et riait de leur langue... En débarquant sur les lointains rivages, ces gens qui avaient connu l'abondance et le bien-être se virent montrer du doigt et repousser comme des vagabonds, comme des mendiants. Ils ne trouvèrent guère de bons samaritains pour guérir leurs coeurs brisés par tant de souffrance.

away as possible. They worked for a time on the plantations, but decided soon to return to *Acadie*. Many built boats for their return; others tried to walk. Those who survived were arrested on arrival in New York or in Boston and were sent back south. In 1763 approximately 500 were still alive. After the peace treaty many returned to Nova Scotia, while others settled in Louisiana or continued to the French Antilles (204–05). The protagonist Pélagie LeBlanc in Antonine Maillet's novel *Pélagie* is one of many deciding to struggle on ox-carts from Georgia through the Carolinas and Maryland to the old country. Victimized deportees, the Acadians become victims once more by the hazards of a continent at civil war. The novel is a heart-rending re-enactment of the lethal exile of the Acadians in the American colonies and their return from Georgia to the homeland. It is a journey away from exile with death as a fellow traveller. On arrival at Tintamarre³⁵ Pélagie finds that *Acadie* has ceased to exist and that her old land has been seized by European Protestant settlers and American Loyalists. For Pélagie exile can only end in death.

The 900 deported to Maryland most probably found themselves very fortunate. At disembarkation they were met with the charity of a Catholic Church and private families (201). On the outskirts of Baltimore, a town of Anglo-French transcultural co-existence, the Acadians settled in an area called French Town and built their own church. Despite this new beginning, many left Maryland for the French Antilles and Louisiana. Others tried to reach *Acadie* on foot and died underway. In 1781 there was still an Acadian colony in Baltimore adhering to the traditions and the religion of their ancestors (202). Significantly, Baltimore is also the scene for the agreed reunion between Pélagie and her lover Joseph Brossard called Beausoleil. Fictionalized as Pélagie's lover in Maillet's novel, he was a historical hero of a particular standing during the years of exile and "errance". Born in Port-Royal in 1702, he lived for some time in the village of Beausoleil,³⁶

³⁵ Sackville.

³⁶ Boundary Creek.

fighting the British in their hunt for Acadians between 1755 and 1758. In 1764 he chartered a ship for a group of Acadian refugees and carried them to Louisiana, where he died in 1765 (209–10). Captivating as the love relationship between Pélagie and Beausoleil is, it may nevertheless be interpreted as a conscious means to unite fiction and history for a “dialectic between history and story/romance, between fact and dream, which refuses to grant victory to either side and indeed, develops a critique of both approaches to reality” (Keefer, *Under* 121).

The first Acadians to arrive in Louisiana in 1756 had initially been exiled in Maryland, the Carolinas, and Georgia. The great majority, though, arrived from France between the years 1777 and 1788. Many had been exiled directly to France between the years 1758 and 1760 after the capitulation of Louisbourg (Arsenault 310–11). Others were transported to France from England where they had been detained after having been expelled from Virginia in 1756 (311). The survivors of the captivity were later taken to Brittany, from where they were sent to Guyana, the Falkland Islands, to Belle-Ile-en Mer, off the Breton coast, to the islands of Saint-Pierre and Miquelon, to Uruguay, the French Antilles, and to Poitou, France, where their historical roots lie (311). At a census taken in 1773 the exiled Acadians in France numbered 2500, scattered in cities from Boulogne to Bordeaux (313). The project of reinstatement of the Acadians in France, set up by the French authorities in Poitou and Belle-Isle-en-Mer, failed utterly. Therefore, the Acadians wished to leave France for Louisiana, which at this point in history belonged to Spain. After negotiations with the Spanish court the first Acadians to depart left France in 1777 (315). Named for Louis XIV, Louisiana was a “terre de salut” (320) of “liberty, sun, and watermelons” (A. Maillet 74) for the deported Acadians, and thus there was an outright Acadian exodus to this southern haven. There are estimations that more than 3000 Acadians left France for Louisiana (Arsenault 310).

The Acadians had been British subjects since 1713. Therefore, they felt the deportation some 40 years later to be unjustified and unjust. Victims of political

rivalry and contest, they kept petitioning American, British, and French authorities about the conditions under which they lived. In Europe they even petitioned the English and French courts (Doucet 46, 137). A petition could read as follows: “We hope We shall be sent into Our Countries [...] and that our Effects etc., which We have been dispossessed of (notwithstanding the faithful neutrality which We have always observed) will be restored to Us” (qtd. in Griffiths 121). But to no avail.

The Acadian “errance” is the main theme of Le Bouthillier’s novels *Phantom Ships* and *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*. The protagonist, in constant search for his lost relatives and concealed ancestry, performs the historical itinerary from *Acadie*, to England, France, Louisiana, and back to Nova Scotia. In one voyage to France he even acts as one of the petitioners to the estranged royal court at Versailles. The pastoral settings of England, especially in *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, reflect the Anglomania, the image of an idealized Other, prevalent in France before 1750. The term Anglomania was introduced, although not invented, by the writer Fougeret de Montbron in the pamphlet *Préservatif contre l’anglomanie* published in 1757 “to describe the interaction of the French and the English during the eighteenth century” (Grieder 7). Like many other social phenomena at the time, it was unstable and regularly contradicted by war-time expressions of Anglophobia. Most observers concur, however, that the publication of *De l’esprit des lois* by Montesquieu in 1748 provoked an interest in British political life and thus gave birth to Anglomania (8). Josephine Grieder remarks:

The sober and elegant impartiality of *L’Esprit des lois* lent weight to an interpretation of the English which, in many respects, was not dissimilar to that of Voltaire and in no way contradicted the fictional image. Negative political, social, and temperamental qualities, passed through the sieve of objective examination, became explicable; faults were blurred in the portrait, however idealized, of this nation which so jealously guarded its citizens’ liberty to speak, to think, to worship, and to trade. (147–48)

From a French perspective Britain emerged as a nation built on values of integ-

rity and morality. Also, Voltaire's *Lettres philosophiques*, published in 1734, had already sustained the general opinion of a country solid in all respects (147). The English character was deemed just and divine, and the English countryside was looked upon as a haven of beauty. England's flowery country paths were believed to offer new and unexpected vistas. English gardens, "des jardins à l'anglaise", were introduced to replace the symmetric grounds around French castles. One designer comments: "If we've had the desire to imitate the English gardens, [...] it was only for the reason to leave the monotony of our own"³⁷ (qtd. in Grieder 13). The national character was shaped in harmony in these surroundings. Grieder quotes the reaction of a French visitor:

At first glance everything seemed to me infinitely above the idea I had been given. Every Englishman was a divinity to me. His actions, his most indifferent ways seemed to me directed by good sense and reason. If he opened his mouth to speak, although I didn't understand a word he said, I found myself in a state of admiration impossible to express.³⁸

The Anglomania led to anti-French and anti-France denigration at home (18). More importantly, the sense of denigration of things French and of British superiority was intensified by the fact that Britain a decade before the French Revolution was a richer and more developed country than France. F. Crouzet observes: "England was more urbanized, more industrialized, more involved in international trade; industry employed a higher percentage of the active population and contributed more to national income, roughly over one quarter, as against one-fifth in France" (155). Yet another contribution to Britain's superiority over France was the emergence of the Enlightenment that worked in op-

³⁷ Si nous avons eu le désir d'imiter les Jardins Anglois, [...] ce n'étoit que pour sortir de la monotonie des nôtres.

³⁸ Tout m'y parut au premier coup d'œil infiniment au-dessus de l'idée qu'on m'avoit donnée. Chaque Anglois étoit pour moi une divinité. Ses actions, ses démarches les plus indifférentes me sembloient toutes dirigées par le bon sens et la droite raison. S'il ouvroit la bouche pour parler, quoique j'entendisse pas un mot de ce qu'il disoit, j'étois dans une admiration qui ne se peut exprimer.

posing directions in the two countries. In Britain the relationship between manufacturers and scientists was close, scientific expertise having “penetrated industrial society down to a very modest level” (160). In France, by contrast, the “intellectual activity” remained “theoretical in character” and left no vestiges in practical life (161). René Pomeau points to the outcome of the Seven Years’ War won by Protestant countries (Great Britain, the Netherlands, and Prussia), concluding that “the Catholic spirit, encouraging monastic inertia, intellectual passivity, superstitious practices is by nature incompatible with the progress of the Enlightenment”³⁹ (40–41). The anti-French denigration has survived for centuries in Canada, still being re-enacted in the works of Le Bouthillier and Landry Thériault, as will be shown in the following chapter.

Not all Acadians were deported to the American colonies or to Europe. Many were kept in captivity in Halifax until 1763. Others, such as the inhabitants of the riverside of the Petitcoudiac and the Memramcook area, managed to escape to Miramichi, in what is today New Brunswick, intermittently hiding in the woods (Arsenault 208). Concurrently, Acadian villages were burnt by the British. At this time and in these parts Joseph Broussard called Beausoleil acted as the chief of the Acadian resistance. One historian testifies to Beausoleil’s prowess:

[T]he Acadians hiding in the woods ran into arsonists and bloody fights followed. *Beausoleil* was in command. As he was a skilful shot, his musket never failed to hit an enemy. Tradition reports several of these achievements on the banks of Petitcoudiac, mainly at Cran, and Coude (Moncton) and elsewhere.⁴⁰ (Qtd. in Arsenault 209)

Beausoleil’s zeal also took him to Louisbourg, where he fought until its fall. After Quebec’s surrender he was taken prisoner and sent to Halifax, where he was kept in detention until his release in 1763.

³⁹ L’esprit catholique, encourageant l’inertie monacale, la passivité intellectuelle, les pratiques superstitieuses, est par nature incompatible avec les progrès des lumières.

⁴⁰ [L]es Acadiens cachés au bord des bois tombaient sur les incendiaires et des combats sanglants s’en suivaient. C’est *Beausoleil* qui les commandait. Habile tireur, son mousquet ne man-

The refugees to Miramichi in 1756–1757 were to encounter terrible weather conditions and, on their arrival, the challenge of another and newly settled ethnic group. More than 600 persons died of famine and of epidemic diseases (210). As a last resort they decided to split into groups. Many continued to Québec, while others made their way to Ile Saint-Jean. A large number dispersed along the coast all the way to Chaleur Bay (211). In Miramichi, at this time, the number of Irish immigrants increased considerably. Estimates are that during the decades prior to 1776 approximately 250,000 Presbyterians and Calvinists left Ulster for the North American colonies (Ô Gormaile 116). Research has shown that they left of their own accord with a mind to live on the land as farmers. In Canada a century later, i.e. by the 1850s, the Irish made up the second largest ethnic group after the French Canadians (117). As a result, the Irish immigrants were a major component of the Anglophone communities during the 17th and 18th centuries. Pádraig Ô Gormaile quotes: “In the nineteenth century the new Canadian nation was consequently influenced out of proportion by the Irish component serving as an anchorage for the Anglophone communities”⁴¹ (Ô Gormaile 118). Despite their shared background (119), the social status differed between the Protestant and the Catholic Irish of New Brunswick. The Ulster immigrants were mostly farmers enjoying higher social rank and higher social security than their Catholic compatriots from the south (119). As can be expected, Ô Gormaile concludes that in New Brunswick at the time religion was a determinant factor for Irish immigrants in shaping their future.

The relationship between the Irish Catholics and the Acadians in New Brunswick led to complications of othering and transculturation with political ramifications. Even if they shared religious beliefs with the Acadians, Irish Cath-

quait jamais d’abattre un ennemi. La tradition rapporte plusieurs de ses exploits sur les rives de la Petitcodiac, principalement au Cran, au Coude (Moncton) et ailleurs.

⁴¹ Au dix-neuvième siècle, la nation canadienne naissante fut par conséquent influencée de façon disproportionnée par la composante irlandaise qui servait de point d’ancrage aux communautés anglophones.

olics considered Canada to be a major Anglophone country within the British Empire. Equally as important was their view that the French presence within Canada be strictly limited to Québec, where church leaders were required to be Anglophone bishops, i.e. Irish bishops. The Holy See, for its part, considered the Acadians as insignificant Francophone inhabitants on British territory (121). Thus, the conditions for Acadian survival in the region were restricted in the extreme. Today in Miramichi and on the Acadian Peninsula the experience of alterity lived by the Acadians and the Catholic Irish, as outlined in Richards' and Landry Thériault's fiction, is one of marginalization. This is also true for the characters of Keefer's *Constellations* on the "French Shore" of St Mary's Bay, Nova Scotia. Arguably, being Francophone and Catholic the Acadians are doubly marginalized as compared to their Anglophone neighbours of Protestant British, Loyalist, and Protestant Irish descent. Lord argues that as the former homelands in Europe are no more an alternative for residence, the Catholic Irish and the Acadians experience alterity in a position of subalternity in their relations to the Anglophone Protestants of the region (Lord "Cet" 132). In *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace* Richards exemplifies this position as represented in the life of the young Acadian Ivan Basterache.

The major legacy of colonization is one of displaced native populations. The Micmacs could not oppose the French and British invasion of their lands. Finally, they were brought to ruin. Deportations cannot be erased from the collective memory of mankind, and the deportation of the Acadians is no exception. The historical records live on. The Maritime region was marked for a long time by its wars. As a consequence, in Maritime fiction memories of past history resurface, are re-created, and are re-enacted again and again in patterns of othering and in transcultural contacts.

In France the loss of Canada was not regretted. In 1759 Voltaire flippantly remarked in *Candide* that Canada was merely "a few acres of snow" (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 14). For Britain, on the other hand, the possession of Canada and North America was a milestone for future global supremacy.

3. Othering

In the previous chapter I gave an overview of the historical contexts breeding situations of othering and transculturation in Maritime contact zones. In this chapter I will show how processes of othering are constructed and how they are exemplified in the Anglophone and Acadian novels selected for my analysis. As John Lye argues, othering is a logical component of post-colonial literary theory, since it embraces literatures of colonizers and colonized, including “doubleness, both identity and difference, so that every different than and excluded by is dialectically created” (Lye). In a Maritime postcolonial context, processes of othering, as expressed in the works discussed, are complex phenomena with various and contradictory perspectives on life and death. From an Anglophone perspective the Other is French, Acadian, and Micmac. From an Acadian perspective the Other is English or Anglophone and French. The contact zones are determined by the encounters between these ethnic groups and frequently take on the characteristics of the negative scene as referred to in the introduction. According to Antor the negative Canadian view of Montreal is represented in MacLennan’s novel *Two Solitudes* as an evident fact of the Francophone and Anglophone communities there: “We are here confronted either with the radical nationalists [...], people who can only think about the other ethnic group in outright negative terms and prefer to keep them totally separate, or with characters who engage in inter-ethnic communication and make a complete mess of it” (Antor 297). Thus, it is a scene of human “conflict structured along binary dichotomies” (282), a scene where the inter-relational hostility between the two linguistic communities will unfold various aspects of othering. Also after MacLennan, Maritime fiction has produced various literary scenes reflecting similar situations of othering.

Processes of othering were created by the long and complex history of colonization, of colonial wars, and in recent decades by contemporary social mar-

ginalization. The rivalry and the divergent political interests of colonial Britain and France gave rise to the belief that there was a profound ethnic difference between the two nations. This belief has mainly focused on ethnic as well as on linguistic and religious differences and has found its quite specific expressions in Maritime fiction, where difference is visualised as the presence of a radically different Other,⁴² generally identified as one individual or a group of individuals. At times the Other is identified as an abstraction. In Maritime fiction, then, processes of othering are expressed in ethnic terms as regards the British and the French colonizers and the Micmac population. At stake in my line of argument on othering are factors of identification and images related to identification that constitute distinctive qualities of the Other. Bhabha's theoretical explanation will support my argument:

[T]he question of identification is never the affirmation of a pre-given identity, never a *self*-fulfilling prophecy—it is always the production of an image of identity and the transformation of the subject in assuming that image. The demand of identification—that is, to be *for* an Other—entails the representation of the subject in the differentiating order of otherness. Identification [...] is always the return of an image of identity that bears the mark of splitting in the Other place from which it comes.

(Bhabha, *Location* 45)

Fixity, another concept of Bhabha's theory, depending on the "primordial Either/Or" (qtd. in Bhabha, *Location* 108), adds to the identification of the Other: "Fixity as the sign of cultural/historical/racial difference in the discourse of colonialism, is a paradoxical mode of representation: it connotes rigidity and an unchanging order as well as disorder, degeneracy and daemonic repetition" (94). In the examined novels the situations of the "primordial Either/Or" structure fixed binary oppositions in order to identify the Other as a stereotype. The binary oppositions are thus a strategy to identify the fixed difference of the Other,

⁴² In this study the Other denotes a representative of the colonizers as well as of the colonized.

since the opposite position of the Other serves as an essential foil to an understanding of its difference.

In addition, othering has to do with how colonial subjects are produced (*Post-Colonial* 171). Pratt extends this argument:

The people to be othered are homogenized into a collective ‘they,’ which is distilled even further into an iconic ‘he’ (the standardized adult male specimen). This abstracted ‘he/they’ is the subject of verbs in a timeless present tense, which characterizes anything ‘he’ is or does not as a particular historical event but as an instance of a pre-given custom or trait.

(Pratt, “Scratches” 120)

The colonial Other is symbolic of the imperial centre, its discourses and its representatives, and of the empire itself (*Post-Colonial* 170). The colonized subject, stereotyped as an object of difference, also emerges as the Other (cf. footnote 42). Pratt describes the colonizing Self as follows: “Unheroic, unparticularized, without ego, interest, or desire of its own, it seems able to do nothing but gaze from a periphery of its own creation, like the self-effaced, noninterventionist eye that scans the Other’s body” (Pratt, “Scratches” 124).

The legacy of the two European homelands, underlying the factors of identification, was crucial for the sense of identity of the first settlers who were relatively modest scatterings of people. The French settlers arrived mainly from Touraine and Poitou. They brought different regional identities to *Acadie*, identities that over the decades created the so-called “Canadien” identity, distinct from the metropolitan French identity (McRoberts 3–4). Kenneth McRoberts, a professor of political science, points to the fact that the “Canadien” identity was urged “by struggles for power and status between the permanent residents of the colony (or *habitants*) and the metropolitan Frenchmen who monopolized the positions of authority—ecclesiastical, political, and military—in the colony” (4). Moreover, the urge for a “Canadien” identity was also encouraged by France’s pronounced lack of interest in its North American possession due to the seemingly wide-spread opinion in the 17th and 18th centuries that the North American

colonies were peopled by deportees, criminals, and outcasts (Moogk, *Nouvelle* 88–89). The French settlers could therefore create a “Canadien” identity in peace. Anglophone Canadians, on the other hand, have until recently seen themselves and Canada as part of the British Empire (McRoberts 3). Consequently, Anglophone Canadian identity has been British. McRoberts concludes that the sense of British identity only “atrophied” with the “decline of Britain” (3). In conclusion, the divergent conceptions of identity contributed to how the processes of othering evolved.

In Maritime fiction the colonial period when processes of othering predominate covers the critical years between 1750 and 1805. These were the violent decades when the Seven Years’ War started in North America, the deportation of the Acadians took place, the Peace Treaty of Paris was signed, and the American and French Revolutions erupted. In the 20th century, literary occurrences of othering still reflect the events of the second half of the 18th century, in that colonial positions of superiority and inferiority have left a legacy still frequently evident to modern Maritimers.

