Localizing Rural Acadian Identities: Social and Ethnic Reproduction in Pomquet, Nova Scotia

by

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DEDICATION

For Nanny and Papa

The late Alice and Joseph Muise,
who instilled Acadianness in my life and inspired this work.
I wish you were here to see it complete.

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an ethnographic study detailing how ethnic identities are reproduced in Pomquet, a rural Acadian community in Eastern Nova Scotia. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Acadian nationalist project and Nova Scotia tourism industry significantly reshaped Acadian popular memory. In exploring ethnicity within this Francophone minority group in Atlantic Canada, the work engages with the past and the present to illustrate how national understandings of identity create identity tensions locally. Pomquet, due to its political economy and rural landscape, was on the margins of both nationalist and tourism processes. I argue that these points of tension create space where Acadians can attend to and draw upon the individual, local, and national layers that account for ethnic reproduction. This project combined ethnography, interviews, life histories, and archival research to highlight the critical role gendered practices of social reproduction played in the development and maintenance of everyday ethnicity in Pomquet. Using the sites of education, foodwork, and community space, I demonstrate how community members reproduced culture and identities that deviate from mainstream "Acadianness." Examining local narratives through the lens of popular memory and a gendered critique of nationalism revealed that social and cultural reproductive practices play a more crucial role in the continuation of ethnicity in a rural Acadian community than the national ideology. The case of Pomquet is illuminating because of it is place at the margins of the nationalist movement. Women predominantly maintained their Acadianness in the domestic sphere through food, education, language, heritage, and gathering together. These findings indicate the importance of paying attention to gender in understanding historically marginalized populations and to the diversity within ethnic identities. It provides insight into a linguistic minority's capacity to preserve and sustain a local history and identity through effective community organization, even when adequate support is unavailable. Further, it shows the vital need to consider the local needs in providing service, support, and funding, especially in rural contexts.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AGM	Annual General Meeting
AANE	Association des Acadiennnes de la Nouvelle-Écosse
CMA	Congrès Mondial Acadien
CSAP	Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provicial
DAR	Dominion Atlantic Railway
FANE	Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse
FFANE	Fédération des Femmes Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse
PACRCDA	Pomquet Area Cultural, Recreation Community Development Association
SASC	Société Acadienne Sainte-Croix
SMA	Société Mutuelle l'Assomption
SNA	Société Nationale l'Assomption

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

On a cold February afternoon in 2017, the Pomquet Carnaval d'Hiver, or winter carnival, hosted the annual children's parade. During this event, children dressed up and paraded from l'Église Sainte-Croix a short distance to the parish hall along the main road in the community. The 2017 carnival coincided with some blizzard conditions which cancelled some of the events that week, but the day of the parade was clear, and the community gathered along Pomquet-Monks Head Road sitting atop snowbanks and walking through slush to see the children march down the snow-covered road.

At the head of the parade two young boys carried a banner that read "Pomquet en Fête" smiling pridefully at the onlookers wearing their red, white, and blue clothes to match the colors of the Acadian flag. Behind the banner, "Bonhomme," the snowman mascot of the festival, marched merrily waving to onlookers. Bonhomme wore white coveralls with red and blue patches tied at the waist with a red, white, and blue scarf and matching mittens. He marched alongside the children in his black boots with a large smile on his paper mâché head that had a bright red toque painted atop. Paper mâché heads are common in Acadian parades or tintamarres throughout the Maritimes; however, the Bonhomme is a cultural symbol typically associated with winter celebrations in Quebec. His presence speaks to adopted cultural traditions from further afield, traditions brought by those who migrated to the community from other regions. Alongside Bonhomme were children of about eight years old dressed as Evangeline and Gabriel, characters from W.H. Longfellow's nineteenth century epic poem that was adopted by Acadians as a cultural symbol. Evangeline was wearing a long dress with a vest over top tied along the front. She also had on a white knitted headband and a wool sweater, given the cold temperature. A yellow sash was draped over her shoulder reading “Evangeline” in black capital letters. She had a brown wicker basket with her and was passing out tamarin, a molasses candy, to onlookers.

As the parade moved along the road, more children passed, some dressed in older-style clothes. Some girls dressed in traditional Acadian costume, with long dresses and skirts, vests, and braided hair. Boys wore oversized suit jackets that they borrowed from older family members or sourced at a thrift store. One girl wore a long green dress with a large red floppy hat and matching red scarf – she looked quite stylish. Not all children were dressed up, some, like Gabriel, were just in their regular snowsuits because of the weather. The children were enjoying themselves, waving flags and greeting those positioned along the street. Some children had wagons with Acadian decorations, one was riding a pretend horse, one parent wearing a Montreal Canadians jersey pulled a large decorative snowman in a sleigh with a very large Acadian flag.

Though many of the performative elements of the parade conformed to mainstream understandings of Acadian identity – with the red, white, and blue flag with the yellow star and the emblematic presence of Evangeline and her lover Gabriel – more localized portrayals of Pomquet identity also shone through. Some children’s outfits and accompanying small floats on wagons represented farmers, forgers, barns, and animals. Others were dressed as carpenters – a popular trade in the community – wearing plaid shirts, work boots, ball caps, and tool belts.

Most intriguing, however, was a small girl of about five who was portraying a teacher I had heard of during my time in Pomquet named Mary Ida. The girl was wearing a long old fashioned blue dress and bonnet with a white winter coat over top. Her mother pulled a wagon next to her on the side of which read "La Mâtresse d'École." On the wagon sat a table and chair resembling a teacher's desk, with books tied together with a belt, and red, white, blue, and yellow pencils and balloons. Behind the desk was a small chalkboard that read "La Classe de Mary Ida." When the parade drew to its end at the parish hall parking lot, people were talking about how wonderful it was to see their late teacher, Mary Ida, represented in the parade because she was such an important figure in Pomquet's past.

The children's parade embodied many of the juxtapositions and tensions that have emerged in Pomquet over the years. Namely, it demonstrates how a significant portion of Pomqueters' sense of ethnic identity as Acadians is grounded in the local. During my time in Pomquet, people focused on the story of Pomquet, not exclusively the larger story of the Acadians. They took pride in their history, their local efforts to sustain their language, schools, and cultural traditions. Over time Pomquet has drawn upon other external elements of French Canadianness – like the Bonhomme – and Acadianness – like Evangeline – to adapt to changing perceptions around what it means to be Francophone in Nova Scotia or how this small rural community fits into the larger Acadian narrative with an official history that, at times, seems quite different than their own.

Through the case of Pomquet, I explore how Acadians at the margins geographically, economically, and linguistically navigate how ethnicity is made and remade in everyday life. I am interested in how Acadians understand their own ethnic identities despite the complex histories and the nationalist and mainstream conceptions of Acadianité. Ethnographically, I repeatedly encountered this push and pull between the local and mainstream Acadianness, and I argue that it is at that point of tension that ethnic identity is reproduced. To understand Acadian ethnicity, it is necessary to recognize that it happens on three levels: the local, individual, and mainstream. The local level is defined and negotiated by community understandings and representations, the individual level is bound up in nostalgia, and the mainstream is impacted by the nationalist movement and provincial notions of Acadianness. To attend to these various layers, I highlight how ethnicity is multi-layered, and how these layers can be attended to simultaneously, though not always equally. Acadians draw upon the narratives of the local, the nostalgia of the individual, and the meaning and recognizability the notions of the mainstream commonly attached to national performative elements. An analysis of education, heritage, foodwork, and space as sites of ethnic reproduction in Pomquet, this dissertation demonstrates how Pomqueters navigate these various layers to reproduce ethnicity founded in a lived experience. It is rooted in the nostalgia of a grandmother's food, dependent on the symbol of the tri-coloured Acadian flag, and bound-up in the unique celebrations of Pomquet's Carnaval d'Hiver.

Understanding how official history and nationalism have constructed Acadian collective identity is central to this dissertation. I am critical of the nationalist movement and its position as a movement that represented a distinct social class and gender. At the same time, it did provide small, dispersed communities with a voice to advocate for their rights as part of a larger linguistic minority within the region. Acadians were and remain required to make themselves visible to be recognized as Acadians and the symbolism and performative elements of nationalism provides them with the necessary tools to do so. In the 1960s, when Acadians in Pomquet became more exposed to nationalist rhetoric, it provided them with a language to use Acadian as an ethnic identifier. Nationalism allowed them to describe what was already there and provided them with tools to be heard and assert their rights.

In their engagement with the mainstream, Pomqueters use “the stylized and patterned aspects of rituals and performances” associated with nationalism to communicate meaning and create a sense of collective identity amongst citizens (Woods and Tsang 2014:4). These performative elements are also used as “devices” to show connection to the larger mainstream Acadian community of which Pomquet is a part, communicating their ethnicity through the nationalist performance (Woods and Tsang 2014:4). Throughout this dissertation, I highlight the places where tensions arise between local, individual, and mainstream understandings of Acadianness. I stress the importance of the local in social reproduction, underscore the points of tensions it has with the mainstream and national, and show the salience of the individual stories and memories in ethnic reproduction, as evidenced in the opening ethnographic account describing the children’s parade.

1.1 THE ACADIANS

Acadians are the descendants of early French settlers who first arrived in Atlantic Canada in the early seventeenth century. After a failed settlement at Île Saint-Croix, an island off the coast of southern New Brunswick in 1604, Port Royal was successfully established in 1605 by French settlers. This settlement, located in what is now Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia established the colony of Acadia or Acadie.

In the century following their arrival, Acadians developed an autonomous political identity that emerged from limited contact with France, alliances with the

Indigenous Mi’kmaw population, and unique agricultural advancements (Griffiths 2004; MacLeod 2015). Some decades after settlement, Acadians began to differentiate themselves from other French settlements, particularly from that of New France which was established in 1608. Led by Samuel de Champlain, New France was the second successful French settlement and became the focus of commercial operations. France became increasingly focused on and invested in New France, which in turn granted the colony of Acadia and Acadians a degree of autonomy (Griffiths 2004:188). Historian Naomi Griffiths described the process undergone by these French settlers in Acadia as an ethnogenesis, the creation of “a people where none had been before” (2004:xvii). They were able to thrive in a newly formed agricultural community and established an “enduring identity” formed through kinship, religious practice, and sound social and economic networks (Griffiths 2004:101).

Over a century after their settlement, British authorities gained control over Acadia as Nova Scotia (in the territory now known as mainland Nova Scotia). A colonial government was established alongside the founding of Halifax and the British viewed the presence of Acadians and Mi’kmaq as problems in their expansion and the control of the territory. The British officials in the colony were threatened by the strength and prosperity of the Acadians. The colonial government was able to negotiate treaties with the Mi’kmaq and sought an unqualified oath of allegiance to Britain from Acadians. Some Acadians relocated to French-controlled territory; however, there were many who wished to remain in the colony without declaring allegiance. The British administration viewed the Acadians as a threat to their colony and began plans to exile them from the region.

Between the years 1755 and 1762, during a period now known as le Grand Dérangement, or the Great Upheaval, Acadians were deported from the region on ships (see figures 1 and 2 for deportation routes). At this time, approximately 14,100 Acadians lived in the territory (White 2005). Some Acadians were able to escape, fleeing their pursuers and often hiding among Mi'kmaw allies. Still, most, numbering around 10,000, were deported on ships destined for locations along the east coast of the United States, as illustrated in Figure 1, and later France, as indicated in figure 2 (Faragher 2006; Griffiths 2004; Johnston 2007). In 1763, the Treaty of Paris ended the Seven Year's War and created more North American stability. With the treaty in place, Acadians were no longer viewed as a threat within the colony of Nova Scotia (Faragher 2006:422). In 1764, many Acadians returned, resettling in small pockets throughout the Maritime Provinces, but were unable to fully re-establish the collective power they had held in the pre-deportation era.

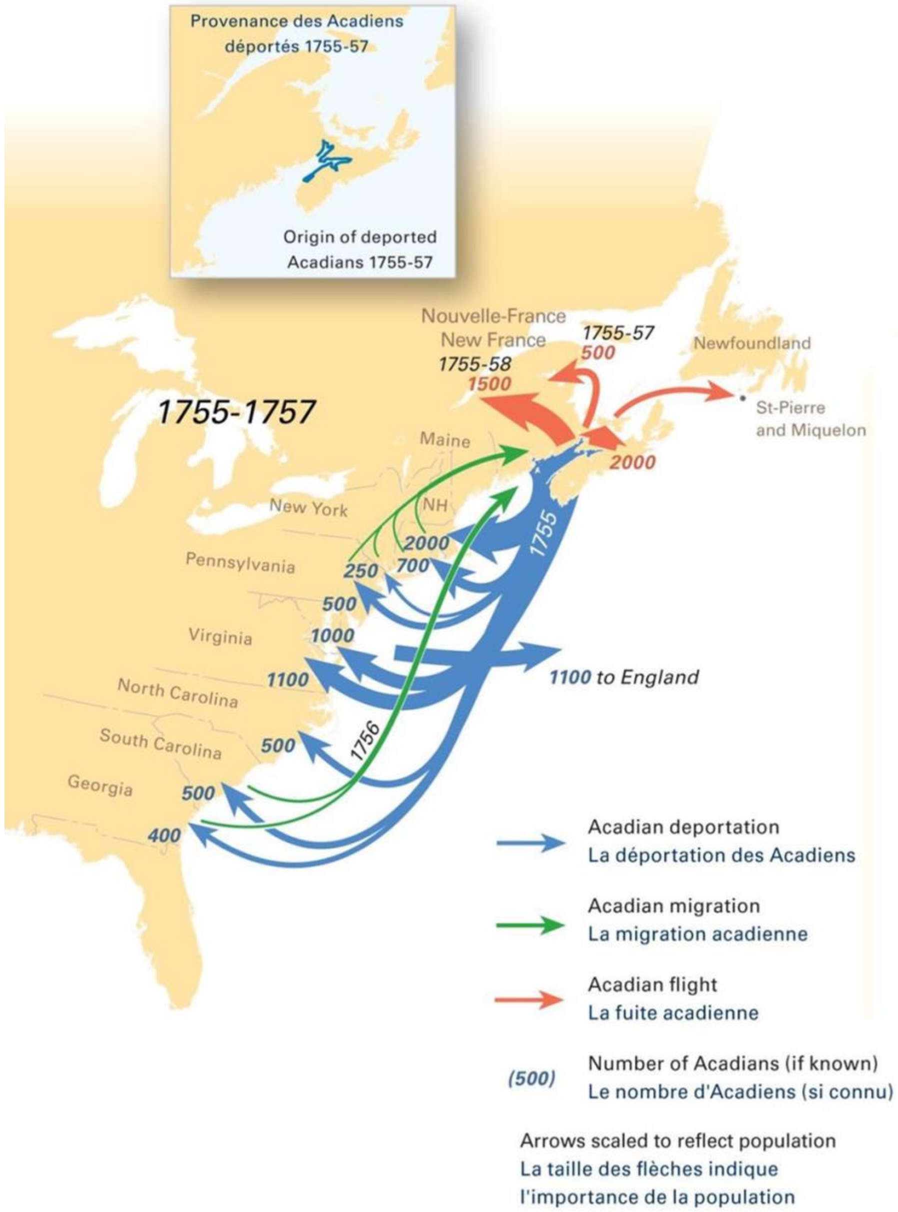

Figure 1 Acadian Deportations 1755-1757. Source: Canadian-American Center, University of Maine

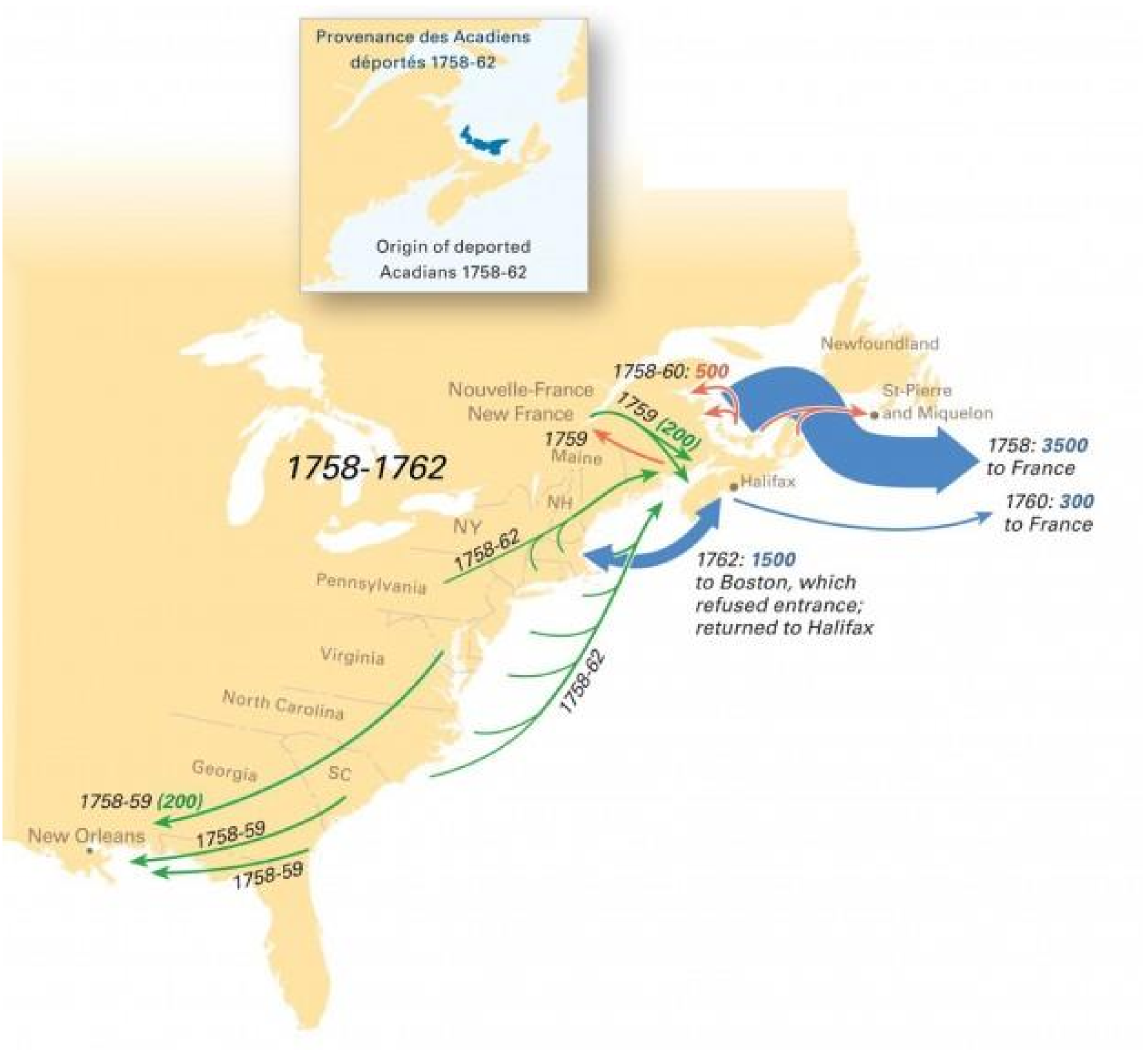

Figure 2 Acadian Deportations 1758-1762. Source: Canadian-American Center, University of Maine

1.2 ACADIANS TODAY

The goal of the Acadian Deportations was to decrease the collective political power of the Acadians and remove any geopolitical boundaries that were previously in place. Once they were able to return to Atlantic Canada, British officials ensured Acadians resettled in small pockets across the province to limit their collective action. The resettlement of Acadians throughout the Maritimes itself has a diasporic element, as

Acadians are in smaller isolated pockets of the region and beyond. There is a long history of remittance economies from populous areas to rural Acadian communities due to outmigration to urban and industrial areas over time. As a result, the Acadian diaspora associates a feeling of "coming home" with the Atlantic region and individual communities. Although New Brunswick is the center of political and linguistic power amongst Acadians in the region, there are Acadian identities that persist throughout the Maritime Provinces, into Quebec, Maine, and Louisiana.

