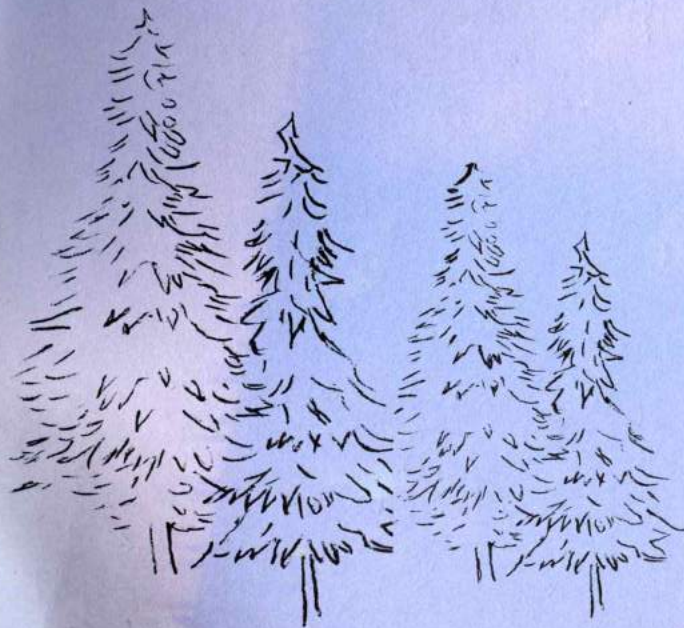


MADAWASKA

A
CHAPTER
IN
MAINE-NEW BRUNSWICK
RELATIONS

BY
CHARLOTTE LENENTINE MELVIN



**"MADAWASKA -
A CHAPTER IN MAINE - NEW BRUNSWICK RELATIONS"**

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Published under the auspices of the
Madawaska Historical Society 1975**



**Madawaska, Maine
Printed by St. John Valley Publishing Co.
1975**

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1. The picture of Fort Fairfield is from the front piece to E.H. Ellis, *History of Fort Fairfield*, (Fort Fairfield, Maine, 1894)

PREFACE TO THESIS, 1955

A local history has little excuse for being, unless it is to serve as part of the foundation for a larger edifice. Such a charge may be leveled at a history of Madawaska. Yet, for a portion of its existence, the settlement at Madawaska was a community separate and nearly isolated from the world beyond the Grand Falls to the south and Lake Temiscouata to the north. It is true that couriers passed through there, carrying dispatches, from Fredericton and Halifax to Quebec. Indeed, for most of the year, the St. John Valley route was the only link between Canada and the home government. Yet, for many legal and most practical purposes, Madawaska seemed its own excuse for being.

Such a situation could exist, however, only as long as there was no challenge to British jurisdiction over the large tract of land between Mars Hill and the St. Lawrence River. Somewhere across this territory ran the international boundary between the United States and the provinces of British North America. The two governments at London and Washington were unable to agree on the exact interpretation of the boundary clauses of the Treaty of 1783, which ended the War for American Independence. The creation of a new and vigorous State of Maine, by separation from Massachusetts in 1820, brought a new actor on the scene. Maine was anxious to develop and profit by all the territory which might legally be hers.

Her forests stands of pine were disappearing near the coast, and lumbermen penetrated deeper and deeper in search of the ever-more profitable timber. The barrier wilderness was penetrated as Maine citizens, too, began appearing all over the territory. They immediately came into conflict with British law officers, and it became a matter of urgency to obtain a settlement of the boundary. The Madawaska Territory suddenly became the chief British argument and a pawn of empire in the great diplomatic game of move and counter-move.

In the final decision, Madawaskans, themselves, were given very little consideration. No plebiscite was ever held. The Americans had no particular interest in acquiring Madawaska as such. Nor did the British weep much over losing a portion of the settlement.

This study is third in a series being made at the University of New Brunswick under the auspices of the Beaverbrook Scholarship for the study of the historical relations between Maine and New Brunswick. It is an effort to discover and to incorporate one more piece into the larger picture. It attempts to view Madawaska both as an element in the Maine-New Brunswick relations of the period, and as the origin of a people who became important segments of the population of Maine and New Brunswick.

I take this opportunity to express much gratitude for the assistance and encouragement given by Professor W. Stewart MacNutt of the University of New Brunswick, and appreciation of the courtesy and assistance given by the staffs of the Bonar-Law Bennett Library at the University of New Brunswick, the Legislative Library in Fredericton, the New Brunswick Historical Museum in St. John, the Maine Historical Society in Portland, the Maine State Library in

Augusta, the American Antiquarian Society in Worcester, Massachusetts. Others who gave me assistance were Mr. W. Hoyt of Fredericton, Reverend Eymard Desjardins of Edmundston, and Reverend Father Andre M. Godmer o.f.m., of Maliseet, New Brunswick.

I am grateful for the aid of Dr. J.K. Chapman, who took over in Professor MacNutt's absence, for the maps prepared by Joan Goodfellow, graduate student at Clark University, and for the painstaking work of Mrs. Helena McArthur, who did the final typing for me.

Charlotte M. Lenentine

1955

PREFACE TO PUBLISHED EDITION, 1975

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For some time, I thought I might continue this research expanding the finished product. One summer was spent in Canada, mostly in Ottawa, doing additional research. During that summer, the Reverend Father Andre M. Godmer, o.f.m., formerly at Maliseet and Plaster Rock, New Brunswick, read the thesis, giving me many valuable suggestions for continuing the study. The requirements of a teaching career and of raising a family interrupted such work. My research interests now go in a somewhat different direction.

Meanwhile, this thesis lay unused, unavailable to the people most interested, the people of the Madawaska territory. My thanks and appreciation go now to the members of the Madawaska Historical Society, Madawaska, Maine, for their interest and enthusiasm for its publication, above all to the late A.J. Michaud, Mrs. Geraldine Chasse and Bernette Albert, and for the cover, designed by Mrs. Agnes D. Beaulieu.

Nonetheless, the blame for all faults and errors in this study rests with me. It has been only slightly revised. If I were starting all over again, there are some topics I might handle differently, but not enough to justify withholding publication. Perhaps this study will encourage and assist others to explore additional angles of the fascinating history of these admirable people, the people of the entire Madawaska Territory!

Charlotte Lenentine Melvin, 1975

PROLOGUE
EXODUS AND ODYSSEY

Wanting nothing but to live in peace, the Acadians seemed fated to endure generations of insecurity and hardship. Troubled by war and conquest, exile and wandering, they sought a refuge and security in the forests on the upper St. John River. Here at Madawaska, perhaps they could find peace. Here they might have found peace, but two nations coveted the tall pine forests which lined the tributaries of the St. John and each lay claim to that rich valley. Having suffered through more than a century of conflict between France and England, the Acadians were further buffeted by the confusions and disturbances of controversy between England and the United States.

The first exodus of the Acadian people began with the well known expulsion of 1755. Those who escaped forcible distribution among the southern English colonies sought safety at Quebec and in the St. John valley. Even before the Treaty of Paris of 1763 which gave New France to England, leaving the exiles little choice but to take the pledge of unconditional allegiance to the British Crown, the long odyssey back to Nova Scotia had begun. Little settlements appeared in continental Nova Scotia along the banks of the St. John and the Kennebecasis Rivers, and on the northern and eastern shores of what is now New Brunswick.

The Acadians who squatted along the St. John were not unmolested, however, for the English made periodic attempts to drive them out of the province. Moncton's expedition to clear the valley in 1755 left smoking ruins in the lower valley and forced the inhabitants to take refuge at St. Ann's, a little village above where Fredericton now stands. Late in 1758, Moses Hazen with a detachment of Rangers finished the job by destroying the settlement. Again, the Acadians sought protection in the woods and at the settlement of Quebec.¹

English policy in this period was one of vacillation and halfway measures. The Acadians who remained in the region were but spasmodically harrassed during the war, but that was sufficient to make them feel insecure. At the end of hostilities in 1763, Lt. Guilfred Studholme ordered the Acadians to evacuate Aucpaque and to rid the province of their presence.² After this vague attempt, Studholme made no concerted effort to clear the area of the French and their settlements continued to grow.

In August 1768, the Governor General ordered several families to remove

themselves from the valley because they refused to hold land except under the old conditions of being responsible only to the King. They were to leave the valley and settle elsewhere, but no force was used to back up the declaration, and the settlers remained.³

They were joined by other exiles from all corners of the continent. One little band came from Quebec by way of Lake Temiscouata and the Madawaska River. They paused briefly on the platins (flats) of St. Basile (Edmundston). Did they suspect that their destiny would lead them back to this spot and that here would shortly be the site of a flourishing Acadian colony? Did they mark its advantages and its seclusion from the world beyond the valley? It is doubtful if any attempt was made at that time to establish a settlement; for later explorers and couriers who used this route made no mention of one in their reports, but referred only to the occasional trading post or station for the protection of voyageurs.⁴

A larger group of the displaced Acadians assembled in Boston after the peace treaty had been signed. Numbering about two hundred, they made their arduous trek home through the woods of Massachusetts. Among their number were many families whose names were later prominent in the settlement of Madawaska, including: Cyr, Cormier, Saindon, Bourgoin, Theriault, Thibodeau, and Mauzerolle.⁵

Bands of refugees returned from Kamouraska and neighboring settlements on the St. Lawrence. They established themselves in three little settlements up the river from St. Ann's at Aucpaque, French Village, and at Kingsclear. Some of these Acadians had married inhabitants of the Canadian villages and persuaded new friends and relatives to come to the St. John valley with them. Still another group of Acadians who had been on the St. Lawrence settled now along the banks of the Kennebecasis in the lower reaches of the St. John River. Among those families from Canada, we find names which later appear at Madawaska, including: Cyr, Cormier, Daigle, Hebert, Fournier, and Mercure.⁶

The hastily contrived encampments of the war period, considerably enlarged with the arrival of returning exiles, began to take on the aspect of real settlements. By the time of the American Revolution, many of them were flourishing villages. It is estimated that by 1776 there were at least 1500 Acadians in what is now New Brunswick. St. Ann's alone had 354 settlers.⁷ Although France joined the side of the rebelling colonies, the Acadians remained true to their tradition of neutrality and to their new allegiance. Those along the St. John River rendered great service to the British by serving as couriers between Halifax and Quebec, using the St. John route and thereby maintaining that important line of communications. Louis Mercure, long a messenger for Governors Parr and Haldimand, and his brother Michel Mercure, rendered valiant service in this way. Special recognition was also given by the authorities to the brothers Jean, Simon, Joseph, Francois, and Armand Martin. Other couriers whose names have been recorded were Joseph Daigle, Pierre Duperre, Jean-Baptiste Gaudin, and the brothers Oliver, Pierre, and Jean-Baptiste Cyr, all of whom were later settlers of Madawaska.⁸

The sense of insecurity of the Acadians in New Brunswick was greatly increased

by the success of the American rebels. In the first place, the signing of the Treaty of Paris in 1783 sent thousands of Loyalists to New Brunswick and the discomfort caused by the pressure of this population caused the second exodus of the Acadians, in search of peace and security elsewhere. Secondly, the vagueness of the treaty itself in describing the boundary between British North America and the United States led to a long period of confusion and uncertainty for the Acadians in their new homes in Madawaska.

II EXODUS II: THE LOYALIST PERIOD

In 1784 as in 1775, the aspirations of the Acadians were sacrificed to the demands of English policy in North America. The authorities were obligated to aid the disbanded soldiers and other Loyalists who flooded St. John. These newcomers were given large grants of land, grants which often included the plots which the Acadians had been using, many of them for ten or fifteen years. The Loyalists, especially the soldiers, were rarely inclined to be tolerant of the Acadians and other pre-loyalists in the area.

According to their own tradition, life for the Acadians in the St. John valley became a living hell. Their lands were confiscated, their crops and stock were destroyed or stolen, and their homes were burned.¹ While that tradition exaggerates the situation which existed in 1784 and 1785, there is a substantial amount of truth in it. We find evidence of this in 1784, when a group of these Acadians petitioned the Governor-General of Canada for permission to go to Madawaska. They declared:

...that the uncertainty in which they have lived in Acadia, without the assurance of ever becoming owners of the lands they have cleared on the St. John River, has kept them in insurmountable perplexity ... they have lost all hope of living peacefully in Acadia...²

Again in February, 1786, Joseph Daigle, Paul Potier, and other French inhabitants petitioned Governor Carleton for redress of their miseries. They had been reduced to selling their last cows to keep from starving. A Mr. Biddle had taken over Joseph Doucette's land without compensation, and "Bona Roy" had been forcibly evicted.³

Another instance of persecution of the Acadians by the Loyalists is found that same year, when land on the Kennebecasis passed to Loyalists who attempted to evict the French squatters there.⁴

Despite the hostile attitude of the Loyalists towards the Acadians, and some actual incidents of mistreatment, these alone do not constitute a complete picture of the relationship which existed between the Acadians and the British authorities. Governor Parr and the Executive Council of Nova Scotia had early decided that the Loyalists should pay for improvements which had been made by these French squatters.⁵ Lord Dorchester, upon his arrival in Quebec, heard that Acadians had been mistreated in the new province of New Brunswick, and advised Lt. Governor Carleton that they be given grants for their land in the usual manner.⁶ This was not, it is true, to the liking of the Loyalist settlers.

Sufficient evidence has been brought forward in the writings of W.O. Raymond to prove that, generally speaking, Carleton and his council did their best to help the Acadians. While the French were squatters with no legal title to the lands they

possessed, the government tried to ensure that new grantees should pay for improvements made by the Acadians, and that provision was made for the French to "sit down" elsewhere. In his article on the relations between Governor Carleton and the Acadians, Raymond quoted many decisions of the Governor's Council, deeds of conveyance and other documents to indicate how often the Acadians were justly treated.⁷

Raymond quoted three decisions of the council in 1785 in which requests of Jonathan Brown, Ensign Nicholas Humphrey, and the widow of Lt. DeBeck were refused or conditioned according to the rights of French inhabitants.⁸ In 1784, a number of Acadians were given their land in the grant made that autumn for the land around the mouth of the Kaswick River. They were allowed to divide it up according to their own wishes, as they had settled rather haphazardly.⁹

Lt. John Coombes of the 2nd New Jersey Volunteers made a payment of more than sixty-five pounds sterling for the improvements of "Francis Sear" (Francois Cyr) as recorded in a document of July 31, 1788. Francois Cyr's name had appeared on the petition of the Acadians for land in Madawaska in the year 1785, and he had already moved there before his lot on the lower part of the river had been granted to Coombes; he could hardly have been dispossessed.¹⁰

Joseph and Mary Cormier sold their improvements to Zacarie Sickles on June 30, 1787. Joseph and Marie Theriault received \$87.10 from Frederick de Peyster of the New York Volunteers, by a deed of 1786. Jean Baptiste Cyr sold his to Arthur Nicholson of the King's American Dragoons in July, 1787; Nicholson had already bought the improvements of Joseph Hebert the previous year.¹¹

Thus we see that many of the Acadians were induced to move, and that they were sometimes given the opportunity to sell their improvements. On the other hand, many Acadians were allowed to remain where they were, and today their descendents are living on farms that the government granted to their forebears.¹²

There were, then, other reasons than that of actual physical persecution which contributed to the second emigration of the Acadian people from their homes and villages. Those reasons included the desire to be free in the enjoyment of their religion and to be secure from all threats and possibilities of persecution. Finally, the government approved the idea of Acadian settlements in Madawaska for reasons of its own.

As early as November, 1783, before the Loyalists were yet established in any numbers in the St. John valley, Acadians had already expressed their desire, through Louis Mercure as spokesman, to emigrate to Quebec in order to enjoy the benefits of their own religion with more freedom and with less difficulty in securing priests. Governor Haldimand wrote Governor Parr that he had received such a request. He suggested that here was an opportunity for the two officials to co-operate in a program which would greatly benefit both provinces. He was already involved in a project for improving the postal route by establishing a post at the head of Lake Temiscouata, and another at Grand Falls. The Acadian desire to settle along the St. John River gave him an additional idea; his plan was to grant the land around the Grand Falls to them, foreseeing the expansion of the colony

into a line of settlements which would greatly facilitate communications between Halifax and Quebec.¹³ Nothing was done immediately, however, as it is the custom of governments to work slowly.

In February, 1785, Louis Mercure sent a new request by Pierre Duperre to Holland, the Surveyor-General of Quebec, desiring permission for his brother Michel Mercure, Duperre, and himself to settle near the Madawaska River. Mercure stated that his own status in New Brunswick was not endangered, but he foresaw much difficulty for the Acadians in that vicinity. They would like to go to Madawaska that very spring, Duperre was commissioned to say, and he furnished Holland with a list of the French who wished to emigrate to the proposed settlement.¹⁴

Another request for lands in Madawaska, because of the uncertainty of land ownership along the lower St. John, had been addressed directly to the Governor-General by Jean-Baptiste Cyr and his nine sons. They also requested a grant of provisions for two years, as it would take that long to bring the land into production. Besides the Cyrs, this petition was signed by Alexandre Ayotte, Zacharie Ayotte, Joseph Daigle, Sr., Joseph Daigle, Jr., Olivier Thibodeau, and Louis Sansfacon, most of whom were included in the list furnished to the Surveyor-General by Duperre.¹⁵

It is evident from these early documents that Haldimand, Mercure, and Cyr assumed that the Grand Falls was the location of the boundary between Quebec and Nova Scotia, and that the land they were interested in came within the jurisdiction of the government at Quebec. At this time, the Province of New Brunswick was separated from Nova Scotia and Thomas Carleton was appointed as its governor. The new province immediately claimed jurisdiction over the territory in which the Acadians were interested, and it was to Carleton that many of them addressed their petitions.

Three days after the new governor arrived in New Brunswick, the Acadians located above St. Ann's presented him with a petition. Stating that they had lived there since the conclusion of hostilities in 1762, and had remained peaceful throughout the American Revolution, they asked for a grant of their lands in order that they might be restored to peace of mind. Their request was granted, but even this failed to give them sufficient peace of mind, for this group shortly left to settle on the North Shore of New Brunswick.¹⁶

When Joseph Daigle and twenty-four others, including the same who had petitioned Quebec in 1784, sent a new petition to Governor Carleton praying for land in Madawaska, their wish was granted. This petition was first considered by the Governor's Council on June 21, 1785, and on August 30, the Council decided that the Acadians would be allowed to settle along the nine-mile shore of the St. John between the Madawaska and the Green Rivers. The Minutes of the Council further stated that:

They will be allowed to sell their present improvements to the best advantage, together with the lands reserved for them, and titles will be given to the purchasers. Mercure has permission to settle the petitioners on the lands they may choose (sic) at

the Madawaska (sic) and a grant will pass in due time for 200 acres to each head of a family with the usual front of 60 rods.¹⁷

A few days later, a large group of Acadians gathered at the home of Jean-Baptiste Cyr, who enjoyed a position of leadership among them. At long last they had been granted permission to go to Madawaska where they hoped to find security and peace, to enjoy the blessings of their own religion, and to live according to their own customs. To some, Madawaska seemed like a promised land, while others decided that security might be found farther away, and they left for Memramcook, Miramichi, and other sections of New Brunswick.¹⁸

Once it became known that the government was willing to allow Acadians to settle on the Upper St. John, several other groups sought permission to go. The petition of Joseph Daigle, Paul Potier, and others, dated February 22, 1786, stated that they had been obliged to sell their few cattle to avoid starvation, Joseph Doucette's land had been confiscated, and Benoît Roy had been evicted from his home. Their only recourse was to call upon the governor for "redress of miseries and for a supply of provisions."¹⁹ On the Hammond River, Olivier Thibodeau, Sr., Joseph Theriault, Sr., and François Violette, Sr., asked for land in Madawaska; so that their families could be settled around them, and in order to have a priest to perform their religious services and to help educate their children. It may be noted that Thibodeau had thirteen children, Theriault had twelve, and Violette had fourteen.²⁰ Their request was considered by the Executive Council in December, 1789, when it was decided that they "May sit down on vacant land, and report their situation, which will be secured by proper grants."²¹

In these various petitions, the Acadians pointed out their faithfulness to the British Crown during the American Revolution, stating they had been "faithful, peaceable and industrious subjects and settlers." Those declarations give the lie later American allegations that the Acadians were anxious to escape the jurisdiction of the British authorities. As they sent their applications to both the Governor-General of Canada and to the Lt. Governor of New Brunswick, it is evident that they were unsure whether the one or the other had jurisdiction over the upper St. John, a problem which the two colonies themselves were unable to agree upon for a long time to come.

From the documents, we can conclude that the Acadians on the River St. John felt insecure in their lands, religion, language, and customs as the Loyalist settlers moved in around them. They hoped to establish a community of their own; they wanted a clear, legal title to their lands. These documents show that the Lt. Governor and his council were concerned with their welfare and tried to ensure that equitable treatment was given them. For that reason, when the Acadians expressed a desire to move elsewhere, their wish was granted. Some of them settled on Caraquet Bay, on the Bay of Chaleur; others preferred to take up land in the Madawaska territory. The latter settlement on the upper St. John was favored by the authorities for the purpose of facilitating communications between his Majesty's North American Colonies as is shown most clearly by Governor Haldimand's letter to Governor Parr in 1783.

MADAWASKA IN SECLUSION: 1785 - 1817

III A HAVEN AND A REFUGE

We shall not try to guess with what trepidation the Acadians passed Grand Falls and approached their new homeland, nor with what emotions they fell to clearing land, building houses, and erecting a church. It is a little difficult to ascertain whether the band of sixteen families who made the laborious trip up the St. John in the summer of 1785 were or were not the first to settle in Madawaska, but there are no documents proving any settlements before then.

Certainly, the territory which bordered that river from the Grand Sault to the Petit Sault at the mouth of the Madawaska, and up the Madawaska to Lake Temiscouata, was well known in the early history of New France. The Malecite Indians had occupied this valley and their chief village was still located at the mouth of the Madawaska.¹ Hunters and coureurs de bois were familiar with these territories, and missionaries had often passed by. Dispatches between the Governors of Quebec and Louisburg were sent by this route; several military expeditions had traversed this valley.²

In 1683, the French authorities granted the Seigneurie of Madouesca to the Sieur Charles-Aubert de la Chesnaye. It included the land around Lake Temiscouata and extended nine miles down the Madawaska. The seigneurie of Clignancourt, farther down, was granted in 1686 to the Sieur Rene d'Amours. Reaching from Meductic to the Grand Falls, this seigneurie bordered the southern end of the Madawaska territory.³ Nothing much in the way of improvements or settlement was even accomplished, however, probably due to the remoteness of the territory. The valley remained empty except for an occasional post in the chain of communications between the Bay of Fundy and the St. Lawrence settlements.

When the empire of the north was conquered by the British this valley remained an important link in communications. A certain amount of trading was carried on; Anselme and Michel Robichaud of Kamouraska and a trader by the name of Kelly frequented the region, but none of them established a permanent base. A Mr. Durand who investigated the mail route, made no report of a settlement along the way.⁴

The history of people, however, is made as much by tradition as it is by actual

facts. The living tradition among the Madawaskans, persisting to this day in spite of historical research, is that Pierre Duperre and his half-brother, Pierre Lizotte, settled at Madawaska in 1783. The first record of this tradition was that set down by John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh who were sent to Madawaska by the State of Maine in 1831. They stated that, in 1782,

...Pierre Lizotte, then a boy of fourteen years of age, strayed from his home in Canada, and found his way to the Indian settlement on the mouth of the Madawaska River, where he continued during the following winter. On his return to his friends, his representations were such as induced his half-brother, Pierre Duperre to accompany him to the same place for the purpose of trade with the Indians, the year following. They commenced their business on the South side of the St. John, from two to three miles below the mouth of the Madawaska river. They were the first persons who commenced their residence at Madawaska.⁵

While a good story such as this will never die from the traditions of the people, a survey of the documents proves that it is erroneous. In February, 1785, Duperre and Lizotte, as well as Mercure, were asking for land in Madawaska, and wanted to go there the following spring. The License of Occupation issued to the original settlers of Madawaska on July 9, 1787 lists Pierre Duperre as being in possession of lot number 39. In June, 1787, Pierre Lizotte and seven others were asking permission to settle; Lizotte was allowed to occupy Lot 36.⁶

Thus the records indicate that the first settlement in Madawaska was made in the summer of 1785. Passing the Grand Falls by a mile-long portage, and entering the fertile valley of the upper St. John river, the Acadians entered their promised land. They camped on the south bank, about two miles below the Indian village, erected a cross, and set up a temporary settlement. (See Acadian Cross at St. David, Maine).

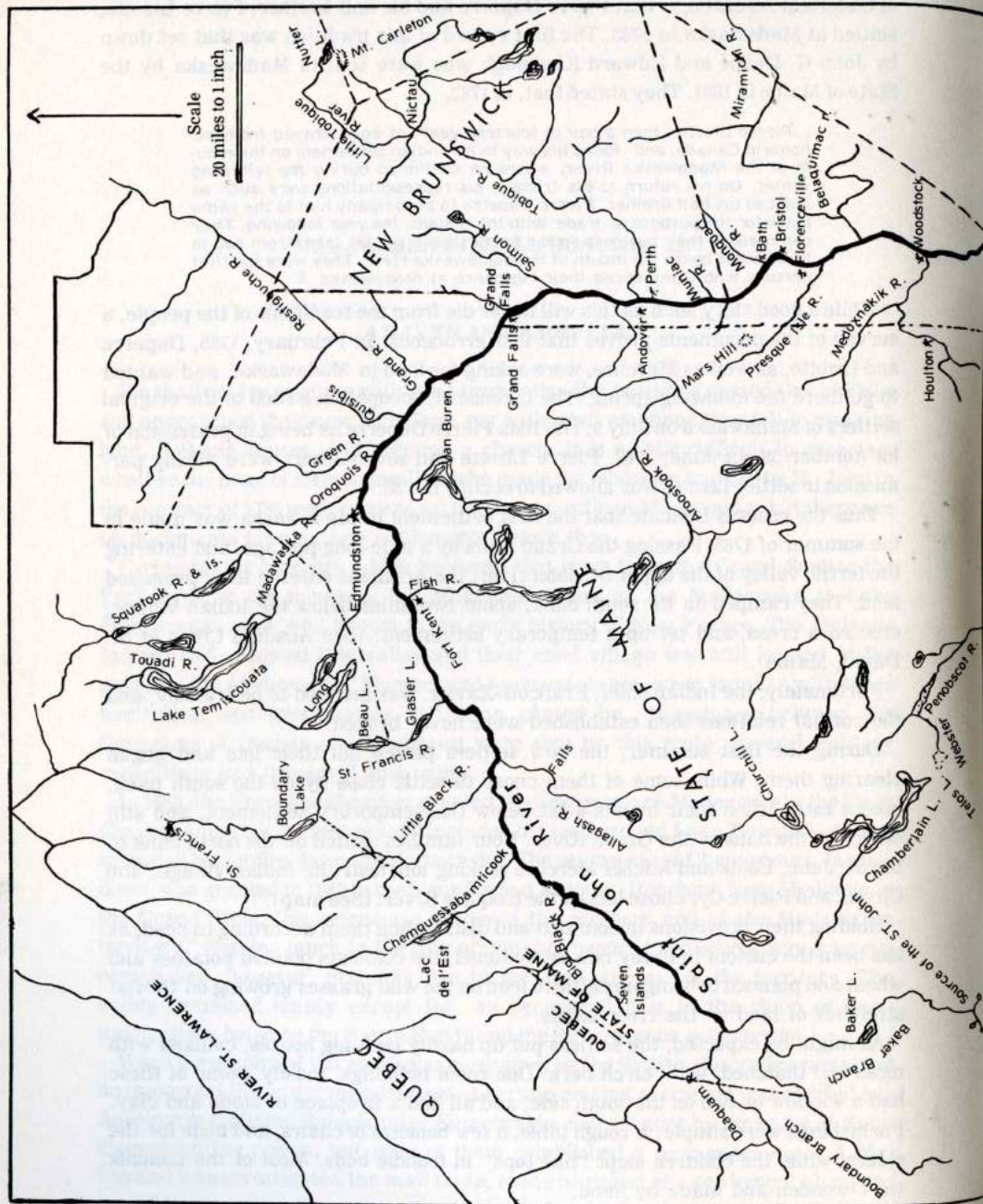
Fortunately, the Indian chief, Francois-Xavier, was inclined to be friendly, and the cordial relations then established were never broken.

During the first summer, the new settlers picked out their lots and began clearing them. While some of them chose to settle close by on the south bank, others established their homes a bit below this temporary settlement, and still others on the bank of the Green River. Four families settled on the north bank of the St. John, Louis and Michel Mercure picking lots near the Indian village, and Olivier and Pierre Cyr chose lots on the Iroquois River. (See map).

Holding their provisions in common and distributing them according to need, as has been the custom in many new settlements, the colonists planted potatoes and wheat and planned to bring up cattle to feed on the wild grasses growing on the flat stretches of land on the river banks.⁷

As might be expected, the settlers put up hastily built log houses, caulked with moss and thatched with birch bark. One room buildings, mostly, some of these had a window or two on the south side, and all had a fireplace of stone and clay. Furnishings were simple; a rough table, a few benches or chairs, and beds for the elders, while the children slept "like tops" in trundle beds. Most of the utensils were wooden and made by hand.

For food, in these early days, they were heavily dependent upon the surrounding stream and forest, especially as the harvest that first fall was partially ruined by



early frost. Clothing, also roughly made, included trousers of deerskin, jackets and boots of caribou hides. Wool was, at first, unavailable, and the cost of importation was prohibitive. Most goods which were imported came from the St. Lawrence and Fredericton on sleds, by canoes, or on the backs of men.⁸

The period from 1787 to 1817 was one of thirty years of peace for the settlers of Madawaska. British authorities in Fredericton and Quebec bothered them but little, and the Americans did not yet know that the little colony existed. For the first time since 1710, these people knew a certain sense of security and a feeling of having come home at last. Not that life was easy in early Madawaska. Rough and rude as the settlement was, the Acadians found life as difficult as pioneer life always is, and these people had been pioneers for generations.