Major Anglophone novels with a colonial focus are Roberts’ *A Sister to Evangeline* and Raddall’s *Roger Sudden*. These two novels aim to dismantle the two most important myths of *Acadie*, i.e. the myth of Grand Pré and the myth of the French garrison town of Louisbourg. Over time, however, the novels have become contested testimonies of the final years of *Acadie*. I will develop the position taken by Keefer that Roberts’ novel is “a dexterously managed upgrading of the British position vis-à-vis the Acadian—if the latter are seen as independent agents rather than as passive victims of history, then the British can take on the role of adversaries rather than executioners in what becomes the ultimate gentleman’s game—war” (Keefer, *Under* 97). Consequently, Roberts indicts the Catholic priest and missionary Le Loutre, alias the Black Abbé, for plotting against the British and the Acadians in the shape of a colonial adversary, the Other. As I will argue, Raddall also sets out to exculpate the British in their war against the French in Louisbourg. In Keefer’s view “the novel attributes Eng-

land's ultimate success not to the superiority of its military machine, but rather, to the courage and endurance of the English colonies—a fact which makes *Roger Sudden* as much a novel of the Battle of Britain as it is of the Seven Years' War" (105). The French empire as epitomized in the garrison town of Louisbourg is in Raddall's novel staged as the hostile Other.

Similar ideological functions are served by novels treating the same or similar subjects from Acadian perspectives. The Acadian novels discussed in this study have in common the objective to provide a corrective account of the historical events of the 18th century. In *Phantom Ships* and its sequel *Les marées du Grand Dérangement* Le Bouthillier sets out to span this period of time with the aim to give a realistic documentation. For Le Bouthillier the Other emerges as both English and French. The fire referred to in the French title of his first novel, *Le feu du mauvais temps*, represents British "cannons and fires; the ship of war, of the deportation and of death incessantly chasing a people abandoned by its homeland; the bad period of time the Acadians went through between 1740 and 1763"⁴³ (Viau 119). *Les marées du Grand Dérangement* narrates the "errance" of the Acadians in England and in France during the 1760s and 1770s. England is represented as the country of refuge and France, the homeland, as the dangerous Other. The major Acadian literary statement on the destiny of the Acadians after the Treaty of Paris is Maillet's *Pélagie*. In this compelling novel Maillet delineates the destiny of the Acadians in the American colonies (Runte 19). It is, above all, an account of the intimate relation between the Acadians returning to *Acadie* in the 1770s and the abstraction of the Other as a lethally hostile foe in their tracks.

In the 20th century a retrospective sense of loser ethos was in force due to the fact that the Maritimes may be seen a region characterized by its exiles—the Acadians—and the defeated exiles from abroad—the Loyalists and the Scots Highlanders (Keefer, *Under* 16). This mood and its connection to othering are

⁴³ le feu des canons et des incendies; le vaisseau de la guerre, de la deportation et de la mort qui pourchasse sans relâche un peuple abandonné par la mère patrie, le mauvais temps qu'ont traversé les Acadiens entre 1740 et 1763.

explored differently by Richards, Landry Thériault, and Keefer. The loser ethos is reflected in Richards' socially displaced victims of the anonymous Miramichi landscape and in the integrated cohabitation there between mainly Acadians and Irish Anglophones. Similarly, Landry Thériault in her novels *Un soleil mauve sur la baie* and *Le moustiquaire* inquires into this prevalent spirit of defeat in two marginalized villages and one town on the Miramichi border. The processes of othering here concern integration and social positions of superiority and inferiority. In Keefer's *Constellations* the entire Acadian setting of Spruce Harbour on the Nova Scotian coast reeks of solitary desolation and marginalization, a "null place" (21), where the spiritually incapacitated residents move about as othered phantoms, overshadowed by their European visitor, the European Other.

In all these texts the Other emerges as an objectified stereotype with origins in European cultures. Bhabha points to the stereotype as a "form of knowledge and identification that vacillates between what is always 'in place', already known and something that must be anxiously repeated" (Bhabha, *Location* 94–95). The identification and the knowledge of the stereotyped Other impose different positionings for Anglophone and Acadian writers. For Anglophones, in a colonial context, stereotyping repeats attitudes to an enemy, i.e. the Acadians, the Micmacs, the French rival, and also to the menacing influence of France. For Acadian writers stereotyping repeats attitudes to the British oppressor, and then later attitudes to all Anglophones. For some Acadian writers France, the former homeland, and French nationals in *Acadie* represent the Other. Thus, in the novels examined the Other, the objectified stereotype of difference, has many facets. It is above all a European neighbour, a transferred enemy, or a former compatriot who, in a colonial situation, becomes the Other. Various images are appropriated for its identification. Roberts, Raddall, and Maillet all illustrate the Other as the colonial enemy. For Roberts the Other is an enemy as stereotyped and personified in the Catholic Black Abbé. For Raddall it is a strong political rival of a different tradition, as represented by the French garrison town of Louisbourg and its inhabitants, a rival that has to be defeated. Maillet's Other is identi-

fied as a vision of death rendered as a threat to survival and life. Finally, Le Bouthillier's Other is, above all, identical with a degenerate homeland that has abandoned its colony. In the works from the 20th century, the aspects of the Other focus on social positions of superiority and inferiority. The Other in Richards' work assumes the inferior role of the destitute and stupid Francophone fool, whereas Landry Thériault identifies the Other as the good Anglophone descendant from Jersey and Ireland, an idealized and superior Other, when provoked, becomes a threat that will punish without mercy. Keefer conceives the Other as an individual representing French superiority, challenging the othered marginalized Acadian collective.

The Other is generally viewed by the narrators from an ethnic perspective as an objectified stereotype. For my analysis, Ania Loomba's book *Colonialism/Postcolonialism* offers some useful conceptual tools, particularly as it develops the postcolonial theory of colonial and postcolonial identities (104–83). Although Loomba's notions of colonial and post-colonial identities are based on how religious identities developed in medieval Europe, they are relevant for this study of ethnic differences, where physical characteristics play an important part. Loomba exemplifies:

The term 'Moors' at first referred to Arab Muslims, but although not all Muslims were dark-skinned (and travelogues as well as literary texts abound with references to white Moors), over time Moors came overwhelmingly to be associated with blackness, as is evidenced from the term 'blackamoors'. Religious and cultural prejudice against both blackness and Islam, each of which was seen to be the handiwork of the Devil, intensified the connection between them. (106)

Generally, Loomba stresses, "colour was the most important signifier of cultural and racial difference (as in the representations of Africans) and in other cases it was less remarked upon (as in the case of the Irish)" (109). Moreover, colonial discourse distinguished "between people regarded as barbarous infidels (such as the inhabitants of Russia, Central Asia, Turkey) and those who were constructed

as savage (such as the inhabitants of the Americas and Africa)” (108). Over the centuries theories of race grew in importance (116), theories of biologically constituted races that gave the lie to “the Biblical notion of the human species as a unitary creation of God” (116) Consequently, race thinking bred dichotomies of civilisation that turned “into fixed and permanent conditions” (117). Further, ethnic differences bred colonial “stereotypes of ‘outsiders’—both those outsiders who roamed far away on the edges of the world, and those who (like the Irish) lurked uncomfortably nearer home” (107). With few exceptions, West Europeans were considered superior. Here, it is worth noting the connection between race and nation as an extended aspect of difference. Loomba comments:

From the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the word ‘race’ was often read as synonymous with various forms of social collectivities such as ‘kinfolk’, ‘lineage’, ‘home’, and ‘family’. [...] ‘Race’ thus became a marker of an ‘imagined community’ [...] From the sixteenth century on, we can trace the connections between the formation of English nation (for example) and the articulation of the superiorities of the Anglo-Saxon race. (118)

Consequently, race thinking also includes the ‘races’ within a nation with, for instance, the Irish as alien and threatening to the Anglo-Saxon race of Britain (109).

The Colonial Other

In writing *A Sister to Evangeline*, Roberts was very much inspired by Longfellow’s *Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie*. Longfellow was one of the first authors to revive the memory of the extinct French colony, which had fallen into oblivion in the aftermath of the events of the 18th century. In 1847 he published his romance in dactylic hexameters built on a tale from Boston (Evans 105). It met with immediate acclaim. The poeticising tale of the events at Grand Pré is still an influential statement on the deportation of the Acadians to America. In Longfellow’s tale Grand Pré, an idyll epitomizing *Acadie*, was before its drama a village “[d]istant, secluded, still [...] in the fruitful valley” (142). Its simple inhabitants “[d]welt in

the love of God and man” (143). For the American writer the attraction of the tale lay in spreading the myth of Grand Pré as an idyll and also the myth of “the faithful woman loyal to the memory of the one man who was her true love” (Evans 105). In the 20th century Grand Pré and the character of Evangeline gradually became central symbols of Acadian culture (Plank, *Unsettled* 166), a legacy remembered by all Acadians and frequently used as icons of a mythic past in situations of exposure, exile, and marginalization.

Roberts, however, had a different aim than Longfellow. Roberts wrote his novel wishing to improve the image of the English and the English military in the 18th century. To this end he had to create a counter to the myths (Keefer, *Under* 97). The counter implied that Evangeline was an ordinary girl and that Grand Pré was an ordinary Acadian village, where the Acadians and the English had lived in transcultural reconciliation since 1713. If the myths could be interrogated, Roberts believed, the Acadians would no longer be seen as passive victims. In order to give credence to his English-biased plot he chose to make his narrator, Paul Grande, an Acadian soldier-poet returning to Grand Pré from France. On his return Paul Grande confirms the myth of the village:

Not all my wanderings had shown me another scene so wonderful as that wide prospect. The vale of the Five Rivers lay spread out before me, with Grand Pré, the quiet metropolis of the Acadian people, nestling in her apple-bloom at my feet. There was one long street, thick-set with its wide-eaved gables, and there its narrow subsidiary lane descending from the slopes upon my left. Near the angle the spire of the village church, glittering like gold in the clear flood of the sunset. And everywhere the dear apple-blossoms. (Roberts 2)

In presenting the scene of Grand Pré Roberts makes liberal use of colour signifiers. Characterized by whiteness the village is the positive and transcultural contact zone aspiring to a state of eternal innocence with the apple-blossoms breathing “their soul out upon that tender morning air” (67). The cottages are “white with lime-wash” (69). The village smells good with the occasional “faint

savour of tar” (67). Paul observes, nonetheless, elements of blackness signifying an imminent disaster. A huge black dog constitutes a threat (23). In the distance a black bank of clouds towers, its menacing shadows creeping upon the village (10). Moreover, blackness also implies a smearing of the innocent atmosphere. Elaborating the signifiers of black and white further, Roberts makes use of two strategies with the aim of opposing the myths of *Acadie*. The first aims to make Evangeline’s successor Yvonne de Lamourie, the heroine of the novel, a fallible young woman. As Keefer observes:

By making his heroine wilfully reject the traditional daughterly virtues of submission, obedience, and docility to parental or priestly decree, in order to fulfil the requirements of passionate, lofty love for the man of her choice [...] Roberts manages to strike a blow against the hegemony of Longfellow’s history. (*Under* 97)

Yvonne is like her Acadian forerunner, Evangeline, an exquisite beauty:

[h]er wide white lids downcast over her great eyes, her long lashes almost sweeping the rondure of her cheek, she looked a Madonna. [...] But the mouth, a bow of tenderness, with a wilful dimple at either delectable corner always lurking, spoke her all woman, too laughing and loving to spend her days in sainthood. (Roberts 7–8)

She wears a creamy white dress, but her dark head is covered with a black Spanish lace shawl. She is a woman of great attraction, the whiteness making her a Madonna and the black shawl a woman. She loves and is loved by two men. Her English fiancé George Anderson is a good-hearted Englishman, a stereotype “with abundant light hair, slightly waving; his ruddy somewhat square face, with its good chin and kind mouth; his frank and cheerful blue eyes, fearless but not aggressive, his air of directness and good intention” (41). Her lover Paul Grande, the Acadian narrator, is also a stereotype and according to his own depreciating self-image, he has a “sallow countenance, with its straight black hair, straight black brows, straight black moustache; its mouth large and hard set; its eyes

wherein mirth and moroseness were at frequent strife for mastery” (41). They are rivals and enemies, two male opposites, in binary positions that will meet transculturally, as will be delineated in the next chapter. In the denouement, as the English military bring the deportation to an end, Yvonne decides to break her engagement. She escapes with Paul to Québec, where they settle down.

Roberts’ second strategy is to focus the black elements of Grand Pré. Therefore, he adds an enemy from within to challenge the innocence of the transcultural village. He creates the French Black Abbé, Yvonne’s opposite. Yvonne is female, the Black Abbé is male. She is white, he is black. She is a Madonna, he is Satan. Yvonne is in command as a deified Madonna, symbolic and mythic, “the whitest of women” (168), whose beauty unites celestial and temporal beauty. She is challenged by the Black Abbé, the blackness of his clerical robe affecting his looks, character, and actions. In the service of God he acts as Satan, consistently undermining Yvonne’s position as a Madonna, contesting her gender, sanctity, and identity. In his mission to prevent the Grand Pré villagers from swearing allegiance to the English throne, the Black Abbé constitutes a threat not only to the English but also to the Acadians and as such individuates the Other. He is identified as a significant representative of evil. He is the black “grim priest, extending a long left hand as if in anathema” (31) with the stereotyped looks of evil, a “long nose with its aggressively bulbous tip—the thin lips with their crafty smile—the dogged and indomitable jaw” (30). In his role as a scheming representative of the awesome Catholic Church, he is responsible for the extinction of Grand Pré. The French and Micmac henchmen working with him are identified as evil savages, spies, madmen, assassins, and scoundrels. In the background ruddy English soldiers unwillingly and anxiously execute the deportation of the Grand Pré villagers.

In conclusion, the male binaries of George Anderson and Paul Grande and the gendered binaries of Yvonne and the Black Abbé serve to explore the difference between them, accentuating the stereotypes of othering. In using this strategy Roberts makes himself the proponent of the assumption of many colonial

officials at the time, i.e. that the Catholic Church acted as a French shadow government in Canada exerting an “insidious influence” over the Acadians and the Indians (Plank, *Unsettled* 6), thus disrupting the established conditions of transcultural reconciliation between the English and the French. In contradicting the Grand Pré and Evangeline myths, Roberts wished to prove that the cause of the English military was justified. In turn, this justification would signify a logical reason for English hegemony in the Atlantic provinces.

In contrast to Roberts and in vindication of the English hegemony, Raddall chose to throw into relief the fall of the French garrison town of Louisbourg. He found that Grand Pré as described by Longfellow and Roberts did not correspond to his comprehension of historic truth upon which he wished his fiction to rest. In his view, the farms of the white-flowered orchards were, in reality, a “small clearing at the edge of the upland, a few staked fields in the wild meadows, a miserable cabin of logs (overflowing with children, dogs, fowl, and lean pigs), a crazy barn and one or two outhouses” (Raddall 223). In *Roger Sudden*, his most celebrated novel, published in 1944, Raddall interrogates the myth of Louisbourg. In the 1740s Louisbourg had acquired a reputation of being a “forteresse imprenable et impenetrable” (Le Blanc 24–25), standing on a “point of bleak moorland between harbor and sea, the land side guarded by massive walls of earth faced with stone and standing thirty feet above the general level” (Raddall 179), surrounded by bastions, batteries, a moat, and a counter-scarp. With a view to countering this myth, Raddall described his novel as “a sort of ‘tale of two cities’, the story of the English settlement of Halifax and of Louisbourg, each symbolic of the national character of the two great rivals” (qtd. in Wiens). Thus, the binary opposites of the novel are Halifax and Louisbourg. The novel is based on the suggestion that the Halifax settlers were ethnically pure, whereas the Louisbourg inhabitants were ethnically hybrid. There are no colour signifiers involved. Difference is expressed in terms of different traditions and clothing. At the time of its fall, the Louisbourg fortress numbered roughly seven thousand inhabitants (McNeill 20). In Raddall’s description they are

fishermen and their women in homespun and great Breton sabots; merchants and clerks in broadcloth and brass buttons; seamen of Des Gouttes' fleet in untidy red shirts and nightcaps and short striped petticoat trousers; soldiers of the Compagnie de la Marine in white coats and blue breeches and gaiters; infantry of the line in all white, with a glimpse of a scarlet waistcoat, artillerymen in red breeches blue coats, Volontaires Etrangers in white and green. (277–78)

They are the “soldiers or sailors disbanded abroad [...] religious outcasts [...] political exiles [...] gentlemen adventurers” (358). Raddall's message is that the power of Louisbourg is undermined from within by the ethnic hybridity of its inhabitants and the fixed fortress walls that shut them in. He makes his protagonist Roger summarily conclude: “This talk of walls. The French in America had surrounded themselves with walls and shut up their bodies and minds. [...] They had not left a mark. [...] Walls! That was it! That was the difference and that was the secret” (357).

By contrast, Halifax is merely an undefended “rotten palisade” (192), whose “drab wooden houses had the haggard look of prisoners emerging from the long and dark confinement, huddling together against cold spring rain, blinking in the fitful bursts of sunshine” (207). In Raddall's novel the majority of the settlers in Halifax are cockneys from Southwark's Tooley Street. They can be seen as “proletarians in rags: criminals, beggars, chronically unemployed, mental, physical and moral rejects of society” (qtd. in Wiens). The protagonist Roger's ties to his fellow cockney emigrants are complicated. He identifies with them, yet he shies away. In his identity as a colonial subject he eventually assumes the dual role as a relentless adventurer in both Halifax and Louisbourg. The mob from Tooley Street, despite their misery, identify with the monolithic notion: “We the People of England” (358). As colonial subjects, the Tooley Street settlers possess a strong sense of national affiliation and ethnic purity. Wiens argues that this ethnic purity rests “upon a rather daring paradox”, as the Tooley street mob was “the social class, that seemed most alienated from English society, and most

helpless and most dispirited” (Wiens). In Raddall’s opinion, nevertheless, they possess abundant national identity and are thus the unconquered founders of English nationalism in Nova Scotia:

That mob! Tooley Street! Men laughed at that old tale of the nine tailors of Tooley Street who inscribed themselves, ‘We the People of England.’ By heaven they *were* the people, the common people of England. And that was what made the Halifax settlement unique in all America, for its founders were not soldiers or sailors disbanded abroad to save the cost of transport home, no pious band of religious outcasts, no sorry throng of political exiles, no company of gentlemen adventurers, no trading post of some great merchant enterprise—simply the common people of England set down upon a wild shore in the West. The wilderness had purged them swiftly and terribly. The weak had died, the shiftless fled. In Halifax there remained only the unconquerable. (358)

From their bivouacs and huts in Halifax “the unconquerable” propose to move beyond and across horizons towards the west “resolved not merely to penetrate the wilderness but to people it” (358) and take possession of the country.

The Other in *Roger Sudden* is identified with the ethnically hybrid French collective peopling Louisbourg. The image of the collective is as varied as its individual members, and in Raddall’s conception they are inhabitants lacking national identity. Hence, they had not penetrated the new continent in the name of a nation. Instead, they had built a fortress on the mouth of the St. Lawrence to protect a crumbling colony. Raddall’s main statement is that the fortress walls, symbolically, contribute to the closed-in mentality of the inhabitants.