In Canada, regionalism has shaped the identities of the people and created a sense of attachment and belonging to geographic spaces (Buckner 2000; Pocius 1991). There is significant disparity between Canadian regions which have been attributed to geographic, economic, and cultural factors (Allen et al. 2012; McKay 2000). Atlantic Canada is Canada's easternmost region, consisting of the provinces of Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland and Labrador, and contains within it distinct ethnic, linguistic, provincial, political, and Indigenous identities. Regional differences become defined not only by economic development and underdevelopment but also within political ideologies that are inherently attached to contemporary capitalist ideologies (Harvey 2008).

For many Atlantic Canadians, identities are constructed around their rural past, yet some areas and groups are more rural than others. The less rural areas in the region benefit, relatively speaking, socially and economically "through neo-liberal governing practices" (Brodie 2002:377), leading to increased inequities in rural areas. Rural Acadians have migrated to the United States and industrial regions within Canada for centuries to support their local economies or find suitable waged labour outside of the central economies of fishing and forestry (Landry and Lang 2001:172). Many Acadian communities relied on subsistence agriculture which was supported by the aforementioned industries. In Pomquet, however, agriculture became the dominant industry resulting in an atypical economy for an Acadian village.

Today, Acadian communities are scattered throughout the Maritime Provinces. As shown in Figure 3, the Acadian presence in the Pomquet-Tracadie-Havre Boucher region of Nova Scotia is relatively small compared to other areas of the province, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island. There are now 23,700 Acadians in Nova Scotia, 29,505 in New Brunswick, and 3,485 in Prince Edward Island (Statistics Canada 2016a; Statistics Canada 2016b; Statistics Canada 2016c). As you can see in figure 3, most Acadians live in the province of New Brunswick. New Brunswick became the centre of activity for Acadians, with a substantial population in the Moncton-Dieppe region and strong pockets in the north of the province. Prince Edward Island, given its size relative to other provinces, has a significant Acadian population. Nova Scotia, where my project is situated, has a different make-up. Acadians in Nova Scotia are a minority and are increasingly becoming anglicized. However, there are pockets with dedicated areas of social, cultural, and linguistic reproduction and revival. Throughout the 1800s and later in the 1960s there were movements around collective action and collective identities for Acadians, processes which I will speak to in detail in subsequent chapters.

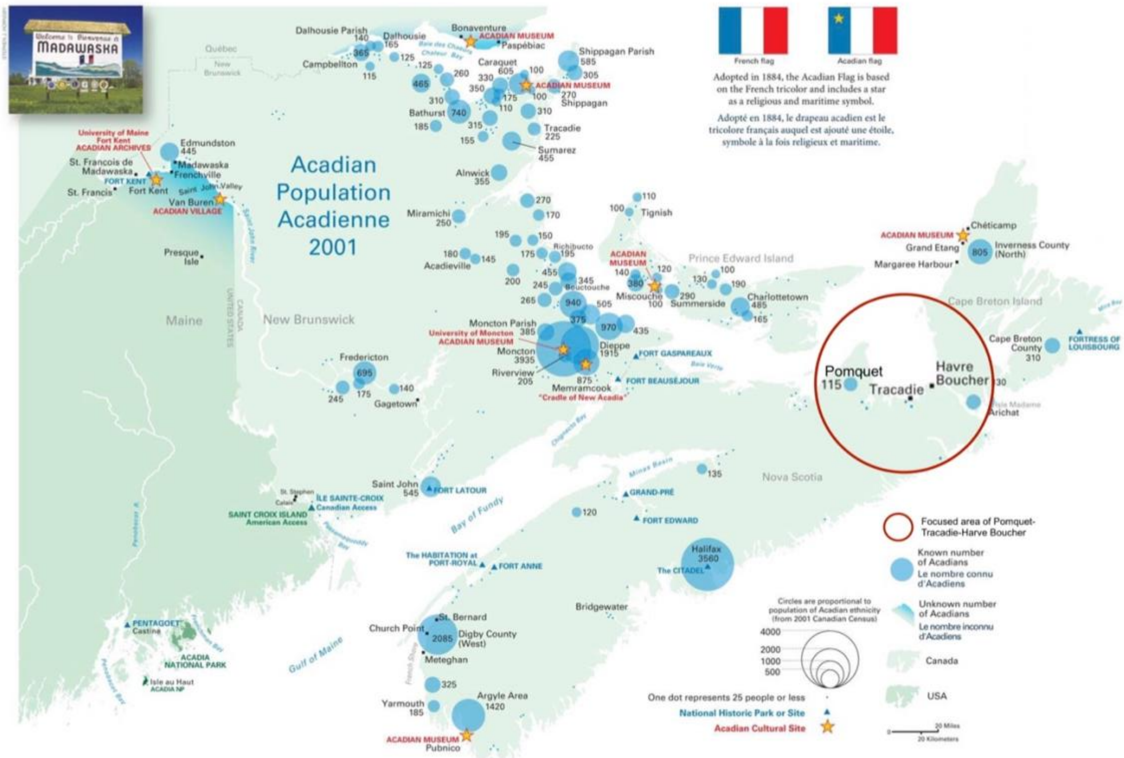

Figure 3 Acadian Population 2001. Source: Canadian American Center, University of Maine. Pomquet region circled in red (my alteration)

National and regional Acadian organizations have allowed Acadians to remain connected despite the distance created through deportation and outmigration. Originally established in 1881, Société Nationale de l'Acadie (SNA) seeks to represent the interests of Acadians and support its member organizations in promoting Acadian history, a united people and inclusivity (SNA 2020). It has membership across Atlantic Canada, mainly provincial groups that represent Acadians in each region. There are also member organizations from Acadian diaspora communities in Maine, France, Louisiana, Quebec, and Saint-Pierre et Miquelon. In Nova Scotia specifically, Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE) operates at the provincial level to provide support to organizations located in Acadian regions. La FANE is supported by the SNA.

Most Acadians in Nova Scotia today live in central and western areas of the provinces in Clare and Argyle. There are Acadian strongholds in the eastern area of the province in Isle Madame, Chéticamp and Pomquet regions. Acadians are also present in more urban and populous Halifax and Cape Breton Regional Municipalities. Despite being one of the smaller Acadian regions in Nova Scotia, Pomquet has remained an Acadian region in the province: it has a French-language school, active community groups, and annual festivals that celebrate Acadian pride. Further, residents of Pomquet are genuinely engaged in historical work that highlights the role their past and present citizens have undertaken to sustain ethnicity in Pomquet. This work is increasingly relevant as the economy and social institutions in the village decline. Their rurality, language loss, and little connection to Acadian official history have not stopped them from sustaining a sense of ethnic identity.

1.3 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

To understand ethnicity in this context requires a historical frame. History and how it is understood in the present is essential in an anthropological study. Anthropologist Ed Wilmsen argued in a key text on ethnicity and ethnonationalism that ethnic constructions need to be “understood in terms of their histories” (1996:11). Official histories are those that are “sponsored, authorised, or endorsed by its subjects” and created by governing institutions (Macintyre 1998:475). Acadian official history, like all historical accounts, is partial and has a political motivation. It is the partiality of official history that becomes central to this study. Throughout this dissertation, I use the phrase “Acadian official history” to refer to the version of history that was produced by the Acadian nationalist movement. The Acadian nationalist movement shaped the ethnic consciousness that emerged during the Acadian Renaissance in the 1880s, curating which elements of history were included in its official history. The Acadian official history, sometimes referred to as the official narrative by some scholars, is the politically motivated construction of Acadianité. As I will explain in chapters 3 and 4, this constructed history was part of an ideological project led by Acadians who felt dominated and wished to resist colonial domination in the nineteenth century as an ethnic group (Thériault 1981). The official histories curated an idealized Acadian identity through the production of cultural symbols, print-media, and institutional structures. For the purposes of this study, I take Acadian official history to be the version found in primary and secondary documents from or about the Acadian Renaissance. This included materials from the Nova Scotia tourism industry, Société National Acadienne (l'Assomption), the Acadian newspapers, oral histories, and institutions – much of which I was able to access at the Centre d'Etudes Acadienne at Université de Moncton and the Nova Scotia Archives.

Due to the complex history, wide distribution across time and space, and varying attachment to cultural elements, Acadianité, or Acadianness, is not simple to define or understand. There are numerous ways a person might define Acadianité within the numerous diasporic communities of Acadians that exist throughout the world. Acadianité, at its very core, is an Acadian collective identity. Acadian Scholars Mélanie LeBlanc and Annette Boudreau (2016) have noted that Acadianité is entangled in the official narrative and the symbol of Evangeline (which I will discuss at length in Chapter 3), language politics, and more recently the recognition of Acadian vernaculars in global markets.

Acadianité is deeply entangled in the political ideology of the dominant group of Acadians that emerged in the 1880s and tied Acadianité to a socio-political project (Thériault 1981). I have argued elsewhere that Acadian identities are more complex than the official history presents and that we need to consider the roots of Acadian settlement and ethnogenesis – as I noted above – and social and political relationships that led Acadians to where they are today (MacLeod 2015). "Acadianité" informs Acadian ethnic identity and Acadians' relationship to the larger political ideology and collective identity; however, at the local level I use the terms "Acadian" or "ethnic identities" to understand how Acadians relate to their history, language, culture, foods, relationships and spaces and how ethnicity is reproduced in the process.

Overall, this research is guided by scholarship on ethnicity and nationalism (Barth 1998; Comaroff and Comaroff 2009; Hobsbawm 1992; McKay 1994; Wilmsen and McAllister 1996), popular memory (Connerton 1989; DuBois 2014; Gillis 1994; Halbwachs and Coser 1992; Nora 1989; Swedenburg 1991), and the gendered critique of nationalist history (Leydesdorff, Passerini, and Thompson 1996; Pratt 1997; Scott 1986). Exploring localized interpretations of Acadian ethnicity in Pomquet, this project examines Acadian popular memory to understand how ethnicity is reproduced outside the Acadian official history. I use popular memory to refer to what the "people" remember. Popular memory is both influenced by and works in opposition to these nationalist ideologies and official histories. In the Acadian case, it will have been informed by the Acadian official history as well as other state and local histories. In engaging Acadian popular memory, this project reveals narratives and understandings of Acadian ethnic identity that have been omitted both from Acadian official history and nationalist narrative.

In attending to everyday practices of Acadian ethnicity I have found a gender lens helpful. By exploring experiences of nationalism through a gendered lens and attending to practices of social reproduction, I reveal narratives of everyday ethnicity in Pomquet. I use narratives collected through interviews, oral histories, and archival research to illustrate how Pomquet's marginality within the nationalist movement combined with Acadian women's impact through gendered practices of social reproduction shape ethnicity and popular memory in Pomquet. This dissertation illustrates how much of this reproduction, much of which was taken up by women, reveals the complexities of how the community balances both official history and popular memory to sustain its social institutions.

At the local level, community members were able to reproduce culture and identities that deviate from official history, creating a localized narrative of their own within Acadian popular memory. It is widely accepted within the scholarship that "history is made and remembered in particular ways by particular people" (DuBois 2005:14). The collective identity that stems from the Acadian Renaissance was created to promote the political positions of an elite group and does not necessarily represent all Acadians. This is not to say that the Acadian Renaissance did not do a great deal of good for the Acadian people; but rather that it did not fully represent the majority.

Much of the work on Acadian identity and reproduction has been focused on language and history (Boudreau 2009; Boudreau and Dubois 2007; Heller 2003; Rudin 2009). Outside of two collections, there has been little scholarship on the role of Acadian women in the last twenty years. The way gender is used in this study and the historical context I am examining is heteronormative, cis-gendered, and gender conforming. When women are discussed, particularly in post-deportation scholarship, women's contributions and perceptions focus on areas considered to be the feminine domain, such as religion and family structure (Morton 2000:123). Even more recently, scholarship on Acadians and Acadian history underrepresent the stories, voices, and lives of women (LeBlanc 2018; Thibeault et al. 2020). The collective identity that emerged from it characterized women as problematic and on the periphery, leaving limited space for them in the collective narrative (LeBlanc 2020:10). Of course, some of this omission of women was due to the marginal position of women more broadly within the larger Canadian society in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Furthermore, Acadian official history does not represent Acadian identities and culture in rural communities like Pomquet. Acadian official history omits many of the everyday practices which constitute identity for contemporary Acadians and does not reveal the diversity of experience within Acadian popular memories.

1.3.1 Ethnicity, Nationalism, and History

Ethnicity and nationalism are rooted in notions of power, which in the Acadian case is deeply tied to history. Using the concepts of ethnicity, nationalism, and history, I argue that Acadian ethnicity is shaped by colonial struggles, diasporic elements, and national movements that emerge from the local and individual. Anthropological examinations of ethnicity and nationalism move beyond other disciplines to focus more on how such identities are produced in processes like transnationalism and globalization and in the context of the cultural politics of the postmodern world (May, Modood, and Squires 2004; Hall 1993). This shift moved anthropological work on ethnicity into new domains and away from "ethnic studies" per se and paying less attention to state-centered politics and identities.

Ethnicity is the product of relationships and results from conflict between populations (Eriksen 1991:129; Wilmsen 1996:4). As mentioned previously, prior to the deportation, Acadians had a strong sense of identity as a collective group. So much so that the British colonial government felt threatened by the collective power they held. The deportation was an attempt to break that collectivity which was further threatened with dispersal to smaller settlements in the post-deportation era. What emerged, however, was a diasporic ethnic group. John Comaroff (1996) argues that ethnicity arises when cultural differences meet power. Recorded Acadian history reveals a continuous struggle to sustain autonomy while being controlled by the British and colonial officials until their deportation and return to what is now Atlantic Canada. Ultimately, their ethnicity grew stronger in the post-deportation era due to stark power differences that emerged in the resettlement of Acadians and continued effort to supress their collectivity by dispersing the population in small pockets across the Maritime Provinces to reduce their collective power. There was a clear intent by the dominant group to exert control over a subordinate group (Wilmsen and McAllister 1996:viii).

Ethnicity is the product of relationships where cultural differences become evident (Eriksen 1991:129). In his examination of Mauritian nationalism, Thomas Hylland Eriksen (1994) shows that ethnic distinctiveness is reproduced without the myths and origin stories commonly associated with nationalism, revealing the capacity for transformation within contested identities. It is through this constant interaction and reflection that ethnic identity is produced and reproduced. Earlier work, including that of Frederic Barth (1998:10–11) criticizes early writers on ethnicity for identifying ethnicity as a property of cultural groups resulting in the production of cultural determinism. Instead, Barth (1998) suggests that ethnicity is malleable and context dependent. In this theorization, ethnicity is constantly in process. It is contingent on boundaries, which are themselves socially produced, and the internal dynamics of the ethnic group to produce and reproduce identity.

An individual's self-identification with an ethnic group is not merely based on the views one has of oneself, but also how they are viewed by others (Nagel 1994). Cultural theorist, Stuart Hall (1990:17) argues that identities are "constantly in the process of change and transformation." Hall's stance aligns with what I found in Pomquet, showing that ethnicity can transform over time though the intersection of various layers of influence. Individuals and groups are able to build and transform identity through social interaction (Nagel 1994). Joane Nagel (1994) describes this negotiation in terms of a toolkit where one can collect new tools and disregard others to make ethnicity ones own.

Acadians as an ethnic group were able to mobilize using an ideological lens that aimed to reconnect the disjointed communities of Acadians through an Acadian official history. Sociologist Jean-Paul Hautecoeur (1976) argues that l'Acadie is not a society, and that its distinctive feature is that it is not contained within a space or bounded territory. Instead, Acadia or l'Acadie as a homeland prevails in the imaginary (Clarke 2004: 20). Boundedness is not essential to the Acadian case, as Acadians have ties across the region, country, the United Stated, and back to France. Anthropologist Daphne

Winland argues that "diasporas construct notions of homelands in ways that are often very different from homeland peoples, and this can lead to ambivalence and tensions between them" (2002:695). Acadians are therefore able to imagine a homeland and sustain an identity without a bounded territory; l'Acadie exists in a network of self-identifying Acadians and Acadian communities.

Acadian nationalism sought to rebuild the collective that was dispersed in the Acadian deportation of the 1700s. It emerged from Acadians having "un volonté de faire l'historie," or, a willingness to make history during a key period of nation building in Canada (Clarke 2004:46). Acadian nationalism builds upon a foundation of political strength and commitment to their collective identity which dates to the sixteenth century and the risk of assimilation into the dominant Anglophone society as pressures of outmigration from Acadian areas increased in the 1880s. This existing state of shared cohesion allowed an ethnic nationalism to emerge (Hobsbawm 1992:4). Acadians have always sought to remain culturally, politically, and geographically distinct.

The late 1880s marked the beginning of the Acadian nation-building process known as the Acadian Renaissance, a movement which sought to reform an already existing identity and culture. Benedict Anderson (2006) argues that the history of nationalism (as imagined, limited, and sovereign) highlights how a national political project requires more than just a bounded territory. The imagined homeland and capacity for Acadians to reshape a collective identity was central to the Acadian Renaissance which represented Acadian ethnicity in a new way through shared consciousness amongst people who have not met. Among other things, this movement entailed the creation of national symbols and myth-making through commemoration and popular memory (Biddiscombe 1990; Griffiths 1982).

Cultural symbols and traditions are constructed to build cohesion and a collective identity. Hobsbawm (1992) stresses that the 'invention of tradition' is an important part of nation building. A tradition "is essentially a process of formalization and ritualization, characterized by reference to the past, if only by imposing repetition" (Hobsbawm 1992: 4). These practices are accepted as rules and norms and are sustained through repetition as they become incorporated into public socialization such as in schools and the media (Hobsbawm 1992: 1,12). Yet, when dealing with an ethnic nationalism, we need to remain cognisant of the fact that there is more to an identity than a collection of cultural material that can differentiate one group from another. Ethnicity involves the relations and interactions between social groups and the boundaries (imagined or real) that are established as a result.

The Acadian nationalist project resisted subordination to the Anglophone majority through their articulation of an Acadian official history and narrative (explained further in Chapter 4). This church-centered movement amongst mainly male Acadian elites aligns with Anderson's (2006) definition of nationalism. Throughout the seventeenth century, Acadians continued to be dominated by Anglophone society, leading Acadian elites to mobilize to affirm a collective identity in response. This collective and official history was supported through practices of commemoration and mythmaking. The movement adopted four key symbols: the mythologized figure of Evangeline as a cultural symbol of strength tied to the history of the deportations, the anthem of Ava Marie Stella tied to the Catholic faith, the French flag with a yellow star to represent the virgin Mary, and a national holiday. These national symbols that were then shared widely amongst dispersed communities allowed a collective identity to be further established within an existing ethnic group.

Scholars of the process of historical constructions have emphasized their selective and political nature (Popular Memory Group 1982; Taylor 1990; Wallace 1996). For example, acts of commemoration and memorialization in Europe and America are highly constructed practices because of the mythologized constructions of history that are commonly portrayed (Wallace 1996). In her study of social memory, Dylia Delyster (2012) shows that attempts at shifting stereotyped and mythologized stories of women are not always successful. The social memory associated with the past is difficult to change. In her work on how social memory is shaped by an Oklahoma monument, Deylester describes how a woman named Nannita Daisey has been framed as a "western-woman-as-hell-raiser stereotype" in public memory. A monument depicts the popular myth of Nannita leaping from the cowcatcher of a train during the US land runs, an act that did not occur (2012:183), although an alternative narrative was collected from community members and the historical record (Delyster 2012:180–2). The existence of an oppositional narrative does not guarantee changes to the popular narrative or memory – versions that have been commemorated and accepted by the mainstream often continues to be perpetuated.

The processes of memorialization and commemoration are largely used to create narratives with which the groups within the nation-state can identify, and the resultant narratives are able to forge a collective and to give strength to new states. New nations and states possess an increased need to amplify a sense of identity and a common history among diverse citizens. In Canada, for example, nation-building has generally focused on the nation's fairness and justice (Mackey 2005). But it also shifts and responds to key moments; for instance, in1967, Expo 67 in Montreal allowed Canada to introduce and celebrate a new version of Canadian nationalism (Mackey 2005). The introduction and promotion of constructed values and traditions to the entire country at this singular event was an attempt to solidify a collective identity while presenting itself on the world's stage.

There are issues of power at play in the promotion of a collective identity through nationalist means because official histories and nationalist ideologies tend to be constructed by elite, upper class men expressing their perspectives and interests. Canada chose to mobilize difference to differentiate itself from the United States; however, Canada still created a settler nationalist identity that aimed to manage populations while representing difference (Mackey 2005). The nation mobilizes ethnicity, traditions, and values to create cohesiveness from diversity which is why these concepts are essential in the understanding of the nation, the nation state, and nationalism overall.