As early as the second year of its existence, the little settlement was increased by the arrival of immigrants from the St. Lawrence. Among the original settlers from St. Ann's had been families such as Duperre, Lizotte, Fournier, Sansfacon, and Michaud who had emigrated from Canada at one time or another. The Canadian element was now increased by Soucy, Albert, Levasseur, and Soucier from Kamouraska; Dube, Beaulieu and Gagne from Isle Verte; Desnoyers from Riviere du Sud; and Guimond and Ouellet from Riviere-Ouelle.⁹

Because these people had their origins in different provinces of France, they brought customs to the new world and to Madawaska which differed from those of the Acadian settlers. Most of the Acadians could trace their ancestry through the census of Acadia taken by Grandfontaine in 1671 to the arrival of their ancestors with de Razilly in 1632; they came from Poitou, Bretagne, and other provinces of western France. The Canadian families, on the other hand, originated in Normandie, Picardie, Maine and other northern provinces.¹⁰

The two elements mingled at Madawaska, almost equally in the end, although in the beginning, Acadians constituted three-fourths of the population. This amalgamation was hastened by the scarcity of marriageable daughters. Young Madawaskans sought wives in Kamouraska, and no doubt these ladies exerted a considerable influence as wives and mothers in establishing cordial relations between Acadians and Canadians.

According to Albert, the Acadien was more secretive than his cousin, less talkative, more sullen and defiant, colder and more pessimistic, mistrustful, attached to the old customs, and unwilling to commit himself, but once having spoken, his word was as good as law. He was more negligent of business affairs, less economical, and tended to rely heavily on Providence. He never locked anything up, and shared his property with his wife.

The Canadien was more friendly to the newcomer, free with his promises, and had more initiative and education. He was more boastful, but he was also inclined to lock up everything. He was much more orderly in his business affairs.

The Acadian Gabriel was more clever in the art of building and in joinery while the Canadian Jean-Baptiste surpassed him in farming and in all that concerns agriculture.

So it of times happened that exchanging their time, one would see Baptiste of Kamouraska working in the field of his brother from Beau-

bassin, singing or swearing at the oxen, while his Acadian relative was building a barn for Baptiste or squaring a keel, in a melancholy and dreaming silence. 11

At the end, the intermingling of the Acadian and Canadian elements has produced what Albert called the Madawaskayen nature:

... breton and norman all at once, stubborn and shrewd, honest and gay, active and intelligent, generous and full of initiative, hospitable, particularist without exclusiveness... 12

Some maple sugar was made in the spring, and there were a few engaged in fur trading, as well as in the export of *bois de tonne* or English ship-building. As they cleared their land, most settlers engaged in farming. They usually had a surplus of grain which was first sold to newcomers, and what was left over was shipped to Fredericton, where the market was always good. 13

The settlers soon found it necessary to withdraw from the shores of the river in order to avoid the spring floods. Destructive frosts often ruined the crops, and the year 1797 is known in the history of Madawaska as the year of the "great famine", the "grande disette," or of the "misère noire".

That fall of 1796 saw an early snow which buried as much as two-thirds of the harvest. It was followed by as terrible a winter as this valley has ever seen. Many people were forced to seek shelter and food at Quebec and at Fredericton. Those who stayed eked out an existence by hunting and living on herbs. At one particular low point, the men were late in returning from a hunting expedition and the wives and children faced starvation.

... the snow had been falling increasingly for eight days; they ran short of food. The last measure of boiled wheat was gone, the last milk cow had been killed...and the hunters had not returned... 14

Marguerite Blanche Thibodeau, wife of Joseph Cyr of the prolific Cyr family, and hence Aunt to half of Madawaska, was a veritable angel of mercy, carrying food to the snowbound and bringing care to those who were ill. They called her "Ma Tante La Blanche", and she has gone down in Madawaska history as "la Tante du Madawaska". 15

On May 1st, Pierre Duperré asked the governor for aid. The settlers, he said, "are in absolute distress and direct poverty, over 30 families of the settlers are without food. The women and children are dying of hunger and are so afflicted with hardship that they are unable to perform their daily work." Some of them had provisions enough to get along to May 10, but very few would last until May 15. The neighbors had given all they could; all resources were gone. 16 The government was able to come to their aid, and the settlement survived even that terrible crisis.

While laboring to maintain their very existence and turning the virgin wilderness into a prosperous farming community took most of their waking hours, the Madawaskans turned to religion for solace in the face of hardship and religion meant much to them. It has already been indicated that the Acadians had religious reasons for desiring to emigrate from the lower St. John valley. They believed that a location nearer Quebec would give them not only greater freedom

in their worship, but also greater facility in securing priests.

Upon settling at Madawaska, they at once called upon Father Adrien Leclerc, Curé of L'Isle Verte and of all the Gaspesian area and missionary to the Malecites, to include them among his parishioners. In 1786, he visited them briefly as he made the rounds of his many missions. By the following summer, a tiny bark-covered chapel was erected, and here Father Leclerc celebrated mass. Madawaskan tradition is uncertain whether this first church was built at St. David's or two miles below where the later church of St. Basile was erected. 17

When Leclerc died, the Madawaskan mission was placed under the direction of Abbé Truteaut of Kamouraska, Abbé Panet of Riviere-Ouelle, Father Pâquet of L'Isle Verte. Father Pâquet first came to Madawaska in 1791. He advised his parishioners to build a new church, and a meeting of the contributors at once decided to erect a church *plus convenable et plus digne*. Joseph Daigle, of times called Father of the colony, continued to serve as first warden of the parish, with Jacques Cyr and Alexandre Ayotte as his assistants, and plans were made to go ahead with the new and important community project. 18

Religious and community enthusiasm was at a peak in the spring of 1792 as the Madawaskans embarked on building of an adequate house of worship. Hearing that Father Pâquet would be unable to conduct Easter services with them, they gathered three days before Easter and decided that all who could would make the journey overland to L'Isle Verte, a distance of one hundred miles, to observe Easter Sunday. Two days later, they were knocking at the priest's door, and at the Easter service he publicly praised the faith of those who made the arduous journey. 19

When he came to Madawaska, about two weeks later, Father Pâquet had an important message from Msgr. Hubert, Bishop of Quebec. The priest had been advised to tell them that construction of a church must await permission from the Bishop whose duty and privilege it was to designate the location and size of the building. 20 The Madawaskans immediately drew up a petition asking for the necessary permission. For seven years, they said, they had been obliged to worship in a tiny, bark-covered chapel which was little better than a hovel. Now the population was larger, the community had prospered, and seemed to be permanently established, it seemed necessary to have a larger building. They could now afford to build one, they added on a note of optimism:

... The first idea and design of the inhabitants is to build a decent and proper chapel according to the means and number of the people, who cannot but increase. 21

The Bishop's reply gave them permission to build their church. Since the mission was most frequently visited in June, the patron saint was to be St. Basile le Grand, Eveque de Cesarse et Docteur de l'Eglise, whose anniversary was June 14. On that date, Madawaska became a parish. 22

When Father Pâquet arrived to celebrate the first mass in the new church of St. Basile on July 7, 1793, the parish was bursting with activity. As if encouraged by the sense of progress and permanency suggested by the church, new houses were being built on all sides. The crops were being planted, and oxen were working in

the fields. Over it all loomed the church, 55' x 35', of squared timber, well dovetailed at the corners, and with a large cross for a steeple. It was built on Lot No. 23 on the north shore of the St. John, reserved for public use by the consent of the Executive Council of New Brunswick on September 7, 1792, in answer to a request of the people of Madawaska. ²³

Yet, even in all this enthusiasm and sense of progress which accompanied the erection of a church, there was a hint of the "rivalité du bord" which was to become greater in later years, for in 1792, only those who lived on the north bank of the river had signed the request for Lot 23. This was a blow to the aspirations of those who wanted the church to be built on the south bank. ²⁴ The day was to come when this feeling split the parish asunder.

In 1794, Madawaska received its own resident priest, Father François Ciquart, P.S.S., who had been a missionary among the Penobscot Indians. Lt. Governor Carleton had become interested in him because of his knowledge of the Abenaki tongue and secured his services for the Indians of the St. John. Ciquart was given the parish of St. Basile which included the Malecite village. The people of Madawaska were very pleased to have their own priest and regular services and they began to build a rectory. While among them, Father Ciquart finished his dictionary of the Abenaki language. As priests so often do, he served his parishioners as father, teacher, doctor, lawyer, and judge. Among them he was very popular; not the least of his popularity was with the Indians who came from Meductic, Aucpaque, and the Tobique to hear him preach in their language. He remained at St. Basile until 1798 when he returned to the Penobscots. ²⁵

The parish of Madawaska then reverted to the status of a mission served by the curé of Kamouraska who was able to come only rarely. This caused a great discontent among the people, as Father Vezina stated: "The Missionary (Fathers) are not well liked in Madawaska; they wanted a resident priest." ²⁶

Apparently the Madawaskans sometimes refused to pay their tithes, and Bishop Denaut had to reprimand them, reminding them of the conditions they had to fulfill in order to have the services of the missionary (Father) from time to time. Undoubtedly, the absence of a resident priest retarded the social development of the community. However, the law did not allow priests to come over from France, and there were not enough to go around.

The Abbé Amyot (or Amiot) visited Madawaska in 1799, and Father Vezina ministered to the community from 1800 to 1802. The Abbé Duval came in 1803 and 1804. ²⁷

The year 1803 was of great significance in the religious history of Madawaska. Bishop Denaut came and confirmed 186 people, including 56 Indians, whose ages ranged from twelve to seventy-five. Most of them had never seen a Bishop before. By this time, the mission included some 81 families, 239 communicants, and 207 children who had not yet been confirmed. This was a total population of 446. ²⁸

While among them, the Bishop gave instructions for the completion of the church and the rectory, and provided for the maintenance of a priest and proper care of records. The following year, Father Charles Hott or Hotte became resident priest.

While Father Hott and Bishop Denaut tried to solve the religious problems of Madawaska, the authorities of Quebec and New Brunswick were trying to achieve a *modus vivendi* in regard to legal jurisdiction in Madawaska.

IV SEEDS OF INTERPROVINCIAL CONFLICT

While the Madawaskan settlement was left in relative seclusion for its first thirty years, it was not entirely ignored, it was just neglected most of the time. This was partly caused by isolation and poor communications, and by the fact that the community was of a different tongue and religion from those of New Brunswick. It was also because jurisdiction over the territory was a matter of dispute between New Brunswick and Quebec as well as between British North America and Massachusetts.

The question of jurisdiction was a vital one which hindered the development of Madawaska for half a century. Somewhere through this region ran the boundary between New Brunswick and Canada; each colony, being particularistic in the nature of such entities, was anxious to "have the lion's share." Had the question been settled sooner the problem of the international boundary might never have reached such assuming proportions, and the people of Madawaska might have been spared decades of anxiety.

As the controversy evolved, New Brunswick performed most of the acts of political and territorial jurisdiction, especially after the international dispute became critical. Quebec was the source of religious supervision, and the execution of justice was squabbled over by both provinces.

Legal title to their land was given to the Acadians only after five years had passed; several families had given up by that time and moved on, ever in search of security of land tenure. A License of Occupation was given to the first settlers in December, 1786, when Mercure had reported their allotments and the beginning of planting. At that time, they were promised an official grant as soon as a regular survey could be made. As settlers arrived they were allotted land by Mercure. The government did not wholly trust Mercure, fearing that he and others had so manipulated allotments in order to obtain the best frontage on the river for themselves. Surveyor-General George Sproule was advised to ensure that the late-comers were given the protection of the government as well as those named in the original License of Occupation.¹

By October 1st, 1790, Sproule's survey had been completed, and Lt. Governor Carleton issued the first or "Mazerolle Grant" to Joseph Mazerolle and forty-one others. It included all the territory on both sides of the St. John between the Green

River and the Indian reservation at the mouth of the Madawaska River, a total of 16,000 acres.² Seventy-seven lots were granted, some settlers getting two; they were fairly even in size, averaging two hundred acres, and allowed the usual sixty-rod frontage on the river. Some irregularities were permitted to provide for improvements already made by the settlers, each being given the fruits of his labors.³

Settlers continued to arrive in Madawaska, the Council having given them permission to choose vacant lots, to proceed with cultivation and to apply for the legal grant. The "Saucier" or "Thibodeau Grant" was made in 1794 in response to the request made by Olivier Thibodeau and others of Hammond River in 1789. Issued to "Germain Soucier and twenty-three others", it extended from the Green River to the Grand River, taking in land on both sides of the St. John.

These grants carried with them the usual requirement of the annual quitrent, to begin after ten years, and conditions about clearing the land, stocking it with cattle, and building a house within three years.⁴

The Saucier grant was the last of the major land grants until after the settlement of the disputed boundary with the United States in 1842; the only other deed properly and legally secured being one made to Simon Hébert in 1824 at the height of the Maine-New Brunswick controversy.⁵ All other settlers from 1794 to 1842 possessed their lots but had no legal title.

The Madawaskans, descendants of transplanted Frenchmen of the seventeenth century, had no tradition of self-government nor interest in local governing bodies. They had no voice in the government of the provinces, and for their own settlement the position of Joseph Daigle as church warden and Louis Mercure as agent of colonization were sufficient.

Internal controversies were handled without benefit of legal tribunal as these people apparently had been accustomed to doing for generations. Most of them were illiterate; contracts were made verbally, and a man's word had the force of law. He who went back on his word, "perdait sa parole," and to tell a man he had defaulted on his word was the greatest of insults. When controversies arose, a sort of court was held in which the priest sat with two "assessors" chosen by the litigants. A sentence was passed and there was no appeal from this decision. If the delinquent failed to follow suit this refusal never lasted beyond the next Easter when the force of public opinion and tradition called for reconciliation.

Peter Fisher, first historian of New Brunswick, greatly admired this institution, and in 1825, he wrote:

... so successful have they been that although there are neither lawyers nor magistrates in the place, the courts of justice had but little trouble from that quarter.⁶

It was not a perfect system. As the population increased and the colony spread out, disorders arose, and some kind of internal organization became necessary. The initiative came from Lord Dorchester, who seemed to have a wider vision than his brother possessed. Traders and residents of Madawaska had complained to Dorchester's government of frequent disturbances in the colony, and the suggestion was made that the appointment of militia officers might

promote order. He named François Cyr as Captain, and Jacques Cyr as Lieutenant; both of them had been members of the Kamouraska militia. Their authority was promptly questioned on the grounds that Madawaska was part of New Brunswick. Dorchester knew that the reverse of the argument would have been used if the officers had been appointed by Carleton. To remove all "pretense of this kind", he suggested that until jurisdiction had been finally established Carleton might also issue a commission to these officers.⁷

Carleton agreed, but New Brunswick could not leave all the initiative to Quebec, so he suggested that two magistrates also be appointed. He would have preferred Pierre Duperré and Louis Mercure, natural leaders of the settlement, and men who were accustomed to working with the authorities in matters concerning settlement. However, he realized that they could not accept the position because of the requirement of the law in New Brunswick which demanded the test oath of all officials. This would not have hindered their appointment by the authorities of Quebec, but Carleton won his point because he had a way out of this dilemma.

One of the settlers in Madawaska was a semi-literate Scotsman and a Protestant. Thomas Costin had studied briefly with the Jesuits in Quebec; he knew French and he could read and write, after a fashion. Moreover, he had married Marie Chénard and allowed his children to be brought up as Catholics, and thus was acceptable to the community. Costin, we find, had been in Madawaska as early as 1788, for many of the petitions dating from that period are in his handwriting. He was acting as schoolmaster in 1790 when he was appointed a justice of the peace, a position which he filled from 1791 to 1796, when the Madawaskans were again left without a local magistrate.⁸

Mr. Costin took his office very seriously, as we can see from the following letter. It is quoted because in its very spelling we learn a great deal about Costin and about conditions in Madawaska.

Madawaska County York, March 21, 1791

Sir

I am happy to Inform you, that since my arrival & that the Inhabitants hath been, Informed that Law, & Regulations, hath take place here. They are very happy of the same; Likewise I would Request your Kind Advice upon several Subjects which I lay before you, being Appointed at present Justice of this County for which I shall be Accountable & give Acknowledgement for the same, & as I wish to Regulate and Comply with all the Law of this Province, by granting satisfaction to Any British Subject, when ever Request shall be made, as I have taken the Oath of Office. Therefore I think myself under that Obligation & as this Place being a great distance from the Seat of Government likewise this place serves to Numbers of stragglers. A Place of Retisence (sic) when ever Those Gentlemen Ere that Judges of the Court of Quebec he's a coming down in the Lower Parish of Canada, they desert to this Place. not only but Ingages themselves to the Settlers for some times & when ever they get In Debt they return to Canada. Those People Committs devers Misdemarners & hurts this place very much, & If my Case hereafter Complains should be made to me by the Settlers Requesting, to Receive there Respective Debts, or to be such Struglers Stopt from Leaving this Province Like wise in Which Respect Could I Stop Such People which commit Theft, if there his no House of Security.

Since my Arrival, two young men hath deserted from Canada one named Joseph April, hath committed devers Misdemanors & hath advised the Settlers to Disobedient of His Majesty. Orders, the same has been brought to me. Therefore those things Should be Examined as the

Cadiens his a Nation, easily persued to any thin as we May Compare to Children, I would have made an Example of such a Person If the Commanding Officer, had been will by Confinement for his bad Behavior But he has Not Received any Orders from His Excellency, to Receive any Prisoner whatsoever & from the very date of My Commission: I will Execute the law and Will Not suffer on any Account; and bad search or Ways, which is customly at this Place. If a Man Walks in the fear of God, he will be loved by every one. Therefore, I hope you will Consider the Within & Grant me Your Good Advice by the first Post. If your honour should think that I am Worthy of the same with Regard to a House of Security

I am
Your Dutiful Bound Serv't
Sir,
Thos Costin

To J. Odel, Esqu'r
Fredericton 9

So far, Quebec and New Brunswick were even. But as time went on, the controversy grew. As the above letter hints, eventually a clash occurred between the militia officers who had been appointed first by Dorchester, and Costin, who was jealous in the interests of New Brunswick.

Meantime, above the heads of the settlers, the dispute over territorial jurisdiction continued. Dorchester was aware that whatever became of the boundary between New Brunswick and Quebec it must also coincide with the boundary with the United States. He first stated his point of view that the highlands which ran by the Grand Falls were the correct boundary between Canada and New Brunswick, and hence with the New England states, in 1787, as he promoted the settlement of the Acadians above Grand Falls. "Therefore," he added, "all who choose to settle west of that range of hills will become Canadians; those who remain to the east are of course New Brunswickers, and will deserve your (Carleton's) protection."¹⁰ Carleton did not agree.

Later that summer, at Dorchester's suggestion again, the surveyors-general of the two provinces met in Madawaska to attempt an agreement. Surveyor-General Holland of Quebec had the authority to give "assurance to all persons desirous to settle there and especially the Acadians in the vicinity, of the favorable intention of this government to issue grants in their favor for three hundred acres to the land of every family, out of the waste lands of the Crown."¹¹ However, Quebec had lost its opportunity to grant lands in 1783 and 1784; Holland discovered that people were more than willing to settle between the Grand Falls and the Madawaska where New Brunswick was currently issuing grants, but that the land between the Madawaska and the St. Lawrence was infertile and had no attraction for them.¹²

The two officials were unable to agree on a boundary. Sproule entirely supported the desire of New Brunswick to maintain jurisdiction over the entire area, and believed that recent activities and interests of Quebec were encroachments upon the natural rights of New Brunswick. By his interpretation of such earlier conventions as the Treaty of 1783, he believed that the boundary lay between Lake Temiscouata and the St. Lawrence, running along the heights of St. Honore.¹³ Holland, sharing Dorchester's belief that the boundary ran from the Grand Falls to the Restigouche, could not agree.

When the surveyors reported their failure, Dorchester wrote Carleton that after

all it mattered little to which of the British provinces the territory belonged. The real importance lay in the fact that as the United States would naturally regard these limits as her boundary, which boundary the two provinces assumed took on significance far beyond the petty question as to which set of British officials had jurisdiction over a few Acadian settlers.¹⁴ While this view was undoubtedly wise, it just happened to favor Quebec's claim.

It was proposed in 1790 that the Gaspé be made a part of New Brunswick. Dorchester promptly protested. This time his reasons were that communications were better between the Gaspé and Quebec, and that the unsettled state of the territory between New Brunswick and Gaspé would be conducive to evasion of law if jurisdiction were exercised by New Brunswick.¹⁵

Madawaska had grown and disorders arisen which prompted Dorchester to appoint militia officers for that community as we have seen. In answer to the protest of the Madawaskans to Carleton, Dorchester wrote his brother rather testily:

Quebec 18th September 1790

Sir

I have received the Memorial addressed to you by the People of Madawaska.

I do not know, whether that district is in this province or that of New Brunswick, nor do I see any reason at present sufficiently decisive as to the expediency of either determination. But it is Material, that those people in the interval do not run into lawless habits to their own and the public detriment. For this reason the Militia Commissions alluded to in the Memorial, were issued and the expediency of your commissioning the same persons suggested in my letter no. 40.¹⁶

If any other more eligible mode occurs to you for enforcing good order and obedience to the laws among those people I shall be glad to be informed of it.

I am with regard
Your most obedient humble Servant,
Dorchester

Lt. Governor Carleton.¹⁷

Dorchester was right and as might have been expected, the provincial controversy led to violence in Madawaska when the question of jurisdiction became a question of administration, justice, and the immediate sources of law and order. It arose when Anselme and Michel Robichaud, merchants of Kamouraska, were awarded a process by a Quebec court against Augustin Dubé, formerly of Madawaska and now living in L'Isle Verte, and François Albert of Madawaska in February, 1792. By this warrant, Captain François Cyr and Lieutenant Jacques Cyr were directed to "seise and levy" the possessions of François Albert to the amount of ten pounds sterling, thirteen shillings and two pence. The officers were prevented from completing the execution of the order by the intervention of Thomas Costin, Magistrate of York County, New Brunswick.

Three days later, while hunting, Jacques Cyr was forcibly arrested by a group of armed men. When he protested against being taken to the St. John jail, Costin let him off by his signing a note to repay Albert, and the additional promise that he would leave New Brunswick and would execute no further order issuing from Quebec.

A few days before the promissory note was due, Costin returned from a trip to St.

John. He brought with him a letter, supposedly written by George Sproule to Louis Mercure which called upon the inhabitants of Madawaska to gather and elect new militia officers, and further recommended that, the inhabitants having sent Costin to St. John, they should pay his expenses. According to Jacques Cyr's report to the government of Lower Canada a meeting of the people was held, and Costin advised them not to re-elect the old officers who had been appointed by Quebec. When Mercure, who reproached Costin for saying that the Madawaskans had sent him to St. John and for trying to collect for expenses, was chosen by the people, Costin managed to get Olivier Cyr elected instead, on the grounds that Mercure was "trop zélé pour le Canada."¹⁸

It was obvious that, if nothing else, Costin was "trop zélé" for New Brunswick.

As the Executive Council of Lower Canada was willing to reimburse Cyr, and in view of the "irregularity in Mr. Costin's conduct," Lt. Governor Clarke protested to Carleton. In London, the Secretary of State was upset over a proceeding "so violent ... and so harsh ... extremely reprehensible." Such a clash between the two provinces was "extraordinary and inexcusable."¹⁹ Carleton assured both that Costin had meant well and that there would be no recurrences. The affair was dropped there.

Costin, declaring "thanks be to the Lord for Granting that day that my Enemies and the Prosecutors against New Brunswick was overthrown", remained as magistrate until 1796.²⁰ The Madawaskans petitioned New Brunswick expressing their desire to remain under the jurisdiction of that province. The Governors of Lower Canada lost immediate interest in the question, which was soon overshadowed by the growing intensity of the international boundary question. It was not until after 1817, however, that the clash between the United States and New Brunswick moved into the settlement of Madawaska itself, and the community until then knew a few years of relative peace.

V
INTERNAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE WAR OF 1812

On the face of things, the Madawaska of the second decade of the new century was a prospering and expanding settlement. It is only when we penetrate that facade that we discover serious weaknesses in the foundation and structure of the community.

The population had greatly increased, so that there were now well over one hundred families, despite the fact that many settlers had lingered only briefly before moving on to greener pastures. The settlement had spread out along the Grande Rivière into the present parish of Ste.-Anne, into the "Chautauqua" region, and soon little villages grew up at Grand-Platin, St.-Hilaire, La De'charge (later Fort Kent), St.-François d'Assise, St.-François-Xavier, St.-Charles, St.-Leonard and St.-Jacques.

By 1820, the total population was 1171. Most prominent among all the settlers was Captain Firmin Thibodeau who had arrived in Madawaska in 1798. He was known as the "Seigneur of Madawaska" and owned the largest farm. He was reputedly the owner of twenty-five milk cows, eight horses, 125 sheep, and many pigs. In addition he was very hospitable and was able to read and write. He served the community as merchant-banker, although others, as Jean and Michel Robichaud, also served as store and innkeepers.¹

Socially, however, the Madawaskans were little better off than their ancestors had been fifty and seventy-five years earlier. Few of them could read or write. They depended heavily on hunting and fishing for a livelihood. They had lost their country. Only their religion and their language remained.

The very difficulties of their existence was a drain on their social development. Frosts destroyed crops; game was less plentiful than before. It is little wonder that so many became disillusioned and returned to Canada; at least along the St. Lawrence one could depend upon fish for food.

Education had made almost no progress. There were a few temporary schoolmasters such as Pierre Duperré, Thomas Costin, and Antoine Joliet who taught in the different localities for a few shillings per family each term. The first school, which offered what professed to be primary education, was not established until 1819, by Father André-Toussaint Lagarde, then curate, but later parish priest at St.-Basile, where he used the old parsonage for a schoolhouse. One of his first

pupils was Prosper Cyr, who later became a priest, the first produced by Madawaska.²

Community entertainment was limited to house-raising and celebrations of marriage when everyone gathered for a feast and dancing. Outside of these gatherings, there was only the church.

Yes, all they had was their language and their religion, but their religion was not as much of a leavening influence as might be imagined. Missionary service had been infrequent; the Madawaskans complained loudly of this, and from 1804 to 1806, Charles Hott served as resident curé; but in 1807 to 1808, Father Amyot came only twice annually from Kamouraska. In 1809, they finally received a resident priest and were never again without one. Rev. Jean-Baptiste Kelley brought them the Traditions of the French Canadian tempered by an Irish humor.

Father Kelley found the parish in a degenerated condition, but he shortly reported to the Bishop:

"I have not made a single sermon since I have been here; however, I have not failed to preach a single Sunday, and the parishioners seem to like my instructions. The people of Madawaska, while they are not without faults, have one good quality, and that is of being well behaved and attentive in church."³

Father Kelley's successor was Father Louis Raby who was considered too young and scholarly by his finicky parishioners, although he won over many before leaving in 1813. In 1812, the Bishop of Quebec, for the second time in the history of the community, visited the Madawaskans. According to Father Albert, Msgr. Plessis did not have a very high opinion of the community. He found the people poorly united and indisposed to accept the guidance and advice of the priests. They had, he recorded in his diary, already exhausted the patience of several good priests. Until now they had been punished by the rather unusual expedient of being left without a resident priest. The Bishop admitted that the settlement was far too large for such a punishment now.⁴

Perhaps, as the Abbé Albert believed, the Bishop mistook opposition to his own authority as antagonism to the church. Albert suggested that Bishop Plessis misunderstood the Madawaskan temperament, and that, anyhow, misbehavior at that time was really due to the uncertainty of the war period. Be that as it may, the Bishop confirmed fifteen and punished certain members of the community for "concubinage". He advised the parish to build a new church, and while there was such disagreement about where to put the church and how big a one to build, it was generally agreed that a bigger one was needed.⁵

There was something of a revival of religious spirit with the ministry of Father Marcoux, who began his service with them in 1814. Work was begun on the new church, which was completed in 1817. The new priest was very popular, and the people admired him for securing a grant of \$200 towards the new church from the government of New Brunswick.⁶

Madawaska may have been an isolated community in the St. John valley, but the international wars of this period had their repercussions even in the inland forests. The outbreak of the War of 1812 between Britain and the United States caused

mixed emotions in the minds and hearts of the Madawaskans. Surely the next peace treaty would bring a solution of the international boundary. It was expected by many of the settlers, as well as by many of the government officials, that Madawaska would be exchanged with the United States for some other territory that the Americans claimed or would be willing to take in its place.

On the other hand, many Madawaskans feared that the outcome of the conflict would leave them as part of the United States. Besides their tradition of neutrality, here was a vital reason for refusing to take an active part in the war. It would be most embarrassing to take up arms against the Americans, only to find themselves a part of the United States when the war was over.⁷

It is no wonder that during the new period of uncertainty and insecurity there were those who advocated the proclamation of an independent Madawaska. That was mostly irresponsible bravado speaking, but a sense of "we, ourselves" has never died out among Madawaskans under either flag.

During the war, there was agitation from American emissaries and messengers, and postal carriers were intercepted along this route between Canada and the Atlantic coast. It became necessary to provide a military escort for couriers.

In 1813, the famous 104th Infantry battalion of the New Brunswick passed through the settlements on their way to relieve the endangered frontiers of Lower Canada. Rumor flew, as rumors do, ahead of the troops, and had it that this Loyalist regiment was coming to expel the Acadians for refusing to take up arms against the Americans. Shades of 1755! Some of the settlers prepared for resistance and others for flight, but the regiment appeared and in single file passed on without sign of hostility.⁸

The Treaty of Ghent in 1815 settled nothing for the Madawaskans save that boundary commissions were created to study and settle the questions of boundary between the United States and British North America. For Madawaska that meant another twenty-five years of tension and agitation which nearly developed into open war on more than one occasion.