Though Raddall may be successful in countering the idealizing tendencies of Longfellow and Roberts, it should be evident that he still writes as an Anglophone partisan. His simplistic message is that British settlers and Loyalists created Nova Scotia. Accordingly, the French settlers were an impediment to British colonial growth and stability and had to be disposed of. Concerning this impediment the critic Barry Moody reaches an unflattering conclusion:

It is not very good history; one suspects that it is not even very good literature. It is, nonetheless, the beginning of Raddall's Nova Scotia, his desire to see something unique, something different in the development of this colony. Given the significance of what he believed would come later, that beginning could not be Acadian or French. Both had failed. It would be the English who would proceed to build the colony, the society that Raddall admires, the history about which he wishes to write. (143)

The extinction of *Acadie* as depicted from an Acadian literary perspective emerges as a corrective lesson compared to Roberts' and Raddall's interpretations. Othering, therefore, also results as a corrective lesson. Le Bouthillier puts forward a seemingly neutral report of the extinction of all of New France and the ensuing decades of exile and "errance." He privileges a broad perspective stretching from 1740 to 1805. His first novel, *Phantom Ships*, offers a realist vision of the colonial situation of the Maritimes at this period of time. Le Bouthillier's principal emphasis is on the confrontation and the transcultural cohabitation of the different cultures of *Acadie* (351). The confrontation foregrounds the Other as both British and French, introducing binary oppositions as a comparison between the two nations. The Acadians are portrayed as vulnerable victims in a precarious situation between two enemies at war. Le Bouthillier's strategy in formulating processes of othering connects various symbols of light with different aspects of his plot. Light in different forms represents death, corruption but also youth and life. Fire is a major symbol of the devastation perpetrated by the English. The French title of the novel, *Le feu du mauvais temps*, refers to a well-known fire symbol in Canadian literature. The ambiguity of the title may be intentional, as there are several interpretations of the symbolism of fire. Viau, among others, claims that in Acadian fiction fire predominantly represents a fireball moving and incessantly changing speed on the sea during an emerging storm, especially in Chaleur Bay (118–19). In the heart of the fireball a black phantom ship from the English marine, having participated in the deportation, drifts passively with sailors nervously astir on deck. The fireball is, in fact, a

symbol of the English enemy who will bring death and devastation. Another important symbol, linked with the idea of light, is gold, reflecting the degeneracy of the corrupt French court at Versailles.

Gold and whiteness are symbols that have various significations. For Le Bouthillier the Other is primarily France as identified with the whiteness and gold of the court at Versailles: “The sun set in the Hall of Mirrors. The forty-one chandeliers shone on the white damask curtains adorned with the king’s emblems in gold brocade” (274). The golden light of the French court reflects a degenerate and bureaucratic authority:

Golden rays of sunshine streamed through the windows and arcades and reflected off the bevelled mirrors inside, while outside under the setting sun, the shadows lengthened over the gardens and basins. A blaze of glory played on the parquet floor, the mirrors, and the crystal chandeliers and made it seem [...] an unreal, magical world peopled by a strange, loud, costumed crowd. (271)

In this unreal world of gold and light “there is more honour [...] in attending the king’s rising and handing him his breeches than in defending the territories of the Empire” (277). In contrast to this, fairness characterizes the beauty of the Acadian protagonists. At the outset of the novel the protagonist Joseph is a young man of twenty-five of uncertain Breton origin, “[t]all and fair with pearl-grey eyes, a slender nose, a bushy brown beard with auburn-coloured streaks, a long brown hair held back off his head, he had an aura of nobility about him, of grandeur and generosity” (2). He is the strong and romantic adventurer married to Angélique, a young widow of mixed Micmac and Huguenot blood. She is a hybrid beauty with “long golden hair to her waist [...] she was even more blond than her father” (9). Joseph and Angélique are residents of the ethnically hybrid Acadian/Micmac community, where life is free, where probity and helpfulness are natural ingredients, and where the English are thought to be a predictable and clement foe:

We are used to having the English around. Since 1713, we've been under their jurisdiction, and outside that damned oath of allegiance we never took, they haven't bothered us much. They get worked up every once in a while; that's only normal since we're not far from Boston and, with Louisbourg, we control entry into the gulf. (114–15)

In *Phantom Ship*, in conclusion, fair Acadians are in mortal conflict with a cruel dual Other, the French and the British, both depicted by means of signifiers of light and fire.

The sequel, *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, offers two parallel stories: the exile and “errance” of Joseph and his family in England, France, and Louisiana and Joseph's search for the Holy Grail. The processes of othering in this novel structure a contrast between England and France, emphasizing geographical and natural environments. Nantes, where many Acadians end up after the deportation, is a sewer of dirt: “One was very far from the smell of sanctity. The earth was impregnated with blood, with human refuse, and with tinctures discharged by textile factories. Rachitic and syphilitic children, in rags, covered with vermin and coughing blood played in the sewers of the streets under the open sky”⁴⁴ (292). To the dirt is added a bureaucratic system of restrictions and taxes oppressing the freedom of the Acadians (203). France is, in fact, identified as a lethal parent and as such the Other. In contrast England, the country of the enemy, is identical with a haven of ravishing light:

Nothing, in fact, equalled [...] the gardens of England, even the smallest one. They were places full of dreams: hills full of caves, valleys hiding ponds lined with poplar trees, lilacs and red and white iris, where swans were sun-bathing, exotic trees, including the birch-tree of Canada. The butterflies were fluttering among the roses, the magnolias, and the daffodils.

⁴⁴ On était loin de l'odeur de sainteté! Le sol était impregné de sang, de détritrus humain et des teintures déversées par les manufactures de textile. Des enfants rachitiques, syphilitiques, en

In this picture where the layout made the contrasts stand out, the shades and the textures, from dark to light, the arrangement of flowers, of leaves, of silhouettes made a mixture of things exotic and ordinary.⁴⁵ (39)

Given the heavenly surroundings, it is a natural consequence that England, a melting-pot of Arthurian and Christian legends, should hold the Holy Grail. When the Grail is taken to *Acadie* it becomes an Acadian fireball:

In the open sea off Caraquet a ball of fire lifted over the water, zigzagging at a breathtaking speed turning from red to green leaving a blue trail behind. One would have thought a big bird of fire, a comet that streaked the sea in a deafening whistle. And in this liquid crystal, this sphere of light, there was not a ship but a vessel shining brightly. The Holy Grail lifted over the coast of *Acadie* so as to signify that its people was protected by the Creator.⁴⁶ (362)

In *Acadie* the ball of fire, a symbol of English war acts, is embraced by the Holy Grail found in England, to become its opposite, an Acadian “sphere of light” of a divine vision, a reconciliatory, transcultural, and protective vision of God.

In narrating the destiny of the Acadians, Maillet adopts a completely different strategy than Le Bouthillier. Inspired by the oral tradition of *Acadie*, in *Pélagie* she

guenilles, couverts de vermine et crachant le sang jouaient dans les égouts à ciel ouvert des ruelles.

⁴⁵ Rien, vraiment, n'égalait [...] les jardins anglais, jusqu'au plus petit. C'étaient des lieux de rêve: collines truffées de grottes, vallons qui cachaient des étangs bordés de peupliers, de lilas et d'iris roses et blancs, où les cygnes prenaient le soleil, arbres exotiques, y compris le bouleau de Canada. Les papillons y voletaient parmi les roses, les magnolias et le jonquilles. Dans ce tableau où les agencements faisaient ressortir les contrastes, les teintes et les textures, du sombre au clair, l'assemblage de fleurs, de feuilles, de silhouettes composaient un mélange d'exotisme et d'ordinaire.

⁴⁶ Au large de Caraquet, une boule de feu s'éleva au-dessus de l'eau, zigzagua à une vitesse vertigineuse en passant du rouge au vert et laissa une traînée bleue derrière elle. On aurait dit un grand oiseau de feu, une comète qui zébrait la mer dans un sifflement assourdissant. Et dans ce cristal liquide, cette sphère de lumière, il y avait non pas un vaisseau mais une vase qui brillait de tous ces feux. Le Graal s'élevait au large des côtes de l'Acadie pour signifier que ce peuple était protégé par son Créateur.

narrates the Other as a lethal threat to the rebirth of the Acadians as a people after their exile in America. The text is structured as a dialectic between life and death facing the Acadians on their hazardous return from Georgia to *Acadie* in the 1770s (Morency 18). Life and its implications of strength and survival are identified with the signifiers of white and light. Black is the key signifier of death. For instance, in a humorous tale, legacy and weapon on the journey back, a white whale constitutes a significant symbol of survival and life. In the prison of Charleston, South Carolina, where the exiled Acadians have to spend one night, Bélonie, a ninety-year-old storyteller, tells the tale of the lost golden ring, a symbol of wealth, passing through the bellies of a number of white animals to end up in that of a white whale. The jailers are so bewildered that they set the imprisoned Acadians free. Bélonie reaches the following conclusion: “Have confidence in life, and you will soon see by what miracle in a country like mine, offspring can even spring up from a race snuffed out, from a line swallowed up in a single wave far out off Isle Royale” (A. Maillet 57). He adds: “And that’s how we are still alive today, we exiles, on account of because we consented to come out of the exile and come on back home through the arse end of a whale” (55). Another significant symbol of life is the protagonist Pélégie Le-Blanc’s wooden cart. She sets out to take her fellow countrymen back to *Acadie* in an oxcart, (several carts, in fact) a journey that is to last ten years. The cart is to be seen as “the central symbol of the novel, the metaphor of the slow and wobbly return, finally accomplished, of the Acadians to their homeland”⁴⁷ (Crececius). As such it symbolises the energy and permanence of life (A. Maillet 213). For Pélégie, a woman with an intense conception of regeneration and rebirth, life is a commandment (82) and thus she, Pélégie, would drive her people “in the cart of Life” (6). Hence her epithet Pélégie-the-Cart.⁴⁸ She identifies, in fact, with the cart and by extension with life itself (Crececius). During the journey the for-

⁴⁷ est le symbole central du roman, la métaphore de la rentrée lente et boiteuse, mais enfin accomplie, des Acadiens chez eux.

⁴⁸ In French Pélégie-la-Charrette.

mer homeland appears equally as a lost paradise and a new promised land, a land that has to be reached whatever the circumstances. The forty-six members of the equipage belong to “that earth-soiled, bedraggled people” (24), wrecks “moving upward; hangdog, snorting, sweating, puffing from both nostrils, moving up across an America that didn’t even hear the creak of the axles of the cart” (42). They are the marginalized victims of war: “the cripples, the aged, the whiners, the loudmouths, the hunted, and the abandoned” (47) and the young orphan girl Catoune who is “so beautiful, so white, so immaculate” (47). Pélagie is the undisputed leader of her exiled countrymen. She is a strong matriarch in her mid-thirties with tresses of gold (80), with hair like a mane of a lioness (24), signifiers of her resolve to survive and live. As Paul G. Socken has argued, the aspects of survival and life echo the exodus of Moses and the Israelites from Egypt:

There is an implicit parallel between Pélagie and Moses, for the two function similarly as peacemakers. [...] In addition, the two leaders symbolize the unity and ideals toward which their peoples aspire. Pélagie tries to keep the group together when some decide to leave for Louisiana [...] and Moses does the same when the children of Reuben and Gad prefer not to cross the river Jordan (Numbers 32). (Socken)

The resemblance is obvious: Moses and Pélagie are strong subjects, leaders of a people in exile. “They are mortal and fallible, yet greater than the average person, a part of history, and instruments of a destiny which transcends historical reality” (Socken). Pélagie, a representative of life, is destined to survive the hardship of the journey. She realizes that life is also to be found on the road and makes the same comparison: “The Hebrews crossed the desert, didn’t they?” (A. Maillet 12). Furthermore, in her role as “the widow of all Acadie”, bereft of her husband, her family and her country (91), she is destined to respond to the dead as well as to going back and to giving birth in her lost paradise, in her *Acadie* “with grain in the garret, cider in the cellar, animals in the stable, fire in the hearth, and a love in the belly” (121).

From early on, as a complement, the cart of life is followed at sea by the schooner the Grand' Goule, a schooner of life, and its captain Broussard, alias Beausoleil. The captain, "Robin Hood of the Seas" (71) and Pélagie's lover, is more than a representative of life. He is, as his name suggests, a God figure, a "herald from heaven" (59) surrounded by light: "The rising sun picks out a hat and a neckpiece in the style of Louis XV, and the northbound Acadians stare at this apparition out of their past and hold their breaths" (59). The Grand' Goule is a four-master decorated with a "golden-haired figurehead at the prow" (123). It is the only remaining Acadian schooner "snatched from the enemy, this avenging, liberating, defiant schooner sailing the seas in the name of honor. She braved the winds and the waves, braved hellfire, braved the England who had stolen her home port" (139). Beausoleil and Pélagie are kindred souls in love: "captains on land and on sea" (60). As captains their joint mission of life is to take the Acadians back to *Acadie*.

During the journey the cart of life is followed by an invisible cart, the sombre phantom cart of death, the Other as identical with the British, "drawn by six spanking black horses" (5). It is introduced by Bélonie, the storyteller, as a persistent shadow appearing whenever death has to collect a new soul. The cart of death follows Pélagie's cart closely, as the journey will leave many victims on American soil, "victims of the black cart, until the moment when Pélagie herself doesn't know any more 'which cart would win the race: hers or old Bélonie's, the storyteller'"⁴⁹ (qtd. in Creclius). For instance, in Charleston, a resort of pirates and adventurers (A. Maillet 52), the travelling Acadians relive the relentless cruelty of the British. In the market-place black slaves are put up for sale: "Make your price! One guinea! This man has muscles and two strong legs! Two pence! Two sous for a man? It was time to sneak away. These merchants could sell anything, anyone. Let no one fall into their clutches. Let's go" (52). Later in Boston

⁴⁹ victimes de la charrette noire, au point où Pélagie elle-même ne sait plus laquelle charrette gagnerait la course: la sienne ou celle du vieux radoteux Bélonie.

“Presbyterian bile” (186) explodes over an issue of ox yokes:

Hatreds two or three generations old surged up in everyone’s memories and hearts. The French from New France, Papists and enemies in 1633, in 1709, in 1744, and so many other times, had attacked them savagely. ‘Hit ‘im Tom! Hit ‘im!’ And again in 1755 all along the Massachusetts coast they had unloaded schooners full of skeletal wild-eyed beggars who by night had eaten the grain sprouting in the fields. ‘Hit ‘im, Tom! Hit ‘im!’ And Tom pounded poor Jean-Baptiste, who was no match for him, all soused in the Holy Spirit though he might be. (186)

It is only in Baltimore, Maryland, that the returning Acadians find some reprieve:

Indeed, and a fine town it was too, almost welcoming, by my faith, with its English and its Irish Catholics, [...] a white church in the middle of the town with its doors wide open to the exiles the next Sunday morning, the first consecrated Roman church they’d seen since the shores of the French Bay. (122)

Finally, on arrival at Grand Pré the Acadians find that their village is uninhabited and deserted: “Burned and deserted since that fatal day in September 1755. [...] Like an ancient cemetery. Like an abandoned cradle” (241). After the return to a deserted and abandoned Grand-Pré, Pélagie lets the black phantom cart catch up with her at Tintamarre.⁵⁰ She has taken her people back. Her mission of life is accomplished.

The Contemporary Other

In the 1980s the role of history in the literary creative process became a debated issue in criticism on Maritime literature. In 1989 the critic Paul Robinson, in his article, “Atlantic Voices: Literature of a Special Way of Life”, raised the question

⁵⁰ Sackville.

of when a certain turning point occurred in Maritime fiction so that Atlantic writers could free themselves in their fiction from the deportation and other “historical underpinnings”, in order to bring into relief the lives of “ordinary people” (34). He found that works of fiction published in the 1970s “characterized by their attention to social conditions, became a navigable river of new perceptions” (34) and that realistic themes such as social relations, positions, and integration emerged as themes of first priority. My argument in this study is, however, that the historical underpinnings in conjunction with realistic themes are still at work in Maritime fiction, and that as a result processes of othering and transculturation are still at stake. Robinson considers the forerunners of the new realism to be Richards and Landry Thériault, and one can also include Keefer in this category.

The critics Armstrong and Wylie hold the view that in the Miramichi trilogy Richards formulates “a broad philosophical and ideological statement about the relationship of the individual to the social sphere” (5) a vision of a classless community in the provincial corner of Miramichi. Keefer, however, agrees with those critics who regard Richards’ Miramichi as a unique scene of “the pervasiveness of human degradation; but the drunkenness, the violence, the marital and family conflict gradually emerge as concentrated reflections of modern North American society” (qtd. in Keefer, *Under* 176). Lord adds the observation that the scene where Richards’ protagonists live their marginality is one of “internal exile in the absence of a community, an ‘us’. [...] The loss of cultural identity for the protagonist in Richards is a function of his dispossession from the Catholic Church. All the while, a sense of community dissolves as the American presence grows to be one of domination” (Lord, *Marginalité* iii-iv). Richards himself, however, agrees in categorizing himself as a “depressing nihilist” with a profound concern about how his personal ideas of humanity come through in his work. He insists that the geographical scene of the trilogy represents a Miramichi centre of nowhere (Scherf). In all three novels there is a consistent absence of local Miramichi characteristics. Only the odd geographical name refers to a

Miramichi setting (Richards, *Evening* 149). In an interview Richards maintains that he depicts “humanity itself” (Scherf), using a narrative strategy of portraying “characters within their environment [...] at the moment of emotional and physical crisis” (Scherf), thereby indicating an emotional and physical sphere of the characters. In his Miramichi, then, the Anglophone inhabitants and the Acadians, victims of social stigmatization, seem equals in face of destitution and degradation.

Processes of othering, therefore, emerge only as a minor issue. As Lord has observed: “[T]he Acadians and the descendants of Irish Catholic immigrants in New Brunswick constitute two cultural entities, among others subjected to a past of victimization of British colonialism; they share a similar experience, probably not a conscious one, the one of marginalization by the Loyalists of New Brunswick”⁵¹ (Lord, “Cet” 127). There are no distinct binary oppositions in the text to structure the relationship between the two groups. Frequently, however, the Acadians are displaced from their Anglophone neighbours to a position of social subalternity. Poor and stupid, they are referred to as “Jesus Frenchmen” (Richards, *Nights* 10), a derogatory term, reverting to colonial times, thus placing contemporary Acadians in a similar inferior position as that of the colonial past. Most characters belong to families with social problems. One family is described as having more than twelve members, some of them in jail (68). The key signifiers of difference are stupidity and destitution. The protagonist of *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace*, Ivan Basterache, is destitute in all senses of the word. An emotionally deprived young man, belonging to a family with many branches, he is a man who has lived by himself and survived “without much help in early youth from anyone—neither mother nor father” (4). Linguistically,

⁵¹ [L]es Acadiens et les descendants d’immigrants irlandais catholiques du Nouveau-Brunswick constituent deux entités culturelles tributaires, entre autres, d’un passé de victimes du colonialisme britannique; ils partagent une expérience comportant des similitudes, vraisemblablement non consciente, celle de la marginalisation par les loyalistes du Nouveau-Brunswick.

he is completely destitute. Like so many other of Richards' protagonists he is in command only of a stigmatized English:

The stigmatized English of Richards' protagonists is a defective language bestowing a sense of empty identities. The modulation of the linguistic aspect of these hollow identities brings alienation, breeding anxiety and frustration. This kind of English, loose and limited, makes communication difficult. The dialogues between characters are incomplete and fragmented.⁵² (Lord, *Marginalité* 231)

Ivan's father Antony is also a victim of destitution, blaming his lot in life for the "bias against him because he was French" (Richards, *Evening* 23). He is portrayed as a forty-seven-year old "frog" (168), looking sixty, still suffering from the complications of the "World War Two Factor" (23) and the fight with "the Dieppenamese" (38). He avows having walked into Brussels in 1944 "where he was shot and left for dead" (38). He always treated Ivan severely, "having beaten the snot out of him" as a child (28). As a contrast, Gloria Basterache, Antony's former wife and Ivan's mother, now married to a wealthy Miramichi Anglophone, becomes a goddess to Ivan in her new married life symbolized by a mink stole "with snow coming out of the glistening sky and falling, falling gently on the dark, cold trees on Bartiborg Island and on the mink's shiny glass eyes" (32).