For its part, in the 1880s, the Acadian elite was able to create nationalism that had the "power and pervasiveness of historical representations" because official histories were connected to Acadian institutions (Popular Memory Group 1982:76). Yet, ideologies produced by nationalist movements are not always aligned with all who support that movement. Mary Louise Pratt argues that "imagined entities" create utopian conceptions of nationalism. Within this argument, she notes that there are "highly asymmetrical relations of power" (Pratt 1991:37). The negotiation that is taking place in ethnic reproduction in Pomquet requires Acadians to use national idioms and symbols to demonstrate they are Acadian as defined by the state or province, yet provides space for them to draw upon the other layers of their ethnicity that exists outside that performative layer.

Ethnic identities are influenced by the political agendas expressed in the various historical narratives that are present within the collective past. These histories are shared and commemorated in ways that can reinforce both truths and falsehoods within the collective memory. Acadian ethnic identities are therefore shaped by the Acadian nationalist movement and the cultural elements it established in the 1880s. Traditions and other practices tied to the performance of ethnicity are not exclusively national but can be found at the local level. Local and regional differences in the adoption and performance of nationalism are important to understanding how ethnicity is reproduced by Acadians. One's sense of Acadian identity is therefore shaped by both the national and local versions of history and identity. Ted Swedenburg notes that mainstream nationalism may be widely accepted and embraced by populations but the ability to "imprint specific histories on people's minds" is limited (Swedenburg 2003:27), he continues:

> Because official agencies had effectively circulated the mere outlines of a general historical narrative, many local versions of the past remained relatively untouched as long as they did not directly contradict the official story.

Creating unity through nationalist rhetoric has regional limits (Swedenburg 2003), I ague that Acadians, especially within rural spaces, are able to use elements of nationalism alongside local and regional elements. Paying attention to the local allows for an exploration of ethnicity through the point of tension where the narrative of the ethnic group meets the narrative of the elite class – or where the local and official collide to reproduce ethnicity.

1.3.2 Gendered Critique of Nationalism

Nationalism is a process controlled by dominant powers. Employing a gendered critique of nationalism, I highlight how the patriarchal discourse within Acadian ethnic nationalism led to women occupying subordinate or symbolic positions within narratives and histories. Historian Joan Wallach Scott (1986) argues that paying attention to gender within history changes your understanding of what happened. In the 1980s, Feminist anthropologists made similar appeals for the discipline to recognize women's contributions to culture, particularly in domestic life (Rosaldo 1974; Ortner 1989; Behar 1987; Behar 1993).

In the Acadian context, I argue that without paying attention to gender, we do not fully understand how ethnicity is made and sustained. Recent scholarship has shown that Acadian women are underrepresented in scholarship and history (LeBlanc 2018; LeBlanc 2020). According to historian Phyllis E. LeBlanc, leading historians of the region and Acadian history, including Naomi Griffiths (2005), Régis Brun(2003), and Nicole Lang & Nicolas Landry (2001), present historical accounts which omit women as actors in their past (LeBlanc 2020:22–23). Isabelle McKee-Allain (1995), Isabelle LeBlanc (2018; 2020), Phyllis E. LeBlanc (LeBlanc 2020), and Thibeault et al. (2020) all offer a complimentary analysis to my own with regard to the underrepresentation of women in Acadian official history. Much of the work on Acadians is undertaken in the disciplines of history and sociolinguistics and my work brings a new perspective to Acadian studies.

It also provides a detailed account of how Acadianité has been experienced – and sometimes not experienced - at the margins and how the gendered practices of social reproduction essential to ethnicity have evolved over time.

An account of history that omits gender or gender analysis is partial. Considering gender reveals silences in the Acadian official history and shows how women contributed to the larger experience of ethnic identity in Pomquet. As a rural community that was at the margins of the nationalist movement, women in Pomquet had increased capacity to produce ethnicity in their own spaces. When women are omitted from history and analyses of the construction of ethnic nationalism we do not adequately see or understand how ethnicity is actually reproduced. Feminist history increased awareness of the partiality of official histories that do not account for "class dimensions of cultural domination" and the marginalization of women's "sense of the past" (Popular Memory Group 1982:210). Rosaldo highlights these points well, noting that " women may be important, powerful, and influential, but it seems that, relative to men of their age and social status, women everywhere lack generally recognized and culturally valued authority" (1974:17).

In her analysis of female figures in Latin American history of the eighteenth century, Mary Louise Pratt (1994) argues that women are never portrayed as agents within nationalism and are almost always symbolic. She builds a gender critique of the "imagined community," articulating how women's labour, cultural reproduction, voices, and experiences are omitted from these processes (Pratt 1997). Despite this absence, women were involved in the reproduction of the narrative. In her critiques, Pratt (1997) argues that Benedict Anderson does not fully engage with the question of gender, nor does he fully address how ethnicity, race, and class factor into nationalism (1997:6–7). Women are not invited to be part of the imagined community, they are not imagined as having rights, and are placed in a position of "permanent instability" (Pratt 1997:7). Their value within nationalist narratives is "attached to (and implicitly conditional on) their reproductive roles" and mothering (Pratt 1997:7). This precarious position of women with the nation is ironic because women often maintain a key role in the everyday reproduction of culture and identity.

Pratt shows that with an increase in nationalism there was an increase in the domestication of women and omission of their narratives and histories (1997:4). When women were present in nationalist work, it was merely symbolic. It speaks to how the those with more power are able to creates an official identity and an official history that does not align with the histories and identities of all who are assumed to be part of the larger national narrative or community. Feminist history is able to draw upon individual narratives and oral histories in innovative ways to reveal what has been omitted (Popular Memory Group 1982:217).

1.3.3 Popular Memory and Oppositional Narratives

Acadian nationalism and the Nova Scotia tourism industry at the turn of the twentieth century constructed a version of Acadian history steeped in myth that significantly impacted Acadian popular memory. In engaging literatures on popular memory, I explore how local narratives and memories can present an alternative version of the past. Historians, cultural geographers, sociologists, and anthropologists are involved in projects that move beyond documenting memory and history to tell stories of how memory and history are connected to one another within collective identities and shared experiences of the past. Ideally, no narrative should be privileged over another (Hobsbawm 1994:57). Lindsay DuBois notes that as anthropologists, it is important to understand how participants understand both the past and the narratives about that past (2014:349). For example, narrative and oral history often tell us more about the meaning drawn from historic events than about the events themselves, which is why taking official history at face value can become problematic (Portelli 1991:50).

Memory is often viewed as individual but can also be conveyed and sustained by a group both collectively and socially (Connerton 1989:1). Scholar of memory and history Pierre Nora notes that collective memory is able to survive and "protect the trappings of identity" because individuals remember; "it will not be anywhere unless one takes the responsibility to recapture it though individual means" (1989:16). Individuals and societies search for their collective voice through memory, making memory one of the essential catalysts in developing and sustaining both individual and collective identities (Le Goff 1992:98). A person's overall awareness is based on memory and through recollection and commemoration, memories can become reawakened within individual consciousness (Lowenthal 1985:193).

The Popular Memory Group, a collective of scholars based in the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in 1979 and 1980, views popular memory "first as object of study, second as a dimension of political power" (1982:205). Since popular memory is what "the people" remember, it may or may not be the dominant or official view.

Political projects within history can lead to the emergence of alternative histories with political implications.

My study takes the form of an ethnography using narratives which question the official history. These narratives, collected through oral history, highlight how ethnicity in Pomquet differs from the larger Acadian official version of the past. Narrative can tell individual stories with collective references (Augé 2004:44). These narratives, which in my case challenge official accounts, can bring alternative perspectives into constructed ceremony and myth. Official histories possess considerable power in their ability to alter and mythologize popular memory; however, it is also typical for individual and local memories to be shaped separately from these dominant narratives.

Ted Swedenburg shows how people are able to work against official histories in subtle ways (2003:xvii). I found Swedenburg's concept of "subversionist" narratives particularly useful in thinking through alternative narratives in localized contexts. Describing subordinate memories in Palestine, Swedenburg explains that "subversionist" accounts of a 1936 revolt "were not generally linked to a fully counter-hegemonic discourse, but instead were inflections, negotiations, and maneuvers within the dominant Palestinian code" (2003:28). He explains that former rebels of the Palestinian revolt disputed the official version of the revolt as represented by the urban middle class (Swedenburg 1991:175; Swedenburg 2003:28). Regional accounts of the revolt held localized subversionist narratives of the past of which they were proud and which diverged from the counter-hegemonic Palestinian discourse (Swedenburg 1991:176). Though produced in a very different context, I found this characterization of narratives useful in reflecting upon the narratives I collected in Pomquet. Pomquet narratives do not always align with official Acadian histories, and sometimes run counter to them. These alternative accounts allow the community to move forward, producing and reproducing a collective identity, education, heritage, and tourism, balancing local and national constructions of identity.

The memories tied to subaltern histories remain within their lived experiences; as Nora (1989:9) explains, “memory is life”, and history is a reconstruction and representation of that life. Memories are gendered and the relationship between individual and collective needs to be taken seriously especially in examination of the relationship between gender and history (Leydesdorff, Passerini, and Thompson 1996:13–14). Paying attention to gendered and localized practices of social reproduction will allow for a deeper understanding of the alternative narratives. As a result, the memory is often more reliant on individual remembrance than the collective history.

The social production of memory through processes like oral history, as I have employed in this study, demonstrate that "a knowledge of past and present is also produced in the course of everyday life" (Popular Memory Group 1982:210). My work builds on scholarship on social and cultural reproduction which highlights how community labour has been devalued in capitalist societies and how that impacts the reproduction of ethnic identities. Social reproduction is “the recreation of the population from one day to the next and from one generation to the next” and the transmission of “a historical legacy of skills, knowledge, and moral values” typically through gendered labour (Cameron 2006:45; Luxton 2006). It also involves the processes of maintaining collective identities across generations (Cameron 2006:45–6). The on the ground social reproduction that is essential to Acadian identity, is indispensable and gendered. I did not come to this work looking for gender; rather, the gender analysis is an artifact of the data. As I sought to understand local Pomquet identity during my fieldwork, I was continually presented with and drawn to the role gender played in Pomqueters understanding of their identities and their past. The gender dynamics within history and the community revealed an alternative local space for the construction and reproduction of ethnicity. Much of the social and cultural reproduction of ethnicity in Pomquet relies on women's work and therefore it is important to employ a gender analysis and attend to women when examining how ethnicity is reproduced. Specifically, this dissertation explores the ways women were able to reproduce culture and ethnic identity at the local level and outside of the nationalist constructions of Acadianité.

Sociologist Margaret Somers (1994:621) contends that joining narrative to identity reintroduces time, space, and analytical relationality – each of which is excluded from the categorical or essentialist approach to identity – allowing for a more holistic understanding of identity. Adding a gendered and localized narrative to the larger discourse illustrates how identities draw from but are not reducible to dominant narratives (Somers 1994). That is, perhaps localized experiences of identity construction and reproduction are more representative of ethnicity than that promoted by the nationalist ideology and official history. Using oral history methodology and collecting narratives can open the door to alternative narratives and go beyond the official history.

Narratives from Pomquet illustrate the role of the community in the production of ethnicity and reveal the difference between the official and localized versions of history. These localized and individualized narratives allow for a deeper understanding of what Acadian ethnic identity means in Pomquet and how that relates to official Acadian history, which is partial, impactful to popular memory and present within constructions of the past. Pomquet narratives illustrate oppositional narratives produced outside of popular accounts to form a more cohesive collective identity at the local level.

Although the narratives in this project sometimes fall outside of official histories attached to the Acadian nationalist movement, they form a cohesive collective identity at the local level. The stories I share in this dissertation primarily focus on the period dating from the 1960s and the present. They highlight the particular position of Pomquet, which was not as heavily influenced by nationalist rhetoric as other communities. Stories are able to change how people use the knowledge that is available to them and rediscovering stories allows individuals and collectives to present a new truth (Griffiths 2007:5). Through stories we are able to "make sense of the social world" and how identities are then constituted (Somers 1994:606). Somers (1994) notes that "reconfiguring the study of identity formation through the concept of narrative" produces a new concept of narrative identity. These histories and cultural components are essential to individuals in Pomquet as this is where they draw their sense of being Acadian from, not entirely from the larger national collective. This dissertation demonstrates the importance of understanding history and identities from an alternative perspective, considering gender and locality in the production and reproduction of ethnic identities and culture.

Through oral history and ethnography, this study shows how paying attention to gender and oppositional narratives at the local level reveals silenced voices and an alternative version of history and identity. I collected a diverse range of narratives through life-history and semi-structured interviews, participant observation, and archival research throughout 2016 and 2017 in Pomquet. Together these sources tell local stories where women play a more prominent role, compared to the official histories expressed in Acadian tourist accounts and heritage presentations. Local narratives become integral to understanding ethnicity and how ethnicity is reproduced. Stories and oral histories within personal and alternative narratives tend to be passed down through generations, retaining aspects of individual memory that have been omitted from nationalist accounts. Employing narrative as both a theoretical and methodological approach has allowed for a detailed understanding of how memories and histories in Pomquet are manipulated and sustained over time.

1.4 CHAPTER OUTLINES

This chapter situated the Acadians in time and space. It detailed how Acadian ethnicity and nationalism are grounded in history and outlined the importance of understanding history in the anthropological study of Acadians. The chapter also laid out the theoretical and conceptual framework for this dissertation. It highlighted the partiality of official histories and popular memories, the importance of accounting for gender and subordinated voices within history and narrative and addressed how local identities and culture are constructed and reconstructed through gendered practices of social and cultural reproduction. Experiences of Acadianness in Pomquet reveal identities on the margins that offer an oppositional narrative to that of the official history centered in local social reproduction.

In the following chapters, I examine how Pomquet was able to reproduce culture and identities that deviate from the official history and ideology that emerged during the Acadian Renaissance. Each chapter explores how Pomqueters are pulled between engaging with a localized Acadian identity and an Acadian collective identity aligned with Acadian nationalism and state interests. I show that the collective identity that is aligned with Acadian official history was created by male elites within the movement to promote their political positions and contributed to falsehoods within the popular memory. Each chapter explores how Acadian official history connects to and deviates from how ethnicity is reproduced in Pomquet. Chapters one though three provide context and history for this study, with chapters four through seven exploring specific sites of ethnic reproduction in the region and Pomquet specifically. This is accomplished by exploring narratives collected in Pomquet that show how local experiences of ethnic identity deviate from and sometimes adopt elements of official history. Throughout, I highlight how using a gendered lens is central to exploring these differences which can lead to tensions. Ethnographic and archival material illustrate the significant role of community in the reproduction of ethnicity in Pomquet.

Chapter 2 introduces the community of Pomquet. I situate myself as an Acadian in relation to my study as well as situating myself within Pomquet. I provide an overview of the village's history, economic context, and describe locations and organizations in the community. I also note Pomquet's rurality and its marginality in relation to other Acadian communities and regions in Atlantic Canada. I present my methodological approach to the project, detailing how I use ethnographic, oral historical and archival research in conjunction with heritage work in the community to uncover local narratives.

Chapter 3 takes up the larger story of Evangeline and how Pomquet interacts with this mythologization of Acadian history and examines the role of Nova Scotia tourism promotion in an antimodern folk culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. I provide additional detail about Acadian history and nationalism, examining how Acadian history, including its embrace of Evangeline, is gendered in particular ways within and beyond the nationalist ideology and history, marked simultaneously and paradoxically by women's relative absence and symbolic presence. This irony complicates how we think about the place of women, as their stories and representation within the narrative were mythologized. I explore how the heritage work in Pomquet reveals a more localized history that is more about Pomquet than it is attached to Acadian official history. This local history shows how community members have influential voices, community impact, and significant power in the development of community identity.

Chapter 4 provides a broader context for the Acadian nationalist movement's political and cultural motivations and illustrates how they institutionalized themselves in the smaller Acadian pockets across Atlantic Canada. The chapter details how the movement in the 1880s institutionalized Acadian ethnic identities during the Acadian Renaissance by promoting collective narratives within religious and educational institutions primarily controlled by an urban male elite. Pomqueters need to balance their local understandings of their identities with national and provincial standards of Acadianité to access and advocate for specific services and rights. Therefore, the community experienced tension between their local narratives and the collective representations at the provincial level. It shows how Pomqueters were able to adopt and conform to the Acadian official history or embrace the Acadian period of affirmationisme. After shifts in national policy that benefited Franco-Canadians, an Acadian identity that is more grounded in the local was maintained. This historical moment highlights the struggles between local and outside influences in constructing

Acadian culture and language while drawing a connection between ethnicity and language.

Chapter 5 explores how food has a central place in social and cultural reproduction in Pomquet. It begins with an overview of how Acadian and rural women had been clearly positioned within the domestic sphere. I argue that women in Pomquet were able to move beyond that position to reproduce culture and identity through food and gatherings. Through the case of Club des Femmes, I show how women were able to use domestic and community spaces to mark their place in the broader community and reproduce ethnicity outside of the wider Acadian ideology. I discuss how women participated in both the formal and informal economy in the community, illustrated through their community events, publication of a cookbook, and mentoring of subsequent generations. The chapter concludes with a look at present-day events that continue this legacy of community work to sustain a localized Acadian identity in Pomquet.

Chapter 6 provides background on the institutionalization of culture and language through the education system in Pomquet. With a declining economy positioned near a sizeable Anglophone center, Pomquet requires access to Franco-minority resources distributed by the Nova Scotia provincial government. This chapter shows how shifting ideals within Canadian linguistic and multicultural policy and educational jurisdiction impacted schooling in Pomquet. It shows the labour of community members and teachers to sustain French-language education in Pomquet and describes the lasting impact these struggles have on language and culture in the community.

In Chapter 7, I highlight how space and place are used across generations in Pomquet, centering Chez Deslauriers as a key community gathering place that also serves as a site of memory for citizens to reflect on a collective past. I contrast Chez Deslauriers with plans to construct a new community centre that incorporates education, gathering, food, and heritage—a facility that highlights ongoing tensions regarding identity and culture in Pomquet. It provides a vision of hope for many and uncertainty for others. It confirms that navigating identity tensions and concerns around the institutionalization of culture and language often requires compromise. This chapter provides an overarching view of the community's needs and explores how it uses space to ensure that the social and cultural reproduction of Acadianité will persist albeit while continuing to adjust.

The final chapter concludes with a reengagement of the tensions the citizens in Pomquet experience between the local, individual, and national or mainstream more broadly. I revisit the literature on ethnicity, narrative, and social and cultural reproduction to demonstrate how Pomquet organizations, institutions and individuals need to access and conform to the nationalist ideologies and constructions to survive and support the services and infrastructure they are granted. Narratives in Pomquet can demonstrate this tension due to their position close to an Anglophone centre, a school system controlled by the province, and a post-agricultural economy that relies on outside resources. To understand ethnicity in Pomquet, we need to consider the larger structures at play in its development. This study reveals how gender is "a useful category of historical analysis" (Scott 1986) because it allows us to see how taking gender seriously in thinking about these histories and identities reshapes our understanding of social life. Combining a gender lens with a comprehensive analysis of local narratives illuminates an ethnic identity specific to this place and allows for a fuller understanding of how ethnicity is reproduced. Practices of social and cultural reproduction shaped ethnicity in Pomquet through community organization, food, and heritage in ways that vary significantly from the official version of the past. Further, the study demonstrates how embracing a more localized identity rather than a national collective has led to lasting cultural elements unique in the region and how that has contributed to the survival of an ethnic minority in a rural space.

CHAPTER 2 SETTING AND APPROACH

Traveling from Halifax to Cape Breton on a fall afternoon in 2015, I passed a provincial highway sign that read “Bienvenue Région Acadienne de Pomquet - Welcome Pomquet Acadian Region” just past the university town of Antigonish, Nova Scotia. A colleague had mentioned that Pomquet might be a good site for an anthropological study of Acadian identities in Nova Scotia; I was still in the process of determining an exact field site for my doctoral work. I took the next exit down the long, wooded Taylor’s Road. As I drove, I wondered when I would reach the community. Eventually, I saw a school in the distance – I had arrived in Pomquet. The school appeared to be a relatively new facility and was much larger than I had anticipated for such a small community. There was a large lake, numerous old farmhouses, a community hall, a museum, and a small, yet captivating, Catholic church.