In other ways, the war had important results for the community. Lower Canada learned a lesson from the war and now took the initiative in securing the frontiers and the postal routes. A series of ten military posts were established along the valley of the St. Lawrence and the St. John; they were guarded by the Royal Veterans of the recent war. Many of these soldiers took land and became the first settlers of the Temiscouata region.

On its part, New Brunswick undertook the colonization of Victoria County for reasons of security. One post had been maintained previously at Woodstock and one at Grand Falls. Veterans were now granted land lying between these two sites. In true military tradition, these men were willing to exchange threats with equally pugnacious Americans on the other side of the disputed border in the years of tension following the war.⁹

Madawaska continued to expand in area, new roads were built, and life became considerably easier as stoves, flour and saw mills were introduced. The early flour mills were water driven: the first seems to have been at St.-Basile, where it was

built by Paul Potier. Others soon appeared at St.-David, Grand-Isle, Grande-Riviere, and on Violette Brook, as well as at St. Francis and Chautauqua.

The appearance of the first saw mill was of deepest significance for the community, because it heralded the arrival of the first American settlers in the territory. One Nathan Baker from Kennebec County, Maine, arrived to engage in the lumber business and soon built himself a mill on Baker Brook. Baker was but the first of a considerable immigration of Americans in search of the ever-valuable pine tree, and symbolized the new importance of the Madawaskan forests. Soon the lumbermen of New Brunswick and the lumbermen of Maine were to be competing among these trees, and it was anybody's guess at what time axes would be exchanged for guns, and money was bet on both sides. To understand how this came about, we must look into the roots of the international controversy over the Aroostook and the Madawaska, and we shall see how pine trees were more important than people in playing international chess.

INTERNAL CONTENTION AND INTERNATIONAL PARTITION 1817-1842

VI

THE MAINE-NEW BRUNSWICK CONTROVERSY IN ITS EARLY STAGES

Boundaries have always been bones of contention between nations, and the history of America has been full of claims and prior claims ever since 1492. Almost as soon as the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain and the United States was signed, a controversy arose over the interpretation of the boundary clauses which had been written with only a vague notion of the geography of the interior Maine-New Brunswick region. Massachusetts sent a commission to investigate alleged encroachments by the English on American territory. While the dispute later centered on the location of the highlands which separated the waters flowing into the St. Lawrence from those flowing into the Atlantic, attention in the early period was focused on the Passamaquoddy area, where the two countries disagreed over the whereabouts of the true St. Croix River. That part of the boundary would affect Madawaska because the border line was to be drawn due north from the source of the St. Croix to the highlands, and it was apparent that the line would cross the St. John River somewhere near the Madawaska colony.

Lt. Governor Carleton was extremely worried throughout these discussions, for it soon appeared to him that the line chosen would cross the St. John, "little, if at all, to the westward of the Grand Falls," and would dangerously intercept communications with Canada. This would necessitate making some sort of international agreement, for "it cannot be supposed to have been intended, either on their part to claim, or on ours to yield a boundary which should in fact cut through the provinces it was designed to limit." He recognized, as did many others in authority in New Brunswick, that such a boundary would "on strict inquiry, be justifiedly the letter of the Treaty." Some compromise would have to be made, and he greatly favored an equivalent exchange of land, hoping that the Americans would accept the Passamaquoddy Islands for the "wilderness land" to the north.¹

Edward Winslow, secretary to the commission which settled the St. Croix dispute, was elated that the British had won most of the territory they claimed:

... As it is, we loose not a single British settlement. A few miserable Frenchmen at Madawaska on the route to Canada fall within the Territory. I presume that some future negotiation will remove even this difficulty and give us a free communication with Canada.²

Winslow was later involved in a negotiation which attempted to exchange Moose Island for Madawaska; but it failed, and the question of the northern boundary remained in an unsettled, but uncritical state. The War of 1812 and the Treaty of Ghent of 1815 left the question unsolved beyond the establishment of a commission to study and settle disputed points of boundary between the United States and British provinces.

It was evident in 1817, when the commission undertook this study, that the settlement of the northeastern boundary would not be accomplished without difficulty. In the colonies, British officials recognized that it was a vital question for British North America. At stake was a large area of valuable timber and farm land, and a considerable settlement of Acadian French. More important to the military men, and most of the officials were at least military-minded, was the fact that an acceptance of the treaty clauses as they stood would mean that the importance of the St. John-Temisouata valley, the only dependable line of communications between the Maritimes and Quebec, would be interrupted and the Americans would be strategically placed astride the valley and between the provinces. In a day when more wars between Britain and the United States were anticipated, that would have been a serious breach in the main line of defence. There was anxious contemplation of the danger of having the United States perched on the highlands so near the St. Lawrence that they could interfere with communications on that river, and in time of war, perhaps, capture its southern shore.

While the war with the United States had solved nothing, the Napoleonic wars of Europe in the same period had complicated the problem by bringing economics into a question which was already confused. Twisting the Lion's tail and pulling Uncle Sam's beard may be a highly entertaining game, but people really become excited over the ownership of land when it can be figured in board feet and dollars and cents.

It is generally understood that the wars of the Napoleonic period resulted in the rise of the timber trade in British North America to replace that of the Baltic area. That was the real origin of that important industry in New Brunswick where even politics became largely a matter of timber rivalries.³ The river valleys, after the war period, were filled with timber crews in search of the increasingly valuable and increasingly scarce pine tree. As preferential tariffs remained available, these quests extended farther up the rivers, and by the late 1810's, they had reached the Madawaska territory which was in dispute with the United States. Here they came into immediate conflict with American lumbermen, for they were penetrating Maine forests seeking the tall pines which were in great demand for the shipbuilding industry on their own coasts. By 1840, the only good timber left for either side was in the disputed territory, and as this development had become evident between 1817 and 1840, the rivalry of the timber interests and the conflict between the governments became more and more acute.

We can see that it was no mere coincidence that the first Americans, John Harford, and his son, John Jr., arrived in the Madawaska region in June, 1817, for

their interest, too, was lumber, and it was in that business they engaged in Madawaska. Nathan Baker, originally from Kennebec County, Maine, arrived a few months later and chose a location at the mouth of the Meriumpticook stream, fifteen miles above the Madawaska River. Harford settled another fifteen miles above the Meriumpticook; they both erected makeshift houses and brought their families in the summer of 1818.

Baker at once formed a business arrangement with a St. John merchant named Samuel Nevers, who had a timber license from the government of New Brunswick. By February, 1819, he had cut between 1000 and 1200 tons of timber, most of it on the north side of the St. John River.

These men were not content to live a quiet existence cutting trees and floating logs to St. John, and with their arrival, the American claim to this territory intruded itself into the life of Madawaska. Immediately upon his arrival in the area, Nathan Baker had attempted to convince the French that this was American soil. An American surveyor appeared and surveyed the north bank of the St. John, including the French settlement, and the newcomers tried to organize a local government and introduce the laws of the United States. Because much of the lumber Baker cut was on lots possessed by the French, and because he appeared to them as a "man who takes much upon himself," leaders like Pierre Duperré advised the settlers to have nothing to do with his pretensions.⁴

The reaction of the New Brunswick authorities to the arrival and activities of the Americans in the disputed territory may properly be described for this episode was the first, and only the first, of many occasions for diplomatic correspondence over the practical sovereignty of the area pending the final settlement of the boundary dispute.

When Baker and his companions first arrived in Madawaska, their activities were promptly reported to the authorities by Pierre Duperré, now Captain of the militia.⁵ The information was forwarded to the British minister in Washington, Charles Bagot, who lost no time in protesting to John Quincy Adams, American Secretary of State. Adams assured Bagot that the Federal government would do its best to keep Americans from occupying the territory and expressed his opinion that Baker and company were mere squatters who could be dealt with accordingly. Bagot then advised the government of New Brunswick to take the usual steps against such intruders and to obtain their names so that the Federal Government could ask Massachusetts to proceed against them.

Thus it was that, in January, Attorney-General Wetmore requested Duperré to furnish detailed information about the Americans and their actions. Duperré's answer of February 20, 1819, is our chief source of information about those first Americans in Madawaska. Upon receiving that letter, the Executive Council decided upon legal proceedings against them; that summer the Harfords and Baker were called to Fredericton to answer a suit for trespass and intrusion on the Crown lands. They submitted to the law, and were allowed to return to their settlements.⁶ The episode was inconclusively dropped at that point.

By 1820, Baker's brother joined the little American colony. John Baker quickly

became a leader there and later was the chief agitator against British jurisdiction. He had been born about 1787 in Moscow, Maine, but had left in 1816, leaving behind a reputation that was not highly favorable, and had taken up lumbering in New Brunswick. After two years there, he was engaged in the timber business in Lower Canada for a while before moving to Madawaska where he became his brother's partner. A year after Nathan died in 1821, John married his widow and continued lumbering for Nevers, building up a respectable reputation among his neighbors and the businessmen in Fredericton and St. John with whom he came in contact.⁷

On one occasion John Baker applied to the government of New Brunswick for the bounty paid for grain raised on newly cleared land; and Nevers with Baker's knowledge and consent, applied for a grant of the land which Baker possessed, but, as an alien, could not own. In this and other ways applying for the enforcement of New Brunswick laws, the Americans appeared to have acquiesced in the exercise of British jurisdiction. John Baker even applied for citizenship and had started down the river to Fredericton to be naturalized when a certain event changed his mind, and perhaps the history of Madawaska.⁸

This little band of Americans had proved to be only the advance guard of the American drive to what has been termed "New England's Last Frontier"? A new entity had appeared on the scene when the State of Maine was separated from Massachusetts in 1820. A Democratic state, Maine possessed a population which was politically radical, expansionist and frontier-minded, and strongly in favor of "states rights". By terms of the separation, Maine and Massachusetts were to survey and divide the unsettled lands. Of course, both states were anxious to benefit fully from this arrangement and both would profit greatly if the territory north of Mars Hill were to be included in Maine. When Maine actively asserted her legal claim so that territory under the Treaty of 1783, she was firmly backed by Massachusetts, with a long list of acts of jurisdiction, including census counts and grants of land. Both sent their agents into the area.¹⁰

Like New Brunswick, Maine's chief industries were lumbering and ship-building, and the search for the all-important, but ever disappearing pine tree was penetrating far into the interior. Consequently, Maine was greatly agitated over early reports of encroachments and depredations committed in Maine forests by New Brunswickers in the territory on the Schoodic, Aroostook, De Chute, Presque Isle, and Meduxnekeag Rivers. Reports were received which indicated that the government of New Brunswick was granting land and issuing timber permits for those areas!¹¹ "One thing is certain," one deputy land agent declared, "and that is they mean to get all the timber up the Aroostook and up the Madawaska (sic) unless our government takes some measures to prevent it."¹²

In retaliation, the state legislatures authorized the land agents to convey deeds to settlers on the St. John and Madawaska Rivers.¹³ James Irish and George Coffin, Land Agents for Maine and Massachusetts, respectively, were proceeding up the St. John River to execute these instructions when they met John Baker on his way to Fredericton to be naturalized. We do not know if he admitted this to the American agents, or just what passed between them. We suspect that Irish and

Coffin, like many men on both sides of this long controversy, were zealous in the interests of their own states; and we know that on October 2, 1825, Baker gave up his idea of becoming a British subject and returned to Madawaska with the agents.¹⁴

Henceforth, he was chief spokesman for the American claim in that community, and an agitator whose deeds more than once brought two nations to the brink of war.

The agents remained in Madawaska only long enough to issue deeds to John Baker and James Bacon, to authorize Samuel Cooke of Houlton Plantation to survey land and grant others deeds, to deputize James Bacon to issue permits for the cutting of the pine timber, and to propagandize the American claim. Returning home, they reported that the settlers had "rejoiced with the idea of being received into the family of Maine", and that although many of them had grants for their land from New Brunswick, they did not feel secure in them, and would prefer grants from Maine.¹⁵

The land agents made no mention, in their reports, of any other activities in Madawaska, but it appears from other records that they tried to induce the members of the militia not to attend general training, which was about to begin, arguing that since the territory really belonged to the United States, they could not be punished for not being in attendance. This talk seems not to have had any influence, for over three hundred of them were mustered out.¹⁶

The entire episode showed that the State of Maine had adopted two conflicting methods of dealing with the problem of maintaining and promoting their claim to the disputed territory; one was to take direct action as we have seen, and the other was to complain to the national government against the intrusions of New Brunswick authorities.

Acting upon those complaints, Henry Clay, American Secretary of State, had objected to the British minister about the alleged depredations. H.U. Addington, in turn, forwarded the protests to the Colonial Office and to Lt. Governor Sir Howard Douglas.

Sir Howard had made a thorough study of the boundary problem and had discussed it, in detail, in conference with members of the British Cabinet before assuming his duties as Lt. Governor of New Brunswick early in 1824. In a long paper on the subject, in which he set forth his view of the whole question, he said that the main point was that the value and the power of defense of the North American possessions would be greatly diminished if the Americans were successful in their claims. That "would take from us more than 10,000 square miles of territory, covered with the very best pine timber in New Brunswick." Secondly, it would interrupt direct communications either for general affairs or for military operations. And thirdly, the American scheme was "well calculated to assist powerfully in bringing about the free navigation project (of the St. Lawrence by the United States) hereafter, by force, if it is not gained now in negotiation;" and it would take a costly operation, in case of war, to keep the St. Lawrence from becoming the international boundary.¹⁷

Reiterating the value of the resources of New Brunswick, he urged that the St.

John be secured as a boundary. He foresaw the great importance of the Maritime Provinces to the security of the empire, and believing the other provinces would eventually be lost, he believed it would be better to cede territory elsewhere than from the Maritimes.

Basing the British claim less on the technical terms of the treaty and details of geography, and more on the spirit in the preamble to the Treaty of 1783 for "reciprocal advantage and mutual convenience," Douglas believed that the line should be fixed so as "to divide the sources of streams which empty themselves with the actual territories of the respective claimants." He would place the line on the highland first encountered by a line running from the St. Croix -- i.e. Mars Hills, thus accepting the argument first invented by Ward Chipman in 1818 which emphasized that the only ridges north of the St. John were parallel ridges running north and south.¹⁸

As soon as Douglas arrived in New Brunswick, he conscientiously examined the boundary question, discussing it with the people on the scene; and he became more firmly convinced that his beliefs were correct. He greatly feared that Maine had an ulterior motive -- that of the right of navigation of the St. Lawrence, and that of participating in the waters of the St. John, -- even to its mouth! This, he believed, would afford too great an advantage to Maine and too great a disadvantage to New Brunswick; and that the very reason the treaty had been so worded was to give to each the whole benefit of the rivers which rise in, run through, and empty their waters into the ocean within the respective territories.¹⁹

Douglas, like others, believed that the United States could be persuaded to accept Rouse's Point on Lake Champlain in exchange for the territory in Maine and New Brunswick to which she had claims. Rouse's Point, it may be noted, had been incorrectly surveyed and on maps it had appeared to be within the forty-fifth parallel and thus in the United States, but actually it was not. But Douglas, a Major-General, argued, this spot was of no use to the British for defensive purposes; its only use would be in offensive operations in the Lake Champlain area. For the British to cling to it would make them appear aggressive, and the territory could be easily conquered should wartime make it necessary. He admitted, that whatever its value, it could in no way be compared with "10,000 square miles of territory covered with the best timber in New Brunswick." It was, of course, for this very reason, that Maine could not accept the exchange.²⁰

The Rouse Point idea was an old one, and it might have sufficed had the United States been a unitary nation rather than a federation of states. No state in the Union would have been willing to give up valuable territory in such a compromise in which the exchange would benefit some other state. Such a suggestion got no welcome in Maine, particularist then as always.²¹

Douglas had realized that the forests of the disputed area were of great value, but on arriving in New Brunswick, he found this was of more importance than he had ever dreamed.

... for the timber in those regions is of the very first quality, and in prodigious abundance; the forests being comparatively untouched, while those more at hand begin to be exhausted of primer timber.

So far these huge pine logs were being sent over the Grand Falls, but there was speculation about the possibility of a canal of some sort to by-pass the falls; it was hoped that the boundary question could soon be settled in the favor of the British in order to prevent those forests from enriching the "Neighbouring Power."²²

Receiving the official protests of the United States against New Brunswick encroachments in the disputed territory, Douglas turned to the correspondence of his predecessors and to his advisors for information and advice. He found that the government had long been issuing timber licenses and performing other acts of sovereignty in that area. Chipman and Bathurst both advised him that activities of American agents in taking a census in 1820 and in seizing timber cut on the "Restook" in more recent years were encroachments upon the rights of New Brunswick. It was made clear to him that he was not free to surrender the British right of possession, and he refused to make any concession or change until he had authority to do so from London.

When he had Bathurst's advice and consent the issuance of timber licenses was discontinued, for both men were perfectly aware of the dangers of the collision of the law and the "lawless and desperate speculators on both sides, beyond the control of the respective Provincial executives" which might occur at any moment unless the boundary were settled soon.²³

The withdrawal of timber permits satisfied the United States government, and relations between Britain, New Brunswick and Washington in 1825 were amicable, if cautious. Had Maine been content to negotiate through diplomatic channels only, peace might have reigned.

Douglas was soon aware of the fact that the State of Maine did not fit well into this friendly picture, partly because of the constitutional difficulty which the United States government must face in attempting to dispose of the territory claimed by a component state, and partly because Maine was in no frame of mind to sit back and wait for the diplomats to bargain away territory which rightfully belonged to her.²⁴

It was at that point that word was received in Fredericton of the activities of Land Agents Irish and Coffin in Madawaska in the late summer of 1825. Angrily Douglas wrote Bathurst that while Maine was calling on the American government to demand British abstinence from actions in the disputed area which would ruin the value of the land, they were themselves issuing licenses for the cutting of timber, in order to strengthen their own claim to the territory. New Brunswick's withdrawal of timber licenses would look to them like a concession to their claims. It was now apparent, that if the boundary were not settled immediately, "disorders, which it will not be my power to restrain must ensue," as evidenced by the confusion and violent sensations these activities of the Americans had created in Madawaska.²⁵

Further information was received which indicated that the American agents had issued land grants, and that they had asserted that the United States meant to hold Madawaska, by force if necessary. According to these reports, five hundred men of the American army were to be engaged in building a road from the Penobscot

River to Madawaska where they were to be quartered.²⁶

Douglas could have intervened in Madawaska at once, by force, and apparently "from high quarters" he was urged to do so in order to prevent the Land Agents from continuing their business or publishing their intentions. To have done so would have risked a collision far greater than that of two sets of local authorities, and he preferred to work for the greatest good through the regular diplomatic channels, all the more so as he realized how this would appear in contrast to the hasty action of Maine.

From Washington he received assurances that the American government wished to prevent any further disturbances and hoped to work in a "spirit of forbearance and moderation." His orders from London re-asserted the wisdom of ceasing to issue timber licenses and warned him that he must recognize no license granted by the Americans nor any attempt they might make to exercise authority in the disputed territory. Douglas made clear to all, that he meant to prevent "all grounds of complaint and all causes of collisions," but at the same time, he suspected that American aggression had been suspended only temporarily.²⁷

In Portland, after months of conflict, the New Year began auspiciously. The Governor's address to the Legislature contained no new information on the boundary situation, and the Land Agent reported that there had been very few depredations in the disputed area, New Brunswick having ceased issuing timber licenses. The uncertainty of the boundary situation, however, was like a cancer in the body of public opinion, and the recent events had made them only more anxious to obtain a final, satisfactory settlement. This was why a resolve of the Legislature, on January 26, advised Maine and Massachusetts to "explore" the northern and eastern boundaries and asked the governor to obtain maps and other documents from the Boston archives and all other available sources.²⁸

Once again the London-Fredericton-Washington line of communications was disturbed by word of new activities of Maine agents surveying townships and roads. The Maine party had been instructed to act peaceably and to avoid all collisions and irritating language, and there seems to have been no attempt to sell land or to interfere with the assembling of the Madawaska militia for general training. However, some of the members of the road surveying crew were given to belligerent words and greatly disturbed the local farmers by telling them that Maine was preparing to hold the territory by force.²⁹ Because of the grave danger of collision and serious resentment among the settlers if such action continued, Douglas again protested to Washington. The answer was a long time coming, and when it came, it was no more encouraging than he had expected.

Maine's official position was first clearly set forth in two lengthy documents of 1827 both of which were written in consequence of the complaints Douglas had made to Washington. One was the "Report of the Joint Select Committee on the Northeastern Boundary" submitted to the Legislature on February 16, 1827, by John G. Deane, the Governor having transmitted Secretary of State Clay's request for information to that committee on February 12. The other was the Governor's own letter to Clay dated September 3, 1827; there is no tangible explanation for his

delaying so long in answering the Secretary of State.

Mr. Deane's Report may be summarized as follows: First of all, the territory now disputed, "lying within the limits of the State of Maine ... is highly important and valuable to the citizens of this State," because of its extensive forests, its rich soil, and its "susceptibility of cultivation and improvement." Secondly, the study of ancient grants does not shed much light on the present controversy, for there seems always to have been conflicting claims over the area. On the other hand, "The treaty of 1783 contains a very clear description of the line constituting the North-eastern Boundary of the United States." Its only doubtful part, that of the St. Croix region, has already been settled; the only remaining question is how long the north line is, and what is meant by the north-west angle of Nova Scotia. The Maine argument rests on the conception that the treaty conceived of two classes of rivers, only; that all must empty either into the St. Lawrence or the Atlantic and no pretenses could be hidden behind talk about a third, intermediate category of rivers flowing into bays or gulfs.

Thirdly, the Treaty of Ghent merely re-defined all rights and claims as of the treaty of 1783.

Fourthly and significantly, the United States Government cannot cede Maine territory without Maine's consent.

Until recently, the report explained, the situation has been such that Maine and Massachusetts had not needed this inland area for settlement for there were enough lands nearer the sea. "But ... the progress of settlement is towards the territory in question, and the interest of the State in the adjustment of the dispute is daily becoming more important." The report further denied that the acts of the British government, whether of possession or otherwise, could in any way impair the sovereignty which rightfully belonged to Maine. "We cannot view the acts complained of by the British government as encroachments upon the rights of New Brunswick or Great Britain, for they relate, and were only intended to relate to the territory within description of the treaty ..." 30

Governor Enoch Lincoln's letter to the Secretary of State further explains the actions that Maine had undertaken during the past two years, and it is important to an understanding of the attitudes prevailing in Maine in the crisis of the years that followed. It was dated at Portland, September 3, 1827:

... It is now rendered evident that the representation made to you, and communicated in your letter of the 27th of March last, that the British Government has abstained from the performance of any new acts which might be construed into an exercise of the rights of sovereignty or soil over the disputed territory was entirely incorrect. That representation connected with the recommendation of the President, has undoubtedly had much influence with Maine, in producing a forbearance, which will probably be objected against her, in comparison with the opposite course by Great Britain, as containing an implied acknowledgement of the rightfulness of the jurisdiction which has been exercised for years by a foreign power in the manner and to the extent which they have now to exhibit, as presented to me by credible testimony.

Along the St. John's following it up westwardly from the junction of the Matawascah is a very flourishing Settlement, containing a considerable number of peaceably disposed, and industrious inhabitants. Among them, is a land under deed from Massachusetts and Maine, and the others

or nearly all of them are anxious to obtain titles in the same way. The latter at present occupy as tenants at sufferance, and neither recognize the lands as being crown lands, nor do they voluntarily submit to British authority. These persons the government of New Brunswick treats in all respects as aliens, denies their right to hold real estate, assesses upon them the alien tax, and refuses to permit to them the transmission of their produce as Americans. I forbear to speak of many acts of violence and petty vexation of which they also complain. The other inhabitants are uniformly treated as British Subjects and new Acts of jurisdiction even to the requirement of military duty area is frequently exercised, as the ordinary operations of a municipal control require.

Before expressing to you the sentiments which should be connected with the exhibition of these facts, allow me to ask your attention to the sacrifice to which Maine is submitting, while her formidable and indefatigable adversary is thus industriously justifying his position. She owns, as it is believed, as clearly as she owns any other portion of property, a tract of not less than six millions of acres, which, with the exception of about a million and a half, situated North-eastward of the St. John and Matawascah is generally valuable for soil and timber so that the latter along one river has been estimated to be worth One hundred and eighty thousand dollars, which is only equal to an average of One hundred and fifty dollars per square mile. The use of these vast resources is forbidden to her by the circumstances that a claim is made by a foreign power, and by the respect she entertains for the President's recommendation of a mutual forbearance; yet that power is in the meantime applying its jurisdiction in the same manner as if the representation of its Minister created no pledge, and no obligation to sustain their correctness ... The case which will be presented, must, as you perceive, necessarily require of Maine a consideration of the duties she owes to her citizens, not left in the condition of neutral subjects without government, as has been supposed, but actually subjugated. To allow our lands to remain uncultivated and our public improvements to be postponed through a State necessity, is a sacrifice capable of being endured, compared with that of seeing dominion usurped over those, who owe allegiance, and to whom protection is due ... 31

Douglas and Vaughan responded by declaring that this territory had been considered part of New Brunswick ever since its separation from Nova Scotia, and that New Brunswick had no intention of relinquishing practical jurisdiction.

To them the exercise of such authority was necessary to prevent the Madawaskan settlement from falling into anarchy, and the danger of anarchy seemed very imminent to Douglas as he answered Lincoln's letter, for word had just reached him of serious disorders in that settlement. These were attributed to the actions of an American citizen named John Baker, who had launched a stormy movement of defiance to British authority.

VII

JOHN BAKER'S REBELLION AND THE SUBSEQUENT DEADLOCK

Some men have been lifted to fame by the complex movement of history through space and time, and conversely, unusual men have shaped the course of history at critical points. To discover how much of history was molded by one man and how much the individual was swept along by the power of circumstances is a problem facing every researcher. Who was John Baker, and what were the motives behind his actions are difficult questions to answer when the investigator studies his revolt against British authority in the summer of 1827, creating as it did, the first real crisis in the standing controversy between Maine and New Brunswick.

The news of his rebellion first reached the authorities of New Brunswick when Francis Rice, Adjutant, repaired to Madawaska to hold General Militia Training on July 21. He found the community in an uproar. On the fourth of July a celebration had been held at Baker's house, and amid fiery speeches about liberty, the American flag had been hoisted. On the following day, the American settlers had solicited signatures for a declaration which specifically denied British jurisdiction over them. By this document, a council consisting of Baker, Bacon, and Daniel Savage was established to enforce the law in the settlement, and pending approval by the American government, the agreement was to remain in force to one year. Nearly all the Americans willingly signed the affirmation, but the other settlers were more wary; several of them had participated in the flag raising ceremony and the dinner and ball on the Fourth, but even under pressure, the only signature gained among them was that of Abraham Chamberland.¹

Far more than the declaration of resistance, and the attempt to sow dissension amongst the French settlers, the first alleged act of rebellion greatly alarmed the government of New Brunswick. The report was that Baker had hailed the mail carrier, Pierre Sileste, near the church, and informed him that he must cease carrying the British mail between Fredericton and Quebec by that route for it was on American soil and the United States would not stand for it. That report, exaggerated as it later turned out to be, indicated a danger to communications and to the security of the empire in North America.²

George Morehouse, Magistrate of Kent County, was sent to Madawaska to investigate the reported proceedings, and Baker immediately raised the American flag when he heard the British officer was in town. Refusing on direct orders from

Morehouse to lower the flag, Baker declared that the settlers had signed an agreement, as American citizens, to resist all British authority, and that they welcomed an opportunity to carry their pledge into effect.

The issue was not forced then, and the revolt was carried another step forward, in August, when a constable who attempted to issue a writ for debt against Phineas Harford was forcibly resisted by a band of Americans, including Baker and John Baker, Jr., armed with clubs and guns.

Sir Howard Douglas, on the advice of his councilors, nipped the rebellion in the bud by authorizing legal action against the leaders. One writ was issued against Baker for trespass and intrusion on the Crown lands since 1821, and another for the arrest of Baker, Bacon, and Charles Studson for a high misdemeanor by

... endeavoring to persuade and procure divers of the inhabitants of the said parish. His Majesty's loyal subjects to depart from the allegiance which they owe to His said Majesty and in violently opposing the execution of the laws of the realm and resisting the authority of His Majesty's Government there, and conspiring together to subvert His Majesty's authority and government in that part of this province ...³

High Sheriff Miller proceeded to Madawaska, collecting a posse of armed men as he went, and arrived at Baker's house at daybreak, September 23. Baker awoke and called for assistance, but he was ordered to silence and put under arrest. The prisoner insisted that he was an American citizen, and that his actions were known to the Governor of Maine, but the letter from the Governor which he produced was not convincing to the Sheriff. Surrounded by superior force, Baker submitted and was marched off to jail. The last instruction which he gave to his wife was to put up the flag, and as the canoes left his landing, the stars and stripes was waving in the early morning breeze.⁴

Baker's rebellion was neither long-lived nor widespread, but the repercussions of his arrest were promptly heard in the press and in governmental halls in Augusta, Washington and London. Two questions, which were muted then, immediately come to mind for the present-day investigator. What manner of man was John Baker? Was he a sincere patriot, a clever opportunist, or a bumbling and self-misguided fool? Whatever the answer to the first question, the second question must be: what part did the authorities of Maine, officially or otherwise, play in the origins of his revolt?