The life of the local doctor, Armand Savard, brought up in a tar paper shack with eighteen siblings (142), is also characterized by destitution. His childhood memories consist of images of "his father smiling without a tooth in his head, and his mother pregnant and sitting on a chair in the corner, while the whole dusty little kitchen smelled of flies and rancid butter" (142). His elder brother Fortune is "a huge, ignorant man, who had hardly learned how to read and

⁵² L'anglais stigmatisé des protagonistes richardsiens est une langue en défaut, porteuse d'un vide identitaire. La modulation de l'aspect linguistique de cette identité en creux porte l'aliénation, qui est génératrice d'angoisse et de frustration. Cette langue anglaise, relâchée et limitée, rend la communication difficile. Les dialogues entre les personnages sont lacunaires et fragmentés.

write, who was frightened to go into restaurants” (143). Dr. Savard lives with his unhappy family near the local dump, which smells “of burnt embers in the dying autumn sunlight, [...] the ghosts of fishing nets, and the pale empty sky” (147). Despite the poverty he is stereotyped as a Latin womanizer, “wonderful according to some” (79) spending most of his time with young girls on the beach in summer, drinking too much wine and looking sad at the right time (79).

Richards himself counters the critical opinion that he is a “voice for the marginalized, making the lives of the dispossessed and inarticulate available to and palatable for his readers through sympathetic portraits” (Armstrong & Wylie 4) by stating that his narrative strategy aims to place the characters within their environment, letting “the reader see them more completely than otherwise” (Scherf). It is easy to share his view that the trilogy is, in fact, a statement on the relationship of the individual to an anonymous scene in which social tension and oppression emerge. Also contrary to critical opinion, Richards insists that he does not work with the “abnormal or subnormal or poor or poverty stricken human beings” (Scherf) of the working-class, but with human beings in emotional and physical crises. His artistic contribution, Richards convincingly asserts, lies in his interest to represent the Miramichi population as an example of the dilemma of the human condition (Scherf). In my interpretation the dilemma also includes the cohabitation of Anglophones and Acadians.

In the neighbouring region of the Acadian Peninsula, on the border of Miramichi, Landry Thériault explores similar issues from an Acadian perspective. In contrast to Richards, the interaction of social superiority and inferiority plays a major role as a foil to conditions of assimilation between Anglophones and Acadians. *Un soleil mauve sur la baie* and its sequel *Le moustiquaire* are set in two marginalized fishing and farming villages and a small town. They are Acadian Bois Tranquille, where “[e]verything was rudimentary, dull and almost obligatory”⁵³ (*Moustiquaire* 19), Les Falaises, a mostly Anglophone village, where

⁵³ [t]out était rudimentaire, terne, presque obligatoire.

“the Bay glittered in the summer; there were fields of apples; strong dry winds were singing by the windows in the stormy evenings”⁵⁴ (*Soleil* 7), and the Anglophone town of Four Corners, a “small English town which gives [...] the illusion of a dreamed paradise”⁵⁵ (*Moustiquaire* 9). The Other is identified as the superior Anglophone family members of the protagonist, members who possess not only material wealth but also mostly good and at times threatening qualities. Anglophones are stereotyped physically by the signifier white. Acadians are stereotyped as vulgar, and the physical rendition is in black.

Un soleil mauve sur la baie is a rather fragmented chronicle of the ordinary lives of the ordinary population of the small community of Bois Tranquille, set during the years immediately following World War II. It is said to be an attempt to bring together “all the different cultural belongings in the same place”⁵⁶ (Salesse 76) and this aim is achieved through using a very realist and subtle means: marriage. In my reading the marriage in question between an Anglophone woman, Marianne, and a métis man, Valentin, is set up to reflect the differences between Anglophones and Acadians in the region, whether they clash in instances of othering or meet in transcultural contacts. Their marriage is a union of cultural extremes. The socially superior Marianne, of Irish and Jersey descent, is a sacrificing “beautiful goddess”⁵⁷ (Landry Thériault, *Soleil* 20) with red ruffled hair (7). She used to be a member of the Les Falaises upper-class, whose wealth is displayed in lounges furnished with “velvet curtains, embroidered cloth on the chairs with turned legs. [...] Irish tablecloths and crystal glasses are on the tables. Starched napkins beside the plates”⁵⁸ (19). This is in sharp contrast to her own home, where the floor is worn (7). Her husband, the socially inferior and black-

⁵⁴ la Baie qui brillait l’été; des champs à pommes de prés; des gros vents secs qui chantaient autour des fenêtres par les soirs de tempêtes.

⁵⁵ cette petite ville anglaise qui [...] laisse l’illusion du paradis rêvé.

⁵⁶ pour réunir toutes ces différentes appartenances culturelles dans un même lieu.

⁵⁷ belle comme une déesse.

⁵⁸ les salons aux rideaux de velours, le tissu brodé sur les chaises à pattes tournées. [...] il y a des nappes d’Irlande et des verres de crystal sur la table. Les serviettes empesées à côté des assiettes.

bearded Valentin, is a “strange man resembling the gypsies who arrived with the circus to Four Corners the week before”⁵⁹ (25). Moreover, like his ancestors, the Micmac Indians, he uncritically believes in the sun, the “‘God’ of his mother’s ancestors”⁶⁰ (16). It is a marriage under strain. Marianne, having married below her station, with some regret left her socially superior position in Les Falaises, where everybody spoke English, for a life in Bois Tranquille, a “hive of life, of resentment and of friendship”⁶¹ (36). Their union has produced a daughter, Angélique, the heroine of the novel, blond “like the birch shavings [and] with flaming black eyes. And skin that changes like the hares, according to the seasons”⁶² (12). Unable to integrate diverging cultural belongings, she has become a lonely teen-age girl who has chosen an attic for a vantage-point, where she can seclude herself from her ethnically mixed heritage:

She shuts her eyes and thinks about the sea, about the green fir-trees, about the discreet bracken, and she decides that she would like to be some sort of vegetation in a warm country, where the leaves don’t fall in the autumn, and where everybody adores the sun.⁶³ (10)

In the background Anglophones and Acadians emerge as contrasts to this ethnically mixed family in focus. The Fergusons are stereotypes characterized by physical traits and features of the socially superior indicated by colour signifiers. Marianne’s mother, Liliane Ferguson, a descendant of wealthy Jersey immigrants, takes on the part as the “Sunday beauty of High Mass”⁶⁴ (108) with her long blond hair falling on her shoulders and her violet eyes (43). Her Irish hus-

⁵⁹ homme étrange qui ressemblait aux gypsies qui étaient venus avec le cirque à Four Corners, la semaine précédente.

⁶⁰ “Dieu” des ancêtres à sa mère.

⁶¹ une fourmilière de vie, de rancune, d’amitié.

⁶² comme des coupeaux de bouleaux. Avec des yeux noirs flambants. Et la peau qui changeait comme les lièvres, selon les saisons.

⁶³ Elle ferme les yeux et pense à la mer, aux sapins verts, aux fougères discrètes; et elle décide qu’elle aimerait être une sorte de végétation dans un pays chaud, où les feuilles ne tombent pas l’automne, et où tout le monde adorait le soleil.

⁶⁴ la belle du dimanche à la grande-messe.

band, a justice of the peace, is also blond with “the sun shining in his hair, on his proud way of walking, and on his smiles that will taste of maple-tree syrup”⁶⁵ (19). He is beautiful with smooth skin, despite his work in the sun. His eyes, distant and mysterious, reflect “the sky of Ireland”⁶⁶ (96). The Anglophone stranger Walter Gresley, a Jersey immigrant and the village schoolmaster, represents the man of Angélique’s teenage dreams: “a well-dressed visitor with the manners of a prince. He speaks like the actors on the radio”⁶⁷ (32).

The Acadians are identified with the stereotypical body and colour signifiers of the socially inferior. The stupid and vulgar Clophas, for instance, is an original French Canadian, a “Cadien Français” (11) a white Catholic, with his own land in his own corner of the earth. Ethnically, he is identified with a “chieftain in feathers, with a black mane, and the hair standing up”⁶⁸ (25). His wife Toinette represents the classical French Canadian woman, almost a nun, her black hair demurely “held by a net of silk. Like her life, like her emptiness she hides her most beautiful jewel ... her long black wavy hair”⁶⁹ (98). Her opposite, the Acadian slut Adrienne, is a victim of all vulgar the deficiencies ascribed to representatives of minority groups: alcoholism, negligence, and prostitution.

In the sequel, *Le moustiquaire*, Angélique eventually leaves her attic to enter adult life in Four Corners with the people of her mother. The stereotypes as described in *Un soleil mauve sur la baie* remain. The binary oppositions are recreated in Angélique’s Francophone friend Sophie, a vulgar young woman from a “lumberjack camp”⁷⁰ (Landry Thériault, *Moustiquaire* 104) and in Bobby Bujold,

⁶⁵ soleil qui reluit dans ses cheveux, à sa démarche fière, et à ses sourires qui doivent goûter le sirop d’érable.

⁶⁶ le ciel d’Irlande.

⁶⁷ ce visiteur bien habillé aux manières de petit prince. Il parle comme les hommes de théâtre à la radio.

⁶⁸ un beau chef à plumes, avec [la] crinière noire pis [le] poil à pic.

⁶⁹ relevés sous un filet soyeux. Comme sa vie, comme son vide, elle dissimule sa plus belle parure ... ses cheveux noirs longs et ondulés.

⁷⁰ une fille de camps de bûcherons.

a wealthy Anglophone heir. Sophie resembles a “fat and brown doll”⁷¹ (91). Bobby is the good Anglophone with whom Angélique falls in love, the different Other, an “Adonis in the flesh with a fair complexion, fairly tall, upright, robust, with large shoulders. Two small wings of felt on the sleeves of his blue suit seem to tell of great spaces: Ireland, Scotland, Germany”⁷² (94). His presence protects not only her but also Bois Tranquille. As her superior he is a young man in command: “This white and sincere smile, these even teeth, the broad shoulders to protect all of Bois Tranquille from the storms and gusty winds of March”⁷³ (95). Mrs. Bujold, Bobby’s mother, represents the threatening Other. At a critical point in Bobby’s and Sophie’s relationship, Mrs. Bujold, Bobby’s mother, attacks Sophie, her prospective daughter-in-law. As socially superior she claims her right to punish the inferior:

Mrs. Bujold, who seems to wake up from a terrible dream, reacts to this false gesture. Her eyes blaze with anger and contempt. Her trembling lips let out oaths that she would never dare to express in front of anybody. A sudden anger shakes her; she throws herself on Sophie and clutches her by the shoulders, shakes her like a rag-doll. Sophie [...] watches her, her eyes dry, her nostrils twitching, her smile arrogant. She is given a resounding slap in the face first on the left cheek and then on the right. Mrs. Bujold, now out of breath and quite red, stops and lets go of her victim who collects her nylon stockings and her black underwear.⁷⁴ (144)

⁷¹ une poupée grassette et brune.

⁷² adonis au teint clair, en chair et en os, bien grand, droit, robuste, les épaules larges. Deux petites ailes de feutre sur sa manche de complet bleu semblent annoncer les grands espaces: l’Irlande, l’Ecosse, l’Allemagne.

⁷³ Ce sourire blanc and sincère, ces dents égales, des épaules larges, à protéger tout un Bois Tranquille des tempêtes et des bourrasques de mars.

⁷⁴ Madame Bujold, qui semble sortir d’un rêve affreux, réagit à ce geste faux. Ses yeux brillent de colère et de dédain. Sa bouche frémissante laisse échapper des injures qu’elle n’oserait jamais proférer devant personne. Une rage subite la secoue; elle s’élançe sur Sophie et l’agrippe par les épaules, la secoue, comme une poupée de guenille. Sophie [...] la regarde, les yeux secs, les narines palpitantes, le sourire arrogant. Une gifle retentissante s’abat sur sa joue gauche et puis sur

Unable to find her place in Four Corners, Angélique eventually returns to Bois Tranquille, to the people of her childhood, with the intention to marry Clophas' and Toinette's sluggish son. The novel ends with the newly-wed Angélique attempting to resume her earlier life of unfulfilled dreams of happiness. The differences remain despite transcultural relations in all sectors of village life.

The wide-spread opinion that the Atlantic region is an “anachronistic backwater of political, social, and cultural despair” (qtd. in Keefer, Preface ix) is a theme treated not only by Richards and Landry Thériault. Keefer also lays open this despair in her first novel, *Constellations*. The title refers to a paragraph in a letter written by Rilke (Rilke), “ultimately, and precisely in the deepest and most important matters, we are unspeakably alone; and many things must go right, a whole constellation of events must be fulfilled, for one human being to successfully advise or help another” (Keefer, Epigraph to *Constellations*). All the characters appear like “random stars strung together into a constellation, making up a picture like a child’s dot-to-dot drawing” (235). *Constellations* is a statement on the cultural clash between Claire Saulnier, the native Maritime narrator, and Bertrand France, a French visitor to the insignificant Acadian community of Spruce Harbour. This interpersonal clash brings into relief a general Either/Or vision of binarisms of French superiority and Acadian inferiority. In the novel, there are two levels of binary opposites, that of place and that of gender, contributing to a dual vision of othering.

On an overall level there are the brutish and negative scene of Spruce Harbour, an abandoned Acadian village on the Nova Scotian west coast, and the ideal scene of the mythic charm of metropolitan and provincial France. The novel is set at Spruce Harbour, a stinking “black hole” (84), where rock-embedded ditches serve for pavements (1) and the buildings are painted in puces, limes, and turquoises with fluorescent butterflies over the front doors (4)

la droite. Madame Bujold, maintenant essoufflée et rouge, s’arrête, relâche sa victime qui ramasse ses bas de nylon et ses sous-vêtements noirs.

with rotting porches and smashed machines and rotting rags on the lawn (25). The negative Acadian scene is inhabited by marginalized figures. Claire's closest family consists of a half-sister, Mariette, with a "soft, unfocused look—she is seventeen but looks as if she's stumbled into puberty" (71). Mariette's mother, Delima, a forty-year-old alcoholic looking fifty, is part Micmac. She is "tall and large and her flesh hangs as comfortably on her as an old sweater—increasingly baggy now, as she does less and less cleaning, more and more shiftwork at the fishplant, sitting on the line and gutting herring, mackerel, cod" (71). Luc-Antoine, who lives with Delima and five children in a trailer is, in Claire's judgement, a "big, fleshy man, fingers thick as unfried sausages and blond hair greased, slicked straight back from the head which is oddly handsome, almost noble—like that of a dissolute emperor or bishop" (72). The failed doctoral student, Hector, in overalls and checked shirts, works as a handyman and makes love to "the less attractive girls on Saturday nights in a one-room apartment" (48). Finally, there are a number of minor figures exercising the social control of Spruce Harbour. By contrast, Commereau, Bertrand's summer residence in France outside Paris, surfaces as "a haven for artists of all kinds [...] Stravinsky, Picasso, Ionesco" (81). There are anonymous "[v]isions of women in long-waisted dresses, swishing through deny grass, parasols over their marvelled heads back and forth under the flowering chestnut trees of Commereau" (82).

On an individual level the binaries include the gender positions of Claire, the displaced native narrator, and the young Parisian, Bertrand France. Born in London during World War II, and now in her early forties, Claire is of mixed English and Acadian parentage. She possesses, as Mårald argues, "a whole range of identities—as a Canadian, as an Acadian, a British descendant, a spinster, and an intellectual" (Mårald 145). However, she is unable to embrace an Acadian identity. As a result, the Spruce Harbour villagers take the shape of a collective Acadian Other, her basic Other as it were, "outside always—and I within impregnable defences: centred" (Keefer, *Constellations* 20). Claire's urge is to shy away from the villagers and to meet solitude exclusively on her own terms:

I have chosen this world, this blank, null place, because in it I can hear myself speak to myself. There is so little human interference—only the endless abrasion of the elements, patiently reducing everything down to whatever the first matter must have been. Rock and water, infrequent sun that, acid-like, eats mist and fog, only to be swallowed up again. (21)

The “null place” is a place which nourishes her indifference and her disinterest. On Bertrand’s arrival Claire has to sarcastically justify herself:

WITH BERTRAND’S ARRIVAL I have found myself forced to take stock, gather into the fold of my self-possession exactly what is mine by right or choice—this world I have so dearly bought, prizing its smallness, safeness, its perfect self-enclosure. I am, after all, a woman living on her own without family or friends. I have reached degree zero of independence, and if my colleagues with their pendulous and itchy groins, and if their bulbous-breasted wives with their oh-so-slappable behinds equate that zero with nothing, it doesn’t matter. (20)

Bertrand is viewed by Claire as the Other because he is French, a stereotype of a young “*Français de France* [...] whose language, looks, and general skyscraping superiority are like a flaming sword brandished from a transatlantic paradise” (1). He is described by means of physical characteristics such as “[b]lack hair clipped short, parted at the side with perverse exactitude, as though with a razor instead of a comb. [...] Long delicate hairs creep like Dali’s ants around the watchband, well below the cuffs of his shirts [...] He is not pretty, or—except for his hands—particularly well-made, but lank” (9–10) and clothes: corduroys and cashmeres, white shirts, and bow ties (4). “Aesthete, amateur photographer, grudging civilizer of benighted Francophones, [...] a luckless rocket launched from the City of Light, and fallen to the brute backwoods of Acadie” (1), he is a member of the French upper class with a probable future as a happily married university lecturer at the Sorbonne with an apartment next to the Jardin du Luxembourg in the sixteenth arrondissement and with a “château” at Commereau

for a summer residence. He is a bespectacled elitist armed with *Le Monde* (12) and a camera and with an interest in the arts. A representative of the former colonizer, he focuses his imperial camera lens on the Acadian natives and abandons them when they are no longer of use. Mariette, Claire's unfortunate half-sister, is his preferred victim of photography: "The girl in those photographs wasn't her, was too white and clear, but he didn't seem to know—he kept taking pictures until he said there was nothing more he could do with her" (141). Allowing her to pose in the nude for him comes to signify a type of abuse similar to rape, a rape Mariette will not survive.

Eventually, after Bertrand's departure, Claire finds herself inexorably alone in "vast distances" (242) and sets fire to her white house. The constellations have become "icy configurations reeling and frozen". Alone under the night sky, "a black pond", they explode "into a thousand pieces" (266). Trapped in the maddening dilemma of being squeezed between the French Other and the Acadian Other, Claire loses control. She becomes a modern victim of the colonial legacy. This is in line with Loomba's argument about colonizing subjects: "[T]he crossing of boundaries appears as a dangerous business, especially for those who are attracted to or sympathise with the alien space or people. 'Going native' is potentially unhinging. The colonised land seduces European men into madness" (136). Colonizers, colonized, and their descendants all live the maddening dilemma of crossing of boundaries, a dilemma frequently leading to death.

At the end of the novel, conflagration, the colonial symbol of the British enemy, figures as a symbol of erasure of the constellations. Keefer proposes the following explanation:

A constellation is not a hierarchical structure. At that distance it's a configuration of equal powers coming together in patterns that are very difficult. You can link them up as a Great Bear or whatever, but what I wanted was the sense that you can make fictive pictures, but you're always getting that effort of making being erased by the fact that really they're just random points of light being separated by huge spaces. (Nicholson 414)

With this statement Keefer declares that constellations are temporary and random phenomena of light in processes of evanescence. The constellation in which Claire and Bertrand are unequal actors will be erased once the pattern changes. While it lasts it introduces particular images of marginalization and othering. In the identification of the French Other and the Acadian Other in a Spruce Harbour framework the image of a young “Français de France” suggests both distance and proximity.

In the fiction examined, the authors appropriate different methods in the identification of the Other to determine and fix its stereotype. In the historical narratives the Other is captured as an enemy in a colonial situation. In drawing the stereotype of the Other, Roberts and Raddall both apply an incorrect interpretation of the historical record. Roberts makes use of a simplified corporeal and epidermal scheme closely congruent to that of an ideology of racism. Raddall explicitly declares that the heterogeneous Francophone population of Louisbourg is ethnically hybrid, therefore lacking an ethnicity of its own. By contrast, Maillet deviates considerably from Roberts and Raddall. She explores the abstract presence of the Other, Death, as an imminent foe. She recreates the stereotype of the Other as a vision made concrete by way of a traditional symbol. Le Bouthillier, in his dual vision of the Other, sets up contradicting aspects to determine the stereotype. Light in several configurations fixes the stereotype of the Other in Canada and in France.