At first glance, Pomquet appeared to be an excellent field site from which to explore Acadian identities. There were Acadian flags attached to homes or flying on flagpoles in their yards. Some had stones near the end of their driveways painted in the Acadian colours of red, white, blue, and yellow with family names displayed upon them. These typical signs of Acadian pride were present and situated in the centre of the village. Near the church was a red aluminum-sided building which housed a local branch of the Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE). It seemed a quintessential Acadian village with picturesque views of the Atlantic Ocean. Along with its proximity to an Anglophone centre and rural location, I quickly determined that Pomquet would be the site for my project.

This chapter provides an overview of my position as a researcher in Pomquet and how my identity as an Acadian plays a role in my larger research processes. I move on to describe Pomquet in more detail and to explain why it is a good case study for understanding how ethnic identity is reproduced. I situate the everyday activities of community members, demographic information, economic context, and key markers for community history. I conclude the chapter with an overview of my methodological approach. I explain how I combined ethnographic fieldwork (which employed participant observation), interviews, and archival and heritage research to understand the complex relationship between official and local versions of the past and how social reproductive practices were essential in the reproduction of ethnicity in Pomquet.

2.1 SOCIAL LOCATION AND POSITIONALITY

I have always had a keen interest in how Acadians experience their identities on the margins. This is largely because I grew up in an Acadian family in an Anglophone region, a family which, in a lot of ways, assimilated into the dominant culture and only held onto cultural elements, such as Acadian foods, the Catholic faith, and the French language, at arm's length. My grandparents, both of whom were raised in Francophone households, rarely spoke French. Industrial Cape Breton is not a very Acadian place, but it has a lot of Acadians. This is due in large part to people moving to the area at the turn of the nineteenth century to work in coal mines and steel plants. There was an Acadian diaspora in some communities; some were able to attend French Masses, receive French classes in their schools, and hold social gatherings for Acadians in these industrial settings. My grandparents were actively engaged in that diaspora in my hometown and saw it fade throughout their lifetimes.

My grandparents did, however, instill Acadian culture in my mother, aunt, brother, and I even though at times we did not realize it. It was difficult to fully engage in the social reproduction required to sustain culture and ethnicity while living in a predominantly Anglophone area. This meant my mother and aunt were not raised speaking French. In 2004, my grandfather put up what he referred to as a "French flag" in front of his house. I knew we were French. Later that summer, I connected this act to the Congrès Mondial Acadien (CMA) or the Acadian World Congress, which Nova Scotia was hosting between July 31 and August 15, 2004. The flag on my grandfather's house caught Radio Canada's attention as they passed his small home in Industrial Cape Breton one morning. That evening he was on the news speaking about being an Acadian in Nova Scotia. That summer, I truly began to realize what aspects of my life were Acadian and how entrenched Acadian culture, language, and traditions were in my life.

I slowly began to notice the elements in my life that had been Acadian all along. For example, when I travelled to Chéticamp, a small Acadian village where my grandfather was raised, for a seventh-grade fieldtrip that I realized many of the foods I ate regularly were Acadian traditional dishes. Acadian identities are complicated and fluid, with each community and individual experiencing it differently. Many of my informants in Pomquet, especially those who grew up before the 1980s, shared in my experience of not identifying as Acadian when they were younger or realizing aspects of their lives were steeped in Acadian tradition.

When a French-language school opened in Sydney, I and three other children from Acadian families in my town were picked up by a taxicab each morning to attend school in French. When it came to my generation, it seemed more possible to bring back a sense of Acadian identity, one that was lost in my mother's generation. Even still, my parents were not Francophone, and it was difficult for them to keep me in that school. I had French children's books, I had a doll that sang French songs (both of which my daughter now has), my favorite meal was fricôt, a chicken and potato soup (which confused some of my friends), and my grandparents listened to a lot of "old French music" (as they would call it) when they drove me and my brother around to our various activities. I vacationed in Chéticamp, I was raised Catholic, and I was constantly reminded that I should never lose "my French." I now find myself practicing some of the same processes of social reproduction when it comes to raising my daughter, who goes to an Acadian daycare, eats fricôt, and rolls her eyes at me when I speak to her in French.

I am an anthropologist who does research "at home." Being Acadian myself and struggling with my own sense of Acadianness over the years places me in an insider/outsider position within my study. Despite my upbringing, I always wondered if I was Acadian enough. This sentiment has guided much of my research over the last ten years. I am ceaselessly interested in what it means to be an Acadian at the margin of the mainstream Acadianité. I found myself wondering what it means to others to be Acadian whose identities fall short of the official Acadian history and ideology. I was indeed a stranger in Pomquet, but I was able to relate to some experiences my participants described, while many others were new to me. Even before studying Pomquet, for the past decade I have been researching Acadian identities in Nova Scotia. In each community where I have had the privilege to speak with individuals, I have encountered diverse experiences, many like my own, others quite different, but always a sense of familiarity and stubbornness that persists.

As with many linguistic minorities, variations and dialects come into play in different communities. Despite being familiar with Acadian dialects from my own upbringing and research conducted in other Acadian communities, Pomquet French was yet again different. I am bilingual with excellent aural skills, and the nature of my fieldwork drew upon the strengths of my language skills. I was able to understand and communicate in the language in both participant observation and interview settings. Much of the participant observation was observing events and activities that were predominantly occurring in French or a mixture of French and English. Interviews were conducted in both French and English with the participant choosing which language they preferred. With a community that has had a large degree of English influence, there are community members who have lived in Pomquet their entire lives who are more comfortable conversing in English. In contrast, others, were more interested in speaking in French. I was able to accommodate either circumstance.

2.2 FIELD SITE

Pomquet is a small rural community with few businesses, aside from a handful of farms, tourist destinations, and bed and breakfasts. Pomquet is situated on the northeastern coast of Nova Scotia, 16km from the Anglophone town of Antigonish, and has a population of 900 people. Pomquet was founded in 1773 alongside the nearby Acadian communities of Havre Boucher in 1772 and Tracadie in 1781. Interestingly, Pomquet was the only one to sustain Acadian culture and identities. The communities of Havre Boucher and Tracadie were less isolated and became integrated into the Anglophone population; however, some residents have sustained Acadian identities. Pomquet was settled by five Acadian families who returned to the area from St. Malo, France post-deportation. The first families included the Vincents, Bourques, Duon (often spelled as Deon, D'Eon and DeYoung today), Lamannes, and Doiron (Rennie et al. 1980; Pomquet Development Society 2015). These initial families received 150 acres from the provincial government, plus 50 acres for each of their children (Pomquet Development Society 2015). These families were later joined by the Mélacons, Broussards, Doinons, and Duots in 1785 and 1794 (Rennie et al. 1980; Pomquet Development Society 2015). At the time Acadians settled in the area, there were twenty-three Mi'kmaw families living in the area, the name Pomquet was derived from the Mi'kmaw word "popumkek" or "pogumkek" meaning "comfortable sandy beach" or "a good place to land" (Immigration francophone de la Nouvelle-Écosse 2016).

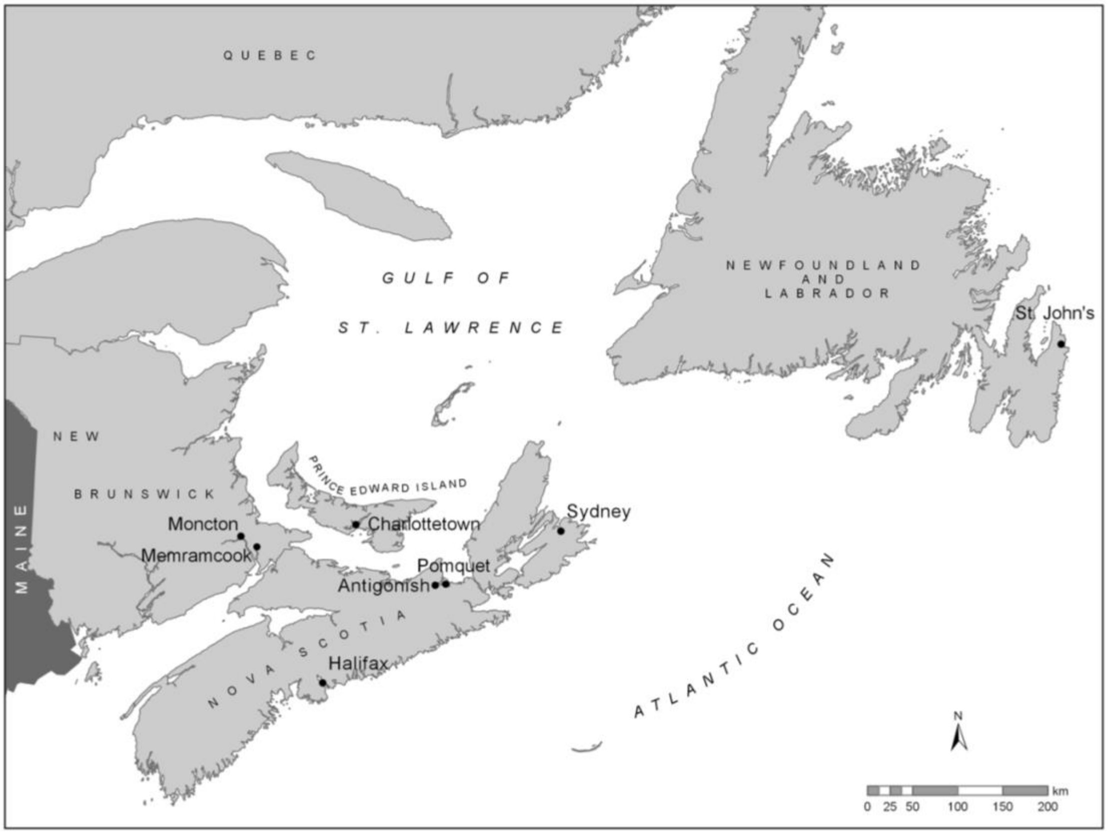

Figure 4 Pomquet situated in Atlantic Canada. Source: Dalhousie University GIS Centre

Pomquet has familial and cultural links to the Acadian regions of Chéticamp and Isle Madame on Cape Breton Island with whom they shared economic relations over the years. Early on, Pomquet had non-Acadian settlers and influence. Land in Pomquet was granted to ex-military personnel, including General George H. Monk of the Royal Nova Scotia Volunteer Regiment who received a thousand-acre grant in 1784 for the present-day Chez Deslauriers property. A member of Héritage Pomquet explained that Monk never settled in Pomquet which left the land vacant for some time. In 1817, Belgian Soldiers Jean Baptiste Reny-Rimbeau and Jean-Baptiste Vendome settled in Pomquet after their imprisonment on George's Island in Halifax during the Napoleonic War. These men remained in Pomquet and their family names remain in Pomquet as "Rennie" and "Venedam."

According to the 2016 Canadian Census Profile, Pomquet falls within the larger Subdivision B of the Municipality of the County of Antigonish (which does not include the town of Antigonish, see figure 5), with a total population of 6,306. This subdivision of the municipality includes other small Anglophone communities, such as Southside Harbour, Heatherton, and Bayfield, and the previously mentioned Acadian-settled communities of Tracadie and Havre Boucher. This profile excludes the First Nation community of Paq'tnkek (Statistics Canada 2016a). In the same census, 315 people listed their first official language as French (with 5,895 indicating English), and 355 listed their mother tongue as French (English 5,825, Mi'kmaw 5). Furthermore, 370 identified as Acadian, and 2,110 identified as having French origins, which may speak to the area having been historically settled by Acadians (Statistics Canada 2016a).

When this project was initially proposed in 2016, it included a component that explored the history of amicable relations existed between the Acadians and the Mi'kmaq (which is reflected in interview questions in Appendices D and E). Along with the cultural exchange and intermarriage that has sustained the political relations between these two populations, Acadianness had gained new significance because of political events that have invoked the past. For example, there was an emergence of a Maritime Métis movement, and more opposition to shale gas exploration in Elsipogtog First Nation. These events have political salience to the historical processes of identity reconstruction and memory diffusion within Acadian-Mi'kmaq relations and I expected participants to relate to these events. Though some participants did reflect on instances collaboration and connection with the nearby First Nation community of Paq'tnkek, the data collected was not substantial enough to be incorporated into this work.

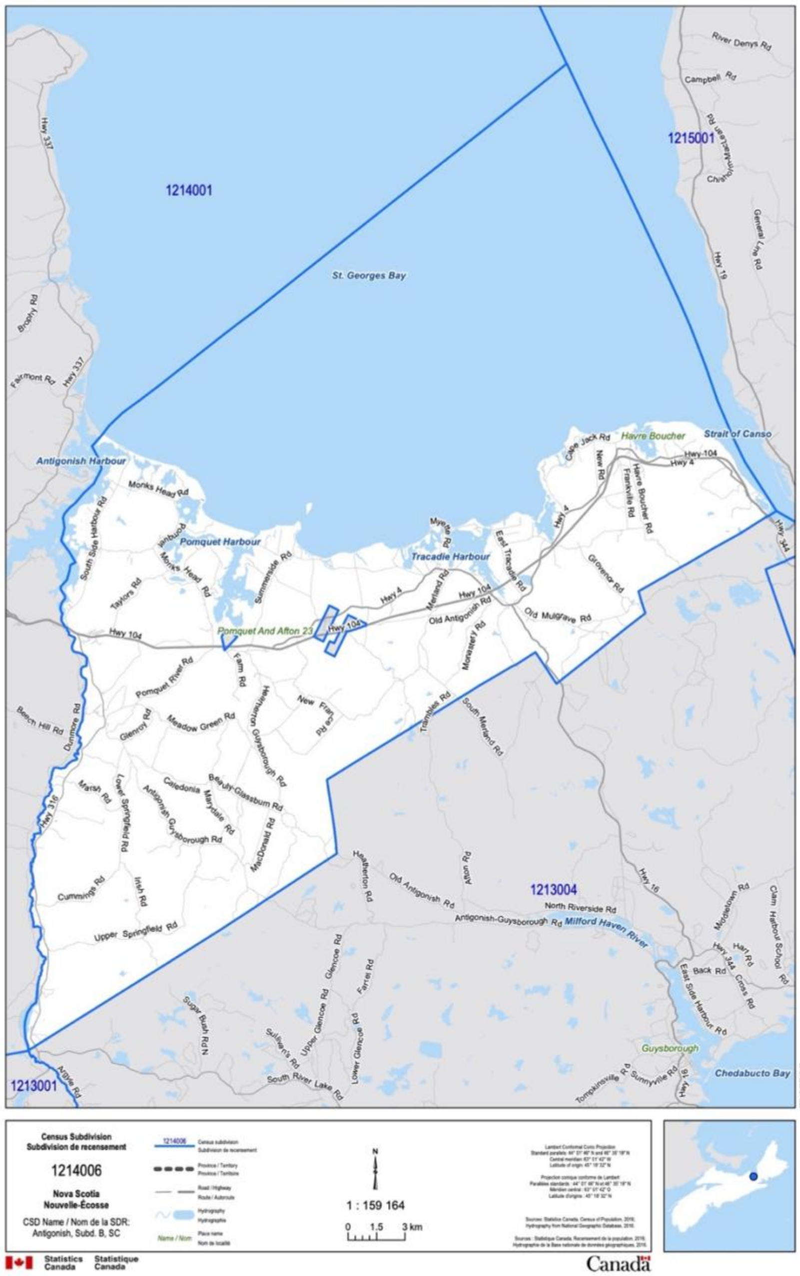

Figure 5 Antigonish, Subd. B, Subdivision of county municipality. Source: Statistics Canada

2.2.1 Economic Context

Pomquet is a post-agricultural rural community. Antigonish County was known for subsistence and part-time farming, hitting its peak agricultural production between 1881 and 1891 (Gentilcore 1956). In 1891 there were 2,710 farms in Antigonish County, by 1951, the number had fallen to 1,164 (Gentilcore 1956:378). Families in Pomquet raised hens, sheep (for wool), cows, pigs, and horses. Outside of what could be raised, they hunted rabbit and deer and fished eel. Resident stories and documents at the community museum conveyed a collaborative way of life. Community members worked together to plant gardens, prepared communal meals, and shared and traded goods. Gardens were large and plentiful; produce would be stored in sawdust for the winter or preserved with salt (de Villiers 2017). Élise, who lived in Pomquet her whole life and was in her sixties noted that they rarely went to the grocery store growing up because they had big gardens and would can vegetables and make jams for the winter.

Much of the farming done in Pomquet, outside subsistence and part-time farming, was for milling. In 1827, James Taylor built a selling mill for oats, barley, and wheat along Taylor Creek near the community parish. Taylor, an English Protestant, purchased land from the Vincent family – who had received a land grant – to start his mill in Pomquet. Taylor also manufactured lumber, shingles, and barrel staves, which were sold to other Atlantic regions in the early nineteenth century (Gentilcore 1956). The people of Pomquet also worked indirectly in the fishing industry, forming part of its supply chain in the 1800s; at this time, Pomquet's forestry sector produced lumber shingles and barrel staves for fish markets. Additionally, between 1831 and 1864, there were three shipbuilding companies in Pomquet. Two were located along Pomquet Beach Harbour and the other was situated at Pomquet Point. Between these three locations, twelve ships were built and registered in Arichat, Halifax, and Lunenburg.

In 1874, a train station was built in Upper Pomquet. This station increased Pomquet's connectivity to other communities and allowed for the transportation of both goods and passengers. By the 1880s, there was little overall growth within the regions' industries (Fingard 1993:83). Regular paid work was scarce before the construction of the railway in the 1850s (Muise 1993:22). This paired with the increased mechanization of farming shifted farming in the community from mainly subsistence to the agriculture industry. Farms were able to transport their products—including eggs, beef, pigs, sheep, and blueberries—further distances for sale on the train.

By the 1920s, there was an increase in modern amenities; however, farming continued to be the way of life for most residents. This transition was accompanied by the emerged of the farmer labour movement in the Maritimes emerged between 1919 and 1920 when farmers formed a distinct class (Forbes 1979:38, 45). Farming became very labor-intensive, and the rural economy that was based in subsistence farming began to break down (Gentilcore 1956). The second industrial revolution led to small rural industries moving to urban centers leaving many of the farms throughout the county abandoned. By the mid-1900s, more men in the community were becoming tradesmen, predominantly carpenters. Many residents shared that Pomquet carpenters became well-known for their carpentry. With these skills and increased access to neighbouring communities, these carpenters serviced industry in Pomquet and throughout the county of Antigonish. There was also an increase in transport facilities, the establishment of cooperatives, and organizations for sales (Innis 1995:61).

During periods of economic downturn, many emigrated to the United States (Muise 1993:26). Beginning in 1929 there was an overall decline in industry and in the population of Pomquet and more residents of Pomquet began migrating to the Eastern United States for employment. This had been common practice throughout Atlantic Canada since the 1870s (Thornton 1985). Some Pomqueters moved permanently to Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut, while others moved for shorter periods of time. Women were most often employed as cooks and housekeepers while men were employed as carpenters and in factories. Camille, who worked in Massachusetts herself, recalled having an uncle that moved there as early as 1920. She described working in the States as something expected in her family because people were able to secure employment there. This trend of outmigration continued into the 1940s and 1950s when farms in Pomquet ceased operations.

Besides farming, community members recalled small family-run stores throughout the community in the late 1940s and early 1950s. There were three stores in the Monks Head area, one in Lower Pomquet, and two in Upper Pomquet. As people began travelling to Antigonish for employment and shopping, these stores closed. The 1972 closure of the railway and its local station was an even more significant loss to the community. Short growing seasons, occasional drought, and little market readiness also led to the economic downturn in the farming sector. With subsistence and part-time farming being the dominant types of farming practiced in the county, most farms were not suited for commercial agriculture and the demands of new innovations and practices.

2.2.2 Present-day Economy

The present-day economy in Pomquet is less prosperous than in the height of the agricultural era. Indications of the community's agricultural history remain throughout the community. At the end of the main paved road that runs through Pomquet, a sign reads, "Chez Deslauriers." Chez Deslauriers is an icon to many in the community. It is an old farm once owned by the Deslauriers (more commonly spelled Delorey today) family. The Deslauriers home was constructed in approximately 1860 and was located about one kilometre west of its current location. The property, as seen around this time in Figure 6, had a farmhouse, barns and outbuildings, harbour in the background in 1950.