The reports on Baker's character are confusing. At the time of his arrest, disparaging rumors flew among the population of New Brunswick, where it was desirable that he be discredited. They were immediately picked up in Maine, where public leaders doubted his usefulness to their cause. According to these stories, John Baker was a completely disrespectable character and a worthless, wretch.⁵

Against their own doubt, some Maine officials discovered evidence to the contrary. While collecting materials for the preparation of the American case in the coming arbitration, John G. Deane made several trips to New Brunswick and one to Madawaska which permitted him to make free inquiry into Baker's reputation.

He learned that Baker had not been locked up, while he was detained in Fredericton, because Fredericton merchants had petitioned for his freedom of movement and had posted bond for his remaining in the city. These men had had business connections with Baker since he had come to the St. John to live, and they respected him for his extensive knowledge of the forests and the geography of the interior wilderness.⁶

Deane accompanied Baker on his return to Madawaska and was able to witness the respect and friendliness accorded to Baker by French and American settlers alike. Deane became completely convinced of Baker's devotion to Maine and the United States, and he went so far as to recommend him for an appointment as American magistrate in the Madawaska settlement.⁷

In the years which followed, while the controversy lasted, Baker spasmodically engaged in irritating British officials. When the international boundary was finally drawn, Baker was left "high and dry" on his farm on the New Brunswick side of the border. There he lived in peace and contentment under the British flag, until his death. He was laid to eternal rest in American soil on the other side of the river.⁸ We are left wondering whether Baker dreamed of being another Patrick Henry or Nathan Hale, or whether he had thought he saw an opportunity to benefit if he were able to help Maine win the control of the disputed territory.

The part played by Maine in Baker's abortive revolt is not clear. We may allow ourselves a few "sneaking suspicions" that the idea was first instilled in Baker's mind by overzealous public servants in the lower echelons. There are no records, yet discovered, to support these suspicions, and such sources as we possess only suggest that the leading officers of the state were informed after the event.

Sometime in 1827, the Americans in Madawaska sent a petition of grievances against the government of New Brunswick to Governor Enoch Lincoln of Maine. We have no record of the date this petition reached the Governor, nor do we know when he first learned of the events of July and August in Madawaska.

A letter from Governor Lincoln to Secretary of State Clay of September 3, 1827 in answer to New Brunswick's protests against Maine's actions in the disputed territory in 1826 was quoted in the previous chapter of this paper.⁹ It was used to illustrate Maine's official position on the boundary question; in it Governor Lincoln discussed the grievances and suffering of American citizens in the disputed territory.

On that same date, Lincoln wrote what purports to be his only answer to Baker and Bacon's petition; and it is the only one we have found. Although Baker tried to use that letter to persuade Sheriff Miller that he was under the protection of the Governor of Maine and ought not to be arrested, it was written nearly two months after Baker had raised the standard of revolt against British authority. It could neither have inspired nor encouraged his actions. The tone of the letter is one of admonition. Furthermore, Lincoln wrote to Baker and to Clay on the same day. These two clues suggest that the petition had been received from the American settlers only recently, and that they had written it after their initial resistance to British authorities. Because of the uncertainty of the nature of this advice, or any

other counsel Baker may have received from Maine officials, the entire letter to Baker and his colleagues is quoted below.

Portland, Sept. 3, 1827

Gentlemen:

Having considered the contents of the petition presented by your Agents, relative to grievances of which you complain and being particularly requested by these Agents to transmit them some reply, I feel obliged at present to confine myself to a few general remarks: You have uniformly been considered by the Government of this State as Citizens subject to its Jurisdiction and consequently entitled to protection in the enjoyment of all those rights and privileges which any person can claim under our Constitution and Laws: If oppressed by a foreign power, the obligation to you, although you are few in numbers is not less Sacred than if you constituted a larger community, nor although you are distant than if you resided in the Capitol.

These are the sentiments with which your address is met; yet it is necessary to add that the nature of your subject is involved, requires a communications with the Government of the Union, of Massachusetts, and the Legislature of Maine, whose concurrence is desirable for attainment of your object in the manner which shall prevent false expectations, uncertain hopes and pernicious confidence -- In the meantime Your prudence and moderation are relied upon for preventing unnecessary excitement and collisions as well as fruitless disputes -- The most quiet state in which you can remain will be most favorable to the success of the efforts which may be required by a regard for its own honor and the rights of the Citizens interested in its case.

I am, etc.,

(Signed) Enoch Lincoln 10

Having advised Baker to refrain from incitement, Maine's response to his arrest was immediate. It took the unusual form of a direct protest by Governor Lincoln to the Lt. Governor of New Brunswick, completely by-passing the regular channels of diplomacy. Douglas, with a condescending tone of polite surprise, replied that it was not for him to question the propriety of such a protest, and stated that he could not, in conformity with his own instructions, correspond except with those who were his superiors and under whose orders he must act.¹¹

Lincoln, who was ready to believe the worst about New Brunswick's officials, was greatly disturbed by reports of Baker's arrest by an armed posse of forty-five men, and his confinement in a loathsome jail. Rumors also reached him that the settlers on the Aroostook River were dreadfully oppressed and scarcely dared to go to sleep at night without leaving some one on guard. It is only fair to add here, that while Lincoln accepted these as creditable reports, the one was based on hearsay, and the other was later proven false in every substantial point.¹²

With the announcement of Baker's arrest, the climate of opinion in Maine was at a near-frenzied peak. The Legislature called upon the Federal Government to support its claims and protect its citizens, and the Governor voiced the prevalent opinion that the arbitration, now being negotiated, was undersirable and left the door open for an "unjust and disastrous decision" for Maine.¹³

Both Maine and the United States government sent agents to investigate the causes and conditions of Baker's arrest. With them, Maine sent the ominous warning that she was prepared to use "military force, as a dernier resort." To this was added the generous hint that she expected the national government to back her to the hilt.¹⁴

The Maine version of Madawaskan history, which still prevails in American

accounts of the historic boundary controversy, dates from the presentation of Charles Stewart Davis' report to the Maine Legislature on the arrest of John Baker. A vehement spokesman of the Maine claim to the disputed territory, and a prominent lawyer and Whig politician, Davis was refused an audience with the Lt. Governor of New Brunswick because he was not an accredited representative of a foreign country. The official investigator, Samuel Barrell, who had been sent by the President of the United States for the same purpose, was given every courtesy in Fredericton, however.

According to Davis, the Acadians had deliberately settled at Madawaska in order to evade British authority and jurisdiction. Ever since the settlement of the St. Croix controversy in 1798, when it became evident that the north line from the source of the St. Croix must meet the St. John below the Madawaska settlement, New Brunswick had ceased the issuance of land grants. Moreover, when Massachusetts had granted land in those areas in 1806, 1807, and 1812, the Province had not protested. The Americans, Davis stated, had been invited into the settlement. But the New Brunswick authorities had not ceased issuing writs and summonses; instead they had extended the use of them over the American settlement at Meriumptcook.¹⁵ Thus it was viewed by Davis and accepted by the public in Maine, that New Brunswick was illegally extending her authority over a large portion of Maine territory. The Davis report, added to the early potency of the rumors about Baker's arrest, did much to arouse the public in Maine and Massachusetts to a determination that the boundary question must be settled in their favor, and soon.

When he was in Fredericton, Davis called on Baker in his imprisonment and encouraged him to hold out against British law, to insist upon his status as an American citizen, and wait for the American government to secure his release. Baker was worried about his family, but Davis eased his mind by securing a grant from the Maine Legislature for provisions and other supplies for Mrs. Baker.¹⁶

Quite different was the report of the official American agent sent to investigate the conditions of Baker's arrest. It is unique in the many documents of the boundary controversy, for Mr. Barrell did not hesitate to reveal the equivocal position Baker had been playing by accepting bounties from New Brunswick and by applying for British citizenship. Needless to say, Maine's leaders were somewhat distressed by his account.¹⁷

Nevertheless, Maine's position had such backing in Washington that Secretary Clay was instructed to demand Baker's release. According to him:

... Whatever Jurisdiction the Govt. of New Brunswick might claim, in virtue of the Madawaska Settlement, being confined to it, could not be rightfully extended Baker and his American Neighbors. Even if he had been guilty of any irregularity of conduct, he was not amenable to the Provincial Govt. but to his own. -- His arrest, therefore, on the disputed ground, and his transportation from it to Fredericton, at a considerable distance from his family, and his confinement in a loathsome Jail, cannot be justified ... I am charged, therefore, by the President, to demand the immediate liberation of Baker, and a full indemnity for the injuries which he has suffered in the arrest and detention of his Person ... 18

In New Brunswick, Baker had already been called before the court. Baker,

himself, seemed to have despaired of securing release at the hands of the American government, and still worried about his family, he willingly appeared before the Supreme Court of the Province on February 8, 1828. There he was granted a postponement and bail to give him opportunity to obtain counsel and witnesses, the court hoping that such indulgence would have a good effect on Maine public opinion.¹⁹

A better clue to the state of public opinion in Maine was found in the official notification to the British authorities and the government of New Brunswick that the United States government was sending a reinforcement of federal troops to be stationed in Houlton in order to keep American citizens from committing any outrages in the disputed territory. However, the United States took no measures towards increasing the Army, and those troops sent to Maine were kept under the direction of the Secretary of War, and were not given to the command of the Governor.²⁰

Although Douglas understood and approved of the avowed motive for the movement of American troops, he knew that a road was being built from Bangor to Houlton, and he could not help expressing a sense of uneasiness. It was obvious to him that Maine was not prepared to accept an adverse decision on the boundary question even if a refusal should affect the very existence of the Union. The Federal Government, however, preferred an unfavorable solution to the danger of war. Douglas, realizing that, was anxious not to antagonize either by moving British troops on the frontier.²¹

When Baker appeared in court as scheduled on May 8, 1828, he was found guilty and sentenced to two months in jail and a fine of \$25. Douglas did not dare remit the sentence for fear that would weaken the British claim to sovereignty and practical jurisdiction over Madawaska.²² Baker had the means to pay the fine and was prepared to do so until he was visited by the American agents, John G. Deane and Judge William Pitt Preble, who were in town on official business. Baker promptly changed his tune and stated that he would not pay his fine but would leave his case in the hands of the United States.²³ The United States had demanded his release and full indemnity from London, but as such release was not forthcoming, Baker changed his mind again. Believing that he had been there "long enough for every purpose (sic) and as long as duty requires (sic)," he paid the fine and was freed.²⁴

The rebellion appeared to be over, and Baker was presumed subdued. The episode had increased the tension between Maine and New Brunswick, however, and the controversy burned ever brighter in the mind of the general public. It was against this background of uneasy truce that the two national governments presented their cases before the King of the Netherlands for arbitration. The American case was prepared and presented by William P. Preble, aided by John G. Deane and C.S. Davis; all of them came from Maine. Sir Howard Douglas was sent from New Brunswick to serve as the British representative and he was aided by Judge Ward Chipman. Both Maine and New Brunswick could be certain that their respective agents would serve with diligence and zeal.

The proceedings of the arbitration do not concern us here; and as they were

going on, the Warden of the Disputed Territory reported that all was tranquil in Madawaska. That peacefulness was in danger of disruption when Maclauchlan discovered an American named Webber taking a census in the settlement. Webber readily ceased his activity when the Warden protested, so there was no further disturbance.²⁵

In Augusta, everything was peaceful, too, but it was the baited-breath kind of peace which occurs in the middle of a storm. It was evident that Maine did not consider herself bound to accept any decision of the King of the Netherlands, who was expected to be partial to the claims of Britain.²⁶

When the decision was given, 1831, it split the disputed territory between the two contending powers. Maine promptly objected to it, and declared that if the United States accepted it, it would be "in violation of the Constitutional rights of the State of Maine, which she cannot yield."²⁷

New Brunswick was not more pleased with the King's decision. William Black, President of the Council and head of the government in the absence of a lieutenant-governor, deeply regretted that the arbitrator had been less considerate of British grants and settlements on the west bank of the St. John than he had of American improvements at Rousse's Point; about 180 families were left on the American side of the border and were "much disconcerted" at the idea of becoming American citizens.²⁸

While the United States, chiefly because of the objections of Maine, refused to accept the award of the arbitor, and Britain later was pleased to withdraw her early approval of it, the decision was not unavailing. It did indicate to the people of Maine that there was much more weight behind the British claim than they had been willing to admit, and it did set a precedent for a possible conventional or compromise line, such as was later agreed upon.

The immediate effect of the arbitration decision upon the people of Maine was one of great irritation, and when Sir Archibald Campbell arrived to take office as Lt. Governor of New Brunswick, it was his painful experience to be involved in a new crisis in Madawaska. In March, 1831, the Maine Legislature had passed "an act to incorporate the town of Madawaska and for other purposes," and had dispatched a committee of two under the land agent to go to Madawaska. There they were to "ascertain the number of persons settled on the Public Lands, north of the Line running West from the Monument,"²⁹ and the manner in which they possessed their lands, so that the State could take the necessary action to "adopt some mode of quieting the Settlers in their Possessions."³⁰

The committee was composed of John G. Deane, who had considerable experience in pursuing Maine's claim to the territory, and Edward Kavanagh, later to be one of the commissioners who assisted Daniel Webster in settling the whole vexatious question. The two met in Bangor on July 9, arrived in Madawaska on July 24, and having completed their survey, they left that community for the Aroostook on August 9.³¹ The sequence of dates is of considerable importance here; a few days after Deane and Kavanagh left Madawaska, Walter Powers, acting under a warrant dated July 11 by William D. Williamson, Justice of the Peace in

Bangor, called together the inhabitants of Madawaska for the purpose of organizing a town government. The town meeting was held at Pierre Lizotte's house on August 20, in the usual manner, with Barnabas Hannawell acting as Moderator. Jesse Wheelock was elected Town Clerk, and three Selectmen, Amos Maddocks, Daniel Savage and John Harford, Sr. were sworn into office. Barnabas Hannawell and Randall Harford were chosen constables for the ensuing year. Although several of the French settlers attended the meeting, and fifteen joined in the voting, they refused to accept offices. A second meeting was held, at which the "town officials" tried to draft Pierre Lizotte for the position of representative to the State Legislature. Lizotte refused, and John Baker, who had remained behind the scenes for most of this drama, was elected instead.³²

Sir Archibald Campbell was a man of action, and protocol bothered him less than it had his predecessor. He lost no time in protesting directly to the Governor of Maine against what he called the crossing of Maine citizens into British territory and taking possession of it. He requested Governor Smith to recall these aggressors and to undertake an investigation of their actions, stating that he had refrained from arresting them merely because he desired to cultivate amicable relations between the respective governments. That done, Campbell set out, at once, for Madawaska to conduct his own investigation.

The journey proved to be an eye-opener. For one thing, he was struck by the defenseless position of New Brunswick, for there was only one weak battalion, a few artillery men, and a militia force which he described as "ill organized and worse equipped," with no means of supporting a force in the field. He asked for another regiment which would allow him to act "with decision and effect at the very outset," an advantage in any crisis, and he requested the erection of a military post at Woodstock to face the new American garrison at Houlton.

The tone of Sir Archibald's dispatches is one of less patience and far more irritation than Sir Howard ever showed in his communications. Douglas had refrained from dealing with the Governor of Maine, preferring to work through official, diplomatic channels only. His one direct action had been the arrest and trial of John Baker.

Sir Archibald stepped in at once with the energetic manner of the military man. He did not content himself with requesting more troops; he prepared to move the troops which he had at a moment's notice. He first dispatch on the subject to Lord Goderich, Colonial Secretary, reveals very well the tenor of this thinking.

The disingenuous and insidious course pursued on this occasion by the Authorities of the Neighbouring state cannot be too strongly reprobated; Their want of courtesy and Candour in withholding from the Government of this Province all intimation of their intention of sending a Deputation across the Frontier, under any circumstances and for any purpose was in itself inexcusable ...

The obvious tendency of these measures even although unsanctioned and uncountenanced by the General Government of the States is most dangerous and alarming and I cannot but feel the peculiar delicacy of my situation ... to protect the rights and interests of the Province against the encroachments of a self-confident and designing Neighbour ...³³

He moved swiftly. Hannawell, Wheelock, and Savage were promptly arrested. One company of British troops was moved up to Fredericton, and Campbell ad-

vised his superiors about the proper deployment of forces should it be necessary to defend the province. He added that of course, nothing "short of armed aggression" would bring him to collision with the Americans.³⁴

Sir Archibald's views on the boundary question subordinated the value of the land and timber. The political and military objections to the American claim were of far more interest to him. Any "reasonable concession" might be worthwhile, he believed, if it afforded any hope for peace. As such a concession would only encourage the Americans in their ideas of aggrandizement, concession seemed hopeless; Maine refused to be satisfied with less than the whole of the territory. One could not concede that, for with it went the "key to Canada", and a threat to the very foundations of British power in America.³⁵

At that moment, Maine was protesting the arrest of her citizens, while disclaiming any responsibility for their actions. The act to incorporate Madawaska had been intended for future use, not for immediate action, according to the official statement. The federal government advised Maine to take it easy and to avoid any more serious collisions, and Secretary Livingstone requested New Brunswick to release the prisoners. Campbell accepted to the request, their fines were remitted, and the crisis was over.³⁶

A period of uneasy stalemate in Maine-New Brunswick relations ensued. Arbitration had failed and no alternative method of solving the controversy could be found. The Lt. Governor of New Brunswick had shown himself willing and ready to act with decision. There was nothing to provoke Maine to action, and her governors were not prepared to promote aggression, although it would have been political suicide for either party to retreat from the position Maine had always claimed.

The progress of settlement and land and timber sales was moving ever closer to the disputed territory. This was the period of the land and timber boom in Maine which culminated in 1835 and was followed by acute depression. It was a period of roadbuilding, and the roads were extended into the territory in dispute. The road to Aroostook, to meet that river about thirty miles above its confluence with the St. John was projected in 1833, and then it was planned to extend it to the Madawaska settlement itself. Under protests from New Brunswick and adverse economic conditions, these plans were dropped in 1834.³⁷

On his side of the border, Campbell continued to press for the erection of military posts at Woodstock, Temiscouata, and Grand Falls. He began the work on the Royal Road to the Grand Falls, and was gratified by the assent to his request for another regiment of regular troops to be stationed in the province.

Under his "firm but temperate" stand, the territory and the controversy remained tranquil on the surface, troubled only by the occasional pilfering of timber by both sides. In 1836, he allowed surveys for the proposed St. Andrews and Quebec Railroad to be conducted in the disputed territory, but under protest from the American Government, this was stopped.³⁸ There was a lull in Maine-New Brunswick relations until early 1837, when a storm began blowing up on the horizon. It proved to be a real "nor-easter" and nearly ruined the dream of a peaceful settlement of the boundary controversy.

VIII SIR JOHN HARVEY AND THE AROOSTOOK WAR

The most critical period in Maine-New Brunswick relations fell within Sir John Harvey's tenure as Lt. Governor of New Brunswick. Harvey arrived in New Brunswick in June, 1837, and one of his first tasks was a thorough study of his predecessor's correspondence on the boundary question. A long discussion with Sir Archibald Campbell before he left the province, and a diligent examination of the dispatches convinced the new Lt. Governor that Maine and Massachusetts were trying to force the American government to an immediate settlement of the dispute.

His industry is not to be wondered at, for Harvey had been in New Brunswick for scarcely twenty-four hours when news came to him of the arrest of an American census-taker in Madawaska. Harvey was called upon to formulate a policy immediately, and his interpretation of the critical nature of these proceedings was set forth in his dispatch to Lord Glenelg on June 6, 1837.

His own appointment, as a military man whose name was "not unknown" in the military annals of the United States in connection with the War of 1812, Harvey thought, should act as a check on aggression. However, he had not been given the command of the troops which his predecessors had possessed, but was subordinated to Lt. Governor Sir Colin Campbell of Nova Scotia. Harvey feared that when it became known to the Americans that this fearless military man was "merely intrusted with the Administration of the Civil Affairs of the Colony," petty aggression would be encouraged rather than hindered.

With the avowed object of preventing such actions he offered his services in command of the troops which were stationed in New Brunswick and those for which he might have occasion to call, in order by their presence, "to prevent or repel" any violation of the disputed territory. England, he declared, must show that she was ready to "repel any Petulant act of aggression or Encroachment"; but he was aware that it must be done in a manner which would not disturb the cordial relations existing between London and Washington.

Harvey disagreed, at this early point in his administration, with Sir Archibald Campbell's suggestion for defending the province by a string of small posts along the St. John from the Bay of Fundy to the St. Lawrence River. Believing such posts were liable to capture, he preferred to rely on movable columns of British troops

supported by the militia, supplied by in all their movements by accurate information purchased at any price."¹ He hoped to be in command.

Ebenezer Greeley, who had been arrested in Madawaska for taking a census for the apportionment to the inhabitants of the surplus of the United States treasury, had been taken to the Woodstock jail. The sheriff there had refused to commit him, and Greeley promptly returned to counting noses in Madawaska. Re-arrested by Maclauchlan, he was finally lodged in the Fredericton jail on June 10th.

Consciously following his predecessor's example, Harvey wrote to Governor Dunlap of Maine explaining Greeley's arrest and stating that if the Maine authorities would restrain Greeley's activities, he would be released. Dunlap's reply demanding Greeley's immediate release was very irritating, especially as Harvey had reason to believe that the census-taker had intended to be arrested.

The press in Maine assumed a tone of impatience and excitement over Greeley's arrest and a general militia order was issued in Augusta. Harvey, fearing that collision was imminent, was greatly alarmed when visitors to the imprisoned American were recognized as the Adjutant General of the Maine militia and two officers of the regular United States Army.²

Faced with the possibility of an armed invasion of the Madawaska territory, Harvey requested the Lt. Governor of Nova Scotia, Sir Colin Campbell, to hold at his disposal a regiment which he understood Campbell had been instructed to keep ready to go to the defense of New Brunswick. To Glenelg, Harvey added, "in the event of any actual invasion or irruption into the Province of an armed force, I shall feel it incumbent upon me immediately to assume the command of the troops within the Province." If Maine surveyors moved into the area, backed by militia, he would treat it as illegal as in any other part of New Brunswick, and would instruct the civil authorities to intervene. If those were opposed, he would support them by a "Body or Posse Comitatus" or of special constables. This would make it unnecessary to use British troops, and war could be avoided, as he believed and hoped that the United States troops at Houlton would not support Maine in aggressive action.³

These early suggestions by Harvey are very revealing to the student of his later actions and policies for which he received official and public censure, and which were largely responsible for his recall.

That his opinions on the boundary question were somewhat different from those of his predecessors can be understood by considering that the general nature of the controversy had changed. The award of the King of the Netherlands as arbiter had considerably affected the course of diplomacy despite its official rejection. Harvey, himself, had given much thought to the problem in its new asperity and many others agreed with his conclusions. Ward Chipman, who may be regarded as New Brunswick's expert on the questions relating to the international boundary, presented him with a memorandum on the subject which Harvey forwarded to the colonial office with his own endorsement.

Chipman stated that the award of the Dutch king was the only remaining basis for negotiation. The British should stand "peremptorily" on that line as affording

the only hope of an amicable solution. It would receive much support from the people and the government of the United States even if Maine largely opposed it. Such a position could ignore questions of right, rivers, and navigation of the St. John; matters on which Maine would argue vehemently in any new negotiations.⁴

To this, Harvey added that while many people in New Brunswick were willing to divide the disputed territory equally, they were afraid of Maine's gaining a right to navigation of the St. John River.⁵

While these opinions were being formulated, the Greeley affair was following its course. Greeley was released on August 10 at the request of the American government; Harvey did not object because Greeley's commission as census-taker had elapsed. That did not deter the American, however; he at once returned to Madawaska announcing in a letter to the Solicitor-General of New Brunswick that Maine would back him up by military force, if necessary. Harvey worried; if Greeley persisted, he would have to be arrested, and that meant increasing the danger of excitement and collision. His worry grew as rumors reached him of Maine's militia mustering on the frontiers.

His legal advisors recommended that they proceed against Greeley as a "state offender"; he could be turned over to the Maine authorities if the State disavowed his activities. If Maine upheld his behaviour, the case could be referred to His Majesty's Government. The order for Greeley's arrest was issued, and to prevent collision, Harvey ordered two companies of the Forty-Third Regiment up the river. Posting one at Woodstock and the other at Grand Falls, Harvey assumed command and prepared to go to Madawaska in order to restrain the use of military force, "except in the most extreme case of actual attack."⁶

Like Campbell's precedent, Harvey found his military demonstration was very effective. The citizenry of New Brunswick evinced an increased confidence, and the Madawaskans expressed their loyalty. The force of his movement had a great effect on public opinion in Maine without giving them cause for effective protest, because he had been careful not to let the army enter the disputed territory itself. The Maine newspapers changed their tone, and a letter from the Governor, in which Greeley's mission was disavowed, was couched in very moderate words. Harvey felt secure enough to allow the companies of the Eighty-Fifth Regiment, which had been sent to his aid, to return to Nova Scotia.⁷

From this experience, and from Glenelg's advice not to rely upon militia, but to use the regular troops, Harvey came to the conclusion that small detachments should be posted at Woodstock and Grand Falls. A "Subaltern's or even a Sergeant's party" would be sufficient to bolster the confidence of the inhabitants and to support the civil authorities. A small barrack and an unelaborate blockhouse at these places could be built cheaply.⁸ Although Harvey vacillated from time to time on the exact position of these small posts, this was his preferred scheme of defense in the critical years of his administration. It marked a return to Sir Archibald Campbell's plan for the defense of the province.

At this point a smoldering rivalry developed between Harvey and Sir Colin Campbell; Sir Colin refused to recognize Harvey as an officer on his military staff

and successfully blocked Harvey's defense schemes.

On the frontier, the remainder of 1837 passed quietly. The rebellion in Canada did not affect Maine-New Brunswick relations, and troops passed through the disputed territory, on their way from the Maritimes to the relief of Canada without incident. Rumors flew, as could be expected; the liveliest one was that Papineau was in Madawaska trying to get volunteers.

On the other side of the border, following an active period of boom and bust, political developments pushed towards the events of 1839 known as the Aroostook War. In September, 1837, the Whigs, for the first time, elected a governor, hoping that they had broken the Democratic hold on state politics and that it would help them carry the next presidential election. It is not clear just how much pure party politicking was involved in the increased determination of the state to force the boundary question to an early decision. After years of negotiation and arbitration had failed to bring a solution which Maine could accept with honor and without losing a vast and valuable territory which she claimed as hers, both parties were ready to assert that Maine, herself, must take direct action to force the issue. There was no clear understanding as to what part each party should play, and the Whigs were not agreed among themselves as to what their role should be.

Governor Edward Kent was inaugurated in January, 1838. His gubernatorial address gave no evidence of a new interpretation of the boundary question. The Legislature early compensated John Baker, Walter Powers, and others, for the losses they had incurred in the town meeting affair of 1831. Further resolves expressed an intransigent stand on the boundary line "as described in the treaty of 1783."⁹

Early in February, before the new committee on the northeast boundary had organized itself well enough to bring in resolutions and suggestions, a Democrat succeeded in introducing a resolution in favor of Ebenezer Greeley, still residing in Fredericton (for the second visit). In his speech, Representative Delesdernier had much to say about "dungeons, fetters, manacles," and such things. John S. Tenney, a Whig member of the House, reporting this to another advocate of strong measures on the boundary, like himself, remarked that, "He is a rough, uncultivated man, destitute of sincerity, and generally odious to all honest men." It is not clear from the letter whether he referred to Greeley, or to his sponsor, Delesdernier, but the letter leads one to think that he was not especially differentiating between the two. As Judge Tenney said of another speaker, he "was more inclined to state the facts, than to consult what would be the course of prudence."¹⁰

Many Whigs thought that they should show the rest of the nation that Maine had passed into "not only different but more efficient hands." The Democratic minority was trying to put them in a bad light by impressing the public that the Whigs were indifferent to the vital question of the boundary. For the future of the Whig party it was necessary to counter this attempt by acting first, for the reputation of the Whig legislature depended upon their handling of that problem. About it, as about the Sub-Treasury Bill, which was rocking the nation with con-

troversy at that time, Tenney felt "almost a feverish excitement." It was necessary to "do something which will contrast in spirit at least, with the same submission of former Legislatures which have trusted to the General Government to look after the rights of their State," while suffering encroachment after encroachment. He suggested to Davis that the Laws of Maine should be extended over Madawaska, and that a new census should be started at once.¹¹

In committee Tenney spoke upon the justice of Maine's claim and on the indignity of Greeley's arrest. Governor Dunlap had protested to the Federal Government, but, he demanded, what measures had Maine taken to make manifest her opinions to the authorities of New Brunswick? The committee recommended that the Governor demand Greeley's release. When it was asked, Harvey promptly complied.¹²

Tenney and the other Whigs, knew that Whig congressmen were urging Maine to do nothing rash which would upset the progress of diplomacy and party politics in Washington where the American Government was trying once more to discover on what conditions Maine would accept a conventional line, several attempts having been made since 1832 when the Legislature had authorized the Governor to appoint commissioners to confer with the general government on the question. It was hoped to reach an agreement whereby the United States would indemnify Maine with land elsewhere, if Maine would surrender her claim to the disputed territory.¹³ The party leaders in Maine, however, saw evidence that the people wanted something done - the question was how far to go and when to stop.