In the 20th century novels narrating the conflict between the ethnic groups, the stereotype manifests different characteristics. The Other in Richards’ marginalized region of Miramichi takes on the traditional and stereotypical role of the poor and stupid French “frog” (Richards, *Evening* 168) with no future. Keefer seems to agree that the Acadians, Claire’s collective Other, are marginalized victims of past history. The different Other in *Constellations* is a former compatriot, a young Frenchman, with all the distinctive qualities pertaining to the Parisian stereotype. Finally, Landry Thériault’s conception of the Other disrupts the continuity of the creation of earlier stereotypes. In shaping her stereo-

type Landry Thériault makes use of a reversed strategy. The Anglophone Other is considered good and has acquired an enviable position of morality and wealth beyond reach. Therefore, my interpretation is that the blond and blue-eyed stereotype may reign and may repress without dispute.

In conclusion, the variety of the methods used for the identification of the stereotype of Other denotes a single “process of *ambivalence*” (Bhabha, *Location* 95), signifying a continuing coexistence of similarities and dissimilarities repeating themselves over time. As Bhabha argues: “For it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization” (95). In the construction of othering in a colonial framework, a translation of differences, conflicts, and marginalization is the core of the “force of ambivalence”. If the translation is perceived to be correct, probable and predictable (96) it will be valid for modification to suit other times and new contexts. Thus, the translation of difference, produced by othering, constitutes a distinct precondition for a transition to contacts of transculturation.

4. *Transcultural Contacts*

Pratt maintains that several questions are raised where transculturation is involved: “How are metropolitan modes of representation received and appropriated at the periphery? How does one speak of transculturation from the colonies to the metropolis?” (*Post-Colonial* 233). All the novels discussed in this thesis can be read as texts where a former colony “writes back” (Epigraph to Ashcroft) to Europe. In these novels contacts are either created on the Maritime colonial frontier or in the liminal space of in-betweenness left by the colonial era. As I will show, these contacts develop into transcultural processes generating new cultural contexts.

Since its invention and first use by Ortiz, the term “transculturation” has grown to be a comprehensive term used globally for certain aspects of ethnography, medicine, as well as for many areas of fiction, mainly travel, migration, and immigration writing. Recently, in literary criticism the transcultural has taken on general implications of “transcending borders between cultures” (Márvald 4). However, in Latin America, a vast scene of colonial wars and cultural frontier collisions, local cultures “rearticulate, or in this sense, transculturate the cultural dominant” (Márvald 5) thereby creating shifting cultural conditions. A similar rearticulation has had great impact also on North American literature and on the Maritime novels selected for my analysis. Accordingly, this chapter will initially explore the different aspects of the term “transculturation” involving aspects of cultural clash, interaction, and renewal, as theorized by Ortiz and as developed later by Pratt and Walter. I aim to show that the transculturation evinced in Maritime literature is specific to the region, for two reasons. First, the colonial wars between Great Britain and France on the Maritime colonial frontier were anchored especially in the problematic Acadian question and in the deportation of the Acadians from their territory, *Acadie*. Contacts between Anglophones and

Acadians in the novels are consequently determined by how this question unfolded and was finally resolved.

However, in their novels the writers address different conceptions of this issue in various ways. Roberts and Raddall sought to resolve the issue by justifying the British deportation of the Acadians. Roberts' idyll of reconciliation between the Acadians and the British under British aegis is an idealized transcultural contact zone finally annihilated by the Catholic Church for political reasons. Raddall's explanation of France's failure in Canada stresses the difference between colonial Halifax and Louisbourg. The result is, however, that there are more similarities than differences between the two coastal towns. Le Bouthillier's resolution of the Anglo-Acadian conflict is determined by the Anglo-Acadian hostile relations in the 18th century, and equally by France's lack of interest in Canada and consequently by the tense French-Acadian relations. However, his narrative is based on the transcultural cohabitation in Canada involving primarily the Micmacs and the French, and in *Les marées du Grand Dérangement* contacts of transculturation evolve between the Acadians and the local population of Cornwall.

Finally, Maillet resolves cultural conflicts in *Pélagie* by portraying how transcultural contacts are established and contact zones exist despite the hostile surroundings of the travellers. All the novels manifest that contacts on the colonial frontier generally have transcultural outcomes by their sheer existence as contacts. That is to say that no matter how peoples and groups of peoples meet in confrontation, except for war, or in friendship, transcultural settings always emerge. Secondly, the 20th century loser ethos of the Maritimes is rooted in the geographical remoteness of the region and determined by a history of exile. The novels narrating the 20th century represent transcultural contacts between Acadians, Anglophones, Micmacs, and the métis population in a situation of close cohabitation and of intermarriage in relatively distant and marginalized locations, a situation, nevertheless, that Anglophones control. Notably, Keefer's Spruce Harbour, Richards' Miramichi, and Landry Thériault's Acadian Peninsula are all

marginalized geographical parts of the Maritimes. These novels all end with the sense that the characters and their region are deserted. In all novels of this study, moreover, contacts initiate processes of transculturation that may cease when the conditions for a transcultural situation are overturned as in the example of Louisbourg, Grand Pré, and Spruce Harbour.

As I have argued in the introduction, the colonial period and the contemporary postcolonial situation still have a bearing on the construction of the Maritime transcultural contact zones. The colonial period restructured the existing knowledge of the world (Loomba 57). For a long time colonial experiences thus pervaded all fields of human knowledge. Loomba argues that “[a] crucial aspect of this process was the gathering and ordering of information about the lands and peoples visited by, and later subject to, colonial powers” (57). In later decades, Pratt argues, colonial travel writing produced Europe’s conception of itself in relation to “the rest of the world” (Pratt, *Imperial* 5), the non-Western peoples, the Other. The conceptions of the non-Western Other were “moulded and remoulded through various histories of contact” (Loomba 58). As we shall see, literature written in the colonial contact zones shows that they are zones where “transculturation takes place in all its complexity” (70):

Literature written on both sides of the divide often absorbs, appropriates and inscribes aspects of the ‘other’ culture, creating new genres, ideas and identities in the process. Finally, literature is also an important means of appropriating, inverting or challenging dominant means of representation and colonial ideologies. (70–71)

The colonial contact zone is thus a site where interaction and “the borrowings and the lendings, the appropriations in both directions which trouble any binary opposition between Europe and its ‘others’” (68) are underscored. This signifies that scenes of conflict, apart from being battle-grounds, also were a cross-roads of intercultural communication and transcultural contact.

I have used Pratt’s term “contact zone” and its extended application in relation to transculturation as interpreted by Walter to account for the nature of

transcultural contacts in Maritime fiction. As I will show, the novels set in the historical framework of the 18th century bear witness to the colonial frontier as consisting of transcultural contact zones in line with Pratt's conception, whereas liminal spaces as theorized by Walter constitute the transcultural contact zones of the 20th century. The difference between the two conceptions of contact zones testifies to a development from binary opposition to a socially and culturally marginalized cohabitation. In all the novels the contacts on colonial frontiers are enacted on Maritime battlegrounds leading to consequences of enmity, violence, and imminent death. These conditions denote that contacts may frequently emerge as opposite, later reconcile transculturally and even transcend the frontier, and then finally end up as binary opposites. The Maritime liminal space of the 20th century is a post-colonial space of in-betweenness, marked by oblivion and deracination, where several ethnic groups are involved. Here contacts are characterized by transcultural reconciliation, frequently challenged by a stranger as in Keefer's novel.

In sum, the contact zones of the novels discussed differ depending on the themes addressed. Also, contacts generally result transculturally, despite their unstable nature and shifting circumstances.

The Colonial Frontier as Transcultural Contact Zone

The Anglo-French colonial wars in North America determined the relations between the two nations and the Amerindian communities on the continent. Contacts were generally established on the colonial frontier of Anglo-French colonized territory. The contact zones were thus interstitial spaces of hostility. Roberts, Raddall, Le Bouthillier, and Maillet accentuate different and specific perspectives of and conditions for the contacts made in these spaces.

One of the most renowned Anglo-French contact zones on Canadian soil was unquestionably Grand Pré in Nova Scotia fictionalized by Roberts in *A Sister to Evangeline*. A situation of reconciliation may be the most elaborate transcultural situation of all, where transcultural processes of "heterogeneous times,

spaces, races, ethnicities and cultures” (Walter, *Narratives* 18) explode all binary opposites. In Roberts’ interpretation, colonial Grand Pré had developed into a transcultural contact zone of reconciliation under British rule. The Treaty of Utrecht had stipulated that the Acadians should be British subjects. This coercive decision and the ensuing measures of cohabitation and interaction with the British in Nova Scotia made the Acadians develop a kind of dual citizenship from which they benefited for half a century. Their ties to France, however, impeded them from swearing allegiance to Britain, which resulted in their deportation from Nova Scotia.

In *Roger Sudden*, by contrast, Raddall explores a theory of binary opposites out of the geopolitical locations and structure of colonial Halifax and Louisbourg, contact zones on each side of the colonial divide. In the end, however, Raddall’s theory explodes its intended opposites. Moreover, Raddall creates a third contact zone, an interstitial space in the Amerindian wilderness between Louisbourg and Halifax, where the protagonist shares a transcultural life with the Micmacs for a period of time.

As a corrective, in exploring the complicated relations between the Acadians, the English, and the French exposed triangularly in the novel *Phantom Ships*, Le Bouthillier sets up four contact zones of contrasting characteristics. Two of Le Bouthillier’s contact zones, Paris and Versailles, are transferred from the colonial frontier to Europe. Ruisseau, a village in Miramichi once on the colonial frontier, and Paris are zones where national, ethnic, and cultural borders meet, transculturate, and are transcended. In the Ruisseau contact zone a new culture is born, whereas in Paris the transcultural contacts end in a transitory love affair. Louisbourg, as represented by Le Bouthillier, is a contact zone of transcultural reconciliation that turns into a zone of devastation. Versailles, finally, is a zone of confrontation between the French monarchy and its subjects epitomized in the Castle of Versailles and the surrounding geometrical park in sharp relief to the Canadian wilderness. Le Bouthillier develops his themes on British and French soil further in the sequel *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*. It is also a novel

of the return of the Acadians to the Maritime region. The contact zones of Penzance and Penryn are explored as zones of transcultural transcendence in England, whereas the contact zone of Belle-Isle in France develops into a zone of confrontation. Ruisseau is the only contact zone where transcultural processes result in cultural renewal. Another corrective is Maillet's aim to focus on the toilsome return of the exiled Acadians to *Acadie* in the troubled decade of the 1770s. The American cities of Baltimore and Philadelphia are narrated as ideal contact zones of transcultural interaction between Acadians and their American tormentors on the eve of civil war.

Grand Pré

Grand Pré, as described by Longfellow in *Evangeline, a Tale of Acadie*, is the epitome of *Acadie*, a mythic and utopian contact zone of village and country alike. The myth may have contributed an unintended ideological dimension to the romance with reverberations that have proved conclusive for the mythic image of *Acadie* in later centuries. Ideologically, it narrates the destruction of a North American utopia (Evans 106), a peacefully idyllic and rich contact zone evidently in perfect transnational reconciliation to a point of fusion with the British. However, the British presence and influence are scant. The role of the British in the romance is solely to enact as military executioners a deportation designed in Halifax and New England. Consequently, the soldiers suddenly interfere out of nowhere:

Then came the guard from the ships, and marching proudly among
them/Entered the sacred portal./With loud and dissonant clangour/
Echoed the sound of their brazen drums from their ceiling and
casement,—/Echoed a moment only, and slowly the ponderous portal/
Closed, and in silence the crowd awaited the will of the soldiers/
Then uprose their commander, and spake from the steps of the altar,/Holding
aloft in his hands, with its seals, the royal commission. (Longfellow 151)

The reconciliation is disrupted, and the deportation is inevitable. Longfellow consciously omitted the weighty role of New England in the Acadian deportation, seasoning his tale with “a peppering of Anglophobia, which heightened its appeal in the United States in the decades before the Civil War” (Evans 106). At the time, Longfellow’s tale reflected well the mythic image the Acadians have cherished of themselves ever since, i.e. as inhabitants of a North American transcultural utopia: “Thus dwelt together in love the simple Acadian farmers/Dwelt in the love of God and Man” (Longfellow 143). The myths of *Acadie* and the Acadians have proved to be long-lived and the romance is occasionally read as a major record of Acadian history.

Some fifty years later Roberts did not hesitate to use Longfellow’s myths in his novel *A Sister to Evangeline*, broaching the same themes for partly the same reasons, his focus being on “the development and promotion of a harmonious reconciliation between the English and Acadian peoples in the Maritime region” (Owen 117) prior to the deportation. Another aim was to justify the British when the reconciliation was disrupted. Roberts fell in with Longfellow in keeping the myths of *Acadie* intact, above all underscoring the reputation of Grand Pré as a utopian contact zone. All the characters except for the Catholic priest Le Loutre, the Black Abbé, assume in varying degrees attitudes of reconciliation promoting a situation of transcultural dynamics. Thus, the theme of reconciliation is of vital importance for the legitimacy of Grand Pré as a transcultural contact zone and the denouement of the plot. However, the literary setting is incomplete. The contact zone of the novel does not include the native Amerindians of the region, the Micmacs. If at all referred to, the Micmacs are presented in the background as the Black Abbé’s reliable henchmen in the crooked shapes of “cut throats” (Roberts 107), “red devils” (72), and “painted and yelling pack” (63).

In the first chapter Roberts gives a minute geographical description of the contact zone of Grand Pré and its surroundings. The location is important for

the reconciliation lived there. It is a scene of aestheticised beauty, where peace, beauty, and reconciliation merge:

The houses stood each with a little space before it, now neatly tilled and deeply tufted with young green, but presently to become a mass of colour when the scarlet lychnis, blue blackspur, lavender, marigolds and other summer-blooming plants should break into flower. [...] Further on, a lane bordered with smaller cabins ran in a careless, winding fashion up the hillside; and a little way from the corner, dwarfing the roofs, loftily overpeering the most venerable apple-trees, and wearing a conscious air of benignant supervision, rose the church of Grand Pré, somewhat squatly capacious in the body, but with a spire that soared very graciously. (69-70)

The main characters, the quiet Catholic Acadians Yvonne de Lamourie and her parents, fit well into the scene. They are, like all the inhabitants of this part of Nova Scotia, British subjects and therefore “half British” about to take the required oath of allegiance to the British crown. Yvonne’s betrothal to the Quaker George Anderson, a kind and cheerful Englishman, is a tangible example of the situation of transcultural reconciliation. Theirs is a relationship of mutual respect and trust. Arguably, there are no religious conflicts between the Acadians and the British at Grand Pré. George Anderson’s first meeting with his Catholic Acadian rival Paul Grande is also one of respect and prompt friendliness (27), and the first hand-shake is a warm impulsive greeting. Moreover, in a critical situation Paul Grande self-denyingly saves George Anderson’s life. Instances of Anglomania, current in France in the mid 1700s, are reflected in Roberts’ novel. Accordingly, the Quaker George Anderson, guided by his inner light, is featured as a good and just man who would run the gauntlet for his future Acadian family. Furthermore, the British soldiers are generally portrayed as “brave” (38), an enemy certainly, but nevertheless a “fair foe to be fought with fair weapons” (72). Also, British and New England women are sympathetically summed up as Puritan lilies (6) with red hair where “the sun sets and rises” (253).

The transcultural reconciliation of the contact zone is by and by unsettled by omens of a supernatural order. A great and “bell-like voice” to be heard all over the village cries out repeatedly the terrible woe awaiting *Acadie* (10). It is the voice of the madman Grûl, a prophet of woe, dressed in a black and yellow woollen cloak (12). Old Mother Pêche, haggard, high-boned, and hawk-nosed (17), pronounces a prophecy of desire and death that recurs throughout the novel (22). All prophecies are eventually fulfilled. The supernatural, Owen observes, occasionally dominates the scene and the prophecies are there “to guide, frighten, and console the individual” (121) in situations of uncertainty. He also argues that, although a political and historical figure, the Black Abbé, in all his Satanic dimensions, can be seen as a supernatural force in the manner he bends the French and the Micmacs to his purposes (121). It is therefore logical that, at his instigation, the peace and reconciliation of Grand Pré are undermined. During the subsequent deportation a few weeks later the village becomes a burning inferno:

The smoke arose suddenly on the westernmost outskirts. [...] The wind being from the southeast, the fire spread but slowly against it. As the smoke drove low the flames into more conspicuous brilliance, licking lithely over and under the rolling cloud that strove to smother them. The empty houses burned for the most part with a clear, light flame; but the barns, stored with hay and straw, vomited angry red, streaked with black. Up the bleak hillside ran the terrified cattle, with wildly tossing horns.

(Roberts 212–13)

The cataclysmic change obliterates the village. Unlike her forerunner Evangeline, Yvonne is not swallowed up by the American ethos after the deportation. Instead she reassumes her Acadian identity and leaves Grand Pré and George Anderson for Québec and Paul Grande. The deportation and its aftermath make her half British identity suddenly vanish.

As the novel draws to an end, the British and the Acadians in Nova Scotia once again form parallel ethnic groups, juxtaposed and divided by war, religion,

and language. The transcultural and transnational contact zone of Grand Pré is wiped out. The denouement is Roberts' imaginary resolution of a conflict that has lived on in the Maritime collective memory and that has proved persistent for a long time.

Halifax and Louisbourg

In discussing the opposed colonial towns of Louisbourg and Halifax, Raddall aimed to problematize the comparison of the English and the French presence in Canada. In doing so he simultaneously parallels, perhaps unintentionally, the transcultural dynamics of the comparison. As the Jacobite protagonist Roger, Raddall's mouthpiece, formulates it: "The old comparison of Halifax and Louisbourg disturbed him like a voice, a question demanding an answer. Somewhere in the story of the two towns was concealed the secret of French failure in America" (Raddall 355). Roger is a colonial seeing-man, in Pratt's sense of the word (Pratt, *Imperial* 7), looking out to possess as much as possible. In investigating the "secret" Raddall marks out Halifax as an "arrival scene" (78) of co-operation and of a joint venture to eventually build a town of the first rank. The contact zone is a town that is being born:

And the town began. It began with tents and brushwood bivouacs beside the first slender trail, which followed the south bank of the brook up the hill. [...] Then the huts began, with four walls of stakes driven into the earth cheek by jowl, with roofs of old sailcloth and boards from Boston and strips of birch bark, with chimneys of sticks and dried clay, and no light but the gleam of day in the open door. (104)

Without the defence of a citadel the town gives, all the same, a "strange impression of permanence" (193). The impression is grounded on the sense of being "We, the People of England" (358), a notion the first English settlers, the Tooley Street mob, brought to Halifax. Despite this, as it turns out, Halifax is a hybrid contact zone of international activity:

And its voice was now unmistakably the nasal draw of New England, with undertones of cockney, of throaty Swiss and German, of sonorous Huguenot. And here and there he met the chatter and gesticulation of traders from the Spanish main, the glib and comical English of slaves from the West Indies, the reedy monotones of the Micmacs peddling fish and furs. (207)

Louisbourg, by contrast, is staged as a monolith of strength and defence:

The fortress stood on a point of bleak moorland between harbor and sea, the land side guarded by massive walls of earth faced with stone and standing thirty feet above the general level. There were six bastions, the Bastion du Roi a citadel in itself, separated from the town by a dry moat and containing the main barracks and the residence of the governor. All of these were well supplied with cannon (179).