Figure 6 Deslauriers' Farm 1950. Antigonish Heritage Museum, Reference: 2004.002.001

The Deslauriers' Farm was among the rural Antigonish County farms to experience this decline starting about 1900, experiencing the greatest decline in 1951

(Gentilcore 1956); Today, the Deslauriers' Farm property is managed by Pomquet Development Society for tourism and recreation. Established in 1989, the Pomquet Development Society and their partnership with the government, who purchased the property, has protected the property and coastline from outside development, which has a six-kilometre coastal walking trail. A dedicated group of volunteers who operate the Chez Deslauriers property manage and sustain farmhouse that remains on the property, hosting popular weekly summer lunches during the summer.

Today, most residents work in Antigonish, some work at École Acadienne de Pomquet, and others work in Alberta's oil industry. Pomquet, like many rural communities in Atlantic Canada, has been experiencing increased outmigration over the last few decades. This is a mix of youth outmigration for school and work and workers, including leaving for Alberta's oil industry, which is a trend across the Atlantic provinces (Stalker and Phyne 2014; Foster and Main 2018). As much as Pomquet is an ethnic community, it is also a rural community that has experienced a significant amount of outmigration since the early seventeenth century.

One of my first visits to Pomquet took me to Chez Deslauriers on a Thursday afternoon in 2016. Chez Deslauriers is now a tourist attraction, along with Pomquet Beach Provincial Park, and was advertised by a provincial highway sign before the exit to Pomquet. There were few other businesses in the community aside from the Pomquet Beach Cottages and Piping Plover Bed and Breakfast. Charlie joked during one of our conversations, "the only place you can spend money in Pomquet is on a bowl of fricôt at Chez Deslauriers on a Friday in the summer." The only other places to buy goods are the craft shop at the Musée de Pomquet, bake sales, or food-based events held throughout the year.

I was meeting Anna, a member of Pomquet Development Society, at Chez Deslauriers. She said it was at the furthest end of the community but assured me that it had the best view and that I would be able to see the community at a glance. I drove, and drove, and drove into the village. I was certain that I had missed it. Then down a long dirt road along the waterside and up another long driveway, I finally found the property. Anna was waiting for me in the old farmhouse. She was busy preparing for the event that would be held the next day. We sat down in the beautiful old home, which had been converted into a tearoom, had a cup of tea, and chatted about the property's history. Tables were set with checkered tablecloths, cutlery, and disposable coffee cups. In the summer, the property is the setting of weekly lunches where Acadian dishes, such as fricôt (a chicken and potato soup) and paté (a steamed chicken and pork pie with a biscuit crust), are served each Friday throughout July and August. Each year in September, Chez Deslauriers also holds lobster roll meals.

In 2005, with support from the Nova Scotia government, renovations were done to the tea room, a deck built overlooking the water, and a small interpretative center with a stage facing the Deslauriers house, as shown in figure 7 (Nova Scotia 2005). Inside the interpretive centre were fourteen interpretive panels that describe the community's history spanning the circumference of the building's wooden interior. Between the panels hung artifacts, mainly old farming equipment, most of which would have come from the Deslauriers' farm. The bilingual panels, made by the Pomquet Development Society, describe Monk's Head's geophysical elements where the property sits, local wildlife, and the history of Mi'kmaq land use. One panel describes the extensive history of Acadian settlement in what is now Atlantic Canada and the agricultural developments made in the Bay of Fundy in the mid-1600s, with others describing Acadian cultural development, relationships with the Mi'kmaq, and the hostilities with the British that led to the Acadian deportation in 1755. The remaining ten panels, which make up the majority, focus exclusively on the development of Pomquet as a community. They detail the village's settlement, the development of an agricultural economy, the history of the schools, ending with a focus on more progress in the twentieth century, such as the Pomquet Development Society, Pomquet Beach, the Pomquet Acadian Trails (located on the Chez Deslauriers site), and Héritage Pomquet.

Figure 7 Chez Deslauriers farmhouse tearoom (left) and interpretive centre (right)

Pomquet's tourist season is predominantly in the summer. Many visit the beach, Chez Deslauriers in open Friday afternoons for the lunches in July and August, and into September Saturdays for lobster roll dinners. The site is operated by volunteers so the tearoom and interpretative centre are only open during these allotted times, not allowing much opportunity for a tourist who sees the roadside sign to visit on a whim – though they could still hike the nearby trail. When celebrations are held at the site, like National Acadian Day on August 15 (la fête nationale des Acadiens et des Acadiennes/ fête de l'Assomption), volunteers open the tearoom and interpretative centre. Leon, an active community volunteer in his 50s, noted that the interpretive center was more important as an outdoor entertainment stage than as an interpretive centre. He pointed out that no one goes inside much to see the artifacts or information panels. The Bed and Breakfast and Cottages get business throughout the summer and when parents of university students are dropping off their children at the university in Antigonish in September and during bi-annual convocations.

During my fieldwork, I frequented the Antigonish Farmers Market. There were no vendors or producers from Pomquet. At the time of my fieldwork, only two larger farms remained in Pomquet, the Venedam Berry Farm and Rennie Farm, with others mainly operating as hobby farms. Over the last few years, during the Friday lunches at Chez Deslauriers, there has also been a small market where hobby farmers, as many call themselves today, can sell produce. Most of the vendors at this small market were women; most were selling produce, but a few were selling baked goods. As I stood and chatted with a group of women near the market set up one Friday afternoon, some reflected on what vegetables they needed to pick up for their canning and pickling for the winter before the local produce was no longer available. They shared the best sources for beans and beets that season and who might still have some produce available for sale. Others were speaking about cranberry picking and how the fields behind Chez Deslauriers are an excellent place to go. This small market at the Chez Deslauriers site speaks to the importance of its farming roots and how those roots remain present today.

2.2.3 The Community

For a village of 900 people there was always activity and organization taking place. People in Pomquet were endlessly welcoming and shared stories, documents, food, and laughter with me during my time in the community. On an average day Pomquet was quiet. People out for a walk on the main roads would wave as drivers passed them by. Children boarded school busses in the morning to travel to school in Pomquet or Antigonish. School busses for both the Acadian and English school boards passed through the community twice a day. Most activity in the early morning was at the school, teachers and administrators arrived, busses from Pomquet and surrounding communities dropped off children to school. Other spaces include the parish hall, École Acadienne de Pomquet, a Fire Hall, Église Sainte-Croix, and a few remaining farms.

There were often people coming and going from Société Acadienne Sainte-Croix (SASC), the large red-sided building near Église Sainte-Croix (see figure 8 for map). This building is most often referred to as "la FANE" by residents. Société Acadienne Sainte-Croix (SASC) is a regional organization of the Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE) in Pomquet and there had been a FANE office there prior to the establishment of SASC in 2001. On any given day there was something happening at

SASC. It was the primary gathering place outside the summer months. It is a place in the community that encompassed many elements of Acadian culture, language, celebration, and history for the residents of Pomquet, where I spent a lot of time throughout my research. It was a place where people spoke both French and English, where friends could meet for tea, hold a music lesson, have a community celebration, or conduct historical research. It also acted as the main headquarters for SASC and housed the director's office. More than anything, it was a gathering place.

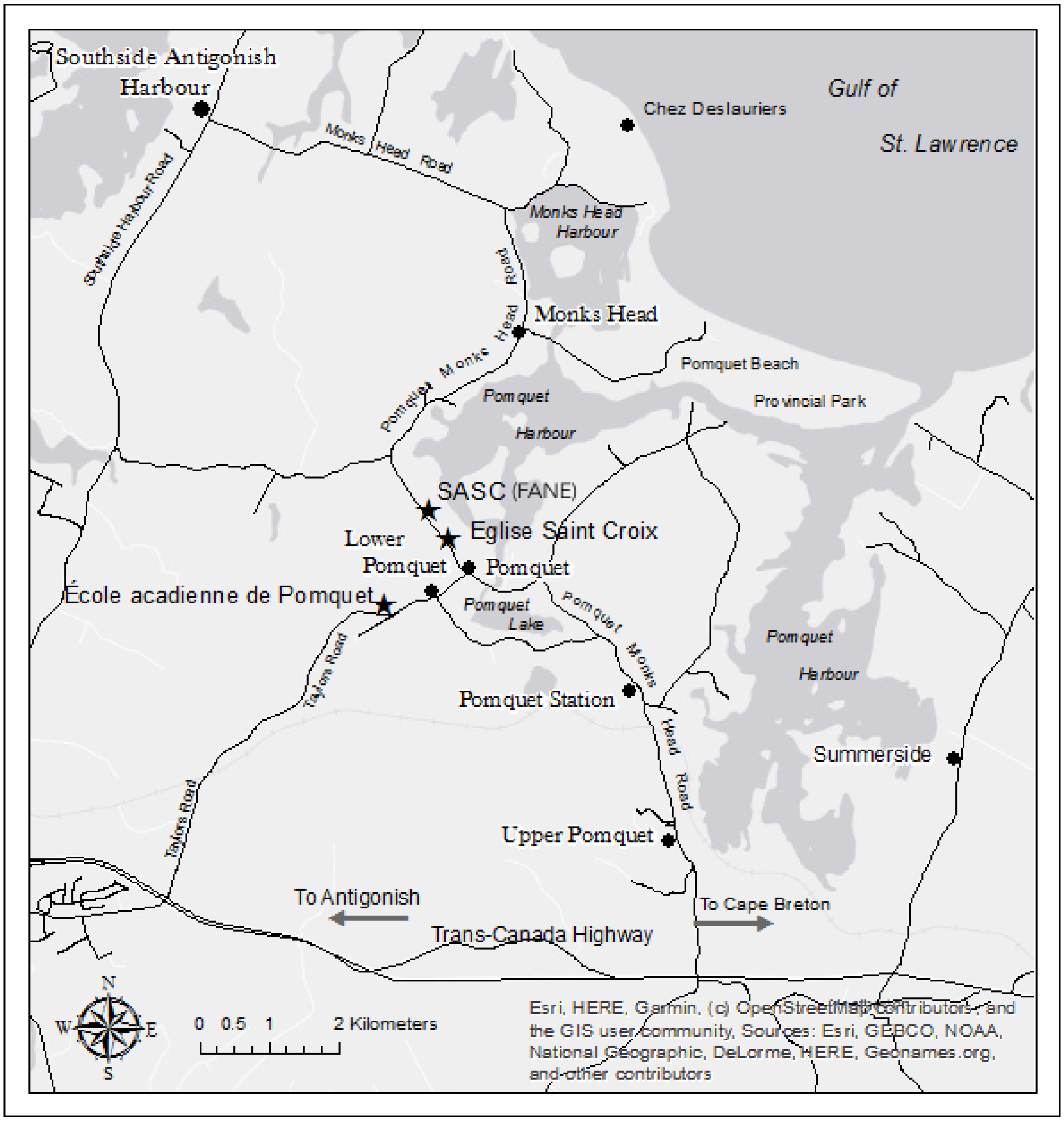

Figure 8 Pomquet community map with landmarks. Source: Dalhousie University GIS Centre

Each weekday morning, a bright red car would be parked outside the building signaling that George, the director to SASC had arrived at work and the building was open. George, who was originally from Quebec was an important figure in the community dealing with the day-to-day operations of the organization in Pomquet and planning community events with the various groups that use the space. Depending on the day, cars would gather at the SASC building, where some activities would take place.

People would walk or drive to SASC to pick up their mail, as there was a set of mailboxes flanking the right side of SASC with other boxes located in the parking lot of the parish hall.

Cars would be driving out of the village heading to Antigonish to work or run errands. During the week there were cars gathered at SASC during the women's exercise group, Héritage Pomquet, or bingo. There was a weekly gathering at the parish hall for Chase the Ace, a fundraiser in which a card is drawn weekly until the Ace is drawn as the prize-winning card. Operated by the Pomquet Area Cultural, Recreation Community Development Association (PACRCDA), the fundraiser drew people from Pomquet and surrounding area raising money for a new community centre in the community that would replace the parish hall and SASC building. On the weekend, people would gather at the church for Mass, often congregating outside the church doors to catch up with others in the community. Masses alternated between Église Sainte-Croix and two other local Catholic parishes as there was a single priest serving the three parishes.

Also central to my study is Héritage Pomquet and its collection at Musée de Pomquet as a key place for understanding history in Pomquet. This group is committed to sustaining a collective identity though working on history. Héritage Pomquet is an active group with a dedicated space – the SASC building in Pomquet. Yvonne, 72, was one of my initial contacts in Pomquet and patiently walked me through Héritage Pomquet's collections. Raised in Montreal, she was the only one of her siblings to return to the community to raise her children. She worked closely with the summer students on projects that aim to preserve the local French dialect. Yvonne's mother, Estelle, was a kind gentle lady of 97 who was a founding member of Héritage Pomquet. She was born and raised in Pomquet but later moved to Montreal for work, raising her family there. When I would ask people to tell me about life in Pomquet many said “you should just talk to Estelle, she knows everything there is to know.” Indeed, she was a wealth of knowledge on Pomquet history. Yvonne noted that members of Héritage Pomquet meet every Wednesday and that there is always someone there working on a project. Members come and go, some staying for hours, with others dropping off materials and heading back out the door. It was a social activity, and many enjoyed the work uncovering elements of Pomquet’s past.

Another regular activity at the SASC building was the women’s exercise group on Thursday mornings. After their exercises the women would have tea and chat. Most of the women in the group were retired, some were also members of Héritage Pomquet, while others often volunteered at community events throughout the year. Some of these women were former members of Club des Femmes, a women’s group associated with the church that was responsible for any meal preparation in the community. Adele a fixture in both Héritage Pomquet and the exercise group, lived in Pomquet all her life. She helped with many community activities, noting that being involved in these activities, especially Héritage Pomquet gave her more opportunities to speak French, “we conduct our meetings in French. And we, you know, we speak French at our, our get-togethers and other things we do.”

Though there are many community organizations and people with varying views on how things operate, the common goal is the same. They are preserving and reproducing culture in Pomquet. They do so through sharing, performance, and celebration. There were many in Pomquet were actively engaged in the reproduction of culture in public settings. In addition to members of Héritage Pomquet, my informants included retired and current teachers, volunteers at Chez Deslauriers, and members of the SASC. I also spoke with some staff and teachers at the school, and a few that were more on the periphery of community activity through contact at an event or word-of-mouth.

2.3 METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

This research project sought to understand and inquire about everyday experiences and understandings of Acadian identity. To illustrate how people in Pomquet relate to their Acadian ethnic identities in the present, it is essential to also reflect on their understanding of the past. My research moved between historical inquiry and the ways that history shape people's identities today. As such, this study used numerous methods to gain insight into both the past and the present. I arrived in Pomquet in 2016 and conducted ethnographic fieldwork (employing participant observation), life-histories, and semi-structured interviews in the community. Interviews, participant observation, and archival/heritage research allowed me to understand and demonstrate how community members locally in Pomquet have been instrumental in shaping narrative and identity in Pomquet. Individuals in Pomquet are more engaged with and interested in their local community identity and history than the official and nationalist Acadian account. Interviews, participant observation, and archival research were conducted in both French and English.

The project explored the research questions: 1) How do Acadians experience their identities in their daily lives? 2) What aspects of Acadian nationalism appear within Acadian identities in Pomquet, and how does it influence their relationship to their history? 3) How is ethnicity reproduced? 4) To what extent are Acadian nationalism and local history promoted through tourism and heritage? Using a range of methods provided a more diverse understanding of how ethnicity is understood and reproduced in Pomquet. Data collected reveals a clear delineation between how Acadian official history and how ethnic identity are experienced and understood at the local level in Pomquet.

2.3.1 Ethnographic Fieldwork

Ethnographic fieldwork helped reveal narratives and detail and social meanings attached to customs, traditions, and institutions. This project, as an ethnography, relies partly on participant observation, an approach that can capture and make sense of everyday life (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983:6). I lived in the community for approximately one year in 2016 and 2017, returning intermittently in 2017 and 2018 for follow-up research. My long-term presence and return visits allowed me to see things evolve in the community; I saw projects come to fruition and relationships progress. I observed cultural festivals, museums, the arts, and everyday conversations within the community. I attended two winter carnivals, two Acadian Day celebrations, numerous smaller celebrations, Remembrance Days services, Christmas celebrations, and SASC Annual General Meetings. I also conducted participant observation outside of Pomquet in Grand-Pré in 2017. I joined people in their homes, attended Mass, shared food, had discussions over tea, and joined in laughter over old photographs.

Over the course of my fieldwork, I observed approximately one hundred people at various events, meetings, casual gatherings, and meetings. I participated in the daily activities of the community. I regularly visited the SASC building to see what people were up to, I attended events, visited the beach, I met weekly with various members of

Héritage Pomquet, who were dedicated to the preservation of the past, artifacts, heritage, and language of the community. I spent time at Chez Deslauriers each Friday afternoon where I enjoyed food, I spoke to people in the parking lot, listened to music, and purchased produce and knitted accessories. A wide range of individuals were part of this study. I observed children and parents from outside the community leaving the school, spoke with people who lived in the community their entire lives, others who moved to Pomquet to work, some who lived in Antigonish, or left the village to work elsewhere only to return home to retire. Informants included parents, grandparents, past and current teachers, former school board members, business owners, francophones, and anglophones.

From that larger group of informants, I did extended interviews to understand the project of making history in Pomquet. Though Pomquet is a community of 900, some of those are not full-time residents with some coming and going for work, others are not Acadian, and some of the properties in the community are summer homes. Out of that larger group, I had key informants I met with regularly. Key informants were able to help me connect with more members of the community and provide insight into local dialect.

2.3.2 Interviews

As a "structured conversation," the interview is not a part of everyday life but is a social research method that can provide more detailed personal narratives and other necessary data. Thus, I supplemented participant observation with focused semi-structured and life history interviews that revealed community members' personal understanding of their history. To gain a deeper understanding from my larger sample, I conducted thirty-five semi-structured interviews and formal life-history interviews to bolster the informal conversations throughout my fieldwork. I interviewed nineteen women and nine men aged twenty-three to ninety-seven, some of whom I interviewed more than once. Interviews inquired into the everyday experience of Acadianness, experiences of nationalism and official history, traditions, and celebrations, and how ethnicity has been maintained over time.

Interview participants were primarily recruited through contacts developed throughout ethnographic observation, key informants, and subsequent snowball sampling. Semi- structured interviews lasted between 30 and 60 minutes, while life history interviews lasted between 60 and 120 minutes. These interviews allowed participants to tell their life histories as they remember and share traditions, foodways, customs, and experiences. Interviews were conducted in a location and at a time of the participants' choosing – typically the home of the interviewee or a public space like the school or SASC building. Interviews were conducted in both English and French depending on the preference of the interviewee.

Semi-structured interviews inquired into participant knowledge about and experiences with Acadian identities, culture, nationalism, and history. Life history interviews were more open-ended to allow participants to tell stories which were important to them (see appendices D through G for full interview guides). As described above, oral histories are important ways to learn about subaltern groups as they can include stories and histories passed down through generations and those not reflected in official history (High 2014; Portelli 1991; Frisch 1990). This deeper engagement with individuals allowed me to explore the narratives that circulate among Acadians in

Pomquet and learn how people contextualize their identities in relation to the official history.

2.3.3 Ethical Considerations

Due to the small size of the community, it is especially necessary to preserve a degree of anonymity for informants. Participant's information remained confidential. Informants have been anonymized in my writing with the use of pseudonyms with slightly altered demographic information to decrease the risk of them being identified. I chose all pseudonyms without input from the participants to secure complete anonymity. The names of organizations, however, remain unchanged and will be easily identifiable. Statements that make a particular informant identifiable through inference have been altered to secure the identity (used with other data, changing the context, or setting). Direct quotes from the interviews are used with the consent of the informant.