The Maine Legislature proceeded in the spring of 1838 to pass resolves calling for a survey of land in the disputed territory and recommending the construction of a strong fort on the eastern frontier. Although news of these, and rumors of other activities kept Harvey in a turmoil, Warden Maclauchlan found that the surveyor who went to Aroostook merely marked the claims of people there so that the State could comply with their wishes when and if the territory was recognized as belonging to Maine, he did not undertake the construction of roads, nor the granting of land. There was little for Harvey to do but protest. He took heart and convinced himself that there would be no collision in 1838, at least until after the fall elections in Maine.¹⁴

In that election, the Whigs took the stand that they had, "in a very short time brought the question into a train of almost certain amicable decision in our favor." To each other they said, "Let us not lisp a doubt, at present, that it is now not in exactly such a train as we wish it -- or a fear any hostility (which all would deprecate) can arise out of it."¹⁵

Governor Kent, himself, was a man of moderation, and he desired to leave the settlement of the boundary to the national government, although he hoped a solution favorable to Maine would soon be reached. The Whig delegation from Maine at Washington did all they could to associate him in the public mind "with all that has been done and well done connected with the boundary question." News from England looked very encouraging, they said, and it was hoped that all the advantage could be reaped from a favorable diplomatic situation would go to the

Whigs as they went out of office in Augusta. They urged Maine's acceptance of the conventional proposal, for they hoped it would help them seize the state from the Democratic party which had run it ever since 1820.¹⁶

The Lt. Governor of New Brunswick was just as confident of the approaching conclusion of the dispute by the general governments. This meant that it was his duty to exercise as great a degree of cautious forbearance towards the authorities of Maine as was consistent with maintaining British jurisdiction within the disputed territory.¹⁷

His general view of the boundary question had not changed, he stated in reply to a dispatch from the Colonial Office. Neither nation had succeeded in convincing the other of the justice of its claim. Harvey believed that the proper step was a compromise, a division of the territory as equitably as possible, letting each keep that portion most contiguous to its own territory, and neither keeping that which would give it an "undue advantage" over the security of the other. All England wanted was the security of a communications line passing through "comparatively sterile country", which was of other value only for the settlement at Madawaska of French people who wanted to stay under British protection. This view enabled Harvey to agree with Chipman that the award of the King of the Netherlands was a good starting point for a compromise.

Harvey had been in New Brunswick for over a year, and had come to the conclusion that a compromise could be reached, if it were supplemented by a separate commercial treaty allowing the Americans to float their timber down the St. John. He appeared anxious for the importation of American capital to New Brunswick to promote an energetic enterprise which was lacking there, and to benefit good feelings between the two countries. Despite much opposition in Maine to a conventional line, Harvey was convinced that all the "moderate, intelligent, and respectable persons" of the state were agreed with him on this. He believed that if a few of those "dispassionate individuals" were empowered to discuss the question with a like number of people from New Brunswick with perhaps a few observers from Massachusetts and lower Canada, they could achieve a working compromise.¹⁸

We do not know the names of any of the broad-minded individuals Harvey meant by his remark. His dispatch was written right after a trip to St. John, and it may be conjectured that some of the merchants of that city were already urging closer commercial connections with the United States. These merchants would benefit by the lumber trade of the Madawaska territory, no matter who owned it.¹⁹

The important thing for them was the opening of the territory to the timber trade, for the lumber would be shipped by way of the St. John. On September 25, a letter arrived in Fredericton from Governor Kent about a Maine surveying party which was going into the disputed territory. The bearer of the message, whose name, unfortunately, is unknown to us, told Harvey that the boundary was not a party question in Maine and that leading men of both parties were anxious to meet and confer with gentlemen of New Brunswick in hopes of coming to an agreement favorable to both. At any rate, after September 11 Harvey made this suggestion to

the Colonial Office on several occasions, but nothing ever came of it.

In the autumn of 1838, Harvey arrived at a specific compromise proposal which would strengthen the security of communications with Canada and would secure to Great Britain all of the Madawaska Settlements. This would be to carry the due north line from the source of the St. Croix River to either Mars Hill or to the mouth of the Aroostook, thence northwest to either the mouth of the Fish River on the south bank of the St. John or the mouth of the St. Francis River on the north bank; the line would then follow the award of the Dutch king. Maine could be rendered amenable to such a line by "compensation" for the territory thus "surrendered" by a monetary award from the general government or a modified permission to navigate the St. John River, for a limited number of years. This proposition, he believed was of greater advantage than disadvantage to New Brunswick.

The more liberal minded of the inhabitants of the province were in agreement with him on these advantages and the way to secure them, he said. Others, still blinded by old Loyalist prejudices, did not see the impulse in energy and enterprise, aided by American capital, which would accrue to New Brunswick. For that reason it was best to ignore the question of navigation of the St. John, but to sit down with Maine at the council table and work out a boundary compromise.²⁰

It was well for New Brunswick that Harvey had done some serious thinking about defense and possible solutions of the boundary problem, for in the first few months of 1839, he was faced with the most acute crisis of the long controversy. Many jokes have been made about the Aroostook War, or the "Pork and Beans War", as someone called it. The danger of war was very real, however, and one misstep, one bullet imprudently fired, might have touched off an explosion. Because of the slowness of communications in those days, Harvey was without advice from England; he had to rely on his own judgement and on the help he was able to obtain from Sir John Colborne in Canada, Sir Colin Campbell in Nova Scotia, and Henry S. Fox, Minister to the United States.

The Aroostook War began in Augusta where the new Democratic governor, John Fairfield took office in January, 1839. The Whigs, for all their campaign talk, had done little towards solving the boundary question beyond passing a few resolutions and sending an agent to check on timber cutting in the disputed territory. The Democrats used those resolutions and reports to their own ends.²¹ The new Governor, in his address to the Legislature, declared that if the general government did not take the lead in settling the disputed boundary, Maine was not without her own remedies. If Maine should take possession of the territory in dispute and the British attempted to dislodge her, the general government must come to her aid, if the Constitution had any validity. Fairfield did add that such a step should be taken only after mature deliberation, but perhaps the legislators did not hear his parenthetical remark.²²

On January 23, Fairfield sent a secret message to the Legislature with reports from the special agent sent by the Whigs into the disputed area in 1838, that timber depredations to the value of \$1,000,000, had been committed by trespassers that season. This was a message calculated to arouse the Legislature from any

lethargic view of the situation. Determined to stop these encroachments and to force the federal government into action, the Legislature voted \$10,000 to support a body of men to rid the territory of the trespassers.²³

At first, Harvey did not know what to make of the news and rumors coming out of Maine in January. He saw a copy of Fairfield's fiery speech before the Legislature, but shortly afterward he received a much more moderately worded letter from the Governor. He chose to believe that the former tone had been assumed for political reasons and that the letter presented Fairfield's real views. Disturbing news was soon received, however, that the Maine Legislature was working behind closed doors, and that the mail to New Brunswick had been stopped at all points east of Bangor. Word came from Woodstock of the actual entrance into the disputed territory of a body of two hundred armed men led by Land Agent Rufus McIntire and that they were proceeding to seize lumbermen, their teams and timber. Worse still, the lumbermen of the frontier became frightened, and a group of them broke into the militia arms depot at Woodstock stealing arms to protect themselves.²⁴

Harvey responded to this double threat to peace by issuing a proclamation which was designed to serve as a warning to Maine and also to disavow any sanction of the timber trespasses in the disputed territory.²⁵ The lumbermen, whom Harvey regarded as hardy subjects who had succumbed to the temptations of the forbidden forests, returned the arms and evinced a willingness to serve in the militia, should it become necessary to use it to defend the province.

Before surrendering the guns, however, a band of these lumbermen seized McIntire, two of his surveyors named Bartlett and Cushman, and a Colonel Ebenezer Webster of Orono, taking them from their lodgings on the Aroostook river.²⁶ The captives were turned over to the civil authorities and were committed to the Fredericton jail.

The danger of collision increased with McIntire's capture, and Harvey's anxiety for the defense of New Brunswick returned. He had only three hundred British troops, including a company of artillery, and a "very weak Regiment of Infantry," just returning from the West Indies and hardly fitted for duty in the winter season in New Brunswick. He dispatched two hundred men with three field guns to Woodstock and eighty men to the mouth of the Aroostook. To co-operate with them and to guard the military stores at St. John, Fredericton and St. Andrews, he ordered a draft of 850 militia.

Besides requesting Sir Colin Campbell for reinforcements on one flank, he called on Sir John Colborne for help in the Madawaska settlement by detachment from the garrison at Quebec, recalling the days of the French regime when it was said that "the Falls of the Madawaska were under the guns of Quebec."

To the Governor of Maine, Harvey protested that the move into the disputed territory had been made without any friendly intimation to himself, and he called upon Fairfield to withdraw the forces, "otherwise I must proceed to take military occupation," of the territory.²⁷ The tension was mounting.

Fairfield's response to Harvey's ultimatum indicated the frame of mind prevalent in Maine. He expostulated about the "high handed on the part of certain

trespassers upon the public lands" in the seizure of Mr. McIntire in "the regular and legal execution of the duties of his office." Harvey had protested that Fairfield ought to have given him the courtesy of informing about the land agent's movement into the disputed territory; Fairfield's reply is worth quoting:

In reply I cannot but regret that your Excellency should have thought the use of such language suitable ... If I am amenable to a charge of want of 'courtesy' in anything ... I will endeavor to manifest enough of that accomplishment in this reply, not to handy epithets ... while I have the honor to hold the place I now occupy, I trust that a sense of duty to my State and her interests, will always predominate over a mere blind regard to the artificial rules of etiquette.²⁸

In brief, his letter added up to a threat that if the British tried to expel Maine from the disputed territory, they would be resisted.

To his wife, Fairfield wrote, that he "exceedingly" regretted McIntire's arrest. "Everything has worked well with that exception." He added, "You see now what the secret session was about. The whole matter creates a good deal of excitement, particularly in Bangor and that region. We experience no difficulty in procuring men to go on this service the trespassers. On the contrary, it is hard work to keep them back. Thousands and thousands would go if permitted."²⁹

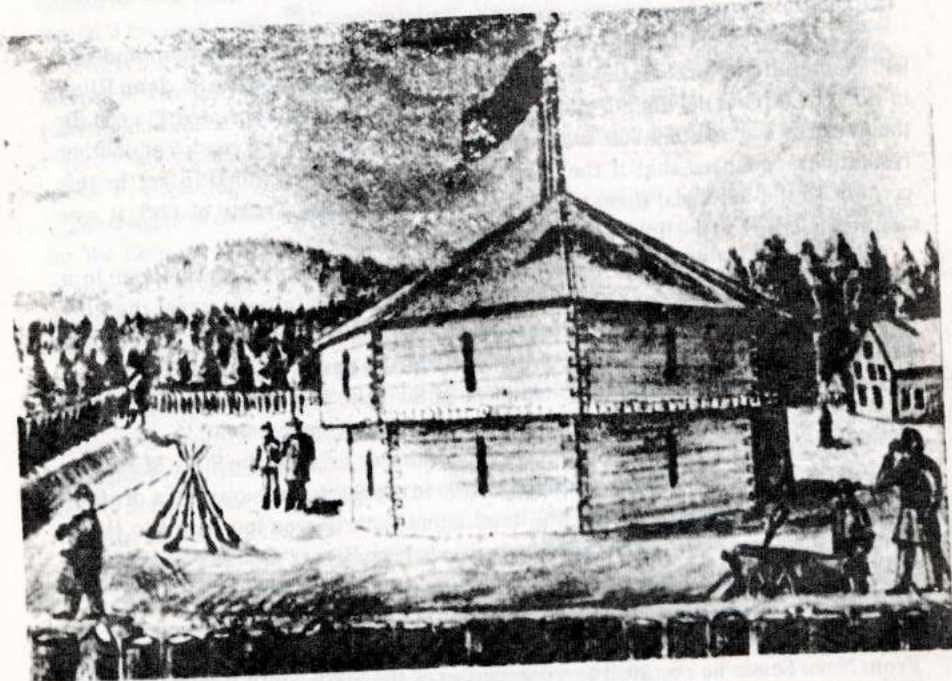
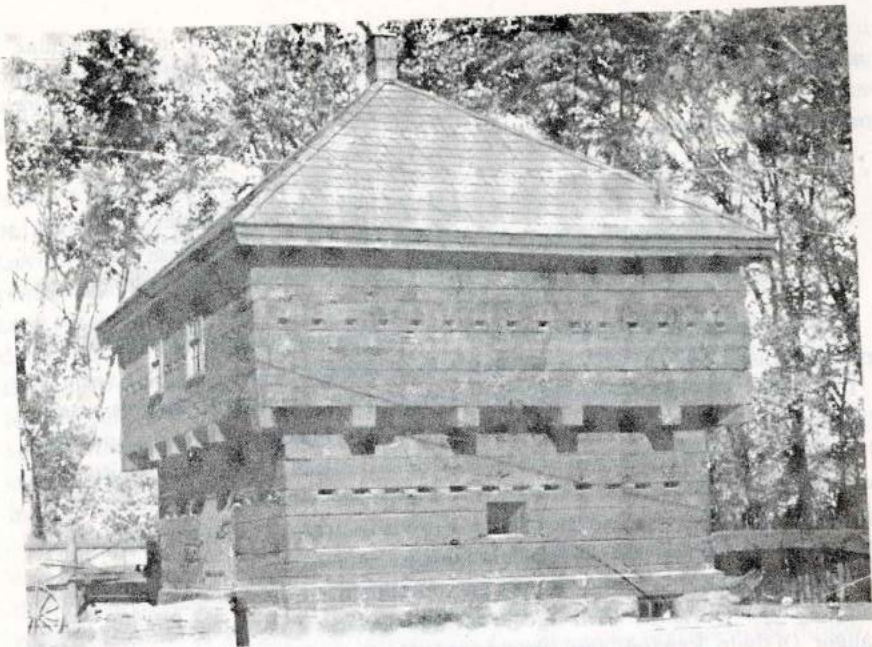
Meantime, Maine forces had repaid the compliment by arresting Warden James MacLauchlan and other civil agents of New Brunswick, transporting them to Bangor. Of them, Fairfield said, they were in the "custody of the law", and he had "neither the disposition nor the authority to interfere."³⁰

The Legislature resolved that the honor and interest of Maine demanded a sufficient military force on the Aroostook, and if practicable, on the St. John River to prevent removal of timber cut by trespassers. They appropriated \$18,000 for that purpose, and another sum was raised to repair the Mars Hill road. Yet another resolution announced that if the United States government failed to act in this crisis, and did not insist upon the line as laid down in the Treaty of 1783, it was Maine's duty to run the line on her own accord.³¹

The Governor of Maine regarded Harvey's proclamation as tantamount to a declaration of war, and he was much more upset over McIntire's arrest than the above resolves indicate that the Legislature was. Consequently, fearing Harvey would send a military force to repel the land agent's party, Fairfield ordered out about 4,000 militia men "to meet the troops of Sir John Harvey and resist his insolent pretensions, an unjustifiable attempt to drive us from our soil."³²

The movement of troops by Sir John Harvey further aroused the State of Maine. The Legislature appropriated another \$800,000 to repel the invasion, and a draft of over 10,000 militia was ordered. The land agent's party was increased to three hundred and about one third of them pushed on to Fish River "to break up the gang of trespassers there." Under intense excitement, the troops were assembled, and by early March, 10,000 men were in Aroostook or on their way.³³

To the east, Harvey was busy arranging for the defense of New Brunswick. From Nova Scotia he received two companies of the Sixty-Ninth Regiment which he sent to Woodstock. His position was rendered more secure by the arrival on March 10 of a strong detachment from the Eleventh Regiment from Quebec. His



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deployment included 350 men, a gun and rockets at Madawaska, ninety men and militia at Grand Falls, ninety men and a gun at the mouth of the Aroostook. Between Woodstock and the Aroostook, he had a party of fifty militiamen to watch the road. At Woodstock he had 250 soldiers, two twelve-pounders, a six-pounder, and about 300 militia. Every two miles along the river he stationed two troopers of the Volunteer Light Dragoons for the hasty relay of messages.³⁴

Under this arrangement, Harvey felt that there was no risk of collision so long as he was on the defensive; his orders were that troops were not to be used except in the event of an extreme aggression by Maine. The U.S. Regulars at Houlton presented no real danger to him, for he knew they were not supporting the actions of Maine.

The real problem facing both sides was to find a way out of this situation without a clash of arms or a loss of face; a solution was needed which would prevent a similar or worse crisis from arising in the future.

The first attempt to ease the danger of collision was a proposal by Fox, the British minister to the United States. His "Memorandum" required New Brunswick not eject the Maine troops by military force, but at the same time, it called upon Maine to withdraw her forces "voluntarily". Harvey was willing to sign it, but Fairfield was not.³⁵

At this juncture the United States government sent the commander of the Northern Forces, Major-General Winfield Scott, to Maine to do what he could to prevent war, preferably by getting Maine to sign the Fox-Forsyth Memorandum. He arrived in Augusta early in March where he found the population excitedly expecting him to lead them to victory.

The popular demand was for war, and the Whigs did not dare abandon that "hobby horse", as Scott easily discovered, but, he added in his memoirs, "the Democrats were the first in the saddle and rode furiously." The Bangor Whig had already abandoned its opposition to the Democratic administration and had sent a "War Correspondent" to the "Seat of the War," to keep the public informed of daily events at the "front".³⁶

Contrary to public expectations, General Scott had been sent on a mission of peace. First, he cleverly won the admiration and trust of the Governor, and then when word got around that the General was as good a Whig as any man, his popularity gained with that party.³⁷

Scott then renewed an old acquaintance with Sir John Harvey, which dated from 1813; to him he suggested a way out of the dilemma. Suppose Harvey should issue a general statement that it was not his intention "to seek to take possession of that territory, or to seek by military force, the expel there from the armed civil posse or the troops of Maine." Scott felt sure that with such a declaration, he could get a similar one from Fairfield that he did not intend, without new instructions from the Legislature, to resort to arms. The military forces of Maine could be withdrawn, and the Land Agent and a small civil posse would be the only force left to watch over the seized timber and to prevent further depredations on the forests.

Wisely, Scott had already secured Fairfield's promise to concur if Harvey ac-

cepted the proposal. After a semi-official agreement was made between Scott and Harvey, Governor Fairfield suggested to the Legislature that Maine owed too much to the Union and to herself to bring on a war. He recommended that if he could be fully satisfied by declaration of the Governor of New Brunswick, or in some other fashion, that "he has abandoned all ideas of occupying the disputed territory by a military force, and of attempting an expulsion of our Party", the Governor could be authorized to withdraw the militia, leaving only a posse to support the Land Agent, "sufficient to carry into effect your original design -- that of driving out or arresting the trespassers, and preserving and protecting the timber from depredation."³⁸

The Legislature responded on March 20 with the desired resolution, and Scott officially invited Harvey to issue the declaration. Harvey's signature to the proposal was affixed on March 23.

Referring to the position of Maine, the agreement stated that the Governor did not intend to disturb Madawaska by arms or to interrupt communications between New Brunswick and Canada. He was willing to leave things as they stood, with Great Britain and Maine each holding a part of the territory, denying each other's ultimate right to do so. The Governor of Maine would "without unnecessary delay," withdraw the militia, leaving only a civil posse. Fairfield's signature was dated March 25. The Aroostook war was over when Fairfield signed the order for the withdrawal of the militia.³⁹

Harvey was very pleased with his part in bringing about the Governor's Agreement. Maine had been stymied, and for the first time, a means existed by which pressure could be exerted on Maine of a diplomatic nature and of her own making. If the *uti possedatus* principle should be followed in the final settlement, the British had the best of the bargain. Harvey took the agreement very seriously and fulfilled his part of it by withdrawing the troops from the Madawaska area, leaving only a few men at Grand Falls, three miles inside the acknowledged territory of New Brunswick. For the remainder of his tenure of office, this agreement served as the keystone of his policy towards Maine. He observed it strictly, well aware that if he gave Fairfield any excuse to claim that New Brunswick had violated it, there would be no check on Maine, short of war.⁴⁰

The remainder of his administration, as regards the boundary dispute, was concerned with keeping an eye on Maine, protesting any vagaries on her part, and maintaining as courteous a relation as possible with her fiery governor, John Fairfield.⁴¹

For New Brunswick, he constantly urged on his superiors the necessity of a string of fortified posts along the St. John-Temisouata line of communications to be manned by a movable column of troops as necessity demanded. He ran into objections from his superiors. Sir Colin Campbell, commander of the forces in the Maritimes, disagreed with him; war, if it came between the United States and Great Britain, would be fought on the sea and in the coastal areas, and not in the wilderness of New Brunswick. The fact that Governor-General, Sir John Colborne, was in basic agreement with Harvey, encouraged the latter to protest about

Campbell's lack of co-operation, and he continued his requests for posts, while co-operating with Colborne in building and improving roads, building boats for the troops he had, and improving the barracks at Temisouata.⁴² Just before he left New Brunswick, action was being taken to build the post which he thought most essential, at Woodstock, to face the American post at Houlton. Harvey's successor, Sir William Colebrooke, in answer to a query from the Colonial Office, replied in even more cogent terms that a post was necessary there; he too, saw that it was required not only to repel any attempted attack by the Americans, but also to give confidence to the inhabitants of that portion of the province.⁴³

There is no lack of evidence to show that there was considerable doubt about the propriety of Sir John's activities and proposals. The Colonial Office questioned him about corresponding with individuals in Maine. There is no reason to disbelieve Harvey when he replied that his only correspondence had been with the Governor, copies of such correspondence always having been forwarded to the colonial office. He probably had other contacts; he was often made cognizant of opinions in Maine by New Brunswickers whose business took them to the States on occasions. A name which is probably more important in that respect than the records indicate was that of his friend, Sir John Caldwell of Grand Falls.⁴⁴

Despite some disapproval, Harvey was encouraged by receipt of Colonial Office dispatches of May 16 and May 17, 1839, in which the Queen's notice of his services was conveyed to him. He felt certain that his cooperation with General Scott had received the full approval of Her Majesty's Government.

In the late autumn of 1839, Sir Richard Jackson, Commander of British Forces in North America, sent a detachment of troops to Madawaska. Governor Fairfield protested that this was an infringement of the Governor's Agreement, and Harvey was perplexed as to the proper course to follow. During the summer, part of the Maine civil posse under the land agent had advanced to an encampment at the mouth of the Fish River. Harvey, too, at first, had favored sending troops up the St. John, but in December, he received Lord John Russell's dispatch of October 30, urging him to take no action, in reference to Maine beyond protest to the United States Government, and to make no military moves, except in case of actual inroads in Madawaska. That dispatch had been expressive of the fear in official circles that Harvey's tendency to hasty action would provoke Maine to armed collision.⁴⁵

Harvey found himself in a difficult position when Fairfield protested the new movement of troops. Wishing that he had Sir Richard's advice -- Jackson had not answered his last dispatch -- Harvey managed to compose a letter to Fairfield which he thought would soothe the Governor's protests. Sir Richard's approval of it was received later, and Harvey was relieved to note that Fairfield's annual address to the Legislature envisaged no Maine action, although the Governor pictured British intentions and actions in Madawaska in erroneous terms.⁴⁶

The critical events of 1839 induced the British government to press the United States for a settlement of the boundary. As mentioned above, there was great fear that Harvey might upset this attempt by some hasty and independent action, just

as the American officials at Washington were afraid of Maine's next move. Harvey's vacillation over the use of troops in December caused his superiors to lose all confidence in him, and in February, 1840, control of the entire situation was removed from his hands and given to Lord Sydenham, Governor-in-Chief of British North America since October, 1839.⁴⁷

Because of his new, subordinate position, which rode hard on him, when an American census-taker was discovered at work in Madawaska in 1840, Harvey protested to Maine but refrained from arresting him, "until His Excellency's pleasure is known." He declared that this would have been his course of action, under the new circumstances of the boundary dispute under the Governor's Agreement, if he had still complete control of the matter, and that he was fortified in this belief by Russell's admonitions against hasty action. The blow of losing control over the boundary matter was softened when he learned that he was soon to succeed Sir Colin Campbell as commander of the troops in the Atlantic provinces.⁴⁸

In the closing months of 1840, however, arose the final crisis over the boundary, and from it, Harvey lost his office as Lt. Governor of New Brunswick.

It all began when the Americans, now installed in a strong fort (Fort Kent) at the mouth of the Fish River, held a town meeting there. Later they gathered again to cast votes for the American presidential election. The first reports which reached Harvey indicated that Magistrate Francis Rice, who had protested against these activities, had been peremptorily removed from the meeting and warned not to return.

Harvey duly reported the affair to Sydenham, remarking that he was uncertain whether this called for a protest only, or for moving a military force into the settlements in order to promote the confidence of the people and to give support to the civil authorities. If Sydenham decided to use troops, Harvey suggested that they be sent from the Canadian (Quebec) side, but that they be put at his disposal. He would lodge them in the building belonging to Simon Hebert on the south bank of the Saint John, where the detachment of the Eleventh Regiment had been posted in the Aroostook War.⁴⁹

After discussing the situation with Maclauchlan, Harvey was persuaded that the earlier reports had been exaggerated, and that a civil posse similar to that used by Maine was preferable to the use of regular troops. He recommended it to Sydenham because such a force would not be amenable to the charge of infringement of the Governor's Agreement, and he advised Maclauchlan to be ready to select twenty-five or thirty men for that job.

Sydenham had not waited for this new suggestion, but had already sent two companies of infantry to occupy Madawaska. Contrary to Harvey's expectations they were not put at his disposal. Convinced by the later reports that the situation at Fort Kent had been exaggerated, and fearful that the occupation of Madawaska would be viewed by Fairfield as an infringement of their agreement, liable to retaliation, Harvey tried -- and failed -- to intercept the troops before they reached Madawaska.

Having failed to prevent their arrival, Harvey then advised Governor Fairfield,

on December 10, that the Governor-General had sent the troops to support the civil authorities who had been insulted and threatened, and to prevent acts of unauthorized interference in the Madawaska settlement.⁵⁰

Harvey's mistakes in this episode were several. As usual he was hasty in his first recommendation for the use of troops and then changed his mind. Secondly, he wrote Fairfield first, without waiting for that Governor's protest. The fatal mistake, however, was that of telling Fairfield that he would recommend that the troops be withdrawn. In writing this letter, Harvey had the approval of his Council, for they, too, feared Maine, and believed it necessary to prevent any tinge of aggression or infringement of the Governor's Agreement. Harvey was well aware when he wrote the letter, that shortly Fairfield would go before the Legislature of Maine for his last address, and that in January, the Whig, Edward Kent, would take office for the second time, bringing hope of a more moderate course of action by that government. He knew, too, that a new Whig president would be opening the first session of the new Congress in Washington. He was very fearful of the danger of misapprehension by the Americans, and at the same time, he hoped that his explanations would induce the Governor of Maine to denounce the action of the Americans in holding the Fort Kent meetings.⁵¹

Governor Fairfield's answer must have given Harvey rather mixed emotions. It indicated very clearly that Fairfield did regard the movement of troops as a grave infringement of the Agreement, and that the alleged reasons were not sufficient justification for it. The general tone of his letter was far from that of forbearance, moderation, or tolerance of any claim on the part of Great Britain.⁵²

When Governor Kent took office in January, 1841, his address to the Legislature indicated that he, too, thought the occupation of Madawaska was an infringement of the agreement, but he recommended no action. In a letter to Harvey, he expressed a deep respect for the Governor of New Brunswick, and declared that he was confident that no collision would occur between their respective populations.⁵³

Communications from Lord Sydenham were less encouraging. Harvey's request for the withdrawal of troops had been as annoying to the Governor-General as it had been unavailing. Sydenham was convinced not only that Harvey had been indiscreet, but also that his activities were disastrous to any attempt by his superiors to obtain a settlement of the boundary. To Russell, Sydenham complained:

Harvey has been playing exactly the same game he did last year. After asking in the most pressing terms for a company to be sent to Madawaska, he has altered his mind completely, written to have them withdrawn, and worse than this, has told the Governor of Maine that he should do so, and entertained no doubt that I would consent -- and this in the face of your positive instructions to him not to interfere ... at all events I must beg of you to repeat your injunctions to him contained in your dispatch of the 19th February 1840, that he is not to meddle in the Boundary question except under my directions. We owe the establishment of the Americans at the mouth of the Fish River entirely to his folly, and he will bandy fine sentences with General Scott, or Governor Fairfield whilst the yankees take possession and occupy the whole of the St. John's and our road to New Brunswick to boot. They understand his character perfectly and play on it unendingly. He talks of his dispatch to Governor Fairfield not committing me -- as if he did not commit the Government of the Queen generally by what he does. It is impossible that I can go on, or take the responsibility of this business unless he is

In February, Harvey was informed that he was to be removed from office. His pleas for reconsideration were unavailing in face of Sydenham's disapproval and Russell's determination. On April 27, 1841, Sir William Colebrooke arrived to succeed him.

The frontier between Maine and New Brunswick remained quiet under the administration of Edward Kent, and the Whig government in Washington took immediate steps toward finding an amicable solution to the boundary problem. The story of the Webster-Ashburton compromise and of the "red-line" maps is an oft-told one, although the complete details of the manner in which Webster secured the assent of Maine to the compromise may never come to light. In that settlement, the British retreated from the lines proposed by Sir John Harvey, and gave up that part of the Madawaska settlements lying on the south bank of the St. John River.

Daniel Webster would have agreed to let them keep the entire settlement, but as a *quid pro quo* he wanted freedom of navigation of the St. John, a correction in the due north line from the St. Croix, and a slip of territory from the monument at the source of the St. Croix across to the St. John. Such a concession, he was unable to get. He denied, however, that there was any cruelty in splitting Madawaska. Inconvenience, yes, but the international line need not interrupt social and family relations.⁵⁵

The Maine Commissioners who had been sent to Washington to confer with the government on the boundary settlement accepted the Webster compromise with regret.⁵⁶ By this concession, Maine surrendered her claim to the disputed territory to the United States, and was paid by the Federal government with land in Michigan, the sale of which brought her \$150,000. She was further reimbursed by the United States Government by the sum of \$200,000 for expenses incurred in defending the territory. Governor Fairfield, back in office, spoke for the entire state when he said that Maine had been badly injured, but that it was her duty to acquiesce. The press yelled a little louder and a little longer, but nearly everyone admitted that it was good to get the dispute settled at last.