But ethnically and transculturally, Louisbourg is as hybrid a town as Halifax. In its streets we find:

[T]wos and threes of fine ladies in all the hues of the rainbow; hooded nuns, brothers of Frères de la Charité in dark soutanes; Indian men and boys in clout and moccasin like images of bronze; squaws in caribou-hide smocks of rags and tatters of French petticoats; Negroes from Haiti or Martinique clad in anything from sail-cloth to cast-off uniforms. (278)

This is a hybridity that makes Mary Foy, the only person Roger is able to esteem and love, remark: “It’s like Halifax”(278), whereupon Roger retorts: “Oh? I was thinking how very different it was” (278), the difference being that Louisbourg was built as a naval base and fishing settlement (Plank, *Unsettled* 41). Raddall’s purpose may very well have been to create the two towns as opposites, but the outcome is the reverse. The two towns manifest similar transcultural qualities of reconciliation, albeit differently, since ethnical hybridity is allowed. In Anglo-phone Halifax, hybridity is evidenced through the multitude of nationalities and

the variety of languages spoken there, whereas in Louisbourg dresses of various colours and fashions reflect hybrid origins.

The Jacobite Roger identifies with the English county of Kent. But he professes himself to be a man without king and country (339) with seemingly no loyalties. On arrival in Halifax he is initially indifferent to the Francophobia rampant there: “Injuns, Cajuns, the Valley, Fort Anne, Louisbourg—all seemed as remote as the moon” (110). He cynically regards the French as black-eyed and his former mistress is one in a long row of “elegant patch-and-powder Parisiennes who took their amours as their husbands took wine, as often as possible and with a keen taste for a new flavor” (2). The “sombre and terrible wilderness” (143), where Roger is captured by the Micmacs is a space between Halifax and Louisbourg, the third transcultural contact zone of the novel. Reluctantly, Roger learns to experience the wilderness “as an invitation and a challenge” (143), a forest of “splendor”, that he wishes to feel and smell, to be in and be part of (143). In his first contacts with the Micmacs they are referred to as savages with “broad faces daubed with ocher and charcoal” (128). Eventually, however, Roger comes to share Micmac life as a full member, a prime example of transculturation. He learns their mixed language which is influenced by French (137). He is given the Indian form Bosoley for the name Beau Soleil. He adopts the Micmac hairstyle wearing a “queue, tied with a thong” (160) with an eagle feather as a pigtail. In the wilderness Roger meets the French trader Gautier, a fully transcultural individual, having integrated Micmac customs and traditions in his life. Roger sees him as a

small man, brown and gleaming like the others, in clout and moccasins and with a hawk feather thrust in his topknot. A necklace of bear claws hung about his neck with a tobacco pipe of polished gray stone slung by a slender thong. His black beard marked him for a European, or a half-blood more likely. [...] A pelt of curly black hair grew on his lean breast and down his belly, and his thin corded arms were as hairy as a bear's. (130)

Gautier lives with a Micmac woman and is therefore “one of them” (134). To mate with a Micmac woman, a representative of the Other, is for Roger to mate a “wild thing, to produce hybrid things, half beast and half himself, and to live year in and year out among these mockeries, like a man shut up in a room hung with distorted mirrors ... ugh! Darkness! Darkness” (166)! This refusal makes the Micmacs decide he must depart from their community. He is sold by the Micmacs to Louisbourg and then after many vicissitudes returns to Halifax.

Raddall created the binary opposites of Halifax and Louisbourg to explain the French failure in North America. However, both towns come out as transcultural contact zones with shifting histories. Raddall’s analysis was grounded on geopolitical locations and exteriors, an analysis that has proved false and inconclusive. The reasons for the fall of Louisbourg were much more complex and politically intricate than that. The rendition of the wilderness as a transcultural contact zone of Anglo-French encounters with the Micmacs corresponds well with the historical records of diverging British and French attitudes to the indigenous population (Plank, *Unsettled* 68–87). Writing his novel Raddall unwittingly performed a transcultural act, although aiming to do the opposite.

Ruisseau, Louisbourg, Paris, Versailles

In opposition to Roberts and Raddall, Le Bouthillier discusses a variety of transcultural contact zones over a time span of several decades. In the afterword to *Phantom Ships* Le Bouthillier specifies the purpose of his novel:

I still have trouble understanding why our literature, unlike those of France and the United States, has rarely touched on historical fiction. I have tried to close that gap somewhat by choosing to write about the richest period in our history—the years 1740 to 1763, when the French empire in America came to an end, an era that broke with the past, offering adventures and myths that have ramifications even today. I tried to raise a corner of the veil by showing the confrontation between three cultures—the French, the English, and the native cultures. (351)

The three cultures mentioned above meet and confront differently in the four separate contact zones of the novel. The zones are rendered as spaces of transcultural contacts and spaces where cultures confront each other. Ruisseau and Paris are transcultural contact zones, whereas Louisbourg and Versailles are zones of confrontation. The principal contact zone of the novel is transcultural Ruisseau in Miramichi. It is a region where the Micmacs and the French have lived harmoniously together for decades. Another major contact zone is Louisbourg during the middle years of the War of the Austrian Succession and of the Seven Years' War. Louisbourg as the colonial frontier constitutes the contact zone that becomes a war zone. Paris and Versailles are European contact zones, very distant from the colonial frontier. It is in Paris, where the transcultural love of Joseph's Micmac stepson, Membertou, and a young Parisian girl, Aglaë, is born and later unfolds into tragedy. The Versailles zone is a zone of confrontation, where the royal family and nobility set the terms for the contacts of opposition between the court and its subjects.

Joseph Le Bouthillier, the protagonist of all the contact zones, is as his family name suggests, an ancestor of the author. Joseph Le Bouthillier was, in fact, his paternal forefather who arrived at the village of Ruisseau in the 1740s.⁷⁵ He married Angélique, the métis daughter of the Huguenot fur-trader Gabriel Giraud, alias Saint-Jean, who had lived with the Micmacs for more than thirty years. Angélique and Joseph had five children of which three appear in the novel (352). Like the author's ancestor, the fictional Joseph is of Breton origin that is impossible to trace. The author makes him the probable and illegitimate son of a Breton duke, transferred to Québec as an infant. His origin may seem ambiguous, as Viau argues, both glorious and threatening, thus making him superior to all around him. (114). Still, he is a captive of his past and of his incessant search for a personal identity, an identity he wishes to be integrated with the identity of *Acadie* as a lost country (114). He migrates transculturally between cultures and

⁷⁵ Bas-Caraquet, the birth-place of the author.

between past and present. His is thus a “migratory subjectivity” characterized by displaced relationships (Walter, “Between” 24). He is an exceptional hero who will face any danger for his family and country (Viau 115). Therefore, as Viau suggests, he demonstrates all the physical and spiritual qualities of a hero-adventurer (119). Le Bouthillier portrays him as follows:

Tall and fair with pearl-grey eyes, a slender nose, a bushy brown beard with auburn-coloured streaks, and long brown hair held back off his face, he had an aura of nobility about him, of grandeur and generosity. His wiry muscles hinted at great strength; he walked with a wave’s fluid grace, and his fine, knotted hands held both a worker’s strength and a violinist’s sensitivity. (*Phantom* 2)

In his mid-twenties Joseph leaves Québec to take part in the political challenges and vicissitudes of the 18th century, circumstances that take him first to Ruisseau in Chaleur Bay, then to Louisbourg and some twenty years later to Paris and Versailles. At the end of the novel he leaves France for Jersey in order to join the fiancée of his youth, Émilie. On the sea between Jersey and Guernsey they are drowned during a storm.

The principal contact zone of the novel is Ruisseau in Miramichi, where Joseph arrives in the spring of 1740. There is a coast-line dotted with islands where “its giant spruce trees, blackened by the savagery of this country of drizzle, seemed to tap the clouds for their sap, and the tall white birch trees stood out against the arc of heavens like royalty banished amongst the commoners” (2–3). One island in particular, Miscou Island, holds magic. It is the guardian of Amerindian Canada covered with cedars, spruce trees and birches standing on guard in the magic mist. The transcultural contact zone of Ruisseau is infused with reconciliatory stillness between the Micmacs and the French. Here some twenty Micmac families have their habitations. They are all known by adopted French names. Their chosen sagamore is Saint-Jean, who has become completely transculturated, having married a Micmac woman, whose adopted name Madeleine derives from her first marriage with a Norman captain. Angélique,

with whom Joseph falls in love, is their daughter. Joseph is fascinated by Angélique's hybrid white beauty, a token of a Viking ancestry as well (10). Angélique has all the vital qualities of a transcultural individual:

Angélique symbolized the vitality of this continent steeped in the humus and of its First Nations and its forty centuries of history. Born through her mother of a people that had incarnated the age of Enlightenment well before Louis XIV, when Europeans were massacring the Infidels to conquer Jerusalem in the name of the love of Christ, she was a breath of fresh air and a mystery that he longed to touch. (12)

Culturally, she is under the French influence of her father, Saint-Jean, who has handed down to her an interest in Molière's, Racine's, and Corneille's literary works (15). After having married Angélique, Joseph promptly transculturates to native life appropriating Micmac ways and traditions to his own (15). They lead a happily married life with their three children and Angélique's son Membertou. The British pose no threat.

The Ruisseau contact zone of the 1750s is in sharp contrast to that of the 1740s. Europe prepares for a global war, and the British become a menace also to Ruisseau. The appearance of a phantom ship at sea has already presaged war preparations. With the Seven Years' War approaching, the British are now portrayed as war tyrants (Le Bouthillier, *Phantom* 121) administering a violent deportation:

[E]verything happened all at once [...] Then Winslow decided that the most unruly prisoners would be boarded immediately, namely more than two hundred able-bodied men [...] The men refused to budge, and the only way the soldiers could get them to cover the distance between the enclosure and the shoreline was by constantly prodding them with their bayonets. Women and children hung onto their poor loved ones' arms and hands. The air rang with sobs, cries, and shouts. (134)

In the wake of the deportation political unrest throws the whole Miramichi area into convulsion. The Micmacs join the French and the Acadians in guerilla warfare. As a result scalping becomes a regular practice on both sides (172).

The colonial wars make Louisbourg a contact zone of confrontation. However, Le Bouthillier describes Louisbourg as a hybrid melting-pot populated and visited by various tradesmen and professionals:

From the lookout, he gazed at the star-shaped city built on Havre d'anglois and surrounded by ramparts within which more than seven thousand people lived. Soldiers, fishermen, and every other trade as well: carpenters, joiners, limemen, masons, stonecarvers, blacksmiths, locksmiths bakers just ... as in France's cities by the sea. (67–68)

As in Raddall's *Roger Sudden*, Le Bouthillier's Louisbourg of the 1750s is marked by its geopolitical location. The war situation is evident everywhere: "Peace or war? The question was on everyone's lips" (70). In the zone the contacts of confrontation between the French, the Acadians, the Micmacs, and the British reach a peak in the violent attack on Louisbourg on May 11 1745. 8000 New Englanders annihilate the recruits, workers, and fishermen who defend Louisbourg. The contact zone becomes a war desert:

Only one house was left intact. On June 26th, a population decimated by disease, sleeplessness, and hardship petitioned the governor to surrender. There was hardly any powder left, nothing but a few barrels. Just enough for a final salvo. What's more, a breach in the Dauphin bastion made an entry possible using fascines. The battle was over. (91)

Since the aim in a war zone is to confront and destroy, it can hold no transcultural significance. Initially a transcultural place, Louisbourg ends up a war zone.

As a transcultural contact zone Paris is full of contradictions. It is the imperial and distant metropolis of the colonizer, a capital characterized by a sense of national grandeur contained in its majestic buildings and monuments. Nevertheless Paris opens up transcultural contacts for visiting Acadians. Joseph's stepson,

Membertou, for instance, meets and falls in love with a Parisian beauty, Aglaë. Versailles, the fourth contact zone, is a zone of spiritual confrontation, where Joseph goes in 1759 in search of royal assistance for his crumbling country. As a contact zone for Joseph in his contacts with the royal representatives, Versailles is represented as the disinterested and authoritative location of a monarchy that has abandoned a colony:

Before them the Château de Versailles appeared, stretching as far as the eye could see, surrounded by flowers, gardens, palm trees, and orange groves—a harmonious blend of greenery and colours down which the Grand Canal wound its way for close to two leagues. [...] With its two thousand windows and its thousand chimneys, Versailles bore no resemblance whatsoever to the Louisbourg and Quebec châteaux, which paled next to Versailles' height, length, and beauty. Confronted with these buildings that had no match in Canada, his thoughts turned to the forests back home and the many species of tree that changed with the seasons. (262–63)

This rectangular contact zone of universal harmony is designed as an abstract recapitulation of the history of the world. It is meant as a “poem of marble, gold, and light” (261). Here contacts are opposed and hierarchized. When Membertou and Aglaë both appear in Indian costumes in the Hall of Mirrors they fail to fulfil their union (275). The appearance provokes the royal court, and as a result Joseph and his sons have to leave France in haste (278). Joseph sums up the contact zone of Versailles in these terms:

In his mind, two worlds collided, two types of beauty; on the one hand, the beauty of the wilderness and of nature, familiar and reassuring, a reflection of the human heart and instincts and, on the other hand, the beauty of human civilization, a product of the mind and reason. (263)

In the novel the author offers a broad spectrum of contact zones with divergent characteristics. The Canadian contact zones are depicted as sites where transcul-

tural cohabitation and interaction of long standing abruptly turn into war zones. The contact zones of Paris and Versailles are marked by European history and tradition, and the brief encounters happening there, transcultural and confrontational, are conducive to a political status quo for the Acadian characters and their country.

In *Les marées du Grand Dérangement*, the sequel of *Phantom Ships*, Le Bouthillier brings into focus the period between the years 1761 and 1805, a period marked by the aftermath of the wars and the deportation. The ageing Joseph, still in search of an identity, is yet again the main character. Other central characters are Héloïse and her children who, after a shipwreck off the Cornwall coast, toil to adapt to conditions in Great Britain and France before their return to Canada. Many of the characters of the novel migrate on an international scene, where locations in *Acadie*, England, France, and Louisiana become shifting contact zones of transition. Contacts are continuously displaced by the experiences of the Acadian exile and “errance” in various settings on both sides of the Atlantic. Most British and French contact zones are zones of confrontation where contacts between the Acadians and the local populations are lived under local constraints. In Cornwall, by contrast, Penzance and Penryn become transcultural English contact zones, though ephemeral, for the shipwrecked Héloïse and her children. In both locations the Acadians are met with compassion and are well received as compared with their exiled compatriots in the American colonies (37). In one instance the population of Penzance even choose to ignore the war between England and France when assisting “the papists” (33). In Penryn the Acadian exiles are given the advantageous status of war prisoners. Furthermore, the English hosts allocate both jobs and money. They are, however, annoyingly cold and distant. Héloïse is invited to an English baroness on several occasions. The repeated procedure well summarises the stereotypes of the British:

The ritual was always the same. The baroness offered tea and marmalade biscuits to her guest, got excited over the beautiful woven cloth, informed herself about the health of the young woman and her children, then made

her understand that the conversation was over, all in a perfect French, in line with the tradition and the fashion of the time of almost all the ruling classes of Europe.⁷⁶ (41)

When the question of allegiance to the British crown resurfaces the Acadians have to leave for France, an unsafe haven. In 1765 Heloïse and her children find a refuge in Belle-Isle off the Breton coast. It is an island ravaged, depopulated, and robbed by the British (99). French Belle-Isle, as it turns out, is a contact zone of confrontation. Due to the arrival of the Acadians, the land of the island, most of it fallow, has to be re-allocated between the island population and the arriving Acadians. Contacts grow tense between native islanders and Acadians out of rivalry over land:

More sparks flew between the Acadians and the inhabitants of Belle-Isle. Some farmers and day labourers⁷⁷ were still opposed to the settlement of French Americans. A conflict broke out in 1768 over an old path passing through the cleared land of an Acadian which the parishioners, supported by the priest, continued to use [...] A few inhabitants were taken prisoners one evening, and that stirred up feelings.⁷⁸ (160)

Eventually returning to occupied *Acadie*, all the Acadians, unwelcome also in the old country, France, have to contemplate most relevant topics concerning their future, such as lost land and exile (79):

No land, no right to vote, no deputies, and no government posts. Why go

⁷⁶ Le rituel était toujours le même. La baronne offrait à son invitée du thé et des biscuits recouverts de marmelade, s'exstasiait de la beauté des étoffes tissées, s'enquérât de la santé de la jeune femme et celle de ses enfants, puis lui signifiait la fin de l'entretien, le tout dans un français impeccable, conformément à la tradition et à la mode de l'époque dans presque toutes les classes dirigeantes d'Europe.

⁷⁷ Translated from the French noun "gourdiec".

⁷⁸ Il y avait encore des étincelles entre les Acadiens et les habitants de Belle-Isle. Quelques colons et gourdiecs continuaient à s'opposer à l'implantation des ces Français d'Amérique. Un conflit éclata en 1768 au sujet d'un ancien sentier qui passait sur les terres défrichées d'un Aca-

on living on this earth of Cain? We are exiles. Refugees returning to *Acadie* in search of the promised land, will they find it in Caraquet, in Cocagne or in St. Mary's Bay? Will it be necessary to go and live in Québec? Or in France? ... No, France is not our country, and the Acadians would adapt with difficulty. We are rooted in this continent. What about the south? It's too hot and there are mortal illnesses.⁷⁹ (79)

These topics suggest an insight that in future decades and centuries the deterritorialized Acadians will be scattered in two continents, Europe and North America.

The American Colonies

In Maillet's novel *Pélagie*, the journey through hostile territory symbolizes a decade of extreme dangers, a time when the presence of the Other is an ineluctable fate. However, the journey also produces transcultural processes. The transcultural contacts are sporadic, and the transcultural contact zones of Baltimore and Philadelphia are ephemeral sites of reconciliation with the American colonies for the travelling Acadians. Primarily, the novel narrates the compulsive urge of the Acadians for a permanent repositioning on the land of the former homeland ("pays"). Homeland and land are synonyms and as such alternate as significant scenes of this epic odyssey. Like all Maillet's protagonists, Pélagie lives "on the land, the place of origin in the old atonymic sense of the word as it refers to the region where they live and not to Canada"⁸⁰ (Lord, "Territorialité" 119). At

dien et que des paroissiens, soutenus par le curé, continuaient à emprunter [...] Quelques habitants furent emprisonnés l'espace d'un soir, ce qui remua le brasier des passions.

⁷⁹ Pas de terre, pas de droit de vote, pas de députés et pas de postes au gouvernement. Pourquoi rester sur cette terre de Caïn? ... Nous sommes des proscrits. Les réfugiés qui reviennent en Acadie à la recherche de la terre promise la trouveront-ils à Caraquet, Cocagne ou à la baie Sainte-Marie? Faudra-t-il aller vivre à Québec? Ou en France? ... Non, la France n'est pas notre pays, et les Acadiens s'y adapteraient difficilement. Nous sommes ancrés dans ce continent. Et le sud? C'est trop chaud et il y a des maladies mortelles.