2.3.4 Archival and Heritage Research

To build upon my ethnographic and interview data, I examined how ethnic identity and nationalism were described and understood in archival materials. This research supplemented Acadian narratives, contextualized the historic circumstances of the community, and provided insight into the various ways Acadians understand their past. This research was conducted during and after fieldwork. I conducted archival research at Héritage Pomquet, the Antigonish Heritage Museum, Nova Scotia Archives, and Centre d'Études Acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson. Within the collections, I was able to review oral history recordings that were previously collected by community members, other researchers, historians within archives and museums. I read and analyzed 56 oral history transcripts from different points in history.

Héritage Pomquet works hard to preserve the history of the community. The museum holds much of the material heritage from Pomquet, gathered from the personal collections of families from the village. The museum held religious materials, a display about the parish priests, agricultural artifacts, and school records and photographs. This data revealed a great deal about the shifting social, economic, and linguistic make-up of Pomquet. I was able to access a significant amount of historical material about the community and its past. My ongoing relationship with the volunteers in this group over the course of my fieldwork allowed me to see their passion for their heritage as I helped with projects and listened to their stories, memories, and goals for the future.

Musée Pomquet and Antigonish Heritage Museum both held archival material on Pomquet. While conducting participant observation and interviews in the community I was able to review the archival material available at both locations, including from photographs, artifacts, school records, religious records, oral histories with some overlap in materials between the two sites. Most oral histories in Musée Pomquet were collected by students who had been employed by FANE or SASC. This material provided insight into how the community framed local history, how their history was celebrated and recorded, and in what ways that nationalist narrative appeared. It allowed me to contextualize the observation and interview data.

Throughout 2017, I visited the Antigonish Heritage Museum multiple times to review their materials on Pomquet. Located in the town of Antigonish, the museum was housed in an old train station. Upon entry, I was regularly greeted by the director who was typically in her office close to the entryway. Upon my first visit, she toured me through the exhibits as I told her about my research project. The main exhibit room had glass cases along each wall with artifacts, photographs, and documents inside. On my subsequent visits to the Antigonish Heritage Museum, I spent my time in the section of the museum that housed maps, archival records, and books. The director or a volunteer would bring me boxes of materials form Pomquet. Most of their holdings were school records, mainly attendance sheets, from old schools located in Pomquet. This material began to reveal the extent and importance of schooling in the community. There were copies of old land records at the museum that revealed the extensive farmland in Pomquet.

The Antigonish Heritage Museum held several oral history transcripts that had been turned into small bound books for circulation. These were mainly narratives from men, but some had assistance from women in their writing and publication. One oral history, for instance, Simon Louis Landry speaks of life in Pomquet, was only accessible in the Father Brewer Celtic Collection at St Francis Xavier University special collections. This record was co-authored by Mary Ida Landry – who you will remember as the costumed child in the introduction – as she conducted the interview with Simon Louis. These oral historical records told stories of life in Pomquet highlighting the economy, traditions, songs, religious life, and history.

In 2017, I reviewed material on Pomquet at the Nova Scotia Archives where I uncovered old photographs of the community and letters from Pomquet. The Nova Scotia Archives also houses an extensive collection of tourism images from across the province. During the 1920s to the 1950s, the image of Evangeline appeared in Nova Scotia tourism materials – materials which I use in the next chapter to discuss the role of women within Acadian ethnicity and representation.

In early 2018, I travelled to Moncton, New Brunswick to do archival research for a few days. After locating the library on the Univerité de Moncton campus, I descended into the basement where the Centre d'Études Acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson was located. Centre d'Études held an extensive collection of Acadian materials on Acadian communities across the Maritimes, newspapers, photographs, songs, oral histories, and materials from the Acadian Renaissance. I spoke with the archive attendant and explained that I was interested in viewing any material they had on Pomquet as well as issues of the newspaper "Evangeline" that began circulating during the Acadian Renaissance. I wanted to read some early editions of the newspaper to determine if there was much mention of Pomquet or if there was content from the community. I spent a significant amount of my time at Centre d'Études on a microfiche reader reading issues of Evangeline from 1889 to 1927. Pomquet was mentioned infrequently and usually in association with religion, language, and the economy. There were a few mentions of the neighbouring communities of Antigonish, Havre Boucher, and Tracadie.

Centre d'Études Acadiennes had a few mentions of Pomquet in its private and folklore archives. Records included letters, journals, and church registries from the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, and demographic information on Pomquet, Havre Boucher, and Tracadie from late eighteenth century. There were two folders in the collection from Pomquet that were mainly made up of newspaper clippings from Le Courrier, an Acadian newspaper based in Nova Scotia, from 1981 and the other from 1982 and 1983. The folders also included some brochures and flyers from past winter carnivals held in the community. It held original recordings and transcripts of oral histories conducted in Pomquet in 1982.[1]

2.4 CONCLUSION

My research reveals that Acadian ethnicity is less homogeneous than official history suggests, and that Pomquet has a unique culture, language, and identity which it presents as "Acadian" today. Acadian ethnic identity emerged in many forms and continues to be fostered in small interactions, stories, and memories. My experiences in the field highlighted the lived experience of Pomqueters, the fight to keep their language in local schools, the food tied to community, and familial celebrations. These experiences underlined the particularity of identity and place which does not fully subscribe to the "imagined community" (Anderson 2006) of the larger Acadian nation. Instead, they present a localized understanding and performance of culture and identities highly dependent on social reproduction in the community.

Overall, my research highlighted apparent tensions between the local identities in Pomquet and mainstream understandings of Acadianness. Mainstream understandings draws significant influence from Acadian nationalism and provincial level Francophone mandates. Delayed adoption of mainstream elements in Pomquet created a space for women to make space for localized ethnic reproduction. In the next chapter, I share how Pomqueters are actively trying to sustain collective identity through history through the

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[1] These oral histories were collected by ethnologist and musician Tess LeBlanc. I reviewed the transcripts of these oral histories making notes at Université de Moncton; however, I knew that there were copies of these records at Héritage Pomquet as well, where I was able to review and analyze them more fully. I also came across a funding proposal for a student led survey led by Michel de Noncourt, a member of la FANE. The report that emerged from this project *La tradition orale de Pomquet* was located at Musée Pomquet.

work of Héritage Pomquet while remaining relatively disengaged from the Acadian official history that I present through the story of the Acadian heroine, Evangeline. Over time, the tensions that arose between the local, individual, and mainstream allowed Acadians to renegotiate their identities and identify themselves within the history making processes.

CHAPTER 3 NOT EVANGELINE

In August 2017, I travelled from Pomquet to Grand-Pré, Nova Scotia, to attend a large celebration held at Grand-Pré National Historic Site called "Grand-Pré 2017." Grand-Pré is a pilgrimage location for Acadians, and large celebrations such as this draw thousands of Acadians from across the globe. The event celebrated the 400 years of friendship between the Acadian and Mi'kmaq peoples and aimed to create awareness and new conversations around the alliances made between these populations' centuries ago. The site was full of people, vendors, performers, and a large stage positioned on the grounds before the park's central site entrance. Despite the activity surrounding me, I was struck by the site's overall landscape.

Located on 3,000 acres of tidal marsh that was farmed by the Acadians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Fowler 2017:47), Grand-Pré National Historic Site is part of a UNESCO World Heritage site that encompasses the land beyond. The historic site is vast, with rolling green hills, apple trees, and weeping willows that overlook the agricultural landscape where Acadians farmed with complex dyking systems – systems which involved draining sea water from marshes to grow crops – hundreds of years prior. Centered on the vast landscape is a small church museum with ornate stained-glass windows and a stone façade. In the center of the path leading to the church is a large bronze statue of Evangeline, the Acadian heroine, positioned atop a stone platform where she is looking longingly over her shoulder, representing the feelings of loss and tragedy of the Acadian Deportation, that the site commemorates.

In this chapter, I argue that official Acadian history and representations of Acadians at Grand-Pré do not present the histories and identities of all Acadians. The site presents the history of the Acadian Deportation but has played a significant role in the mythologization of the Acadian past and popular memory. What is ever telling about Grand-Pré, for me, as an Acadian and despite having visited the site countless times over the years, is how the construction of the landscape can transport me to a place that represents both sorrow and pride. The design results from decades of identity construction and politics both within the Acadian nationalist movement and the tourist industry in Nova Scotia. Though Grand-Pré National Historic Site is considered the main site of Acadian history, it presents a diverse narrative with multiple messages. Historian Michel Gagné describes the multiple levels to the narrative at Grand-Pré. The site includes the original heritage elements from late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries implemented by Herbin. The curation of the site presents the military history of the landscape– including various battles, the deportation – alongside the agricultural significance of the land. Moreover, the site contains themes of purity and rebirth associated with the Acadian nationalist movement (Gagné 2013). Acadian official history is inscribed delicately throughout the Grand-Pré site in a way that traps you within the myth without much reference to who Acadians were or are outside the events of the deportation and the lands on which the site sits.

As I packed my bags to spend the weekend in Grand-Pré in 2017, my informants in Pomquet had been unaware of the sizeable Acadian celebration taking place in the province so were not planning to attend. Participants in the study were aware and knowledgeable about the deportation and broader history; however, many participants focused on Pomquet history, rather than the popularly expressed Acadian official history, when speaking about their heritage. In the sections to follow, I will explain how Acadian official history does not necessarily tell the whole story. In the process of doing this work, I have found a gendered lens particularly helpful in making sense of the gap between the kind of history represented at Grand-Pré, and that embraced in Pomquet. Through an exploration of the official history presented at Grand-Pré, I explain how the narratives of the site have been impacted by nationalism, antimodernism, and commercial gain. Later in the chapter, I demonstrate how the local heritage work undertaken in Pomquet, through the local heritage work we can appreciate a different historical focus than the official Acadian history.

3.1 THE MYTH

The epic poem, Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie by Henry Wadsworth Longfellow was published in 1847 and introduced lovers Evangeline Bellefontaine and Gabriel Lajeunesse, young Acadians living in Grand-Pré. Evangeline was the daughter of a wealthy farmer, and Gabriel was the son of a blacksmith. The poem provides a highly romanticized account of the Acadian deportation. Longfellow describes the community of Grand-Pré experiencing exile at the hands of the English, being loaded onto ships along the Minas Basin shore, and eventually being scattered on the shores of other British colonies along the eastern seaboard of North America without homes, friends, or hope.

In writing the poem, Longfellow drew most of his imagery from Thomas Chandler Haliburton's work – including such terms as "the neutrals," "destruction," "smoldering ruins," and the "forest primeval" (Griffiths 1982:34). The war and politics described by Haliburton became the backdrop for the tragic setting of Longfellow's poem. Haliburton extensively quoted and drew from Abbé Raynal's work, and "it was the

Abbé Raynal who, in 1770, probably did the most to create and reinforce the image of the Acadians as a sort of outpost of European noble savages living in harmony and abundance in an idyllic community." (Niemeyer 2018:126). Yet, according to Acadian archeologist Jonathan Fowler, "historical archeology is beginning to reveal Grand-Pré as one of the most contested and militarized landscapes in the region" (Fowler 2017:55). In other words, accounts such as Longfellow's were highly romanticized interpretations of history. Longfellow was impacted by the work of Raynal which portrayed Acadians as blissful and the British as having destroyed their calm agricultural existence (Niemeyer 2018:128).

As leading Acadian historian Naomi E. S. Griffiths explains in her analysis of Longfellow's Evangeline, the events of the deportation are presented "without political complexity or social depth" (1982:34). The poem provides little explanation of the reasons behind the deportation and the English reasoning for their actions. It frames the British as the enemy and presents a skewed interpretation of the historical events that surrounded the expulsion, a flaw which can be tied back to the source material Longfellow used (Niemeyer 2018). There was little evidence throughout the poem that the Acadians put up a fight or that some escaped deportation.

The second part of the poem details Evangeline's search for Gabriel. After being taken away on separate ships in 1755, Evangeline searched to find her lover. Longfellow recounts the challenging and determined journey in which Evangeline travels across North America to find Gabriel. It was suggested that Gabriel had become a trapper in the prairies or a voyageur in Louisiana. Evangeline follows the leads with endurance and perseverance, finally arriving in Louisiana, where she finds Gabriel's father, who informs her that Gabriel had left. As her journey continues, she remains “virtuous, pious, faithful, radiant with divine beauty, loyal to her homeland and to the one to whom she has pledged her love” (Joiner 2006:527). Evangeline became a “Sister of Mercy” in Philadelphia, where she tended to the poor and those suffering from a plague. At the time the poem was published, religion was closely tied to notions of ideal womanhood and Evangeline displayed an angelic strength through her suffering along her journey to find Gabriel (Joiner 2006). It is when Evangeline is doing this work that she discovers that one of her dying patients is indeed Gabriel, just before he passes away – finding her love as the poem draws to an end.

The poem, and the images it portrays, were intended to be art and a piece of fiction; they were only inadvertently transformed into history and a nation’s identity. Mary Louise Pratt’s work on South American literature shows how women are reduced to national symbols in order to present a mythologized nationalist history (1997). Likewise, scholarship on Longfellow’s poem has been critical of the “outdated sentimentality and the unrealistic model of womanhood” that the poem presents (Joiner 2006:527). Evangeline is described throughout the poem is the “archetype of the ideal nineteenth-century women” in her displays of faithful devotion, domesticity, and submissiveness (Joiner 2006:526). She demonstrates passive qualities and patience (Niemeyer 2018; Joiner 2006). Quotes from the poem show a particular image: “Ye who believe in the beauty and strength of woman’s devotion,” (12) “Gentle Evangeline,” (14) “Fairest of all the maids was Evangeline” (25) (Longfellow 1995). These descriptions paint an unattainable image of a woman that would, unbeknownst to Longfellow, become the heroine of a nation.

Evangeline was a resounding success in America, gaining popularity between 1864 and 1887 (Griffiths 1982:36). At this same time, a church-centered Acadian elite (which will be discussed at length in the next chapter) was constructing a nationalist project focused on the church and education. The poem was adopted as a set text within the curriculum at Collège Saint-Joseph in Memramcook, New Brunswick where an educated Acadian elite was engaged in what would become the Acadian Renaissance (Andrew 2002:13). Evangeline became an “effective symbol of cultural revival for an educated minority” but also a figure that would be familiar to the majority of Acadians as their culture was mainly oral in the late nineteenth century (Griffiths 1982:39). Evangeline came to be constructed as a cultural symbol that had been missing for Acadians as they developed a new sense of cultural pride. Evangeline met a struggling minority's need for symbols and provided Acadians with a foundation to build their own nationalistic pursuits (Griffiths 1982:38).

3.2 THE LAND OF EVANGELINE

> Still stands the forest primeval; but under the shade of its branches
> Dwells another race, with other customs and language.
> Only along the shore of the mournful and misty Atlantic
> Linger a few Acadian peasants, whose fathers from exile
> Wandered back to their native land to die in its bosom.
> In the fisherman’s cot the wheel and the loom are still busy;
> Maidens still wear their Norman caps and their kirtles of homespun,
> And by the evening fire repeat Evangeline’s story.
> While from its rocky caverns the deep-voiced, neighboring ocean
> Speaks, and in accents disconsolate answers the wail of the forest.

Evangeline, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1995:58)

Acadians and tourists alike embraced Evangeline, who remains a central figure in sites of memory around the Maritime Provinces. Above is the final stanza of Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie, where Longfellow describes Acadians returning to their forest primeval. The imagery portrayed in the poem led readers to travel to Nova Scotia to discover Evangeline's homeland. The poem placed Grand-Pré, one of the locations of the Acadian Deportations, at the center of the deportation narrative, and as a result Acadian nationalists "symbolically reclaimed the community as the heart of the Acadian nation" (Fowler 2017:48). Grand-Pré became a representation of where 7,000 Acadians were deported, and another 7,000 became refugees (Faragher 2006); when the deportations at Grand-Pré took place approximately three kilometers from the site and was later marked with a septate memorial. During this forging of a national identity in the late 19th century the Acadian elite mobilized narratives and national symbols "in the process of creating a kind of foundation myth in a real place: the Village of Grand-Pré." (Fowler 2017:46). In reality the "forest primeval," landscape, and geography from the poem did not exist (Griffiths 1982:30; Le Blanc 2003:71).

As I walked toward the main site from the interpretative centre at the Grand-Pré National Historic Site in 2017, the silhouette of Evangeline set against the vast landscape of the willow trees and memorial church was a clearly curated scene, very like the one which appeared some seventy years earlier on a 1947 tourism guide for "The Land of Evangeline," as shown in figure 7, though there are now groomed gravel pathways and less greenery on the church's façade. As I took it in, I came upon a crossing where overgrown train tracks ran directly across the center of the site, a feature that may seem insignificant to many visitors. However, these tracks are tied to the history of this site and the overarching story of how Evangeline became central in the Nova Scotia tourist industry in the late nineteenth century.

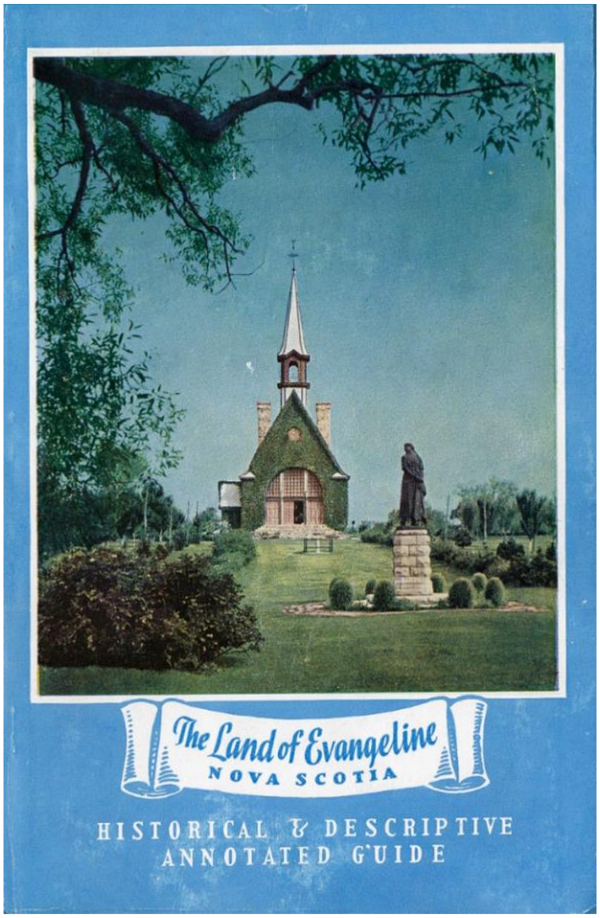

Figure 9 "'The Land of Evangeline, Nova Scotia" "Historical & Descriptive Annotated Guide" published by Dominion Atlantic Railway advertising "a Quick and Low-Cost Vacation Route." Inside cover has a map promoting the D.A.R. rail and steamship routes. 1947 Reference: Nova Scotia Archives Library: F91 N85 G94 no. 34

Railways in the province were already present for commerce purposes when the Dominion Atlantic Railway (DAR) merged existing railways and expanded their use for tourism (Woodworth 1936). There was a significant amount of historical reconstruction within the "Land of Evangeline" tourist area to match the Nova Scotian landscape to the imagery in Evangeline, a text which would have been read by many of the tourists (Muise 1998:124). In 1869, the first American tourists arrived in Grand-Pré on the Dominion Atlantic Railway to banners that read, “Welcome to the Land of Gabriel and Evangeline” (Rudin 2009:186). There was not much by way of a site to visit at this time, but the popularity of the poem began to draw Americans to Nova Scotia further promoted by the Dominion Atlantic Railway, as seen in figure 10. Reference to “Land of Evangeline” in tourism materials dates back to 1892 (Nova Scotia the Land of Evangeline 1892).

Figure 10 “The Land of Evangeline, Dominion Atlantic Railway” with an illustration of “Evangeline” raking hay on the cover. 1903. Reference: Nova Scotia Archives Library: V/F vol. 365 no. 21

In 1907, John Frederick Herbin, a local jeweller, “created the Grand-Pré Preservation-Restoration and Acadian-Longfellow Memorial Monument” (Rudin 2009:186). Herbin sought Acadian involvement in the site, but without success. He sold the site to the Dominion Atlantic Railway in 1917 on the condition that Acadians could be involved in the preservation of the site and build a memorial, like a commemorative church, if they wished (Rudin 2009). The Dominion Atlantic Railway furthered Herbin's efforts using Evangeline's figure and myth as a strategy to lure tourists from New England to Nova Scotia (Muise 1998; Rudin 2009; Gagné 2013). Local elites invested resources into the tourism industry, resulting in increased tourism in rural communities (Muise 1998:126).