Except for a few seeds of lingering bitterness in both Maine and New Brunswick, the long years of controversy were over. The two national governments, which had frittered away a generation of time in spasmodic and useless attempts at conciliation, had finally achieved a peaceful compromise. Since neither side was pleased with its share of the divided territory, it must have been an equitable decision.

In these days (1955) of turmoil and conflict of a far more serious nature than that which faced New Brunswick and Maine in the 1820's and 1830's, it is hard to feel the seriousness of the controversy between them. For over a generation, the dispute was not resolved because all attempts foundered on the stern rock of Maine's opposition. The territory in question was vital to the interest of that state; there, if anywhere, were the soils and other resources which would bring prosperity to Maine. It was what she needed if she were to be a wealthy, populous, and im-

portant state in the Union. Her statesmen knew that, and one who was prominent in the agitation for a favorable conclusion of the dispute stated it clearly. If Maine lost that territory, he said, "she is small, powerless, insignificant, with it she is great and powerful."⁵⁷ Maine could not afford to compromise.

The conflict was taken by Maine from the council table to the forests of the Madawaska territory, and there she found a champion in the mock-heroic figure of John Baker. For ill-defined reasons of his own, he became a monomaniac, if not a "mono-Maine-iac", in the interest of her claims. His deeds had a considerable part to play in forcing the issue upon the American government; his resistance was a clinging burr in the cloak of British authority and a constant reminder to the Madawaskans of the insecurity of their position.

While it was very easy to understand the claims of both sides in the boundary controversy, there is very little which can be said in justification of John Fairfield's Aroostook War, except that it induced the national government to a more earnest endeavor to settle the controversy before it was too late to do so peacefully. Had war really arisen, great blame would have been placed on Fairfield's shoulders. It must not be forgotten, however, that it was his second administration which accepted the Webster-Ashburton compromise for the State of Maine.⁵⁸

The role of Sir John Harvey in the Aroostook War crisis, was on the whole, an admirable one. Had war arisen in the first few months of 1839, and he had been ill-prepared to defend his province, he would have lost his post much earlier. Had his steps for preparation induced Fairfield's forces to actual warfare, his position would have been less than noble. As it was, his actions were neither too little, nor too late.

Great credit for resolving the crisis must be given to General Scott in the unusual position for a general, that of a peacemaker. His success in inducing Fairfield to withdraw his forces and to sign a document of forbearances was an astonishing piece of diplomacy to those who know the stand taken by Maine throughout the whole controversy.

In evaluating Harvey's later policy, one must admit that he vacillated a great deal, and vacillation is a serious and costly luxury for a statesman. On the other hand, there is much to be said in his behalf. Far better than any of his superiors, he understood Maine and her fiery Democratic governor, and, I believe, he was far more correct in his interpretation of Maine's intentions. It was well for those who doubted him, that the Whig governments, which succeeded the Democrats in state and nation in 1841, were committed to achieving a peaceful settlement of this dispute.

In the end, Maine came around to an acceptance of the conventional line laid down by Webster and Lord Ashburton, for by 1842, she could ill afford a refusal to compromise. The pressure of her population for fertile land, and of the lumber and shipbuilding industries for the forbidden pine forests, was very great. Moreover, she had learned that the land north of the St. John River was less fertile or valuable than that south of it. The famous "red-line" map confirmed the Maine statesmen

in their suspicions that this was the most she could get, short of war. Considering the cost of refusal, Maine tossed away the gauntlet and signed on the dotted line.

IX MADAWASKA IN THE MIDDLE

The development of a people, as of a maturing child, is a product of its own inward potentialities, aided and encouraged or hampered and hindered by the exterior forces of the environment. The early settlement at Madawaska of a handful of hardy pioneers should have been the core of a prosperous rural community. Among its assets was a prolific and homogenous population, accustomed to pioneer conditions and possessing a strong drive to build a country of their own in the wilderness. These settlers were willing to dig, to chop, and to build by the labor of their own hands. They had chosen a fertile valley where the beneficent soil rewarded labor with abundant harvests. Large stands of virgin and valuable timber provided winter employment and a convenient means of earning cash with which to buy those items which had to be purchased outside of the settlement. The St. John River offered them a through highway to market for their timber, wheat, and any other surplus crops they could raise. To the Madawaskans of the early nineteenth century, the future might well have appeared encouraging.

It was the great misfortune of the Madawaska community to be caught between two advancing frontiers and progress proved to be impossible. As we have seen, rival political and commercial interests met and locked in battle in this very river valley. The outcome was unpredictable until the Webster-Ashburton agreement was actually signed; for nearly thirty years, Madawaskans were courted by a continuous stream of officials, commissions, deputations, and opportunists, as each contender put in a strong bid for the allegiance and support of the settlers.

The authorities of New Brunswick had allowed the Madawaskan colony to remain in a state of neglect, which may or may not have been healthful, by interfering very little in internal affairs. With the awakening of American interest in the territory, both sides constantly intervened.

As we have seen, this change began with the arrival of the Harfords, the Bakers, and other Americans at Mariumpicook Stream in 1817. At first it appeared that the newcomers would settle into the nonchalant atmosphere of the frontier community. The sudden appearance of the Maine and Massachusetts Land Agents in 1825 changed all that. This was only the first of a rapid succession of events, culminating in the abortive town meeting affair of 1831, by which John Baker, ringleader of the American group, attempted to win the settlers' adherence

to the American claim, while forcing the hands of the British and American governments.

New Brunswick had given some importance and influence to Pierre Duperré, one of the original settlers and a natural leader, Louis Mercure having moved on to Canada long before this. The Americans tried to curry the favor of Duperré's half brother, Pierre Lizotte. In 1831, they tried to make him the representative from the community of the Augusta legislature. They elected him by a majority of 21 to 16 with 13 French settlers participating, but Lizotte refused the position, just as other Frenchmen refused to serve as selectmen. When the New Brunswick authorities had won the day, arresting the leading Americans who had directed the affair, they held the area pretty well under their control until the time of partition in 1842. Nonetheless, the nuisance value of Maine agents remained very high throughout the remainder of the controversy. Their pressure and interference was exerted continuously, reaching a peak after the Governor's Agreement in 1839, when Maine forces were advanced to the mouth of the Fish River.¹

Two Lieutenant-Governors of New Brunswick visited the settlement at critical periods of controversy. On Sunday, 25 September 1831, Lt. -Governor Sir Archibald Campbell held court in the churchyard at St. Basile, attended by an imposing military escort. He praised the colonists for their loyalty and assured them of the protection of British authorities. He excused those who had participated in the town meeting, because they had been misled by the American agitators. He made a final appeal to their sentiments of loyalty, and the militia spontaneously arranged themselves in order, presenting arms to the Lieutenant-Governor. After arresting the ringleaders of the recent disturbance, Sir Archibald left the community, feeling that order and relative tranquility had been restored. This peace lasted for the remainder of his administration.²

Sir John Harvey, too, visited the settlement in the course of his military demonstration of 1837. He left his army in Grand Falls, uncontested British ground, and proceeded to Madawaska with his aide-de-camp and the Warden of the Disputed Territory. There, on 30 September 1837, he received an address of loyalty before an audience of over two hundred settlers. In his report to the Colonial Office, Harvey sympathized with the settlers' distressing situation. "Their allegiance is claimed by two nations while they are excluded from a full participation of the benefits enjoyed by the recognized subjects of either."³

During the period of uneasy truce which followed the Governors' Agreement, Madawaskans were understandably tense because the American "posse" advanced to the mouth of the Fish River and entrenched themselves in a solid fort. They even attempted to find lodgings for some of their men with the French, but Warden Maclauchlan quickly warned the settlers not to accommodate them. The tenseness of the situation was not lessened by the garrisoning of Madawaska by British troops in 1841. Madawaskans felt they were sitting on a powder keg which might explode at any moment.⁴

It was easy for the Madawaskans, throughout the controversy, to bet on either horse. Each side offered security of land tenure in return for adherence to its

particular claims. The Americans had a plausible argument in their claim that the settlers had left New Brunswick to escape British rule, and even, that they had been driven out of the Province by the Loyalists. There was just enough truth in that story to convince those Acadians who more than half believed it anyhow. Thus the "Evangeline" legend expanded.

On the other hand, the settlers had suffered no real hardships at the hands of the authorities of New Brunswick. That province had granted them permission to settle on the Upper St. John and such political authority as had been exercised over them had come from one or the other of His Majesty's North American provinces. The majority of the settlers probably preferred to remain under British authority.

That the territory was split in two by the international border in the final decision is an appropriate comment upon the true value of the settlers' wishes to either side in the controversy!

Thus, for several decades, while loquacious representatives of Maine attempted to win over the doubting Gabriels and while antagonistic magistrates from Fredericton invaded the community to arrest the ringleaders of the opposing side, Madawaskan progress was hampered on every side. The early spirit of enthusiasm and hope was effectually quenched. Social progress was prevented; confusion, perplexity, and stagnation prevailed.

Insecurity of land titles and uncertainty of the future did not prevent the territorial expansion of the settlement, however, even during the most critical period of international controversy. By 1820 the population of the colony, including the newly founded American settlement, numbered over 1000 according to the Maine census. In 1824, by a New Brunswick census, it numbered 1600. In 1830 it had risen to 2600. By 1836, the population was over 3000, of which almost a third lived above the Madawaska River. Vacant lots were taken up and forests were pushed back as clearings appeared on land which had never been touched before. Two new parishes were formed during this period; St. Bruno at the lower end of the settlement, which now extended to Grand Falls, and in 1831, Ste.-Luce was established at the Upper Settlement or Chautauqua, as it had been called.⁵

A rivalry had been smoldering between St. Basile and Chautauqua, accompanied by crude jokes about *chatte a coin*. The hostility of *en haut* to this camaraderie reached such proportions that the militia of that settlement threatened to avenge its honor. The church authorities in Quebec hastened to accede to a request for a new name, and at the services which established the parish of Ste.-Luce, which had possessed its own chapel since 1826, the priest took the occasion to chide the waywardness of the population of *en bas*.⁶

While the international boundary controversy hindered the development of the community in many ways, it furthered it in some respects. Territorial expansion was paralleled by civil development to the extent that Carleton County was carved out of York in 1832, and New Brunswick established Madawaska as a civil parish in the following year. Both these events followed on the heels of Maine's attempt to incorporate the "township" of Madawaska in 1831. During the same period, the Assembly of New Brunswick was reluctantly induced to make some improvements

on such roads as existed through the community. Although canoes were still the major means of transportation, even for the Royal Mail, during the open season on the river, caleches and sleighs appeared among the more prosperous settlers for the first time. As the period of international rivalry ended, roads had reached the region from both the Maine and Canadian centers of population.⁷

Outsiders visiting Madawaska in the years of trouble were not in agreement as to its prospects. Their accounts form the basis of what little we know of its development in those years and they necessarily leave us with some uncertainty. Visitors from Maine were inclined to view the territory through rose-colored glasses. For their own reasons, they wholeheartedly believed that the Acadians had fled the hardships of British jurisdiction to settle there, and that they had left oppression to build themselves a new home where they would be free to pursue happiness in their own manner. They saw the Madawaskans as enterprising, friendly, and prosperous but badly neglected settlers, who only wanted a decision of the boundary to make them into good, democratic American citizens.

The most detailed account ever written of early Madawaska was the report by John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh to the Legislature of Maine in 1831. It listed every settler and his possessions in land and buildings, as well as the length of his tenure. The commissioners also recorded a day-to-day account of the manner in which they were received by the settlers on both banks of the St. John River. Another valuable account was that written in 1836 by Charles Jackson, State Geologist, who first made clearly known to Maine, the tremendous value of the soil in the disputed territory.⁸

New Brunswick's reports on Madawaska are chiefly to be found in Peter Fisher's writings of 1825 and 1836. Fisher, who represented Carleton County in the Assembly and served as a captain of the Madawaska militia, was well informed of the situation in that settlement.⁹

Madawaska presented a different world to observers from both Maine and New Brunswick. A stranger going above the Grand Falls found himself among a foreign race, Fisher remarked in 1825.¹⁰ This was partly because the Acadians had retained their ancient style of dress, made of coarse homespun cloth, and spoke their own "patois". They were simple, friendly, and hospitable in manner, although they were suspected by most outsiders of being sharp traders in any bargain.¹¹

Madawaskans led simple lives. Most of their homes in this period were still log structures, of one or two rooms. Only rarely did a house have three rooms, despite the large number of children in each family. Many of the houses were covered with clapboards on the outside, however, and some were painted. Inside the homes were scantily furnished, and although the inhabitants were hospitable, the women were seen by some (male) observers to be slovenly in their cooking and housekeeping.¹²

The upper St. John River valley, in the region of the Madawaska, is blessed with a fertile loam soil. The inhabitants early found that with very little effort it produced twenty bushels of wheat per acre. Other grains such as barley, rye, and oats produced an even higher yield. Potatoes, corn, peas, and hay were also found

to grow well. Early in the life of the community, the settlers began exporting a surplus of wheat and oats to Fredericton to trade for salt and other commodities which they could not produce. When flour mills were established in their own vicinity, much of the flour was exported instead of the unground wheat.¹³

As the years passed, Madawaskans showed less enterprise and interest in improving their buildings and lots. Still without confirmed titles to their soils, they had little motivation for enterprise. They seemed to be satisfied to till the soil by unenlightened methods and it was only the richness of the soil which continued to give them an excess of wheat and oats to sell to passing lumbermen or to export to Fredericton. All outsiders agreed that their farming methods were poor. Crops were rarely in the ground before late June, and the same fields were replanted for several seasons without plowing, rotating the crops, or letting the land lie fallow. This lack of enterprise was reflected in the run-down condition of their farm buildings. "The French", said Peter Fisher, "have no great taste for building and improving, being generally content with mere necessities, their dwellings consist chiefly of log huts ..."¹⁴

In social development, the Madawaskans were similarly hampered by international contention. Their one consolation and inspiration lay in their religion, and the population assiduously attended church. The growth in population and area of the community, as we have seen, led to the establishment of two new parishes and the building of two new chapels. These were served by the priest of St. Basile, on most occasions. He still had, among his many duties, that of maintaining the community in order and harmony through the peaceful settlement of disputes among his parishioners.¹⁵

Throughout almost the entire period of controversy, Madawaska was without adequate schools, although an occasional priest held primary classes in the early years of the settlement. In 1831, Deane and Kavanagh reported that David Cyr was paid by the authorities of New Brunswick to teach school, but that his activities did not extend beyond the Cyr family.¹⁶ Such knowledge as the inhabitants possessed was traditional and scanty, the visitors said. Although, Jackson the Maine Geologist, reported that they spoke their own French patois they understood pure French because the priest was accustomed to preach in that language. A few of the men, he said, had picked up a few English words which were necessary in commerce, but the women and children knew none of that language. Most of the former leaders of the colony who had some education had died or moved on. The younger generations had only vague notions of the land of their origin; one Madawaskan thought France was separated from England by a river, and another asked if it were not near the coast of Nova Scotia. Yet another thought that Bethlehem, where Christ was born, was a town in France.¹⁷

Jackson also warned outsiders that they must remember that paper money was not acceptable in Madawaska as the inhabitants had been caught once too often in being unable to differentiate between a five-pound note, a five-dollar bill, and a five-shilling note!¹⁸

New Brunswick seems to have made several attempts to establish schools in

Madawaska, and as the period ended, they seemed to have succeeded. In the Letter Books of the Audit Office we find some correspondence with a Mr. Robert Grant over the schoolmaster's salary for the half year ending March 1, 1842.¹⁹

An American visitor to Madawaska, four years after the settlement of the international controversy, but a decade before the boundary between New Brunswick and Quebec was determined, viewed the community very unfavorably. Speaking admiringly of the two main pieces of architecture in the area, the church and the blockhouse at St. Basile, he went on to describe the community in this fashion:

... owing to their many misfortune (I would speak in charity), The Acadians have degenerated into a more ignorant and miserable people than are the Canadian French, whom they closely resemble in their appearance and customs. They believe the people of Canada to be a nation of knaves, and the people of Canada know them to be a half savage community. Worshipping a miserable priesthood is their principal business; drinking and cheating their neighbours, their principal amusement. They live by tilling the soil and are content, if they can barely make the provision of one year take them to the entrance of another. They are at the same time, passionate lovers of money, and have brought the science of fleecing strangers to a perfection ... with all their ignorance, the Acadians are a happy people; but it is the happiness of a mere animal nature.²⁰

This visitor, whose prejudices are obvious, was unnecessarily cruel in his description of Madawaska, yet there is more than a grain of truth in it, for one cannot help wondering what this settlement might have become had its development and progress not been hindered by the great boundary controversy. It seems evident that it was not so much a lack of industry or enterprise which had restrained development, but rather the uncertainty which permeated the community and the sense that whichever nation won jurisdiction over them, as in 1713, 1755, and 1783, the settlers would be the ones to lose.

THE "REPUBLIC" OF MADAWASKA

X

AMERICAN MADAWASKA

By the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, Madawaska was divided in two. British Madawaska, unfortunately, was still hampered by a boundary controversy with Quebec which lasted for another seventeen years.

On the southern bank of the St. John River, now part of Maine, Madawaskans faced the future with some trepidation, not knowing how they would be treated by these strange authorities, most of whom had no love for Catholicism.

While New Brunswick had to wait for the conclusion of her old boundary controversy with eastern Canada, Maine was not slow to consolidate her gains. All land north of Houlton was thrown open to settlers and lumbermen. Every encouragement was made to induce people to settle there and to develop the rich soil known to exist in that vast area now known as Aroostook County.

At Madawaska, the new citizens were given immediate consideration. Surveys were set in motion; by the end of 1844 every settler south of the St. John had been confirmed in the possession of his land and new lots were soon ready for occupation there. New settlements grew up, although French settlers did not enter from British territory in the numbers Maine expected, for they were unwilling to pay the extra tax on goods entering from Canada, as all their goods still did for some time.¹

Realizing that it was desirable to educate the Madawaskans to take an active part in local and state government, the State provided an educator for them. James Madigan, an Irish Catholic who was proficient in French, was sent to initiate the settlers into the intricacies of the American system. Beside the regular school allotment, the Legislature provided a special appropriation of \$1000 in 1844 and \$1200 in 1845 for his work. Madigan established a school for children and undertook an extensive adult education program. He held meetings at which he gave lectures and instruction in parliamentary procedure, town government, the United States Constitution, citizenship, and other lessons which he thought were needed. In addition, he acted as postmaster, tax collector, and magistrate for the community.²

Soon Fort Kent, which had had settlers since 1829, and Van Buren were set off as separate plantations. Each of the three plantations was given schools, a post office, and a magistrate. In 1846 these communities elected Joseph Cyr of Van Buren as their own representative to the Legislature in Augusta. By 1849, Madawaska sent her own additional representative, Francois Thibodeau.³

Thus, despite their fears, American Madawaskans found themselves quickly absorbed into the American system of government and the way was now open to peace, security, and progress.⁴

Some outsiders feared that progress was not proceeding apace, and viewed the community as primitive and unenterprising. "More fond of the fiddle than the hoe," was the remark of one biased newspaper editor to whom it appeared that the French lived on pea soup and vegetables. Their only claim to fame, he remarked, was that they made excellent maple sugar. Twenty years later, he claimed to see no appreciable improvement in Madawaska beyond the fact that some of the people did have "tolerable farms".⁵

Perhaps that editor expected too much of a frontier community which had faced great problems ever since it had been founded. From other accounts we learn that the inhabitants had pleasant, whitewashed houses. They usually had but a single story and not infrequently contained only two rooms. These picturesque houses set at the head of a lawn which sloped down to the river.

Here, in front, the family sat on homemade, wooden lawn chairs to chat with friends who came by way of the river.

The river still served as the main highway, although there was a road only a half a mile back from it. On both sides of the road, for sixty miles, there was a continuous line of fields and farms, although the woods began only a mile or so back of the road. Such little travel as went along the road was by caleches, two-wheeled carts, or by horseback.⁶

The homes were heated by a "Canadian" stove which was six feet tall and which occupied a prominent place, often in the partition separating two rooms. The walls were decorated with wooden crucifixes and pictures of the Virgin and of the Saints. Beds were set into the walls.

Spinning wheels were important pieces of furniture in Madawaskans' homes since nearly everyone dressed in homespun which was usually blue in color. In addition, the women wore white caps and the men wore sombrero-sized hats.

A visitor to one of the Madawaska churches in 1863 remarked that from the outside it appeared little different from a New England meeting house. Inside, it, too, was heated by one of those huge stoves set up on a platform. The visitor attended a wedding here and noted that the bride, groom, and nearly all the congregation were dressed in their best homespun blue. At the "fandango" which followed the wedding, the fiddle reigned. The violinist was a lady, and the dancers took the occasion seriously. Liquor flowed freely and the frolicking lasted all night.⁷

At mid-century Madawaska was still a frontier area. It had been admitted to the regular privileges of citizenship and was given the local government and institutions which allowed it to become an integral part of Maine. The inhabitants

had received deeds to their lands, schools had been established, and they had elected a representative to the State Legislature.

Further progress awaited the general settlement of Aroostook County, for until then, Madawaska was an outpost far away from the central portion of the state. Aroostook was settled slowly and not until the 1870's and 1880's did settlers move into that area in great numbers. When the railroads came and the potato industry developed, Madawaska became a thriving portion of Aroostook and of Maine.

XI

UNFINISHED BUSINESS I: THE NEW BRUNSWICK-QUEBEC BOUNDARY

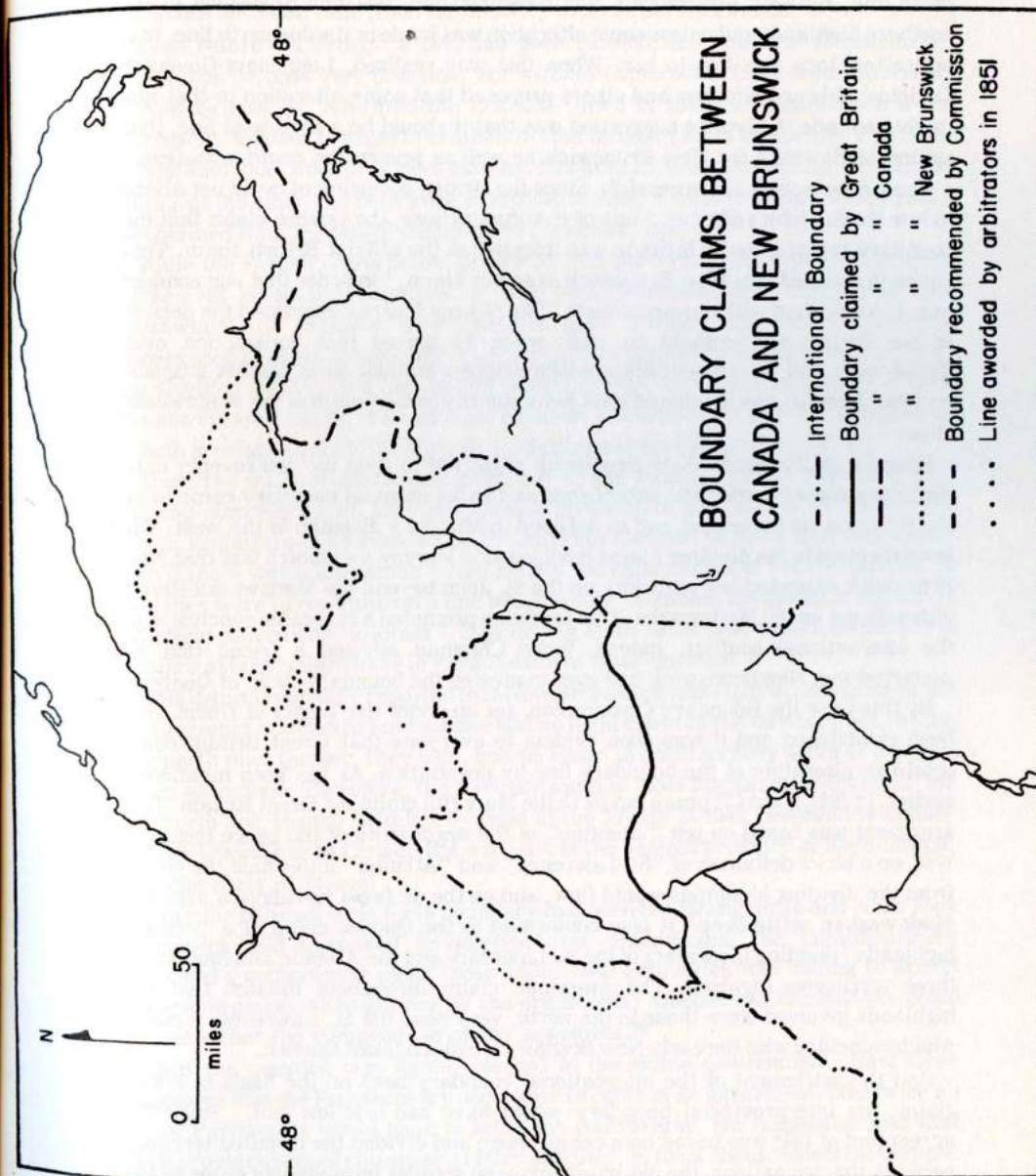
The settlement of the international boundary did not give New Brunswick uncontested control of the territory north of the St. John, and the old inter-provincial quarrel was resumed along ancient lines.

New Brunswick claimed that the watershed separating the rivers falling into the St. Lawrence from those flowing to the sea lay far to the north so that the Temiscouata-Madawaska waters were in New Brunswick's territory. This theory had never been accepted by Quebec. That Province, as we have seen, claimed a line at a lower latitude, either near Grand Falls in the latitude of the Bay of Chaleur, or even at Mars Hill. This claim was first put forward by Lord Dorchester, who was well aware that the southern boundary of Quebec must mark the northern boundary of Massachusetts as well as the limits of New Brunswick.¹

An earlier chapter of this paper has described the failure of the Surveyors-General of New Brunswick and Quebec to reach an agreement on the boundary between the two provinces in 1787. For the next decade there was some confusion about the jurisdiction over Madawaska, as we have already seen. That period ended in a *modus vivendi* by which Quebec exercised religious jurisdiction and New Brunswick controlled the civil affairs of the settlement.

New Brunswick was not wrong in assuming that she should have jurisdiction over Madawaska at that time. As Dr. William F. Ganong pointed out in his monograph on New Brunswick's boundaries,² until 1798 when the St. Croix boundary settlement was made, it had been thought by British authorities that the source of the Schoodic would be the beginning of the due north line, which by treaty would run to the highlands separating the rivers running into the St. Lawrence from those running into the sea. A due north line, drawn from the source of the Schoodic, would have crossed the St. John west of the Madawaska River, so that the territory east of the line would have been in New Brunswick, (unless, of course, Quebec's claim to a central highlands south of the St. John were to be admitted.) The settlement of 1798 changed all that, for the adoption of the Cheputnicook as the beginning of the due north line meant that line would cross the St. John below the Madawaska.

After the settlement of the southern extremity of the Massachusetts-New Brunswick border the New Brunswick-Quebec controversy entered a second



By Joan Goodfellow

phase. Massachusetts turned her attention to the northeast boundary. New Brunswick, too, became aware that the boundary of New Brunswick and Quebec must also mark the international boundary. Madawaska now lay west of the due north line; by New Brunswick's own interpretation, this line proceeded to the northern highlands and unless some alteration was made in the due north line, that entire territory was lost to her. When this was realized, Lieutenant-Governor Carleton, Edward Winslow and others proposed that some alteration in that line might be made. A favorite suggestion was that it should be a northwest line, thus saving Madawaska for New Brunswick, as well as preserving communications.³

Their efforts were unsuccessful. Since the British government could not afford to lose the St. John valley as a line of communications, the Quebec claim that the boundary lay at a lower latitude was adopted as the official British claim. That policy demanded that New Brunswick drop her claim, "in order that our conduct may be consistent with our arguments." Sir George Murray expressed the desires of the British Government in 1830, when he stated that jurisdiction over Temiscouta and the ancient Madawaska seigneurie must be in Quebec's hands, and that New Brunswick should limit her authority to the mouth of the Madawaska River.⁴

Faced with this order, New Brunswick preferred to drop the controversy until the international border was established and so the nominal boundary came to be the Restigouche in the east and as outlined in Murray's dispatch in the west. The one exception to the dividing line as envisioned in Murray's despatch was that New Brunswick extended her authority up the St. John beyond the Madawaska River, although not up the Madawaska. This condition promoted a favorable conclusion of the international conflict. Indeed, Ward Chipman advised a friend that he regretted that New Brunswick had ever contested the boundary claim of Quebec.⁵

By this time the Boundary Commission, set up under the Treaty of Ghent, had been established and it was soon evident to everyone that Great Britain could obtain no alteration of the boundary line by negotiation. As has been mentioned earlier, in 1821 Ward Chipman put forth the Mars Hill claim for Great Britain. This argument was based on the "intention" of the negotiators of the peace treaty of 1783, on a strict definition of "St. Lawrence" and "Atlantic" into which the rivers from the dividing highlands would flow, and on the *de facto* jurisdiction over the Madawaskan settlement.⁶ It also conformed to the Quebec claim of a "central highlands" dividing the waters of the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic and thus of the three territories involved. The American claim throughout insisted that the highlands involved were those to the north, very near the St. Lawrence, a claim which coincided with the early New Brunswick claim against Quebec.