⁸⁰ vit dans 'le pays', lieu d'origine dans le sens ancien du mot désigné sous une forme atonymique, puisqu'il s'agit ici de la région où elles vivent et non du Canada.

the end of the journey, at Tintamarre, Pélagie recreates a new homeland without land. When she has fully grasped that *Acadie* has ceased to exist she comments:

And what does that matter, [...]. It's men who make the land and not the land makes men. Wherever it is we end up on our march, they'll have to give some name to the place. And I'll call it *Acadie*. On account of because we're going to rebuild it, just you wait and see, we're going to rebuild it as big as the country. (A. Maillet 243–44)

Thus, the land of the homeland is, like Pélagie's cart, life itself and makes up the core of novel. Deprived of her Acadian homeland Pélagie nonetheless has a so-called "paysage d'âme":

In fact, the expression 'paysage d'âme' defines better [...] the essence of this landscape—*her* Acadian landscape—, described (because felt, imagined) by Pélagie. A 'paysage d'âme', then, as it is a landscape profoundly intimate, permanent: a landscape of which Pélagie is filled and which she rediscovers or, more exactly, re-invents (according to the Latin etymology of the word)—on every occasion.⁸¹ (Petroni 306)

The "paysage d'âme" is Pélagie's compulsive inner landscape with images from her childhood: "But *Pélagie* didn't choose her images, she had dragged them along with her all the way from her native land. A land of masts and shrouds, framed in bays, slashed with rivers and all walled round with *aboiteaux*"⁸² (A. Maillet 17). This is her land, her vision of a vanquished paradise with which she identifies.

Against Pélagie's inner landscape is set the external scene of the enemy that her cart has to cross in the 1770s. The American colonies find themselves on the

⁸¹ En effet, l'expression 'paysage d'âme' précise mieux [...] l'essence de ce paysage—*son* paysage d'Acadie—, décrit (parce que senti, imaginé) par Pélagie-la-Charrette. Un paysage d'âme, donc, parce qu'il est un paysage profondément intime, permanent: un paysage dont Pélagie est imprégnée et qu'elle retrouve—plus exactement: ré-invente (selon l'étymologie latine de ce mot)—à toute occasion.

⁸² Special kinds of dykes constructed in *Acadie*.

brink of a war of independence. It is a scene full of “insurgents bivouacking in the woods and every cranny between Virginia and New England where the rebellion was beginning to turn into an open war of independence” (144), and it is marked by “famine, drought, rains, epidemics, quarrels, defections” (146). It is on the territory of the inveterate enemy that the transcultural contacts and contact zones are produced. The transcultural contacts happen in encounters between individuals during the journey through America and in the contact zones of Baltimore and Philadelphia. Céline, the mid-wife of the cart, is a woman born of a transcultural union “orphaned not by deportation but by birth. Some whispered between their teeth she might be the product of a Micmac father and a witch or a wild woman of the woods” (14). It is worth noting that her expertise as a midwife is valuable when new babies are born during the journey. Brière argues:

In Céline’s case the mixture of the French and Amerindian races results in the transmission of the oral tradition of the American natives concerning medical practices. Because of her knowledge the Acadian exiles avoid the worst. Céline presides at the rebirth of the exiles, when they give birth to innumerable babies.⁸³ (101)

The first baby to be born during the journey is a girl named Virginie: “Virginie! This Virginie Cormier⁸⁴ would be heir to a land, a land of passage, a halting place on their way. And later she would be a living memory of the Virginia stage of their journey” (A. Maillet 112–13). Brière proposes a transcultural interpretation:

The choice of a non-Acadian name points to a new line of descent: the first Acadian woman to have the name of Virginie will be the ancestor of many descendants. Borrowed from an American colony, where this birth

⁸³ Dans le cas de Céline, le mélange de race française et amérindienne a pour résultat la transmission de la tradition orale des pratiques de la médecine des indigènes américains. Grâce à ses connaissances, les Acadiens en exil évitent le pire. Céline préside à la renaissance des exilés en mettant au monde d’innombrables bébés.

⁸⁴ Virginie Cormier was the name of Antonine Maillet’s mother.

takes place, this name suggests a new beginning: it is a virginal territory, where all is possible, because the old myths have been effaced to give place to new more dynamic myths. Simultaneously, the name evokes a virile force: ‘vir’, off-spring from a woman: ‘gyn’.⁸⁵ (102)

The first transcultural encounter of the journey is with a Scotswoman, a sorceress, “a bone-setter and fortune-teller by trade” (A. Maillet 34), who assists the Acadian cart caravan in several ways. She also reads left hands, predicting “to Maxime Bastarache and to Jean, Pélagie’s son, the two proudest young blades of the troop, that dangerous and gallant adventures awaited them both. And from that day forward the two young males went around sniffing like dogs in heat” (43–44). After that she leaves them as unexpectedly as she appeared. The second encounter is with a “Negro” (53) in the Charleston slave-market. After one of her disappearances Catoune is found there, chained to a “Negro”, who is mistaken for a stake in the tumult of her release. The two are taken to the cart, and the “Negro” becomes an Acadian cart-traveller. Pélagie offers him the name of her deceased father, a name he refuses out of respect for Pélagie (109). At the end of the journey in *Acadie* the “Negro” transculturally assumes Amerindian life. He follows an Indian to his homeland:

For he’d followed the Indian back to the Saint John River valley, and the Indian had made him a headdress of the tribe’s feathers before presenting him to his chief who had never seen a black man before. It was the first time a Redskin couldn’t call a stranger a paleface, which left him fairly perplexed, so it seems. (247)

⁸⁵ Le choix d’un nom non-Acadien signale la fondation d’une nouvelle lignée: la première Acadienne à porter le nom de Virginie sera l’ancêtre d’une longue descendance. Emprunté à l’état américain où a lieu cette naissance, ce nom suggère un nouveau commencement: c’est un territoire vierge, où tout est possible puisque les anciens mythes ont été effacés pour céder la place à des mythes nouveaux, plus dynamiques. En même temps le nom évoque une force virile: ‘vir’, issue d’une femme: ‘gyn’.

The transcultural contact zones of Baltimore and Philadelphia differ. In Baltimore the encounters between the local inhabitants and the Acadians are transculturally intimate, whereas in Philadelphia the inhabitants are celebrating the Declaration of Independence in the distance. The contact zone of Philadelphia is, however, open to the Acadians for an Acadian celebration. The city of Baltimore is a “cross-roads of the world”, where Spaniards, Portuguese, and Catalans meet (124). In chorus the returning exiles express extreme joy over the French influence in Baltimore, “the blessed land of the Virgin Mary” (124):

[F]or a few leagues from there, on the outskirts of Baltimore, was a whole village of Acadians that went by the name of French town, do you hear that! With a priest, Abbé Robin, who sang them Latin in their own tongue. The Jeannes, the Marie-Annes, and the Marguerites sniveled for joy while their men thwacked each other on the backs to loud shouts of: ‘*Salut*, old trunk of a Robichaud from Rivière-des-Canards! *Salut*, François-à-Pierre-à-Pierre-à-Pierrot!’ Such a reunion as they’d dreamed of since Georgia. (122)

It is spring: “Baltimore overflowed with flowers and birds perfuming the air with words of love. It was almost indecent” (123). As it turns out, Baltimore has all the appropriate qualifications to become a transcultural contact zone of the closest intimacy on one afternoon when the Fool Pierre-à-Pitre plays his “master stroke”, a bewitching spell (127), cast on the Baltimore women, a stroke that leaves them undressed and nearly naked:

All the women in the Baltimore market tore off their collars, their bonnets, their aprons, their skirts, their petticoats, their bodices, their sabots, their laced boots, their garters, and besieged the upturned barrel. It was the first and only grand public striptease to be recorded in the annals of the town of Baltimore. Shoes, hats, and *déshabillés* flew in the air revealing underthings never before revealed even to husbands in their intimacy of alcoves. The Fool cast the spell, and the Marys of Maryland let themselves

be bewitched. They tore the hair and skirts from one another, shouting and yelling and trampling their old clothes underfoot as if they never again intended to wear homespun or cotton. They had just discovered the court of miracles where a wizard could change pumpkins into golden coaches and Cinderellas into princesses. (128)

At that moment the silks and the cashmeres are stealthily lifted into the cart chest to be used later by the Acadians in Philadelphia as chance will have it. Philadelphia is a contact zone in celebration during a whole summer (169), a summery city with prophetic birds in the skies (163), a beloved city of love (143, 159). The cart arrives there on the third of July 1776: “The bells were chiming out liberty and independence for somebody else, but that didn’t stop the exiles, like the dogs in the fable from licking up the crumbs under the table” (164). Also the outskirts of the town become transcultural contact zones for the Acadians and American rebels when a few of the cart travellers leave the carts to join the rebels (144). Three Marylanders seek refuge in Pélagie’s cart. Pélagie offers them “drink from the so-called cup of hospitality, a ritual goblet saved from the Great Disruption” (147) and makes room for them in the carts.

Two other instances of transcultural contact in the Pennsylvania woods are the love relationship between Pélagie’s son Jean and the Iroquois princess Katarina. The relationship is sealed by Jean offering the Leblanc rosary, the only family jewel saved from the Great Disruption, to Katarina as a necklace (157). Following this, Jean is swallowed up “in the wilderness” (167). In Philadelphia, Pélagie marries off her daughter to the young cart-traveller Charles-Auguste: “The whole of Philadelphia was celebrating that summer, so the deportees could organize their own festivities without attracting attention. And they jumped to it with a vengeance. A wedding! And wedding feast besides! And the Holy Virgin herself a part of the party” (169). In this scene of budding American independence, the Acadians are free to celebrate their first wedding after the deportation. The bride and the maids now have use for the finery lifted from the Baltimore women:

For Madeleine and her bridesmaids, that's to say all the women of the carts, they had brought out the silks, laces, and cashmeres lifted from the ladies of Baltimore in circumstances now familiar and preserved snug under the secret treasure of the Bourgeois's chest ... Petticoats, cloaks, bonnets, neckerchiefs, bibbed aprons, and silk garters. Before such a parade of red-and-indigo-striped finery, the men's eyes gaped and all were afflicted with Saint Vitus's dance. (171)

It is in the transcultural contact zone of Philadelphia during the joyous wedding party that the Acadians feel free to sing the curse of the English monarch in chime with the American Declaration of the Independence. It is there that Beausoleil takes Pélagie in his arms and covers her "with all the stars that are mirrored each night in the sea" (179).

Liminal Space as Transcultural Contact Zone

The transcultural contact zones of liminal space are very different from those of the colonial frontier. I argue that contemporary contact zones as expressed in Maritime literature are established in the liminal in-betweenness left by the colonial era. Walter states:

Since the European 'discovery,' conquest, and subsequent colonization of the continent, Americans (in the hemispheric sense) had to develop the notion of self and nation in the liminal space between colonization and decolonization, between the imitation of an imposed Westernized model of identity and the creation of an alternative pattern that would express cultural realities different from the Western norm. (*Narrative* 18)

The contacts of the colonial frontier have left a legacy and a memory of violence in the liminal space where the European conquest and the colonization of the Americas, as well as the subsequent phases of nation building, "attest to a history of violent dislocation and disjunctive experience" (22). The dispossession of the experience, as Walter argues, results in a "spatial and psychological deracina-

tion of place, language, identity, ethos and worldview and resistance to these forms of (neo)colonial subalternization” (23). Following this, a condition of “displacement, seen as an ongoing process of transnational and transcultural selective adaptation, borrowing, incorporation, and translation, destabilizes the notion of clear-cut borders separating centers from margins and demarcating the territories of harmonious national cultures” (23). Accordingly, liminal contact zones enforce processes of ethnic self-definition “through and against intra- and intercultural forms, forces, and practices of otherization” (24).

Liminal spaces in contemporary Canada are thus transcultural contact zones where cultural differences involve “fusion and separation, coalescence and antagonism” (19). In contrast to Pratt, Walter extends the notion of contact zone to include “cultural relations both within and between regions and nations throughout the Americas” (21). He sees borderlands not as geographical lines of demarcation, frontiers, but rather as the opening of a many-faceted “liminal space, an in-between ‘contact zone’ in terms of race, ethnicity, culture and nation” (20). However, Spruce Harbour in Keefer’s *Constellations*, characterized by conditions of displacement and dispossession, is constituted as a place of opposition and contradiction. It is a liminal contact zone located between major cities of Anglophone Nova Scotia and Paris, the capital of the former colonial master. Other liminal contact zones are Landry Thériault’s Bois Tranquille, Les Falaises, and Four Corners in the Acadian Peninsula as portrayed in the novels *Soleil mauve sur la baie* and *Le moustiquaire*. Thériault’s transcultural contact zones have grown into locations of transcendent and transnational cohabitation and reconciliation between Anglophones, Acadians, and Micmac descendants of the region. In Richards’ Miramichi trilogy the liminal contact zone of the Miramichi region is a city with no name, dominated by a nameless river. The role of the river is more important than the city as the river is more than “a simple element of decoration; it also introduces a human geography that offers a social status to

the protagonists”⁸⁶ (Lord, “Territorialité” 123). Lord explains the role of the river in these terms: “The river has occupied a predominant role in the survival and the subsistence of the inhabitants for almost two centuries, being the spatial element of collective cohesion and continuity. It refers to the collective identity and is indicative of a fragmented territory”⁸⁷ (128). The land is fragmented and the identities are those of an Irish collective identity of exiled immigrants and the collective Acadian identity of returning exiles (127–28).

All the contact zones of the Maritime liminal space are situated on shared land. They are relatively small locations where different scatterings of Anglophones and Acadians have cohabited in isolation and marginalized dispossession for centuries.

Spruce Harbour

Keefer’s *Constellations* is set in the fictional Spruce Harbour in St. Mary’s Bay. It is a “wilderness” with “an icy sea, empty shores, wild and brutally persistent flowers”⁸⁸ (Keefer “Vers” 109). Having moved to the region with her family in the 1980s after several years in Europe, Keefer experienced “a shock aggravated by the discovery that many of our Acadian neighbours felt threatened so much by the majority culture (anglophone or québécoise) that they considered us as the suspect Other, strangers and even cultural and economic invaders”⁸⁹ (105). A critical reading of the text supports the idea of collision and clash rather than integration, a strategy which, “incorporating a variety of rival discourses, while not expanding the solitudes of the characters she creates, does set the noise of

⁸⁶ un simple élément du décor; elle présente aussi une géographie humaine qui confère un statut social aux protagonistes.

⁸⁷ la rivière a occupé une place prépondérante dans la survie et la subsistance de ses habitants pendant près de deux siècles en étant l’élément spatial de cohésion et de continuité collectives; elle renvoie à l’identité collective et est indicie d’un territoire fragmentaire.

⁸⁸ la mer glaciale, les rivages dépouillés, les fleurs sauvages rudement tenaces.

⁸⁹ choc culturel au cours de notre emménagement, un choc aggravé par la découverte que beaucoup de nos voisins Acadiens se sentaient si menacés par la culture majoritaire (soit anglo-

one kind of speech against another and an Acadian past in conflict with the needs of the present; speech-patterns representing, as often as not, interpersonal hostility” (Nicholson 413). In Benítez-Rojo’s understanding of transculturation, however, Keefer’s novel manifests transcultural perspectives of a dynamic that obstructs situations of reconciliation and transcendence. In accordance with this argument transculturation should be understood as a “multivalent mode” of hegemony and counterhegemony in the liminal contact zone (Walter, “Between” 27). Keefer’s novel is a good example of this uneasy dialogue. In fact, the novel consists of several uneasy dialogues.

The scene and contact zone is Spruce Harbour, a culturally homogeneous place on the Nova Scotian margin, populated by a “mixture of persons who all have problematic relations with their own societies”⁹⁰ (Keefer, “Vers” 105–06). It is an ugly place, a “tatty strip of settlement between rough water and matted stands of spruce” (Keefer, *Constellations* 15). As Keefer herself asserts, it is a place with culturally fixed and impermeable borders (Keefer, “Vers” 109). However, the borders are negotiated and fragmented with the arrival of the young French protagonist Bertrand France, the Other as described in the previous chapter. His presence in the village sets off contrapuntal dialogues of othering between himself, a descendant of the former colonial master, and the Acadian villagers, children of the settler generations that were abandoned to the British. The protagonist, Claire, narrates all the uneasy dialogues in Spruce Harbour, those between herself and Bertrand in the first person singular, and those between Bertrand and Mariette, as well as between Bertrand and Hector in the third person singular, dialogues manifesting tensions of unequal relations with roots in the colonial past. The dialogues between Claire and Hector and Hector and Mariette lack interrelational communication and end up in silence. Bertrand is

phone, soit québécoise) qu’ils nous regardaient comme des Autres louches, des étrangers et même des envahisseurs culturels et économiques.

⁹⁰ mélange de personnages qui ont tous des rapports problématiques avec leurs communautés originaires.

thus the principal actor of the contact zone and as such the invariable creation of Claire's interpretation. The dynamic at stake is one of gender and age, metropolis and diaspora. He is a young male, she is a middle-aged woman. He is engaged to be married, she is a spinster. He is an academic intellectual, she is a music-teacher. He is an aristocrat, she is middle-class. He lives in Paris, "City of Light" (Keefer, *Constellations* 1), she lives in Spruce Harbour in the Acadian backwoods. These opposites are incessantly contested in their dialogue, making Claire resort to malicious irony and Bertrand to homesick displacement in all their conversations. On his arrival Claire's judgement is made in an instant:

Do you understand that Bertrand is an apparition? A *Français de France*, as we say here: someone whose language, looks, and general skyscraping superiority are like a flaming sword brandished from a transatlantic paradise. He has come to judge how far we have fallen from the heights our ancestors knew, back in the land of wine and cheese, of Rabelais and Louis Quatorze. Bertrand has been catapulted here like some Recording, if not Avenging Angel. (1)

Bertrand's apparition recalls the cynicism of a colonial power that abandoned its first North American colony. It is a far cry from the displaced young man that he is.

Claire is the transcultural offspring of the genetic union of her Acadian father and English mother, an impossible union fraught with the historical past. Claire's transcultural identity is thus determined by the past and by the inaction that the contemporary context breeds: "Father, mother and I. And then, one by one, we left—or rather, were sent away, until there was only the white house, white as a dry bone when I came back" (23). Born in war-time London, Claire prefers to speak the language of her mother, but she is taken for her father's child—Claire à Félix—a "dark, sharp-featured, lean" (9) Acadian doctor "pulling babies out of women" (33) with emotional ties to the Micmac community. Her mother, an "Anglaise d'Angleterre", a music student in London during World War II, had a stiffened face and blank eyes due to "the persistent unhappiness of

exile” (9) in Nova Scotia, “always cold, wearing a shawl over a sweater, though both the wood stove and the furnace were roaring away” (23).

Bertrand’s and Claire’s dialogue is determined, as stated above, by gender and age, and by metropolis and diaspora, a dialectic of dominance and subalternity. The uneasy dialogue seems to ease up one night when Bertrand is invited to Claire’s house. To the tones of Bartok’s first violin concerto, drinking Claire’s special cognac and eating her favourite chocolates, they engage in a conversation on music that crosses cultural boundaries. Although rather unmusical, Bertrand has acquired a substantial knowledge of music. And he cherishes one particular music memory for life:

You know a street musician, playing a pipe—a flageolet, all reedy, breathy, to my ears it—it was enchantment Claire: unearthly. [...] Such a simple little tune he was playing—it was ice snaking down my back. I couldn’t move. I was—can you say transfixed? Yes? Well, I was. I wanted it to go on forever, even though I hadn’t any *francs* to toss into the man’s cap; when he picked up the few coins people had given him and walked off, I felt—stranded, as if I were an animal left off the ark—and knew I’d been left off. (95)

Their separate positions seem to get temporarily closer the moment he asks to take her photo and she reaches toward him to remove the smear of chocolate on his cheeks:

His eyes are suspiciously bright—he blinks them behind the smudged spectacles, letting her wipe the chocolate from his face as if she were the nanny who has slapped him for breaking his recorder. [...] All the same, she feels a ridiculous tenderness toward Bertrand as she puts the handkerchief back in her shirt pocket, a tenderness she cancels by abruptly getting up from the chair and fetching his scarf from the clothesrack by the door. It’s nearly eleven—and she meant to turf him out by nine. (98)

Their opposite positions seem for a few hours to meet, but Claire will not allow for a transcultural permanence between them.