As scholars of Atlantic Canada have noted, Atlantic Canadian histories have been presented as antimodern in a process of cultural selection. A reimagined image of Nova Scotia and "invented traditions" (Hobsbawm 1992) were deployed to support the capitalist tourist market. Societies use old materials to construct invented traditions. Known traditions are then often perceived as older than they are while having been invented and promoted more recently (Hobsbawm 1992:1, 6). Between 1880 and 1910, industrial transformation reshaped the region alongside tourism development increased alongside the shifting industrial landscape. An upturn in historical re-enactments and the memorialization of the past, such as the Acadian Deportation and the Fortress of Louisbourg, resulted in the growth of the tourism industry in Atlantic Canada (Muise 1998:124).

By the 1920s and 1930s, Nova Scotia was reimagined by tourism strategists to benefit the capitalist tourist market, recreating the Nova Scotia landscape, particularly that of Grand-Pré, and promoting vacation packages that promised the innocence away from urban life as shown in figure 11 (McKay 1994; Muise 1998). There were several players organizing tourism between New England and Nova Scotia, including Dominion

Atlantic Railway (DAR), Eastern Steamship Line, and Yarmouth Steamship Line between the 1890s and 1930s. In 1897, a first class return trip from Boston to Grand Pré with the Yarmouth Steamship Company would have cost a patron $14.00 (Winter Time-Table, 1897-98. The Yarmouth Line 1897). Later in the 1920s and 1930s, steamships were named in accordance with the narrative: ships named "S.S. Acadia," and "S.S. Evangeline" provided transport between New York, Boston, and Yarmouth (S.S. Evangeline 1930; S.S. Acadia 1932; Steamer Evangeline 1920).

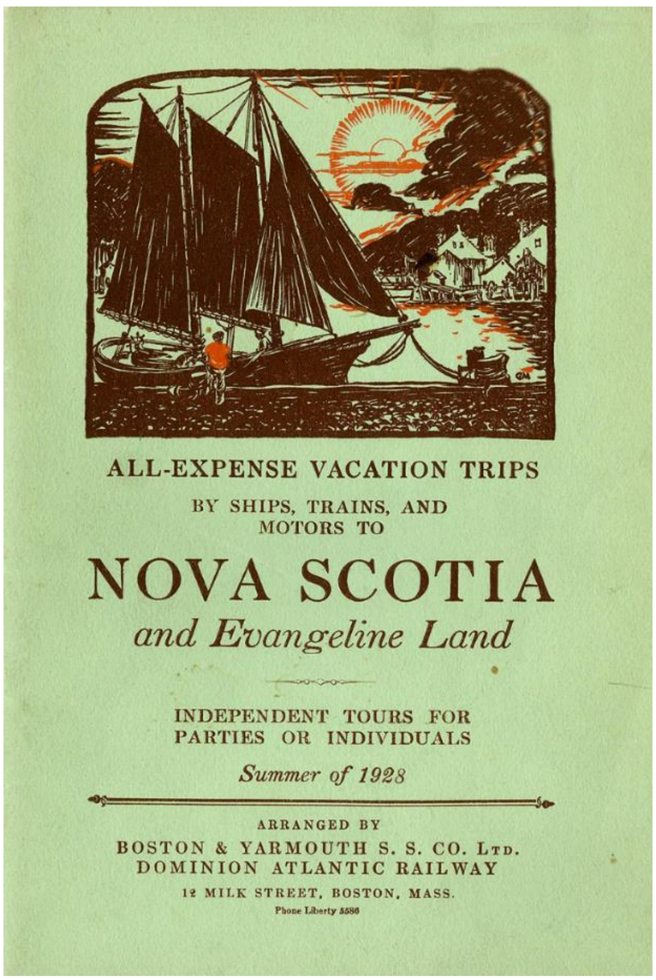

Figure 11 "All-Expense Vacation Trips by Ships, Trains, and Motors to Nova Scotia and Evangeline Land" "Independent Tours for Parties or Individuals, Summer of 1928, Arranged by Boston & Yarmouth S.S. Co. Ltd., Dominion Atlantic

Railway." 1928. Reference: Nova Scotia Archives Library: F91 N85 G94 no. 15

By the 1920s, the Grand-Pré site was developing in tandem with a period in Nova Scotia where cultural producers were constructing the province using a marketable "Folk" who were "rooted to the soil and to the rockbound coast and lived lives of self-sufficiency close to nature" to produce images of authentic Nova Scotia (McKay 1994: 26). In his landmark book, The Quest for the Folk: Antimodernism and Cultural Selection in Twentieth-Century Nova Scotia, historian Ian McKay (1994) describes how cultural producers in Nova Scotia portrayed the province as distant from twentieth century modernity, highlighting "the rustic, the unspoiled, the picturesque, the quaint, [and] the unchanging" between 1920 and 1950. He introduces the concept of antimodernism as "a strategy for avoiding the very real issues of class, exploitation, gender and inequality within a community" (McKay 1994; as cited in Summerby-Murray 2013:69).

McKay outlines a struggle between authentic folk culture and economic development in the region. With the expansion of capital into "uncommodified areas" McKay employs the term "Folk" to describe those of lower classes living in rural areas of the province who became exploited as their cultures became commodified. Much of the commodification was achieved through commemoration and mythmaking in the tourist industry. Antimodernism was central to the development of Atlantic Canadian regional identity. Despite advances in capitalism and industry, the focus on the antimodern promoted the image of a static Folk with "unchanging values" (272-3) resulting in underdevelopment. This wide-scope utilization of the Folk formula in their search for profit resulted in a culture of antimodernism and decreased opportunity for alternative views and modern economic development.

This presentation of the Folk through an antimodern lens promoted partial histories of a particular sort which in turn became a part of the identity building processes. The focus of these efforts was less about building an official history than to achieve financial gain without significant economic output. Nova Scotia became framed as a society of innocence despite advances in capitalism and industry. The Folk are imagined to not work in industry, Acadians included, and distanced from capitalism and modernity. These images were reinforced through performative and commemorative practice in tourist spaces and they impacted collective memory and understandings of the past (Connerton 1989:4).

Griffiths (1982) highlights that Acadian elites focused on religious and political themes in the poem in their cultural revival and through that focus were able to connect Acadians to Evangeline as a heroine, despite the scattered nature of Acadian communities. The tourism industry in Nova Scotia sold, and continues to sell, "pre-modern" products and a narrative of "unchanging values" to great success. Raymond Williams (1975) also discussed this type of ideology in his presentation of the idealized countryside. In both scenarios, the Folk and the countryside possess a culture that is represented as isolated from the 'modern' and therefore can remain distant from the elite while sustaining a degree of control over the Folk (McKay 1994; Williams 1975).

The Grand-Pré site matched the official history and the tourism industry and nationalist movement both benefited in adopting similar tropes and imagery that continue to influence Acadian popular memory today. As tourists arrived at Grand-Pré, they would have been met with the rolling hills, the willows, and the statue of Evangeline at the center of the site—the statue having been erected in 1920. The train tracks where I stood mark the location where tourists would have stepped off the train and entered the "Land of Evangeline," a land that was created by male cultural producers, adapted by an American male poet, reinvented by the men who led the Acadian nationalist movement, and coopted further as a strategy for the Nova Scotia tourist economy.

Adopting Acadians as part of the Folk narrative, Nova Scotia tourism in the 1920s presented Acadians in Nova Scotia in line with the official histories of the nationalist movement. However, much of this heritage construction occurred without much Acadian input. Acadian popular memory was significantly impacted by Grand-Pré and the Nova Scotia tourism industry (Le Blanc 2003:77). The 1955 bicentennial of the deportation had increased nationalistic sentiment among Acadians and led to increased involvement of Société Nationale Acadian at the Grand-Pré site. This increased interest in the deportation and the imagined site of the expulsion led to the construction of the church and garden on the site where the bicentennial celebration occurred in 1955 (Gagné 2013). The transition away from Evangeline as the central figure within the park seemed to occur hastily and without much attention to the existing impact the figure and the park had on Acadian popular memory and feelings of attachment to the site. The nationalization of the site due to the role of the SNA in its redevelopment mobilized a certain idea of Acadianness – one that centered in purity and patriarchy.

In his examination of Colonial Williamsburg, Wallace (1996) describes how similar images of the past are constructed to support the narratives of the state and capitalism. The presentation of the past at Colonial Williamsburg is of a planter elite represented by the culture of folk, with no acknowledgement of the history of the black slaves that once inhabited the site (Wallace 1996:14). In 1961, the Grand-Pré site became a National Historic Site under the Parks Canada system after ownership was transferred from Dominion Atlantic Railway to the federal government (Le Blanc 2003:143; Parks Canada 2010:2). This new era of the site dropped all references to Evangeline in its promotion – yet her image remained on the grounds of the park (Gagné 2013). As mentioned earlier, the lack of cohesive narrative at Grand-Pré presents various histories of a vast landscape which, at times, misrepresents the stories of both the historical and present-day Acadian people. Unfortunately, these mythologized representations of the past disrupted Acadian historiography, and, as Clifford puts it: "constructed truths are made by powerful "lies" of exclusion and rhetoric" (1986:7).

Silences and omissions within Acadian official history can be attributed to power imbalances where tourists are sold a particular history. The image presented at Grand-Pré was designed to draw tourists to Evangeline's homeland. In the 1950s there was a reimagining of the park alongside of the reimagining of the Acadian official history, as promoted by the nationalist movement. There was a distance from the image of "Evangeline," yet the imagery from the initial plan and landscape of the park remained (Gagné 2013).

Few female voices would have been involved in the construction of Acadian official history and the development of imagery for the historical representations of Acadians within tourism and heritage; as a result, real women were not represented. Women are not absent from the story; however, they can become overshadowed by the myth. Antimodernist views in the Maritimes during this post-war period were gendered in particular ways resulting in an increased focus on "mythical images of virginal Folk women" (McKay 1994:261). Scott (1986) argues that "we need to consider the subjectivity of the social and historical contexts" (Scott 1986:1064). Exploring narratives through a gendered lens requires noting how things are remembered differently based on gender and how that should be presented within sites of memory and commemoration rather than silenced (Leydesdorff, Passerini, and Thompson 1996; Wallace 1996). Doing so has implications for Acadian collective and popular memory, as the antimodernism that characterizes official accounts had significant implications for the representation of both gender (McKay 1994) and Acadians.

The absence of women's voices in the late nineteenth century was likely more a sign of the times than a deliberate choice because there were few women in positions of power. For example, the institutions where the Acadian Renaissance was fostered was a boy's school. Like most of the Western world at this time, the Acadian nationalist narrative represented women as subordinate, virginal, sexualized, and suppressed. McKay (1994) points out that cultural producers, some of whom were women, including the important folklorist Helen Creighton and craft promoter Mary Black, embraced the antimodern version of Atlantic Canada promoted in the tourist industry, a vision which portrayed women as virginal folk.

For example, the 1940s saw the production of Evangeline dolls in Belliveau's Cove (McKay 1994:161), and an increased presence of "Evangeline Girls" at Acadian commemorative and memorial ceremonies (Rudin 2009). When at Grand-Pré in 2017, there was a performance by Evangeline Dancers, a dance troupe from Prince Edward Island established in 1977, performing in traditional Acadian dress. This recourse to Evangeline does not show what Acadian women contributed to history or community development but instead reduces them to stereotypes. These representations of women romanticized constructed pasts of women, like Liberty, Anne of Green Gables, and, in the case of the Acadians, Evangeline. The examination of gender is vital to examining Acadian nationalism because the voices and narratives within this movement were predominantly male.

The mythologization of Evangeline created a specific image of a woman to represent an Acadian Folk. These narratives were in line with the gender roles established in Acadian nationalism's larger political movement; this resulted in the movement and tourist narratives leaving out the voices of Acadian women. Within heritage construction, the omission of women's contributions to history is a persistent problem. Scott (1986:1059) highlights that domination can take the form of male appropriation of women through their objectification. The Acadian national movement has excluded parts of the Acadian past, especially concerning the experiences of women, which I discuss in more detail in the next chapter.

Mary Louise Pratt (1997) describes an analogous situation in her discussion of José Marmol's political novel "Amalia" published in 1844. It presents the story of a "young and beautiful upper-class Bueno Aires woman" who was in love with a unitarian militant. With interest in politics, she became exposed to federalist dictator Rosa's "reign of terror" leading the couple to flee after a failed government overthrow and eventual death of her lover (Pratt 1997:9). A different text, "El guante negro" presents a woman that can be seen as opposite to Amalia, an image of Rosa's daughter, and viewing the two in comparison, they themselves are able to embody national conflict. In nationalist history, Amalia is framed as the unitarian national symbol and in others "embodies national conflict" (Pratt 1997:9). John Comaroff notes that "women, their bodies, and their dress often being prime site for the representation of difference" who are "built from the fluid ensemble of symbols, values, and meanings that compose a living, historical culture" (1996:166). Yet these women were not domesticated but rather protagonists in political performance. They are not merely national symbols; these women played a role in nation-building, and yet, as Pratt highlights, they are not part of the imagined community. Instead, the nationalist history mythologized versions of women within literature who were reduced to national symbols.

3.3 GRAND-PRÉ NARRATIVES

As a Canadian National Historic Site, Grand-Pré is built upon a nationalist and commercially driven narrative. The narratives and images it presented and continues to present have an impact on Acadian popular memory and understanding of ethnicity. Upon entering the interpretation centre at Grand-Pré National Historic Site, visitors are met with a large painting over the welcome desk. The painting depicts the image of the Acadian flag with a large cross in the center white portion as a shining light. A simple yellow star is positioned in the top left corner of the blue portion with an underlayer of an image of an agricultural landscape opposite images of fire and water in the red to the right. The site is co-managed by Société Promotion Grand-Pré, an Acadian non-profit and Parks Canada, providing visitor experiences and heritage presentation.

Built in 2003, the visitor reception and interpretation centre is a large modern building that houses a gift shop, information about the UNESCO designation of the site and surrounding landscape, a small theatre, and an exhibit space. The theatre shows a 20-minute interpretative film on the deportation. The exhibit, also built in 2003, is situated near the back of the building near the exit to the park. It is a dark room painted black with interpretative panels surround the perimeter of the room. Panels are situated on larger portions of the wall painted in dark earth tones. Panels highlighted the natural history of Grand-Pré, the religious, economic, and agricultural backgrounds of the populations that inhabited the land including the Mi'kmaq, Acadians, and New England Planters. Some panels included audio components and artifacts, some of which were retrieved during archeological excavations at the site. In the center of the room is a large replica of the dyking agricultural landscape and system in the center of the room has a statue of a man piercing a shovel into the ground.

The last display before you exit the exhibit and enter the park presents an array of images of Evangeline. These images detail how Evangeline's image and name was commercialized throughout the province to attract tourists over the years. She appeared on posters, china dishes, advertisements, a newspaper, the Dominion Atlantic Railway logo, soda bottles, chocolate boxes, often with the red, white, and blue Acadian flag by her side. The imagery in this display highlights the stereotypical use of the image for financial gain within the region. The way the Acadian past is remembered and understood is gendered and fulfills specific functions.

When you enter the park the Evangeline Statue remains ever prominent in the foreground the Memorial Church, situated at the center of the park. As Scott argues, considering gender in history is complicated because it is a theoretical more and "requires analysis not only of the relationship between male and female experience in the past but also of the connection between past history and current historical practice" (1986:1055). Despite the presence of Evangeline and the larger story of the deportation, Acadians are reduced to representations of a story and not people with a story. The small display highlighting how Evangeline's name and image were used and continues to be used within the region is not necessarily a critique. It intends to show the pervasive use of her image throughout the region. Her image remains a part of the attraction to Grand-Pré, her statue stands in the centre of the historic site presenting the definitive version of Acadian women, an image that is entrenched in popular memory.

Atlantic Canadian historian P.D. Clarke has decried the omission of Acadianité from Atlantic Canadian historiography (2000). Narratives at Grand-Pré are not consistent and in line with Acadian historiography or ethnicity. Historian Michael Gagné notes that "parts of these narratives that did focus on Acadians did little to present an accurate account of the past. Rather, they emphasized the romantic ideals of purity and rebirth" (Gagné 2013:98). The curation of this site reifies official Acadian history. Gagné continues "the park was created to fulfill specific commercial and ideological needs" (2013:98). This has led to the site not having a consistent narrative and is tied to its, at times confusing presentation of the past (Gagné 2013) and use of mythologized imagery without sufficient explanation. In a similar vein, Raymond Williams argues that despite deruralization throughout Wales, stereotypes attached to the country and the city remain (1975). The fundamental premise of this heritage construction is that Acadians are not modern and can become created within the image of the nationalist movement or through commemoration (Bannister and Marsters 2011).

Oppositional narratives present a more localized understanding of everyday ethnicity than that presented at the national level. I argue that the localized narrative within the community around what constitutes Acadian identity in Pomquet was distanced from the nationalist ideology or the official history due to several social and economic circumstances. I demonstrate how the nationalist ideology, or the official history have been coopted by Acadian nationalists, the government of Canada, and those who benefited from the commercialization of the identity and history.

Grand-Pré is not solely an Acadian site. Yet, those who gather there, and many tourists, continue to view it as a marker of Acadian history. At the Grand-Pré 2017 celebration, Acadian history remained part of the main narrative of the event that celebrated their lasting alliance and relationship with the Mi'kmaq. It acknowledged and highlighted that the site was more than an Acadian site and that the Mi'kmaq have a significant attachment to the history and landscape of Grand-Pré. The site reduces Acadian history to the deportation events and as a result Acadians themselves become marginalized within the telling of their own history; a visitor could even imagine that there are no contemporary Acadians. While events hosted at the site and materials available for purchase in the boutique draw attention to contemporary Acadian life, the overall site does not. The site does not reveal Acadian identities and ethnicity in any representative way outside of myth and nationalism. The focus on the deportation, landscape, and agriculture leaves little room for meaningful engagement for who Acadians are today – but rather frame them in an antimodern past and use the deportation as the key identifier of Acadianité. Despite the blurred narrative of the site Grand-Pré remains the homeland where the Acadian diaspora gathers.

3.4 PERFORMING ACADIANNESS

Visiting Grand-Pré highlighted the stark differences between Acadian official history and the experiences of Acadians in Pomquet. Pomquet engaged with some of those performative aspects of identity, but the performance tends to be situational and influenced by the experiences of the community. Acadian identity in Pomquet was not exclusive to the images within the nationalist ideology, they were influenced by outmigration and retuning, teachers who moved from other Acadian regions, and local traditions that have been sustained over time. It was a different performance than that of the official Acadian history, it was more local. Nonetheless, Evangeline was present in modern-day Pomquet.

On a chilly February evening in 2017, I followed a crowd of people towards Église Sainte Croix for the opening Mass for Carnaval d'Hiver. As I walked into the church, an eight-year-old girl dressed as Evangeline handed me a program. Inside the program, there were prayers and songs, mainly in French, that were sung and recited throughout the evening. The Carnaval d'Hiver in Pomquet began in 1979. Since this time, there has been a weeklong local festival each winter that brings the community together with children's activities, a parade, dances, community meals, and winter activities such as ice-skating. Community members noted that the carnival has a strong focus on the children in the community. Each year two children take on the roles of Evangeline and Gabriel for the week. In the church that evening, the Knights of Columbus created a guard for the entrance standing at either side of the pews closest to the back of the church. I found a seat in a pew near the back.

There were red, white, and blue ribbons draped between bright yellow stars, representing the Acadian flag, hung along the stained-glass windows on each side of the church. Individuals involved in the service made their way down the aisle as members of the congregation joined in song. The entrance included additional members of the Knights of Columbus, members of the Pomquet Volunteer Fire Service, and the parish priest. They were followed by the young girl dressed as Evangeline, along with a young boy dressed as Gabriel. A large Acadian flag was revealed as the congregation continued to sing. When the singing ended, the priest welcomed everyone to the carnival noting the importance of this time of year in the community as an opportunity to celebrate culture and heritage.