Had the settlement of the international boundary been on the basis of either claim, the interprovincial boundary would have had to follow suit. Since the agreement of 1842 was based on a compromise and divided the disputed territory between the two nations, the old interprovincial conflict immediately came to the fore again. New Brunswick revived her claim to all the territory east of the due north line right up to the northern watershed. The territory west of the due north

line and north of the St. John could be claimed by her on no legal grounds, but she now claimed it by right of jurisdiction. Canadian authorities did not hesitate to point out that if British arguments against the United States in regards to the highlands had been valid, then the territory must be part of Canada.⁷

Even before the Treaty of 1842 had been ratified, this question of provincial limitations became very pressing. Sir William Colebrooke, Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, informed the Colonial Office in 1842 that lumbermen were extremely anxious to begin operations in that territory from which they had been so long excluded. Both provinces claimed this area as being outside the legitimate claims of the other and both were interested in securing the revenues which could be obtained from the sale of stumpage to the lumbermen.⁸

While the British Government preferred that the Provinces might come to an agreement between themselves, it soon became evident that they could not. Meanwhile, the pressure of lumbermen grew greater, and New Brunswick endeavored to improve her claim by ordering new surveys of land and by including the disputed territory in a new county erected in 1844. As commissioners from New Brunswick and Canada still could not agree on a boundary, in 1846 the legislatures of both provinces asked Her Majesty's Government to confirm their rights.

Since the mass of documents collected at the Colonial Office was more perplexing than clarifying, that government proposed to send two of Her Majesty's Royal Engineers to be assisted by the Attorney-General of Nova Scotia to ascertain if there was a line which would satisfy the legal claims of both territories. If not, they were to recommend a line which would "combine the greatest amount of practical convenience to either", considering at the same time such interest as the Empire at large might have in the adjustment of the question.⁹

This commission duly reported that New Brunswick was right in her claim to the St. Lawrence watershed but that she had no legal claim to the territory west of the due north line. Quebec, they said, had no claim to that territory south of the northern watershed. Therefore, the territory south of those highlands and west of the due north line, though Britain's by right of the Treaty of 1842, belonged to neither New Brunswick or to Canada but was part of the ancient province of Sagadahock, now the State of Maine!

Since the habitual or *de facto* boundary had been the Restigouche and since New Brunswick had exercised jurisdiction over Madawaska, the Commissioners proposed a compromise along those lines. New Brunswick was willing to accept the compromise, although not all the arguments. Quebec did not feel she could accept either the compromise or the argument.¹⁰

Thus the question was again referred to the Home Government. Earl Grey suggested that the Provinces try once more to come to an agreement, otherwise an act of Parliament would have to settle the controversy. His suggestion was that each province should choose an arbiter and they, in turn, should select an umpire. If this board could not agree on a line, Her Majesty's Government would decide on the basis of the report of the commission of 1848.

Consequently, Dr. Travers Twiss of London was chosen by New Brunswick, and

Thomas Falconer, Barrister, also of London, was selected to represent Canada. In December, 1850, these two named Stephen Lushington, Judge of the Admiralty Court and member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, to be the umpire.

Their decision was made April 17, 1851. It laid down the boundary which now exists. When the other two commissioners had disagreed, Dr. Lushington suggested a line, based on the report of 1848, departing from it only to give the Seigneuries of Madawaska and Temiscouata to Canada and to keep the Upper St. John in New Brunswick. Dr. Travers Twiss finally agreed to that border, but Mr. Falconer dissented in what Dr. Ganong has called "the most forcible and able presentation of Quebec's case which appears in the whole course of the literature of this boundary discussion."¹¹

On receiving the commissioners' report, the Imperial Parliament passed "An Act for the Settlement of the Boundaries between the Province of Canada and New Brunswick" in 1851. Except for an additional act in 1857, defining the River Mistouche as the Patapedia, the conflict was over. By 1858, the line was marked out on the ground and all was over. In all, it was a favorable solution for New Brunswick.¹²

The interprovincial controversy was very perplexing to the Madawaskans. Generally, it was believed that the majority of them wanted to remain under New Brunswick's jurisdiction. The one evidence to the contrary was a petition signed by Simonet Hébert and 569 others asking to be incorporated with Canada.

Dated 20 February 1846, the petition asserted that most of the people in that settlement were immigrants from Canada and were "habituated to the laws, customs, and habits," of that province. They found themselves unacquainted with usages in New Brunswick whose laws and regulations were "published in a language which the greater part of your humble petitioners do not understand." Communications with Canada were easier, they asserted, and as New Brunswick required a tax on Canadian goods, they preferred association with Canada. They also thought that many of the settlers on the American side of the St. John might be encouraged to move over to the north shore, if Madawaska were made part of Quebec.¹³

Father Albert neither believed that this petition came from the mind of Simonet Hébert nor that it expressed the true wishes of the people. He preferred to believe Thomas Baille who had advised Governor Colebrooke in October, 1843, that he found Madawaskans favorable to New Brunswick and that a petition to that fact was being prepared.¹⁴

Apparently the Madawaskans were not dissatisfied with the final settlement, and it must have been a great relief to all concerned to know where final authority and jurisdiction lay.

XII

UNFINISHED BUSINESS II: ECCLESIASTICAL SEPARATION

The religious establishment in the Madawaskans represented the one remaining serious crisis in Madawaskan history after the settlement of the boundary controversies.

It is not the purpose of this paper to go into the history of the region after the conclusion of its controversies, but the question of religious separation contained echoes of the old problems and may well be treated briefly.

1843 was the occasion of a great celebration for the settlement, for not only was the boundary with the United States settled, but it was also the fiftieth anniversary of the parish of St. Basile.¹

At that time, the Diocese of New Brunswick had recently been established and both Madawaskas had been put under its jurisdiction; indeed, in religious terms, there was only one Madawaska thus far. It was only natural, however, that a movement should grow up for the ecclesiastical separation of American Madawaska. It was put forward on many grounds, most of them practical, as we shall see. The movement was also, in part, a continuation of an early rivalry *du bord* in Madawaska. At the time of the establishment of St. Basile, the settlers on the south bank had been disappointed in their attempt to have the church located on their side of the St. John.

In asking for division now and association instead with the diocese of Boston, the Americans put forth several reasons:

- 1) Political division had divided local administration.
- 2) Passage on the St. John River was difficult during many seasons of the year.
- 3) They hoped to have a resident priest of their own in a new diocese.
- 4) A discount was required in New Brunswick on all American checks.

Thus far, all the reasons were practical ones and had bearing on civil separation. When we look at the fifth reason we find a hint of parochial difficulties with Father Langevin, pastor at St. Basile. Among other things, they said, in reason number five, he had refused to give Maine civil authorities statistics on the births, deaths and marriages of his American parishioners.²

Using Father Albert as our guide, to this transient and perhaps minor matter which got some people very excited at the time, we find that trouble first arose at

Carmel, a small mission or settlement almost opposite St. Basile. Father Langevin appears to have paid these people little attention. His successor in 1857, Father Hugh McQuirk, was more popular because he showed more interest in Carmel.³

Just when Carmel originated is no more certain than the precise nature of its origin; Father Albert said that there were those who compared it to the prodigal son who asked for his inheritance prematurely. Others traced its origin to the intervention of God and the Virgin who wanted in Madawaska a shrine like Notre-Dames-des-Lourdes with its cures and its spring. Here, at a spring, the ill came to bathe and some claimed to have seen cures effected. Above the spring, the devout erected a small pavilion named *le pavillon de la Madeline* for Mrs. François Thibodeau, born Madeleine Cyr. Her husband acted as a sort of patron over the sanctuary and was one of the leaders in the undertaking. As Father Albert said, "Visionaries are always the hardest people to lead," and Father Langevin failed to lead them.

This group, known as Carmelites, originated the movement for separation. A bishop of Boston seems to have visited the area on at least two occasions and stayed at Thibodeau's house. In 1846, Bishop Fenwick of Boston is said to have fixed the location of the Chapel at Carmel, and his successor, Bishop Fitzpatrick, dedicated the sanctuary, 16 July 1848, under the name of Notre-Dame du Mont-Carmel.

The Carmelites soon inspired their neighbors on the south bank and formed an *Association des Catholiques de l'Aroostook*, commencing a vigorous campaign for separation. Receiving little encouragement from St. John or Halifax where Langevin's position had strong support, they naturally addressed themselves to Boston. The *Boston Pilot*, a Catholic paper, took up their cause. When the Separatists petitioned the Maine Legislature, however, they were advised to take the matter up with the proper ecclesiastical authorities.

In 1860, jurisdiction over the Madawaskan parishes was largely transferred to the Bishop of Chatham, but that failed to please the dissidents.

In 1865, the *Association* directed a petition to Rome asking for separation from the diocese of New Brunswick. Signed by 1018 of the members, the petition was drafted by Louis Cormier, Secretary of the *Association*, and revised by Father L'Hiver of St. Bruno. At the same time, the parishes of St.-Bruno and Ste.-Luce asked the Archbishop of Boston to recommend to Rome that American Madawaska be erected an apostolic vicarage.⁴

To counter this move, the Unionists addressed their own petition to Rome via Archbishop Connolly of Halifax. Leaders of the counter-separation movement were Sylvain Daigle and Luc Albert, but they were able to obtain only 137 signatures other than their own.⁵

The controversy was ended by a decision from Rome in August, 1870, placing Madawaska under the authority of Bishop David W. Bacon, first Bishop of Portland, Maine.⁶

To the disappointment of the north shore and the satisfaction of the Separatists, Bishop Bacon soon came to visit them. The elation of the Carmelites was short-

lived, however, for St. Bruno soon moved its chapel to the center of Van Buren, and the location of Mont-Carmel no longer answered the needs of the people. It was abandoned in 1876.⁷

Duperré's list of Acadians who asked permission to settle in Madawaska, 24 February 1785.¹

Louis Mercure	Armand Martin
Michel Mercure	Paul Cyr
Pierre Duperré	François Cyr
Jean Lizotte	Joseph Cyr
Pierre Lizotte	Pierre Cyr
Joseph Lizotte	Baptiste Cyr
Augustin Dube	Firmin Cyr
Jean Martin	Alexandre Ayotte
Joseph Daigle	Robert Fournier
Joseph Daigle, Jr.	Louis Sansfaçon
Daniel Gaudin	Joseph Cyr
Simon Martin	François Martin

XIII CONCLUDING REMARKS

Except for conflicts over Confederation and education which faced all New Brunswick in this period, for Madawaska the age of conflicts and disputed jurisdiction was over. Those two controversies only indicated that Madawaska had become a part of New Brunswick, just as the conflict over religious jurisdiction had been a postscript to the international settlement, indicating that the American Madawaskans felt themselves ready to be an integral portion of Maine.

The further development of the two separate communities and yet their real identity as an international community often called "The Republic of Madawaska" is a long story which needs to be studied and told, but it must now be postponed for other and later research. Here, we have had an opportunity to discover the origins and early history of a stolid, long-suffering people. The pawn and victim of several international struggles for over two centuries, having lost Acadia, they have at last found peace and security, and most important, a corner of the world in Madawaska, where they can be Acadien.

Odell's List of Original Settlers who received the License of Occupation, 9 July 1787.²

Settled on the eastern bank of the St. John:	
Louis Mercure	Lot No. 37
Michel Mercure	34
Oliver Sire (sic)	8
Pierre Sire (sic)	7
Settled on the western bank of the St. John:	
Louison Sansfaçon (sic)	5
Baptiste Tibbido (sic)	6
Antony Sire (sic)	15
Alexander Aliote	17
Fereman Sire (sic)	24
Francis Sire	25
James Sire	26
Joseph Daigle, Jr.	27
Baptiste Furneaux (sic)	28
Joseph Daigle	29
Paul Botie (sic)	34
Pierre Duperré	39

1. Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 437-438.

2. Jonathon Odell to Louis Mercure and others, 9 July 1787; a copy is found in the Albert MSS.

An Excerpt from the "Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783."¹

Article III:

And that all disputes ... may be prevented, it is hereby agreed ... that the following are, and shall be their boundaries, viz: From the northwest angle of Nova Scotia,² viz: that angle which is formed by a line drawn due north from the source of Saint Croix River to the Highlands; - along said Highlands which divide those rivers that empty themselves into the River St. Lawrence, from those which fall into the Atlantic Ocean, to the north-western-most head of Connecticut River. ...

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1. Henry Steele Commager, *Documents of American History*, (New York, 1948), 118.
2. With the separation of New Brunswick from Nova Scotia in 1784, that becomes the northwest angle of New Brunswick.

SIR JOHN HARVEY'S PROCLAMATION OF 1839¹

"By His Excellency Major-General Sir John Harvey, K.C.B. and K.C.H. Lieutenant Governor and Commander in Chief of the Province of New Brunswick, etc., JOHN HARVEY

A PROCLAMATION

"WHEREAS, I have received information that a party of armed persons, to the number of two hundred, or more, have invaded a portion of this Province, under the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's Government, from the neighboring State of Maine, for the professed object of exercising authority, and driving off persons stated to be cutting Timber therein; and that divers other persons have without any legal authority, taken up arms with the intention of resisting such invasion and outrage, and have broken into certain stores in Woodstock, in which arms and ammunition belonging to Her Majesty were deposited, and have taken the same away for that purpose, - I do hereby charge and command all persons concerned in such illegal acts, forthwith to return the arms and ammunition, so illegally taken, to their place of deposit, as the Government of the Province will take care to adopt all necessary measures for resisting any hostile invasion or outrage that may be attempted upon any part of Her Majesty's Territories or subjects.

"And I do hereby charge and command all Magistrates, Sheriffs, and other Officers, to be Vigilant, aiding and assisting in the apprehension of all persons so offending, and to bring them to justice. And in order to aid and assist the Civil Power in that respect, if necessary, I have ordered a sufficient military force to proceed forthwith to the place where these outrages are represented to have been committed, as well to repel Foreign Invasion as to prevent the illegal assumption of arms by Her Majesty's Subjects in this Province.

"And further, in order to be prepared, if necessary, to call in the aid of the Constitutional Militia Force of the country, I do hereby charge and command the officers commanding the first and second battalions of the Militia of the County of Carleton, forthwith to proceed as the Law directs, to the drafting of a body of men, to consist of one-fourth of the strength of each of these battalions, to be in readiness for actual service, should occasion require.

"Given under by Hand and Seal at Fredericton, the thirteenth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and thirty-nine, and in the second year of Her Majesty's Reign:

"By His Excellency's Command, William F. Odell.

"God Save the Queen."

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1. Wheildon, W.W., compiler, *The Northeastern Boundary*. A scrapbook of newspaper clippings at the Boston Public Library. This one is unidentified as to Newspaper and date. This is also to be found in Fox to Palmerston, Feb. 23, 1839, *Bl. Bk.* 1840, I, 19.

Text of the Governors' Agreement

"Head-Quarters, Eastern Division
U.S. Army, Augusta, Maine
March 21, 1839

"The undersigned, a Major-General in the Army of the United States, being especially charged with maintaining the peace and safety of their entire northern and eastern frontiers, having cause to apprehend a collision of arms between the proximate forces of New Brunswick and the State of Maine on the **disputed territory**, which is claimed by both, has the honor, in the sincere desire of the United States to preserve the relations of peace and amity with Great Britain -- relations which might be much endangered by such untoward collision -- to invite from his Excellency Major-General Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor, &c., &c., a general declaration to this effect:

"That it is not the intention of the Lieutenant-Governor of Her Britannic Majesty's Province of New Brunswick, under the expected renewal of negotiations between the cabinets of London and Washington on the subject of the said disputed territory, without renewed instructions to that effect from his government, to seek to take military possession of that territory, or to seek, by military force, to expel therefrom the armed civil posse or the troops of Maine.

"Should the undersigned have the honor to be favored with such declaration or assurance, to be by him communicated to his Excellency the Governor of the State of Maine, the undersigned does not in the least doubt that he would be immediately and fully authorized by the Governor of Maine to communicate to his Excellency the Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick a corresponding pacific declaration to this effect: --

"That, in the hope of a speedy and satisfactory settlement, by negotiation, between the governments of the United States and Great Britain, of the principal or boundary question between the State of Maine and the Province of New Brunswick, it is not the intention of the Governor of Maine, without renewed instructions from the Legislature of the State, to attempt to disturb by arms the said Province, in the possession of the Madawaska settlements, or to attempt to interrupt the usual communications between that province and Her Majesty's Upper provinces; and that he is willing, in the meantime, to leave the questions of possession and jurisdiction as they at present stand -- that is: Great Britain holding, in fact, possession of a part of the said Territory, and the government of Maine denying her right to such possession; and the State of Maine holding, in fact, possession of another portion of the same territory, to which her right is denied by Great Britain.

"With this understanding, the Governor of Maine will without unnecessary delay, withdraw the military force of the state from the same disputed territory -- leaving only, under a land agent, a small civil posse, armed or unarmed, to protect the timber recently cut, and to prevent future depredations.

"Reciprocal assurances of the foregoing friendly character having been, through the undersigned, interchanged, all danger of collision between the immediate parties to the controversy will be at once removed, and time allowed the United States and Great Britain to settle amicably the great question of limits.

"The undersigned has much pleasure in renewing to his Excellency Major-General Sir John Harvey, the assurance of his ancient high consideration and respect.

"Winfield Scott"

To a copy of the foregoing Sir John Harvey annexed the following:

"The undersigned, Major-General Sir John Harvey, Lieutenant-Governor of Her Britannic Majesty's Province of New Brunswick, having received a proposition from Major-General Winfield Scott, of the United States Army, of which the foregoing is a copy, hereby, on his part, signified his concurrence and acquiescence therein.

"Sir John Harvey renews with great pleasure to Major-General Scott the assurances of his warmest personal consideration, regard and respect.

"J. Harvey.

"Government House, Fredericton
"New Brunswick, March 23, 1839."

To a paper containing the note of General Scott and the acceptance of Sir John Harvey, Governor Fairfield annexed his acceptance in these words:

"Executive Department
Augusta, March 25, 1839.

"The undersigned, Governor of Maine, in consideration of the foregoing, the exigency for calling out the troops of Maine having ceased, has no hesitation in signifying his entire acquiescence in the proposition of Major-General Scott.

"The undersigned has the honor to tender to Major-General Scott the assurance of his high respect and esteem.

"John Fairfield." ¹

1. From the *Augusta Journal*, (Augusta, Maine) 26 March, 1839. Quoted in Edward D. Mansfield, *The Life of General Winfield Scott*, (New York, 1846), 338-342. Found also in Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of ... Written by Himself*, (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1864), II, 347-352. An original copy, containing Fairfield's signature is found in the Maine-New Brunswick Relations, 1838-1841, Boundary Troubles, a folder of letters found at the New Brunswick Historical Museum, St. John, New Brunswick. Copy in Harvey to Glenelg, March 23, 1839, N. B. Despatches (sent), VIII, U. N. B. A.

Sir John Harvey's construction of the "Governors' Agreement," as explained by him in a despatch to Henry S. Fox, British Minister to the United States, 31 January 1840:¹

My construction of it has always been that so long as it was not directly infringed by any overt act of the State of Maine -- I was restrained by it from moving any of Her Majesty's Troops into the Disputed Territory by My Own Authority except on their route to Lower Canada -- and accordingly the sanction which I asked for & received from Her Majesty's Government to take Military Possession of the Madawaska Settlement has been made distinctly conditional upon the infraction of the agreement by inroads into it on the part of the people of Maine.

1. Harvey to Fox, 31 January 1840, N. B. Despatches (sent), VIII, U. N. B. A.

Chapter I:

1. Thomas Albert, Abbe, *Histoire du Madawaska* (Quebec: Imprimerie Missionnaire, 1920), 70-71; Charles W. Collins, "The Acadians of Madawaska," *New England Catholic Historical Society Publications*, No. 3, (Boston, 1902) 27.
2. This settlement at Springhill was called Ecoupay or Ecoupag by the Indians and Aucpaque by the French. Historians have varied in their use of the name.
3. Father Bailly to Bishop Briand, 20 June 1768 in Collins, "Acadians," *loc. cit.*, 28; Richard Bulkley, Provincial Secretary, to John Anderson and Francis Peabody, 20 August 1768 in Albert, *Madawaska*, 310-311. See also William O. Raymond, "The First Governor of New Brunswick and the Acadians of the River St. John," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series 3, Volume 8, (1902), Section ii, 422; and W.O. Raymond, *The River St. John*, (Sackville, New Brunswick: Tribune Press, 1943), 203.
4. For example, Captain John Monroe recorded his observations along the St. John in 1783. Quoted from the Canadian Archives in the Thomas Albert Papers. This collection contains the notes by Prudent L. Mercure, Canadian Archivist, and used by Albert in his *Histoire du Madawaska*. The papers are (1955) in the possession of Rev. Eymard Desjardins and La Societe Historique du Madawaska at Edmundston, New Brunswick, and will be referred to, hereafter, as the Albert MSS.
5. Pascal Poirier, "Des Acadiens deportés à Boston en 1755," *Trans. R.S.C.*, Ser. 3, v 2 (1908), Sec. ii, 177-179; Albert, *Madawaska*, 72-73.
6. Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.* 423; Albert, *Madawaska*, 72.
7. James Hannay, *History of New Brunswick*, (St. John, 1909), I, 142; Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 422.
8. Ebenezer Foster, et al. to Major Studholme, 30 June 1783, in "Report of Committee of Investigation Claims of Old Inhabitants on the St. John River," *New Brunswick Historical Society Collections*, (1894), I, 110-118. See also, Albert, *Madawaska*, 74, 79; and Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 437.

Chapter II:

1. Albert, *Madawaska*, 43, 76-78; Collins, "Acadians," *loc. cit.*, 28-29; Raymond, "The First Governor" *loc. cit.*, 432-436.
2. *Memoire des Acadiens de la Riviere Saint-Jean's* to the Governor-General of Canada, (1784) in Albert, 81-82. I have checked with a translation of Albert's book made by Marie Antoinette Page; a copy of her translation in typescript form is in the possession of the Maine State Library at Augusta, Maine.
3. Petition of Joseph Daigle, Paul Potier, and others to Governor Carleton, 22 February, 1786, in Raymond, "The First Governor" *loc. cit.*, 435.
4. W.O. Raymond to Prudent L. Mercure, 13 February 1904 in Albert MSS. See Albert, *Madawaska*, 77-78; Raymond, "The First Governor", *loc. cit.*, 432.
5. Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 426-427.
6. Dorchester to Carleton, 3 January 1787, referred to in *ibid.*, 433. By a grant of 15 October 1784, Governor Parr granted Louis Mercure 200 acres near "Madame Keswick" River, a copy is found in Albert MSS.
7. Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, *passim*.
8. *Ibid.*, 446.
9. *Ibid.*, 443.
10. *Ibid.*, 441.
11. *Ibid.*, 444-445.
12. *Ibid.*, 441-442.
13. Frederick Haldimand to Governor Parr, 27 November 1783, in W.O. Raymond, ed., *Winslow Papers 1826-1876*, (St. John: 1901), 149; William Smith, *The History of the Post Office in British North America, 1639-1870*, (London: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1920), 83.
14. Mercure to Holland, 24 February 1785, Albert MSS. The original copy contains a list of the interested Acadians and several Canadians living in New Brunswick who wished to go to Madawaska. See Appendix A.
15. *Memoire des Acadiens de la Riviere St. Jean's*, 1784, in Albert, *Madawaska*, 81-82.
16. Augustin LeBlanc to Carleton, 24 November 1784 in Raymond, "The First Governor", *loc. cit.*, 420; Albert, *Madawaska*, 313.
17. Quoted by Raymond in "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, page 438 where he says that the Green River is meant although the Minutes say "White" River. Raymond also says that in his letter of 13 February 1904 to Prudent Mercure in Albert MSS.
18. Albert, *Madawaska*, 83.
19. Petition of Joseph Daigle, Paul Potier, et. al. to Carleton, 22 February, 1786, in *ibid.*, 316.
20. "Petition of Oliver Tibodo, Sr., Joseph Tarrío, Sr., and Francis Violette, Sr. to Carleton, 21 December 1789" in Raymond, "The First Governor", *loc. cit.*, 448-449, and in Albert, *Madawaska*, 314-315.
21. Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 449; *Northern Boundary Between New Brunswick and Canada*, Documents communicated by His Excellency the Lt. Gov. and Printed by order of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, February 16, 1844, No. 2, 2-3. (Hereafter referred to as "N.B. --Can. Boundary.")

Chapter III:

1. William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of Historic Sites in the Province of New Brunswick," *Trans. R.S.C.*, 2nd Series, V, (1899), sec. ii, 224-225; William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Origins of Settlements in the Province of New Brunswick," *Trans. R.S.C.*, 2nd Series, X, (1904), sec. ii, 28; Albert *Madawaska*, 12, 17.
2. Albert, *Madawaska*, 32-33, 36-37. From Madawaska to St. John it was 228 miles, from Quebec to Halifax it was 627, see Smith, *Post Office*, 77.
3. William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Place-Nomenclature of the Province of New Brunswick," *Trans. R.S.C.*, 2nd Series, II (1896), sec. ii, 247; Ward Chipman, *Remarks upon the Disputed Points of Boundary under the Treaty of Ghent*, principally compiled from the statements laid by the Government of Great Britain before the King of the Netherlands as Arbitrator, (St. John, 1838), 60-61; Albert, *Madawaska*, 34-35.
4. Report of Solicitor-General and Surveyor-General to Alured Clarke, 29 July 1792, in Chipman, *Remarks*, 65; Albert *Madawaska*, 42.
5. Deane to Governor Samuel Smith of Maine, 2 November, 1831, found in Appendix to Deane-Kavanagh report, and in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* (Dover, Maine) V, (May-June-July, 1917), 22-26. Collins relied on this information for his article, "Acadians," *loc. cit.*, and Collins to Prudent Mercure, 4 April 1904 in Albert MSS. More recent accounts illustrating this belief were contained in the *Aroostook Republican* (Caribou, Maine), 2 December 1948, and the *Bangor Daily News* (Bangor, Maine), 12 November, 1949.
6. Louis Mercure to Samuel Holland of 1784 in Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 437-438; L. Mercure to Carleton, June 1787, and Raymond to P. Mercure, 13 February 1904 in Albert MSS. A copy of the license of occupation is also found in Albert MSS.
7. Albert, *Madawaska*, 91-96.
8. *Ibid.*, 97-99.
9. *Ibid.*, 101.
10. *Ibid.*, 45-46.
11. *Ibid.*, 121, Page translation.
12. *Ibid.*, 46.
13. *Ibid.*, 104, 122.
14. *Ibid.*, 133.
15. *Ibid.*, 133-135. Raymond, "The First Governor", *loc. cit.*, 446. Raymond says, "She was aunt to most of the Cyrs, Violettes, and Theriaults who were amongst the prolific founders of Madawaska. She was a woman of remarkable gifts and her name is synonymous with sweetness and goodness," *ibid.* See also W. O. Raymond, "State of the Madawaska and Aroostook Settlement in 1831," Report of John G. Deane and Edward Kavanagh to Samuel Smith, Governor of the State of Maine, *N.B. Hist. Soc. Coll.*, III No. 9 (1914), 376.
16. Pierre Duperré to Carleton, 1 May 1787 in Raymond, "The First Governor," *loc. cit.*, 440.
17. Albert, *Madawaska*, 100.
18. Extracts des Archives de l'Archeveché de Quebec, Albert MSS; also Albert, *Madawaska*, 106-107.
19. Albert, *Madawaska*, 107.
20. Mgr. Hubert's letter to Father Pacquet is quoted in *ibid.*, 108.
21. Memoir of Inhabitants of Madawaska to Mgr. Hubert, 23 July 1792, in *ibid.*, 108-110, Page translation. See Collins, "Acadians", *loc. cit.*, 34-35, and E. Rameau, *La France aux Colonies*, (Paris, 1859), Appendix 8.
22. The Bishop's letter of 12 November 1792 is quoted in Albert, *Madawaska*, 110-111.

23. Raymond to P. Mercure, 13 February 1904, in Albert MSS cites Minutes of the Council of 7 September 1792. See also **N. B. - Canada Boundary**, No. 2, 2-3. Albert, **Madawaska**, 113, states that Lot 23 was chosen, but he was mistaken.

24. Raymond to P. Mercure, 12 February 1904, Albert MSS, and Albert, **Madawaska**, 113.

25. Albert, **Madawaska**, 125-127.

26. Quoted in **ibid.**, 127-128, Page translation.

27. Albert MSS and Albert, **Madawaska**, 128-129.

28. **Ibid.**, 128-130.

Chapter IV:

1. Mercure to Carleton, 15 September 1786 and comment in Raymond, "The First Governor," 438; Provincial Secretary Odell to George Sproule, 14 July 1787 in **ibid.**, 439.

2. Sproule's map bears these words on the territory west of the Madawaska River: "New Brunswick does not have jurisdiction here." Photostatic copies in Albert MSS.

3. Carleton to Greenville 1 October 1790 by W.O. Raymond in "State of Madawaska", **loc. cit.**, 381.

4. Copies in Albert MSS; see Albert, **Madawaska**, 103-104.

5. S. B. Barrell, **Report** to the President of the United States on the Northeastern Boundary, 1828. This report is found in many places; it was published by Congress as Senate Document 130 in 1828, and it is referred to hereafter as "Barrell, **Report**." Ganong "Settlements", **loc. cit.**, 66.

6. Peter Fisher, **Sketches of New Brunswick**. (St. John, New Brunswick, 1825), 53.

7. Dorchester to Carleton, 5 September 1790 in New Brunswick Despatches Received, I. These Despatches are available at the University of New Brunswick Archives on microfilm and are referred to hereafter as "N.B. Despatches, U.N.B.A." The officers were appointed on 5 May 1790, see Alured Clarke to Carleton, 5 January 1793, **ibid.**

8. He moved to Fredericton later and conducted a school there for a short time; he became a Catholic in 1824. Raymond, "The First Governor", **loc. cit.**, 435; Costin to Edward Winslow, 2 July 1782 in **Winslow Papers**, 394-396; William Odell to Joseph Daigle, 17 September 1796 in Albert MSS.