The dialogue between Mariette, Claire's half-sister, and Bertrand is one of gender. She is the métis subaltern, a young woman many men of Spruce Harbour will take the opportunity to abuse. Stuttering out a laconical vocabulary, she has no language of her own. She hardly understands metropolitan French (69). Bertrand treats her with respect and politeness, seeing in her the attributes of a Backwoods Madonna (69), a perfect object for his photo collection. In their dialogue Bertrand is the male dominant subject who chooses his objects to satisfy his imperial camera lens. When the occasion arises for the photo session, it acquires all the characteristics of a rape: "*Click*. Her eyes like targets. *Click*, as he comes close, shoving the camera at her, over her, into her" (145). Bertrand's and Mariette's dialogues presage no possibilities of a transcultural "interplay of difference and sameness" (Walter "Between" 27). The relation between them is so profoundly unequal that no transmission can occur between them and their respective culture.

Hector and Bertrand are male opposites. Hector is a handyman and a working-class academic with a failed doctoral degree. At his return he has reintergrated the imposed social legacy of Spruce Harbour. Socially, he may be subaltern, but in the dialogues on practical matters with Bertrand he is the dominant subject because of his superiority in this field. In their dialogue the "dominant/subaltern split" (27) is therefore confused.

Bois Tranquille and Les Falaises

Landry Thériault's novels differ very much from Keefer's *Constellations*. When Landry Thériault published her novel *Un soleil mauve sur la baie*, it was hailed, as mentioned earlier, as an effort to unite different cultural belongings in one place (Salesse 76). In her rendition of the marriage between Marianne, of Irish descent, and the "savage" (Landry Thériault, *Soleil* 28) métis Valentin, the interaction of three peoples was thought to be addressed: the French Canadians, the

English Canadians, and the Amerindians (Salesse 76). Like Claire in *Constellations*, Angélique is the transcultural off-spring of her parents' union. Physically, she is blond and dark: "A brown girl in the summer. White in the winter like the rabbit taken by the neck"⁹¹ (Landry Thériault, *Soleil* 36). Completely bilingual, she is of European and métis descent.

The events are set in Bois Tranquille and Les Falaises, two villages of the Acadian Peninsula, during the 1940s and 1960s. The contact zone made up by the two villages of Bois Tranquille and Les Falaises consists of two transcultural locations of rather long standing. Bois Tranquille is "a small remote village, where you can, despite all, breathe the salty air of the Bay on a quiet and humid June morning"⁹² (*Moustiquaire* 9). It is a village full of life and "[o]f love occasionally [flowing] like maple-trees of the great portages"⁹³ (*Soleil* 36). Nonetheless it is the backyard of the more prosperous Les Falaises, where everybody speaks English, and where there are three churches and all sorts of religion (12).

The contact zones of the novel are abundantly transcultural. Runte has made a pertinent summary of the village life:

Under their paper-thin surface these Tranquil Woods are anything but pastoral; rather, the village is a cauldron of smoldering passions and resentments, in which love triangles (Angélique's mother Marianne, whose father Samuel Ferguson is Irish while her mother Lilian(n)e Doran comes from Jersey, does not dislike her mother's cousin Walter Gresley, Angélique's tutor of a troubled past, and is in turn pursued by one of the neighbour's sons, William Hébert married to the deranged Corinne), racial prejudice (Angélique's paternal grandmother was of mixed Scottish and Indian origin) and social hypocrisy (Tit Gallien's wife Adrienne, from the village slum, is shunned by most yet conveniently visited by many a right-

⁹¹ Fille brune l'été. Blanche, l'hiver, comme les lapins sauvages qu'on prend au collet.

⁹² petit village reculé où l'on peut quand même renifler l'air salin de la Baie par les matins calmes et tièdes de juin.

⁹³ [d]e l'amour qui coulait parfois à plein comme les érables des grandes portages.

eous adulterer) threaten to engulf the innocent Angélique. The heroine is recovering from an attack of polio, enjoys studying with Walter and dreams of emulating her brother Alexis who is going on to better things and a wider world by settling in Germany. She yields, however, to her family's wishes and becomes a telephone operator in *Four Corners*. (172–73)

In the novel, transcultural interaction occurs not only in close cohabitation but also in the forefront of the social gatherings of Acadians and Anglophones. In one instance Samuel Ferguson, Angélique's Irish grandfather, invites everybody to the autumn party, the maize ball.⁹⁴ Acadians and Anglophones pass transcultural moments together:

There is maize everywhere. Marianne is dancing a charleston and an Irish jig. William is looking at her with his mouth open. In the gallery Clément is thinking about the war and takes a small pick-me-up. Philomène, the servant, rejoices and forgets her past. The greenbrier wine runs in the bottles of tinsplate. The floor creaks under the boots and the varnished shoes.⁹⁵ (20)

The contact zones of Bois Tranquille and Les Falaises are characterized by the migration of all the characters between these two locations, where borders have ceased to exist. They have “migratory subjectivities” (Walter, “Between” 24), and their changing identities are shaped by these movements.

Four Corners

Neighbouring *Four Corners*, an imagined Anglophone paradise, is in reality a scene “yellow from the dust emanating from the paper mill and the waste of the

⁹⁴ Bal du blé d'inde.

⁹⁵ Il y a du blé d'inde partout. Marianne danse un charleston et une gigue irlandaise. William la regarde, la bouche ouverte. Le long de galerie, Clément pense à la guerre et prend un p'tit re-

rubbish dump”⁹⁶ (*Moustiquaire* 25). Transcultural contacts are established in the love triangle between Angélique and her friends the Francophone Sophie and the Anglophone Bobby. Sophie is portrayed as a vulgar girl from the decayed “banlieue” (101):

This room in her place was divided by blankets and flannel covers according to the whims of the seasons. They served to infuse intimacy among the beds spread here and there. Being the eldest of the girls, she had to endure the odour of urine of the mattresses.⁹⁷ (*Moustiquaire* 101–02)

Her background has made Sophie into a rather calculating young woman with social ambitions. She goes to any lengths to win the wealthy Bobby Bujold, whose mother is of Jersey descent, for a husband. Bobby is a rather naive young man with “a white and sincere smile” (95) and with blue eyes that promise romantic voyages to Europe, to places in sharp contrast to four Corners: “the hot and slow Spain, France with all its castles, its good wines” (95). During a reception at the Bujolds’ estate, all the social complications of the transcultural contact zone of Four Corners are laid bare. Angélique, who has learnt etiquette from her Anglophone mother, knows how to appreciate and enjoy the Bujold reception, whereas Sophie’s behaviour leaves a great deal to be desired. As in *Constellations*, the relations between the three friends cease with a letter from France written by the newly-wed Sophie and Bobby. The transcultural solutions of the novel, the friendship and the separation of the three friends, and the marriage of Sophie and Bobby, come out as natural and logical, and as highly integrated in the daily life of the characters.

montant. Philomène, la servante, jubile en oubliant son passé. Le vin de salsepareille coule dans les chopines en fer blanc. Le plancher craque sous les bottines et les souliers vernis.

⁹⁶ jaunie par les poussières émanant du moulin à papier et des résidus du dépotoir public.

⁹⁷ Cette pièce, chez elle, était divisée par des courtépointes ou des couvertures de flanelle, selon les caprices des saisons. Elles servaient à infuser un soupçon d’intimité entre les lits éparpillés ça et là. Étant l’aînée des filles, elle devait endurer l’odeur d’urine dans les matelas usés.

The River

Adjacent to the Acadian Peninsula is Miramichi. In Richards' *Nights Below Station Street*, the first novel of his Miramichi trilogy, the contact zone is that of an unspecified Miramichi town, dominated by a nameless river. The town has, nonetheless, certain characteristics: "Over everything in the town rose the hospital, the station, the church, and the graveyard", sites denoting authority (26). The home of the protagonists, the Walsh family, is found in the neighbourhood of the only street with a name, i.e. "below Station Street and beyond the hospital" (7) near the river and near the rocks (7). It is the winter of 1973, and the streets are "wet with snow" (17–18). The river is more important for the contact zone than the town in so far as it confers different social ranks on the characters who are from down the river (21), up the river (50), on the river (21), or across the river (202). The geographical locations of the river are thus socially hierarchized with the downriver area being populated by "Jesus Frenchmen" (10). As Lord argues, the river determines the social discourse: "In Richards' work, the referent 'river' is an object of the sign notation forming the space of socio-discursive concretions"⁹⁸ (Lord, "Territorialité" 122). The role of the river is dual: it is a geographical descriptor and an icon (123) to which the characters relate. The river is also a symbol of exile for the Irish Catholics (124), as they arrived at the inner parts of Miramichi on the river. Finally it is a symbol of danger, as will be shown in the sequel *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace*.

In the contact zone the Irish Catholics and the Acadians cohabit and interact with one another in shared circumstances of marginalization for shared historical reasons such as exile. No explicit characteristics define the characters, Acadian or Irish. Only family names suggest a specific origin. The most dramatic event of the contact zone between Irish Catholics and Acadians is the clash between Vera and an Acadian group (Richards, *Nights* 159–60). Vera assumes she

⁹⁸ Dans l'œuvre de Richards, le référent 'the river' est l'objet d'une notation indicielle formant l'espace des concrétions socio-discursives.

can join the Acadians at any moment and becomes disappointed when she finds that she is not welcome:

They met some Acadian friends and went with them to their winter carnival further down the coast. Vera had dressed up to be suddenly Acadian, wearing an Acadian pin, and traditional Acadian dress. More than ever at this time, she disowned her own culture and wanted to belong to the Acadians who she felt were victims like herself. However, the night of the winter carnival, she and Nevin found themselves alone and ignored. (159)

Vera's and Nevin's failure suggests a lack of understanding of the Acadian collective identity.

The river takes on a threatening role in *Evening Snow Will Bring Such Peace*, the second novel of the Miramichi trilogy with the central protagonist, the Acadian Ivan Basterache, drowning. As it turns out, the river, as the main agent of the contact zone, poses a lethal and imminent threat. In this second part of the trilogy, the transnational interaction between the Irish and the Acadians is in the foreground. Transcultural contacts at their most intimate stage are exemplified in the marriages of Ivan and Cindi and in the marriage of Gloria Basterache and Clay Everette Madgill. Ivan is, as Lord argues, a young anti-hero ("Emprunts" 486) in his twenties who drowns in the river at the age of twenty-eight. Tattooed on his knuckles he is thought to be a violent man armed with a shotgun (Richards, *Evening* 29). His death is a consequence of marginalized dispossession and self-destruction. He is semi-lingual with scant command of both French and English. He has no mother tongue and therefore he belongs to "the inhibited minority, he is emptied of all words"⁹⁹ (Lord, "Emprunts" 485). As a result, he takes no interest in the Acadian cause or in the Acadian collective identity.

When the novel opens, Cindi, an epileptic girl, who drinks too much, has left Ivan after twenty months of marriage because of his impetuous temper (Richards,

⁹⁹ le minoritaire complexé; il est vidé de toute parole.

Evening 7). The novel describes how Ivan in different ways tries to find Cindi, who is pregnant. Despite her illness and alcoholism, Cindi is in some way in control of her life as she finds ways to enforce her will. At the end of the novel when Ivan sinks into the river, dying, Cindi moves “out of the sphere surrounding Ivan’s case, [...] away from it—and into a new life and mythology, which caused the standard speculations of how it would differ from her previous life” (225). She joins “another group, another life” (226).

Ivan’s and Cindi’s failed married life forms a backdrop to other transcultural contacts such as Ivan’s lasting friendship with the Anglophone Ralphie Pillar: “Every time Ralphie looked at him, he nodded and smiled in the exact same manner” (4–5). The union of Ivan’s mother, Gloria Basterache, and the Anglophone Clay Everette Madgill, emerges as a complete transcultural success, transforming Gloria to a goddess in the eyes of her son (32). After the divorce from the Acadian Antony, Ivan’s criminal father, Gloria and Clay marry and move into a house on the river with a “glassed-in upper deck that rose on white pillars above the patio” (32). Having experienced a personal transcultural process with the Anglophones, Gloria shows but indifference to her previous life. When it comes to Antony “she stared up at him indifferently, as if he wasn’t there” (64). Other relationships that testify to transcultural conditions are the brief amorous encounters between the Acadian Armand Savard and the Anglophone Ruby, the Anglophone Nevin and the Acadian Margaret.

In conclusion, the contact zones of the Maritime colonial frontier examined in the novels range over a time span from 1740 to 1780. In their portrayal of specific cultural contacts, these novels are transcultural testimonies or even transcultural acts. In Roberts’ *A Sister to Evangeline*, the transcultural contact zone of Grand Pré constitutes the starting-point of the novel. In a very telling fashion the contact zone degrades into extinction, and transcultural contacts evolve into war contacts of annihilation. The transnational and transcultural spirit that reigns at Grand Pré before 1755 disappears with the deportation of its inhabitants. In *Roger Sudden*, Raddall, aiming to write about the unbridgeable abyss between the

different ethnic groups in North America, in reality created three transcultural contact zones of the colonial frontier. This shows that the act of narrating contacts between ethnic groups in fiction is a transcultural act. Le Bouthillier's contact zones are all more or less transcultural except for zones in France, especially Versailles, where the rigidity of the royal court obstructs even brief and spontaneous interplay between cultures. Le Bouthillier's novels show that migrations between continents and locations generate transcultural contacts as a natural logic. Transcultural contact zones between the Acadians and other ethnic groups are found not only in Canada and Europe but in the hostile American colonies as well, as Maillet convincingly testifies in *Pélagie*. There are transcultural contacts beyond specific contact zones as the journey across America shows. The colonial frontier as a contact zone is a zone rich in a variety of transcultural contacts. Although frequently described as a war zone where binary opposites based on notions of othering occur, as in Roberts and Raddall, the binaries are negotiated and thus transferred into transcultural interaction and copresence.

The contact zones of the liminal space have evolved transculturally since colonial times and have thus assimilated contraries of a Third Space (Bhabha, *Location* 56). The liminal contact zones of Landry Thériault and Richards are placed geographically in anonymous in-between locations of practically no specific characteristics. Keefer's Spruce Harbour, in contrast, is a specific place on the Nova Scotian margin. All the liminal contact zones emerge as forgotten and abandoned. There, friendships and relationships are displaced by a lack of shared culture, language, and ethnicity.

All the texts produced by the discussed writers show that contacts evolve transculturally between Anglophones and Acadians in the Maritimes. Anglophone writers are more prone than their Acadian counterparts to work with binary opposites, binaries that are transferred into a transcultural interplay of difference and sameness, at times in opposition to the stated aim as in Raddall's novel. For the Acadians the deterritorialization of *Acadie* constitutes the cornerstone of all transcultural contacts on the colonial frontier and in the liminal con-

tact zones. In conclusion, in all the novels analysed the contacts between Anglo-phones and Acadians are without exception determined by processes of transculturation.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to prove that contacts in a Maritime literary setting are transcultural, presupposing a prior situation of othering. Nevertheless, the well-known term “two solitudes” still says a lot about circumstances in Maritime life, and about the literary production there implying an unbridgeable cultural division between the Anglophones and the Acadians. However, as Morton declares in the epigraph of this thesis, the response of the writers is to the same country and to a shared history. The Anglophone and the Acadian fictional response may evidence processes of othering, but also processes of transculturation. In my analyses I have found that processes of othering and transculturation act in conjunction, albeit differently. Also, I have found that the processes are unstable and subject to shifting conditions. The negative scenes of othering and the transcultural contact zones differ and are also subject to shifts. Therefore, the novels narrate various responses to the cultural contacts specific to their region.

All the novels manifest processes of othering and transculturation, implying a dialectic of life and death in most titles. In Roberts’ *A Sister to Evangeline* the processes of othering are played out against the transcultural contact zone of Grand Pré, a village that in the end is totally destroyed and annihilated by the hostilities of war. In *Roger Sudden* Raddall proposes Halifax and Louisbourg to be binary opposites of the geopolitical power balance, with Louisbourg destined to downfall, whereas, in fact, both towns are hybrid contact zones where cohabitation of many nationalities is a daily experience. Further, in placing his protagonist Roger in Micmac captivity, Raddall creates a transcultural contact zone between Halifax and Louisbourg, a contact zone where Roger, in his capacity as a dominant male subject in Micmac captivity, is forced all the same to adapt to the French Micmac life which he abhors. In the end he is shot by the French. The American colonies in the 1770s are a highly dangerous territory for the exiled Acadians on their journey back to their lost land. Maillet’s *Pélagie* narrates the

scenes of othering, where Death lurks, on the brink of a civil war. All the transcultural contacts occur, and transcultural contact zones exist as contrasts to the imminent Other, Death. Thus, the journey back becomes a journey of life and a celebration of life. Le Bouthillier, for his part, explores the lethal Other as both the degenerate French court of the 18th century and the British colonizers of North America. This is done against a background of transcultural contact zones in the Maritimes and Europe. The novels set in the liminal 20th century contact zones all narrate the dispossession and the marginalization of contemporary Maritimers. In *Constellations* Keefer clearly illustrates this in narrating the unconditional distance between the Metropolitan French and the Acadians. Her setting, Spruce Harbour, is a liminal space of displacement where transcultural relations depend on hegemonic and counterhegemonic forces and where the Other remains separate and not liable to be absorbed by reconciliation. In the end the legacy of the Other brings about the death of the protagonist. In the first two novels of Richards' trilogy, processes of othering are parallel with transcultural processes. The Acadians, "Jesus Frenchmen", down the river remain the Other, albeit inoffensive. Processes of othering and transculturation are marked by the marginalization of the characters. Together they make the picture of the Miramichi town by the river complete; here life is complicated and death imminent. In the adjacent Acadian Peninsula, all three contact zones of Landry Thériault's two novels abundantly breed simultaneous processes of othering and transculturation. The Other is personified by the good Anglophone, generally of Irish and Jersey descent. Transcultural processes are manifest in the cohabitation and unequal living conditions of the Anglophones, the Acadians, and the métis population of the villages.

The contact zones of the novels discussed constitute a manifold variety of diverging characteristics. Roberts' *Grand Pré* is a contact zone of transcultural reconciliation that with time is totally laid waste by processes of othering. Rad-dall's intended binary opposites, Halifax and Louisbourg, are in fact hybrid contact zones, where many nationalities live side by side also under severe war time

conditions. Raddall's Micmac contact zone of transculturation is for the protagonist a forced scene of reconciliation that he has to leave. Maillet's American colonies are a territory of the Other, where transcultural contact zones arise and vanish immediately. But, as we have seen, the cities of Philadelphia and Baltimore freely evolve their transcultural qualities also with the prospect of a looming war. Le Bouthillier's transcultural contact zones are both stable and shifting. Ruisseau is the Miramichi contact zone where French and Micmac life have grappled, merged, and evolved a transcultural cohabitation of interdependence. In Le Bouthillier's *Phantom Ships* Louisbourg, like Grand Pré, is brought to ruin and becomes a war zone. All the European contact zones and negative scenes are subject to shifting conditions due to war circumstances. It is only at Caraquet that a transcultural and lasting reconciliation is possible. In the liminal space of the 20th century, Keefer's Spruce Harbour is the contact zone where the transcultural cohabitation of Anglophones and the Acadians has ended up in displaced marginalization. Processes of othering brought to the Acadian town by a European visitor will add to the loser ethos of dispossession. Similar conditions are found in Richards' anonymous Miramichi town and Landry Thériault's profusely intermixed villages.

In their narrative fiction, Maritime writers representing Anglo-French relations and the contacts with the Acadians use a rationale of othering and transculturation in accounting for contacts and contact zones, a rationale consisting of dialectical processes, unequal, simultaneous, reciprocal, and interdependent, creating a historical and contemporary drama of oneness, albeit dissonant and divisive.

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