9. From the Albert MSS.

10. Dorchester to Carleton, 3 January 1787 in **Winslow Papers**, 338-340.

11. Chipman, **Remarks**, 7; **N.B. Can. Boundary**, 65-66.

12. Holland's Report, 26 July 1787 is found in Collins, "Acadians", **loc. cit.**, 31; Holland's letters are quoted in Albert, **Madawaska**, 319-320.

13. See Sproule to Holland, 21 June 1785 in William F. Ganong, "A Monograph of the Evolution of the Boundaries of the Province of New Brunswick," **Trans. R.S.C.**, 2nd Series, VII, (1901), sec. ii, 373-374. Sproule's instructions, dated 7 July 1787, are cited in **ibid.**, 376-377.

14. Dorchester to Carleton, 6 August 1787 in **ibid.**, 377-378.

15. Dorchester to Carleton, 13 February 1790, N.B. Despatches, I, U.N.B.A.

16. Dated 5 September 1790, cited above on page 30.

17. Copy from Albert MSS.

18. This account is based on a despatch from Lt. Governor Alured Clarke to Carleton 5 January 1793 with several enclosures, including Cyr's petition, from N.B. Despatches, I, U.N.B.A.; and Report of the Solicitor-General, J. Williams, and Surveyor-General, S. Holland, to Clarke, 29 July 1792 in Chipman, **Remarks**, 67-68.

19. Clarke to Carleton, 5 January 1793, and Henry Dundas to Carleton, 10 December 1792 and 6 January 1793, N.B. Despatches, I, U.N.B.A.

20. Costin to Winslow, 2 July 1792, **Winslow Papers**, 394-396; Odell to Joseph Daigle, 17 September 1796, quoted in Raymond, "The First Governor", **loc. cit.**, 435.

Chapter V:

1. **Appendix A of the United States Census for the District of Maine, 1820**, (from a photostatic copy of a separate pamphlet, courtesy of the Cary Public Library, Houlton, Maine): Albert, **Madawaska**, 167.
2. Notes from the Albert MSS; see Albert, **Madawaska**, 169.
3. From the Albert MSS, (my translation). A shorter excerpt from this and some from other letters from Father Kelly are found in Albert, **Madawaska**, 135-137.
4. From the Journal of Mgr. Joseph Plessis, 7 September 1812, quoted in Albert, **Madawaska**, 147-148.
5. *Ibid.*, 152-153.
6. *Ibid.*, 147-148.
7. From the Journal of Mgr. Plessis, *loc. cit.*, 152-153.
8. Albert, **Madawaska**, 159-160.
9. *Ibid.*, 162.

Chapter VI:

1. Carleton to the Duke of Portland, 3 January 1795, 15 January 1795, 1 December 1798, N.B. Despatches (Sent) I, U.N.B.A.
2. Winslow to E.G. Lutwyche, early in 1799, **Winslow Papers**, 484-486.
3. See W.S. MacNutt, "The Politics of the Timber Trade in Colonial New Brunswick, 1825-1840," **Canadian Historical Review**, XXX (March, 1949), 47.
4. Duperré to T. Wetmore, 20 February 1819. This letter is found in **Barrell's Report**, 32 and is quoted by Albert, **Madawaska**, 322, and copies of it are found in various archives. There has been some confusion about the date of the letter; Barrell indicated that it was written in 1818 or 1819 and Albert used 1818. This letter, however, is one of a series of letters passing between Madawaska and Fredericton in 1818 and 1819. Barrell had some of those letters and copies of those and others may be found in the Albert MSS and in a bundle of letters at the Legislative Library, Fredericton, entitled "Madawaska - Aroostook Riot, 1827-1828." When arranged in the proper sequence, this letter clearly appears to have been written in February, 1819.
5. Duperre to J.W. Bliss, 5 September 1818, Legislative Library.
6. Extract of the Minutes of the Executive Council 16 April 1818, copy in Legislative Library.
7. Jonah Dunn to C.S. Daveis, 5 January 1825, Enoch Lincoln MSS, (American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.); Barrell, **Report**, 56; George S. Rowell, "John Baker, A Hero of Madawaska," read before the Maine Historical Society, November 28, 1911, (Portland, Maine, 1912), unpagged.
8. Henry Copper's testimony at the Baker Trial is quoted in John Francis Sprague, **The North Eastern Boundary Controversy and the Aroostook War**, (Dover, Maine: The Observer Press, 1910); Barrell, **Report**, 57.
9. William L. Lucey, "Madawaska on the River St. John: New England's Last Frontier, 1783-1813," **American Catholic Historical Society Record**, LX (September, 1949).
10. Governor William King's Gubernatorial Address, 2 June 1820, **Resolves of Maine**, 1820, 4; Barrell, **Report**, 16-17.
11. **Resolves of Maine**, 1821, 46; 1822, 148; 1825, 396.
12. Deputy Land Agent Cooke to unnamed recipient, enclosed in H.U. Addington to Lt. Gov. Douglas, 30 March 1824, N.B. Despatches, II, U.N.B.A.
13. **Maine Resolves**, 1825, 438, 440.
14. Barrell, **Report**, 70.
15. "Report of the Committee on State Lands", in **Maine Legislative Documents**, 1826.
16. Enclosures in Douglas to Earl Bathurst, 8 November 1825, N.B. Despatches (sent) II, U.N.B.A.
17. This paper is found at the front of N.B. Despatches (sent), II, and is dated 27 February 1824, quotation is from 5-6.
18. My italics. *Ibid.*, 11-12.
19. Douglas to Bathurst, 2 September 1825, N.B. Despatches, II, U.N.B.A.
20. Douglas to Bathurst, 5 September 1824, 2 September 1825, *Ibid.*
21. **The Eastern Argus**, (Portland, Maine), 7 November, 19 September 1820.
22. Douglas to Bathurst, 26 September 1824, N.B. Despatches II, U.N.B.A.
23. Douglas to Addinton, 26 April, 1825, *Ibid.*
24. Douglas to Bathurst, 2 September 1825, *Ibid.*

25. Douglas to Bathurst, 8 November 1825, *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*
27. Douglas to Bathurst, 10 March 1826, *Ibid.*
28. **Maine Resolves**, 1826, 472, 282; Land Agent's Report in **Legislative Documents**, 1826.
29. Douglas to Bathurst, 10 November 1826, with enclosures, N.B. Despatches. II, U.N.B.A.
30. **Maine Resolves**, 1827, 571-577.
31. Governor Enoch Lincoln to Henry Clay, 3 September 1827, in William R. Manning, ed., **Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Canadian Relations, 1784-1860**, (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1942), II, 136-137.

Chapter VII:

1. Sources of information on John Baker's Rebellion are many and varied. One of the most impartial accounts is that of S. B. Barrell, cited above.
2. Deposition of P. Sileste, 9 August 1827, in Barrell, **Report**, 37-38. Charges were not brought. Baker declared he had only protested a change in the route of the mail and Sileste's testimony at the trial was not as strong as his original deposition. Sprague, **North Eastern Boundary**, 84-85.
3. From Morehouse's warrant, 22 September 1827, in Barrell, **Report**, 23.
4. Miller's account, 26 January 1828, in Albert MSS. Letters between T. Wetmore and Miller on September 13 are found in Barrell, and others are in the Legislative Library bundle on the Baker Trial.
5. C.S. Daveis to E. Lincoln, 24 November 1827, in Lincoln MSS.
6. J.G. Deane to Lincoln, 2 July 1828, Lincoln MSS.
7. Deane to Lincoln, 23 February 1829, Lincoln MSS.
8. He was buried at Baker Brook, but later his remains were moved to Ft. Fairfield, where a monument was erected to his memory.
9. See above, pp. 34 - 35
10. An attested copy is found in the Legislative Library, taken from one given to Miller by Baker. A draft copy is in Lincoln's MSS.
11. Douglas to Lincoln, 15 November 1827, in Douglas to Vaughan, 15 November 1827, N.B. Despatches. III, U.N.B.A.
12. Barrell, **Report**, 10-11.
13. **Maine Resolves**, 1828, 623-625, 659-770.
14. Barrell to Clay, 9 December 1827 in Manning, **Correspondence**, II, 664-665; Lincoln to Barrell, 10 December 1827 in Barrell, **Report**, 16.
15. C.S. Daveis Report, presented to the Governor on January 31, to the Legislature on February 2, in **Maine Resolves**, 1828, 721-795.
16. 18 February 1828. Resolve and extract of a letter by A. Nichol to Mrs. Baker of the same date, and Baker to Lincoln, 13 May 1828, are found in Lincoln MSS.
17. Refus McIntire to Daveis, 13 April 1828, and Deane to Lincoln, 28 March 1828, in Lincoln MSS.
18. Clay to Vaughan, 20 February 1828, in Manning, **Correspondence**, II, 148-163.
19. Douglas to Vaughan, 29 February 1828, Douglas to Huskisson with enclosure, 4 March 1828, N.B. Despatches. III, U.N.B.A.
20. Vaughan to Earl Dudley, 28 March 1828, in Vaughan to Douglas, 29 March 1828, and Vaughan to Dudley in Vaughan to Douglas, 6 April 1828, N.B. Despatches (Received) IX, U.N.B.A. Maine's political leaders were partly responsible for securing the troops according to these letters: Senator Chandler to Enoch Lincoln, Jan. 3, 1828, Albion Parris to Enoch Lincoln, 24 March 1828, enclosing copy from James Barbour at the War Department to Parris and General Chandler, dated March 22, all found in the Lincoln MSS.
21. Douglas to Vaughan, 19 April 1828, and Douglas to Huskisson, 21 April 1828, N.B. Despatches (sent) III, U.N.B.A.
22. Douglas to Vaughan and to Huskisson, 12 May 1828, *ibid.*
23. Douglas to Sir George Murray, 25 July 1828, *ibid.* Deane's letters to Lincoln covering this period are found in the Lincoln MSS with copies of Deane to Baker dated July 31. Deane and Preble were collecting materials to use in connection with the arbitration..

24. Douglas to Murray, 23 October 1828, N.B. Despatches, III, U.N.B.A. The quotation is from Baker to Samuel Cooke, 27 September, 1828, found in the Lincoln MSS.

25. James A. Maclauchlan was appointed Warden of the Disputed Territory by New Brunswick shortly after the Baker episode, but despite William Black's excellent suggestion that the U.S. appoint a similar officer, nothing was done. Black to Vaughan, 11 May 1829, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A.

26. (e.g.) Albion Parris to Lincoln, 26 December 1827, Lincoln MSS.

27. **Maine Resolves**, 1831, (30 March 1831), 246-276.

28. Black to Goderich, 26 May 1831, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A.

29. Private and Special Laws of Maine, II, 1829-1835, Chap. 151, 243-244.

30. Enclosure in Maclauchlan to Campbell, 14 September 1831, in Campbell to the British Minister at Washington, 14 September 1831, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A. (So dated).

31. William L. Lucey, **Edward Kavanagh**, (Francestown, New Hampshire: Marshall Jones Co., 1946), 98-99. The Deane-Kavanagh Report contains a detailed survey of the settlements along the St. John River in the disputed territory with an account of each settler, his term of possession, his improvements, etc.; it forms one of our best reports of early Madawaska. It is most readily available as Appendix in Albert, **Madawaska**, and thus in the Page translation now available. My details are from Albert paged as indicated. I have also seen a copy in the possession of Father Lucey of Holy Cross which he made from an original in the archives of the diocese at Portland. (Kavanagh Collection).

32. Enclosures in Campbell to Bankhead, 4 October 1831, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A.

33. Campbell to Goderich, 17 September 1831, *ibid.*

34. Campbell to Lord Aylmer, 26 September 1831, *ibid.*

35. Campbell to Goderich, 1 October 1831, *ibid.*

36. John Francis Sprague, "The North Eastern Boundary Controversy, 1783-1842," in Louis Clinton Hatch, **Maine, A History**, (New York: Am. Hist. Soc., 1919), I, 267. Livingstone to Gov. Samuel Smith, 21 October 1831, **Maine Resolves**, 1832, 483-484, and Livingstone to Charles Bankhead, 15 October 1831, *ibid.*, 494.

37. Richard G. Wood, **A History of Lumbering in Maine, 1820-1861**, University of Maine Studies, No. 33 (Orono: Univ. of Me., 1935), 58-59. Maclauchlan to Campbell in Campbell to Vaughan, 3 October 1833, 30 November 1833, 17 June 1834, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A.

38. Campbell to Glenelg, 6 September 1836; Campbell to Vaughan, 20 February 1837; Campbell to H.S. Fox, 17 May 1837, N.B. Despatches, V, VI, U.N.B.A.

Chapter VIII:

1. See Harvey's early despatches; his suggestions are in Harvey to Glenelg, 6 June 1837, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.

2. Robert P. Dunlap to John Forsyth, 3 July 1837, in Manning, **Correspondence**, II, 29-30; Maclauchlan to Harvey, 10 June¹⁸³⁷, in Harvey to Fox, 12 June 1837; Harvey to Fox and Harvey to Glenelg, 6 July 1837, and Harvey to Glenelg, 25 July 1837, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.

3. Harvey to Glenelg, 12 July 1837, 16 July 1837, *ibid.*

4. Dated 10 July 1837, in Harvey to Glenelg, 10 July 1837, *ibid.*

5. Harvey to Glenelg, 27 July 1837, *ibid.*

6. Harvey to Glenelg, 18 August, 1837, 5 September 1837, 10 September 1837, and Harvey to Fox, 29 August 1837, *ibid.*

7. Harvey to Glenelg, 1 October, 7 October, and 17 October 1837, *ibid.*

8. Harvey to Glenelg, 7 October 1837, *ibid.*

9. **Maine Resolves**, 1838, 259-265, 290-291, 343-344.

10. John S. Tenney to C.S. Daveis, 9 February 1838, Daveis MSS.

11. Tenney to Daveis, 18 February 1838, Daveis MSS.

12. *ibid.* Greeley was released on February 5 on application from the Governor and Council of Maine. Harvey to Fox, 5 February 1838, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.

13. Edward Kent to the Legislature, March 14, 1838, with enclosures, **Maine Resolves**, 374-438.

14. Harvey to Glenelg, 7 April, 14 July, and 17 October 1838 in *ibid.* Maine had attempted no road building in the disputed territory since 1833, Harvey to Glenelg, 12 November 1838, *ibid.*

15. Benj. A. Randall to C.S. Daveis, 8 August 1838, Daveis MSS.

16. *ibid.* The Whigs lost the election in September, 1838.

17. Harvey to Glenelg, Quebec, 30 June 1838, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.

18. Harvey to Glenelg, 11 September 1838 *ibid.*

19. Harvey to Glenelg, 11 September, 1 October, and 17 November 1838, *ibid.*; Harvey to Glenelg 21 February 1839, *ibid.*, VII.

20. Harvey to Glenelg, 9 October and 13 October 1838, *ibid.*, VI; to Glenelg, 19 January 1839, *ibid.*, VII.

21. There was still a Democratic president, Van Buren, but he was in a very insecure position and needed the support of Maine. --- He lost the next national election in 1840.

22. **Maine Resolves**, 1839, 20.

23. Fairfield to his wife, 24 January 1838, and 16 February 1839 in Arthur Staples, ed., **The Letters of John Fairfield**, (Lewiston, Maine: Lewiston Journal Co., 1922), 261-262, 265-266; **Maine Resolves**, 1839, 32; clippings from a scrapbook on the Aroostook War, compiled by W.W. Wheildon and in the possession of the Boston Public Library.

24. Harvey to Glenelg, 19 January 1839 with Fairfield's to Harvey of 12 January 1839 enclosed, and Harvey to Glenelg of 18 February 1839, N.B. Despatches, VII, U.N.B.A.

25. See Copy as Appendix "D". Fairfield to the Maine Legislature, 15 February 1839, from Wheildon **Scrapbook**.

26. Harvey to Glenelg, 18 February 1839, N.B. Despatches, VII, U.N.B.A. Major Strickland, Sheriff of Penobscot County, barely escaped capture and hastened to Augusta to report this new aggression.

27. Harvey to Glenelg, 18 February 1839, *Ibid.*
28. Fairfield to Harvey, 15 February 1839 in Harvey to Glenelg, 21 February 1839.
29. Fairfield to his wife, 16 February 1839 in *Letters*, 263-264.
30. Fairfield to Harvey, 21 February 1839, in Harvey to Glenelg. It is not clear when this was transmitted to Glenelg, but it is filed in the midst of his correspondence with the Colonial Office, N.B. Despatches, VII, U.N.B.A.
31. *Maine Resolves*, 1839, 42, 46, 48.
32. Fairfield to Walter Fairfield, 23 February 1839 in *Letters*, 266-267.
33. Sprague, "Boundary" in Hatch, *Maine*, I 273-275; Fairfield to his wife 24 February 1839, in *Letters*, 267-268 and other letters following. Actually only 3339 men served in this movement, Burrage, *Maine in the Northeastern Boundary Controversy* (Augusta, 1919), 274.
34. Harvey to Glenelg, 13 March 1839, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.
35. Fox to Harvey, 27 February 1839 in Harvey to Glenelg, 12 March 1839; Fox to Harvey, 11 March 1839, in Harvey to Glenelg, 13 March 1839, *Ibid.* Fairfield to his wife, 15 March 1839, in *Letters*, 271.
36. Winfield Scott, *Memoirs*, (New York: Sheldon & Co., 1864), II, 337. Whig editorial, 6 February 1839, and others, quoted in Sprague, *North Eastern Boundary*, 103-115. For a brief general study of the Maine Press, see David Lowenthal, "The Maine Press and the Aroostook War," *The American Historical Review*, XXXII, 315-336. See also, Leonard B. Chapman, "Rev. Caleb Bradley on the Madawaska War," *Maine Historical Society Collections*, 2nd Series, IX, 418-425.
37. All the details of his winning over Fairfield to a peaceful policy, he said, "cannot be given. There was, however, no bribery." Scott, *Memoirs*, II, 344. Scott later ran for the Presidency on the Whig ticket.
38. Edward D. Mansfield, *The Life of General Winfield Scott*, (New York: A.S. Barnes and Company, 1846), 332-333. Fairfield to his wife, 15 March 1839, *Letters*, 271.
39. Fairfield to Harvey, 23 March 1839, in Harvey to Glenelg, 27 March 1839, N.B. Despatches (Sent) VIII, U.N.B.A. Harvey's copy of the agreement signed by Fairfield, and bearing a note by General Scott, is at the New Brunswick Historical Museum. For a copy of the agreement, see Appendix "E".
40. Harvey to Glenelg, 23 March 1839, 30 March 1839, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.
41. Harvey to A. Poulett Thompson, 17 January 1840, and Harvey to Fox, 31 January 1840, *Ibid.*
42. Harvey to Normanby, 28 August 1839, 7 November 1839, *Ibid.*
43. Harvey to Glenelg, 19 September 1839, *Ibid.*; Colebrooke to Russell, 14 June 1841, N.B. Despatches, IX, U.N.B.A.
44. Glenelg to Harvey, 22 December 1838, 1 January 1839, N.B. Despatches (Received) XVIII. Caldwell's name was mentioned in several despatches throughout this period, such as Harvey to Glenelg, 1 October 1837, N.B. Despatches (Sent), VI, U.N.B.A. See W.S. MacNutt, "New Brunswick's Age of Harmony: The Administration of Sir John Harvey," *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXIII (June, 1851), 106-126.
45. Harvey to Russell, 15 December 1839, Harvey to Normanby, 26 May 1839, 25 August 1839. Harvey to Thompson, 17 January 1840, Harvey to Jackson, 25 January, 1840, Harvey to Fox, 10 February 1840, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.
46. Fairfield to Harvey, 12 December 1839 in Harvey to Russell, 24 December 1839, Harvey to Russell, 10 January 1840, *Ibid.* *Laws of Maine*, 1840, 235-240.
47. MacNutt, "Harvey", *loc. cit.*, 120. Harvey to Russell, 9 August 1840, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.
48. Harvey to Russell, 9 August 1840, 21 September 1840, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.

49. Rice to Maclauchlan, 5 November 1840, Maclauchlan to Harvey, 9 November 1840, enclosed in Harvey to Sydenham, 13 November 1840, and Harvey to Russell, 14 November 1840, *Ibid.*
50. Harvey to Farfield, 10 December 1840 in *Maine Laws*, 1841, 641-642; Fairfield to Harvey, 15 December 1840, *Ibid.*, 642-644. Fairfield's reply to Harvey is misfiled in the microfilmed despatches, appearing at the end of the despatches for 1839.
51. Harvey to Sydenham, 10 December 1840, and 12 December 1840, N.B. Despatches, VIII, U.N.B.A.
52. Fairfield to Harvey, 15 December 1840, Harvey to Russell, 21 December 1840, Harvey to Sydenham, 21 December 1840, and 11 January 1841. *Ibid.*
53. Edward Kent, Gubernatorial Address, *Laws of Maine*, 1841, 646-669; Kent to Harvey, 15 January 1841; in Harvey to Sydenham, 23 January 1841, N.B. Despatches VIII, U.N.B.A.
54. Sydenham to Russell, 20 December 1840 in Paul Knaplund, ed., *Letters from Lord Sydenham to Lord John Russell*, (London: George Albert Unwin Ltd., 1931), 106-110. The course he refers to is the posse idea.
55. Webster to Edward Everett, 25 April 1842, in Fletcher Webster, *Private Correspondence of Daniel Webster*, (Boston, Little Brown & Co., 1875-7), II, 123; Webster to Ashburton, 8 July 1842, Manning, *Correspondence*, III, 170-178. For the story of the Maine Commissioners and Webster, see Lucey, *Kavanaugh*, 172-194, and William L. Lucey, "Some Correspondence of the Maine Commissioners Regarding the Webster-Ashburton Treaty," *The New England Quarterly*, XV (June, 1942), 332-328.
56. They were William P. Preble, Edward Kavanaugh, Democrats, and Edward Kent and John Otis, Whigs. The Massachusetts agents were Abbot Lawrence, John Mills, and Charles Allen, Lucey, *Kavanaugh*, 172. *Laws of Maine*, 1842, 124-128, 110, 111, 184, 242.
57. J.G. Deane to E. Lincoln, 28 December 1828, Lincoln MSS.
58. It was his third term; Kent's second term intervened between Fairfield's second and third terms.

Chapter IX:

1. Albert, *Madawaska*, 207-208; Collin, "Acadians," *loc. cit.*, 48-49; Campbell to Goderich, 1 October 1831, N.B. Despatches, IV U.N.B.A.
2. Albert, *Madawaska*, 210-211; Campbell to Goderich, 1 October 1831, N.B. Despatches, IV, U.N.B.A.
3. Harvey to Glenelg, 1 October 1837, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.
4. Maclauchlan to Henry J. Harvey, 22 March 1841, in Harvey to Russell, 27 March 1841, *Ibid*; Father Langevin to Harvey, no date, quoted by Raymond, "Madawaska" in 1831, *loc. cit.*, 364.
5. Albert, *Madawaska*, 173-174, 177-178, 422-425; Charles T. Jackson, *First Report on the Geology of the State of Maine, 1836* (Augusta, 1837), 71; Fisher, *Notitia*, 97-98.
6. Albert, *Madawaska*, 177-178, 424.
7. *Ibid.*, 179-180; Harvey to Glenelg, 1 October 1837, N.B. Despatches, VI, U.N.B.A.
8. Jackson's report was cited in footnote no. 5 above. This is the Deane-Kavanagh Report in Albert, 339-414. An important source of further information would be the Archives of the Archbishop of Quebec. Father Godmer assured me there is much information there. That was to be my next project and should be used by researchers who have skill in reading French *longhand*. It is unlikely I shall ever attempt it now.
9. Both Fisher's works have been cited above and are listed in the bibliography.
10. Fisher, *Sketches*, 53.
11. *Ibid.*, 53; Jackson, *Geology of Maine, 1836*, 71-73; Charles Lanman, *Adventures of an Angler in Canada, Nova Scotia and the United States*, (London: Richard Bentley, 1848), 235. English speaking observers too often say "patois" when all they mean to recognize is that Madawaskans speak a distinct, ancient but proper French dialect.
12. Fisher, *Notitia*, 98; Fisher *Sketches*, 53; Deane-Kavanagh, *Report*, 403-404.
13. Deane-Kavanagh, *Report*, 407; Joseph Bouchette, *The British Dominions in North America*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1832), II, 104; Fisher, *Notitia*, 97.
14. Collins, "Acadians", *loc. cit.*, 4; Deane-Kavanagh, *Report*, 404; Fisher, *Sketches*, 53; Fisher, *Notitia*, 97-98. The Quotation is from Fisher, *Notitia*, 53.
15. St. Bruno had its own priest by 1838, a certain Antoine Gosselin; Henri Dionne became the first priest of Ste.-Luce in 1843. Albert, *Madawaska*, 422-424. Fisher, *Sketches*, 53; Fisher, *Notitia*, 98; Charles S. Daves, "Report of the Committee on the North East Boundary," 1828, *Maine Legislative Documents*, 1828, 15. See below, Chapter X, for a description of their church at this time.
16. Deane-Kavanagh, *Report*, 332.
17. Jackson, *Geology of Maine*, 72. Jackson was obviously one of those Anglo-Saxons who misunderstood the situation, calling the ancient French dialects from Acadia and New France a "patois". It is from men like Jackson that that reputation got started, unfortunately. Francophones have been struggling against it ever since. See M.A. Gauvin, *Linguistic and Culture Heritage of the Acadians*, 1969, as a corrective statement. Marcella Belanger (Mrs. Elmer Violette) also discussed this in her thesis done at College St. Louis in Edmundston, N. B.
18. *Ibid.*
19. F.T. Robinson to P.C. Amereau, 17 October 1843, Audit Office Books of Frederick P. Robinson, New Brunswick Historical Museum, Book B, 1836, 45.
20. Lanman, *Adventures*, 235.

Chapter X:

1. R. Packenham to John C. Calhoun, 10 January 1844. in Manning, *Correspondence*, III, 870-879; Albert, *Madawaska*, 228-229, 253-254.
2. Albert, *Madawaska*, 226-228, 237, *Laws of Maine*, 1843, 177; *Laws of Maine*, 1844, 282; *Laws of Maine*, 1845, 452. See also, Ruth Nicholson, "Relations of New Brunswick with the State of Maine and the United States, 1837-1849," Unpublished Master's thesis at the University of New Brunswick, 68-72.
3. Documents and notes from the Albert MSS; Albert, *Madawaska*, 226-229, 237; A.I. Brown to Anna Barnes, 14 November 1905, Albert MSS.
4. Nicholson, "Relations of New Brunswick with the State of Maine," *loc. cit.*, 68-72.
5. Edward H. Elwell, *Aroostook with Some Account of the Excursions Thither of the Editors of Maine in the Years 1856 and 1878*, (Portland, 1878), 25-26, 37.
6. Charles Halloch, "Aroostook and Madawaska," *Harpers Monthly Magazine*, October, 1863, 695-696.
7. *Ibid.*, 697-698.

Chapter XI:

1. Sproule to Holland, 21 June 1785, in Thomas Baillie, **Supplementary Report on the Boundary Line between Canada and New Brunswick According to the Royal Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act of 1774, 1844**, Pamphlet originally published as Appendix to the Journals of the House of Assembly of New Brunswick, 1844; Dorchester to Carleton, 3 January 1787, in Raymond, **Winslow Papers**, 338-340; and Dorchester to Carleton, 6 August 1787, in Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 378.
2. This monograph has been cited fully above and will be found listed in the bibliography.
3. Carleton to Dundas, 4 July 1794, Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 311-312; Carleton to Portland, 15 January 1795 and 1 December 1798 in *ibid.*, 312-313; Other letters are also cited on pages 313-314; Winslow to Lutwyche 1799, in Raymond, **Winslow Papers**, 435; Winslow to Sir John Wentworth, 24 June 1800, in *ibid.*, 617; and Winslow to Sir James Craig, 4 April 1804, in *ibid.*, 615.
4. Murray to Lt. Gov. of Quebec and to Pres. Black of New Brunswick, 8 April 1830 in **Blue Book 1851** (Papers relative to the Settlement of the Disputed Boundaries between the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick), 61; A. Wells, **Report on the Boundary Line between the Provinces of Canada and New Brunswick, 1844**, N.B. Historical Museum, not paged.
5. Chipman to Henry Goulburn, 27 March 1818, in Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 378.
6. Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 315-325.
7. Wells, **Report**. (not paged).
8. Colebrooke to Stanley, 30 September 1842, in Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 385.
9. W.E. Gladstone to Earl Cathcart, 2 July 1846, Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 393-394.
10. Ganong, "Boundaries", *loc. cit.*, 396-399.
11. *Ibid.*, 403. See *Ibid.*, 401-403.
12. *Ibid.*, 404.
13. Albert, MSS; **Blue Book, 1851**, 14-15.
14. Albert, MSS; Albert, **Madawaska**, 331.

Chapter XII:

1. Albert, **Madawaska, 184**, 188-190.
2. *Ibid.*, 243-244.
3. *Ibid.*, 244-245. The quotation is from *Ibid.*, 245 (my translation).
4. Albert quotes it in *Ibid.*, 332-334.
5. Quoted in *Ibid.*, 334-336.
6. A. L'Hiver to L. Cormier, 1 October 1870, in *Ibid.*, 336-338; James Madigan to Cormier 15 October 1870, in *Ibid.*, 337. The originals of both these letters are in the Albert MSS.
7. Albert, **Madawaska, 243-249**.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources of information about the settlement and development of Madawaska are relatively few. The very opposite is true of the international boundary controversy; the literature on that question is so formidable that one author has remarked, "... one can, if not cautious, become as confused as the original boundary line."¹

No attempt has been made to describe each item of this bibliography, but care has been taken to point out those which are most useful.

(Asterisked (+) items added in 1975 to published edition).

I. General and Secondary Accounts:

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