As I listened to the priest reflect on the importance of culture in Pomquet and the deep connection Acadians have to the Catholic faith during the opening Mass of the Carnaval d'Hiver, it came as no surprise when he mentioned Evangeline. It was approaching Valentine's Day, and he began to refer to the journey of Evangeline and Gabriel and the love and strength that their story represents. While he provided an overview of Evangeline's journey of strength, he noted the importance it continues to represent for Acadians. He specifically noted that Evangeline's love for Gabriel and how it was their love for one another that was key to her strength on her journey. As he spoke, he motioned to the young girl dressed up as Evangeline and I reflected on how engrained these images are within popular memory. It is evident that their more localized understanding of history also partook of mythologized symbols. This is not to say that they fully engage with the nationalist narrative or were part of the tourist industry in the early twentieth century. But rather that these elements had an impact on the popular memory of Acadians and still had some salience in Pomquet.

Notwithstanding performances such as these, the uneven development of Acadian nationalism throughout the Maritimes resulted in Pomquet, and arguably other small Acadian enclaves, having space to develop an ethnic identity somewhat separate from the Acadian national ideology. I went to Pomquet in search of ethnicity and was surprised to find that many of the elements I has come to see as central to Acadian identities were, more often than not, backgrounded in ethnic identities and histories of Pomqueters. Localized ethnicity is focused less on the nationalist ideology, images of Evangeline, or the flag. Though these images were present, I found that at the local level, ethnicity and attachment to Acadianness developed differently. Food, education, heritage, and community were more central to the Pomquet story. It was not until later, in the 1960s though 1980s, that the village was impacted more forcefully by Acadian national ideology and history. Community members, particularly women, were able to reproduce ethnicity through gendered practices of social reproduction at a distance from the mainstream narrative. Women had the space to have control and impact on ethnicity because official Acadian institutions were weaker in Pomquet than in other communities.

When I sat down with Rose one evening for a cup of tea, I asked her about the performative elements of culture I witnessed at the carnival. She explained that it was simply fun for the children to play Evangeline and Gabriel each year and shared how her niece and daughter both had the opportunity to be Evangeline in past festivals. She went to find a photograph in a nearby cabinet to show me, “this is me and my husband as Monsieur and Madame Acadie when we were younger,” she explained when she located the photo. In the past, in addition to having children dress up for the festival as Evangeline and Gabriel, a couple would be named Monsieur and Madame Acadie. Rose laughed as she told me they were surprised to be chosen that year and that it was a fun way to spend Carnaval d'Hiver. The images emerged from the popularization of Evangeline's image and became more present in Pomquet between the 1960s and 1980s.

Material at Héritage Pomquet shows some performative elements that have dissipated over time. In photographs from past carnivals and events, women preparing and serving meals are dressed in Acadian traditional outfits. Élise recounted "when we worked at the salmon suppers or sang in the choir, we had to wear Acadian costume, which was the blue skirt, white apron, and a red vest with a white cap." Today, Evangeline's name and image, remains in most, if not all, Acadian communities. Her image, if nothing else, holds symbolic meaning for many communities. Most associations with Evangeline throughout Nova Scotia are aligned with the tourist economy of a given Acadian enclave. Restaurants, streets, towns, and other landmarks are often named after Evangeline. In Pomquet, however, there was little engagement with that tourist economy or the early nationalist movement leaving representations of Evangeline in Pomquet as a minor performative part of ethnicity.

3.5 A LOACALIZED HISTORY AND NARRATIVE

Pomquet's location, like its main economy, led it to fall outside the tourist trope of "Land of Evangeline" that was popularized in early twentieth century Nova Scotia. In 2019, I gave a presentation about the Chez Deslauriers site at the Heritage Interpretation in Atlantic Canada conference hosted at Cape Breton University. Many historians and those employed in the heritage sector were surprised as I described how little the community was interested in promoting the property as a tourist destination or using the

Acadian official history to do so. Instead, they used the site as a gathering place situated in local history eschewing more widely promoted Acadian tourist tropes. Chez Deslauriers draws little attention to the broader history of Acadians and the deportation story.

Other Acadian communities benefited from their locations along the Dominion Atlantic Railway system, seeing tourists destined for Grand-Pré, like the Acadian regions of Clare and Argyle that were close to Yarmouth where the steamships of passengers from the United States would arrive. Likewise, Chéticamp, a small Acadian community, bordering the Cape Breton Highlands National Park which saw an increase in tourists. The absence of the tourist narrative led Pomquet heritage projects to be much more interested in Pomquet history than Acadian history more broadly. As noted above, Pomquet also had a thriving economy up until the mid-1900s and would not have participated in the antimodern and folklorized version of Acadians and cultural production Nova Scotia was attempting to sell. These circumstances speak to Pomquet's distance from both the nationalist narrative and tourist industry until the late twentieth century. It is at this time, with the establishment of Pomquet Development Society and the transformation of Chez Deslauriers that led to an initial interested in tourism in Pomquet.

With this shift in the 1980s came an increase in Bed and Breakfasts, promotion of Chez Deslauriers as a heritage site, and increased focus on Pomquet Beach as a destination alongside it. Surprisingly, the Pomquet Development Society does not use the Acadian official history to draw tourists to the site. The site presents an idealized landscape that, at first glance, seems to fit within the antimodernist tourism formula for modern economic development (McKay 1994:276; Williams 1975). However, Chez Deslauriers doesn't necessarily subscribe to these presentations as thoroughly as the larger tourist sites. McKay (1994) and Williams (1975) use the Folk and the countryside respectively to demonstrate how culture is presented as isolated from the 'modern' and, therefore, can remain distant from the elite while the elite sustains a degree of control. Chez Deslauriers represents Pomquet's past rather than the constructed mythologized past of Acadians. Acadian flags are flying, and some tourists visit the site. Tourists enjoy a meal, browse the interpretative centre – where a two out of the fourteen information panels address a broader Acadian history – and explore the trail system at the rear of the property. Despite this engagement, there is little economic gain from the heritage portion of the site. It mainly serves as a place to gather and celebrate community. Chez Deslauriers is about the people from this community, for diasporic community members, and their attachment to this place and how it continues to serve them in the post-agricultural period.

In 1979, Société Historique formed in Pomquet under the vision of Leo Doiron who grew up in Pomquet and went on to become a professor at St. Francis Xavier University in Antigonish. Doiron had a passion for history that he brought to the community and brought together likeminded residents to form the society. His vision was to one day have a physical museum that told the story of Pomquet. In its infancy the society had meetings in the homes of its dozen members. Each Wednesday, members of Héritage Pomquet meet in a room on the main floor of the SASC building. The building houses SASC and the museum and is beginning to show its age. Heritage material and artifacts are held upstairs; however, it is easier for the members to gather on the main floor of the building and not heat the upstairs in the off-season. On the main floor, the group has a sizable room in the back with a computer, scanner, tables to review documents, and community genealogical records and family trees that span the lengths of the longest wall in the room. Historical work conducted by Héritage Pomquet shows a focus on community history and the social institutions that allowed Pomquet to develop into a strong Acadian community. The group created projects, preserved, and digitized records, and held artifacts that represented many facets of the community's past.

Ethnic identities are continually shaped by historical construction (Comaroff 1996) and Pomqueters have made an effort to ensure history is preserved for the next generation. Localized versions of the past tell stories omitted from, or even running counter to the nationalist ideology. Records collected in Pomquet speak about the legacy of Club des Femmes and the strong commitment these women had to the community; they describe the influence of local priests, education and schooling, businesses, and farming. I was continually drawn to a display about the Club des Femmes. It exhibited many photos of the women baking pies, preparing salmon, and posing next to pots filled with fricôt. There was a lot of joy on their faces. Narratives that I collected over the course of my fieldwork tell stories of the hard work that went into the events and how committed the group was to providing for the community in these ways.

Today, the group has approximately ten volunteers, mainly retired women from the community. Three men were quite involved, two were retired, and the other was in his thirties. Many women noted that the younger volunteer and student employees assisted them with technology and transitioning materials to digital formats. This small community group is very committed to preserving heritage in Pomquet. During my time in the community, I visited their meetings almost weekly. I spoke with members, helped digitize recordings from cassette tapes, and conducted interviews as they scanned documents, updated their website, and planned community events. There were always people coming and going, dropping off materials, photos, or just stopping by to chat.

The work conducted by Héritage Pomquet highlighted many of the differences between the local and the national within my study. Pomquet would not have maintained its language, heritage, and traditions if it were not for the determination and commitment of dedicated citizens who built and reproduced a resilient culture and identity. Conversations led at Héritage Pomquet allowed community members to reflect on their history and recount memories. This space became a site "of social production of memory," allowing for the "uncovering [of] subaltern histories and silenced voices" as a form of "history from below", as DuBois puts it (2005:134). In her work in Buenos Aires Argentina, she conducts history workshops offer a similar space to produce or reproduce memory, allowing the neighbourhood to represent its past and historical vision (DuBois 2005:133). Héritage Pomquet seemed to be telling its history, by which I mean a history that reflects their experience and understanding, in their collection, allowing for the telling of individual histories rather than focusing on the 'big' history (High 2014:94). The attention to a localized history differs from official histories and mainstream understandings of Acadian ethnic identity. One notable distinction from the Acadian nationalist account is that in Pomquet women are understood to have played, and continue to play, a significant role. Women were essential in creating and maintaining "stable communities and households" in the region (Morton 2000:121; Tye 2014).

In her research on memory and history, DuBois noted that during memory workshops, older participants focused on personal narratives/stories rather than on the larger collective (2005:136). Likewise, in Pomquet, community heritage gave voice to the women from the community, acknowledged their leadership, and praised their commitment to the culture and the language. For example, while I was in Pomquet, the heritage group worked on a project on the war brides who returned to Pomquet. In preparation for the Remembrance Day service in 2017, the group went through old photographs and sought additional information about numerous women who would have come to Pomquet after World War II. These women were not Acadian as it would traditionally have been constructed; nevertheless, the group worked tirelessly to highlight their stories alongside the men's accounts at the reception held at the community hall after the service that year.

When speaking about the material in historical documents, members of the group would reflect on the role particular people played in the community's development. One afternoon, for example, Marcel, a retired teacher in his mid-sixties, electronically scanned attendance records from Lower Pomquet School. As he scanned the documents, he began to share with those of us present who the teacher was on each record, the considerable number of students she was tasked with teaching that year, and some of the personality traits he recalled about her. He said, "Madame DeYoung, my goodness, she had her hands full!" Others began to recount their memories of Madame DeYoung or their siblings' experiences with her, all noting the significant amount of work the teachers performed in the 1950s and 1960s, before the schools were consolidated with increased capacity and support.

At Héritage Pomquet gathering each Wednesday, members would also scan photographs that were collected or donated to the museum. Members came across pictures of their aunts, mothers, and siblings preparing community meals and shared stories about the work the community women's group – which dissolved in the early 2000s – did throughout the years. "The salmon suppers!" they exclaimed, "I miss those salmon suppers so much; they were the best time of the year!" Club des Femmes, was responsible for all community meals in Pomquet, from the famed annual salmon supper to the lunches after a funeral service. It was a significant part of the community's social network, and its absence due to its dissolution was very much felt by many in Pomquet.

The group scanned teaching records that they borrowed from the Antigonish Historical Museum to ensure there were copies at Héritage Pomquet. The fact that they were borrowing and requesting copies of materials about Pomquet held elsewhere shows the depth of their interest in their own history. Rather than visiting the Antigonish Heritage Museum or Centre d'Etudes at Université de Moncton, they had copies. When I visited these places, I saw much of the same material that was present at the community museum. In my experience, materials tend to move from community museums to larger facilities with more funding and resources, not vice versa. The significance of these materials became clear through the stories and commentaries they elicited. As the volunteers scanned, they recounted how their teachers granted them endless opportunities and went above and beyond to develop teaching materials that were not being provided by the government.

Heritage work in Pomquet highlights the importance of preserving the past in a community with significant changes in their culture and language. Heritage discourse is presented from a masculine perspective and often focuses on the stories of elite men (Smith 2008). Smith notes that heritage “is gendered in the way that heritage is defined, understood and talked about and, in turn, in the way it reproduces and legitimizes gender identities and the social values that underpin them” (2008:161) Looking at ethnicity in Pomquet with a gendered lens show alternative narratives of about the past and identity. Local narratives from Pomquet and the diverse collection of heritage material kept by the community emphasize an ethnic identity that accepts and uses some element of the official history, but mainly focus on its meaning within Pomquet itself. Acadians today are not living in a static antimodern state, they have adapted to modernity even in rural contexts such as that of Pomquet. In contrasting these differences in history and ethnicity, I argue that for Acadians there is a need to sustain a balance between what is popular and recognizable in the presentation and performance of Acadianité while reproducing ethnicity at a local level, as I will detail in subsequent chapters.

3.6 CONCLUSION

Pomquet did not fit the mold of the larger initiatives for Acadian tourism and heritage, nor did Pomqueters make much effort to subscribe to those narratives. Their performance of Acadianness and their telling of their own history illustrate narratives which run counter to official accounts. The absence of these voices within Acadian official history points to a need to address local variations within Acadian history, culture, and identity. This is especially evident given that narratives from Pomquet reveal the power women had in the local reproduction of ethnicity even when they were not engaging with nation or mainstream layers of Acadian identity production.

This chapter provided context about how Acadian heritage and identities were constructed within Atlantic Canada, the mythologization of Acadian history that emerged from these narratives, and how that history is gendered. I argue that actual Acadian people are mostly absent from the presentation of Acadian history at Grand-Pré National Park with a narrative more informed by landscape, the people that inhabited the space, and the deportation story, Evangeline notwithstanding. Further, this chapter argued for the significance of the heritage work conducted within Pomquet, revealing how women in Pomquet have historically developed and sustained community and mobilized to retain and restructure their identities.

Narratives in Pomquet tell stories of women outside of that dominant narrative constructed by the Acadian nationalist movement and the Nova Scotia tourism industry. These narratives show some of the push and pull between the national and local, especially with regard to the representation of Acadians as a recognizable and collective ethnic group. Some of the qualities that Evangeline represents are indeed qualities that women in Pomquet possess. However, it becomes clear that while narrative of Acadian official history was being constructed, it was women who were doing the labour of cultural and social reproduction within the Acadian communities – most of whom were in rural areas with limited access to resources to perform the necessary work to ensure Pomquet can maintain an economy, culture, language, schooling, and heritage. They are not Evangeline.

CHAPTER 4 ACADIAN INSTITUTIONS

There has been a stark divide between how Acadian identity is represented and reproduced by regional and national institutions and organizations versus their local counterparts. Most decisions and policy-making around Acadian identity, nationalism, and language have been made by institutions that are more in line with the Acadian official history and identity. On the other hand, organizations in Pomquet, most of which were led by women, reproduced ethnicity and culture quite differently. In Pomquet, community heritage represented narratives that showed how women organized and lobbied for community needs (which I address in more detail in chapter 5), teachers had a significant degree of control over French education (which I cover in chapter 6), and community spaces proved essential to maintaining Acadian identities in this rural context (as I evidence in chapter 7).

This divide between the official and local in Pomquet highlights why paying attention to gender in the institutionalization of culture and language matters (Scott 1986). What was considered important by Acadian institutions and organizations did not necessarily translate or become pertinent to the smaller Acadian regions in Nova Scotia. For example, Marcel noted that Société Mutuelle l'Assomption was the only indicator of Acadian nationalism in Pomquet. The larger collective identity and attachment to an Acadian official history and ideology was absent as well, as Estelle recounted, "I never heard about the deportation, I mean, maybe in a history book…but it might have been just like a chapter. But it didn't mean anything, you know. They didn't really drill it into you, that you're not just a French Canadian – you're an Acadian."

This chapter offers an overview of the development of Acadian nationalism and associated institutions. I explain the development of Acadian nationalism, how it was founded within Catholic institutions, including the Church and College Saint-Joseph. I move on to show how conventions, print-capitalism, and regional organizations were able to spread the ideologies throughout Atlantic Canada to small Acadian enclaves. I show how religious and educational institutions created and fostered among elite men and highlight how women and localized voices were absent from the larger nationalist narrative. I contrast this nationalist project to the institutional and organizational processes on the locally in Pomquet, which were, not incidentally, predominantly led by women. The chapter situates Pomquet on the periphery of the Acadian nationalist movement and official history. While elements of the Acadian ideology are present in Pomquet, their limited impact during the Acadian Renaissance created space for further ethnic negotiation producing more localized Acadian identity. Over time, however, I show how adopting more mainstream elements of Acadianness come to benefit the community.

4.1 ACADIAN NATIONALISM

Since Canadian Confederation in 1867, the survival and development of the French-speaking national minority population in the country has been a priority. Within Canadian pluralism, various political constituencies coexist within one territory (Connolly 1996). There is an increased the presence of groups that are able to share power through active negotiation (Connolly 1996) and in conjunction with federalism, Canada can respect the autonomy and cultural distinctness of their national minorities while reinforcing that these national minorities remain dependent on the state for political and economic purposes (Kymlicka 2001:92). The federal state model was adopted so that the French-speaking Catholic minority would join the confederation project with their majority English-speaking Protestant counterparts, and it manages national minorities (Cameron 2006; Kymlicka 2001).

Nationalist movements, concerns, and culture vary from one group to another but often seek out autonomy through self-government to secure political rights (Breton 2005:2). In Quebec, a nationalist movement first emerged in the early eighteenth century before confederation with the French-Canadian petite bourgeoisie mobilizing their class position with support from French-Canadian clergy and the Catholic Church (McRoberts 2000).

The beginning of a nationalist movement in Quebec, accommodations within the Canadian constitution, and the centrality of the French language and Catholic faith in these events led to the emergence of Acadian nationalism in the late eighteenth century. In 1764, Acadians began resettling in the colony of Nova Scotia in small dispersed communities after the Seven Year's War (Faragher 2006:422). Catholic parishes were established in Acadian communities across the Maritimes and as Stanley, Acadian historian, argues "the French-speaking clergy therefore took over the leadership of the Acadian parishes and provided a spiritual strength to bolster the Acadian sense of community, giving it form and meaning" (1981:24). The guidance from priests allowed Acadians to define themselves and tie their faith to their identity.

In 1862, Collège Saint-Joseph was founded in Memramcook, New Brunswick by Father Camille Lefebvre with 145 students, becoming a university in 1868 (Landry and

Lang 2001:171). This college was a Francophone and Catholic institution for men (Buckner 1993). Lefebvre founded the institution with the goal to provide post-secondary education for Catholics in New Brunswick; however, it became the main institution for educating Acadians and led to the emergence of a professional class of Acadian elites These students who became the Acadian elites went on to become priests, historians, and politicians, included Pascal Poirier who went on to become the First Acadian senator in 1885 (Landry and Lang 2001:206, 196).

Canadian federalism allowed for accommodations that would aid in the survival and development of French culture through the institutionalization of social reproduction. This was achieved primarily through the delivery of educational and welfare services through the Catholic Church in Quebec (Cameron 2006). There were clear divisions of power made in the Constitution Act of 1867 that granted provinces, Quebec included, jurisdiction over their cultural survival through education and other social reproductive practices (McRoberts 2000). Feminist political economist, Barbara Cameron notes that "the way that the 1867 constitution institutionalized an accommodation between capital accumulation and social reproduction, which was also a national accommodation, worked as long as social reproduction was primarily the responsibility of private or local institutions." (Cameron 2006:48).

The accommodations made for Francophone Canada impacted the reproduction of culture in Quebec. Today, the Quebec provincial government has jurisdiction over policies related to francophone issues such as language, culture, and immigration (Kymlicka 2001:95). Although the federalist system accommodates national minorities, there is a degree of control and distance in its implementation. The presence of minority and ethnic nationalisms is due in part to the decreased participation within state activity and can increase the desire for secession or separation emerging from self-governance within a multi-national state (Kymlicka 2001:115).

As faith and Acadian identity became tied to one another, and more Acadians became educated, a church-centred Acadian movement emerged in the 1870s (Muise 1993; Buckner 1993). This, in turn, impacted the decisions made by the religious elites of the Acadian nationalist movement. Language and Catholicism were used as central elements to form ethnic identity. The deportation, as a moment in history, was employed to create collective memory (Le Blanc 2003:100–101). In 1880, clergy in Acadian communities and community members from Francophone communities in the Maritimes attended a congress organized by Société Saint-Jean-Bapitiste in Quebec (Stanley 1981:28). This congress inspired clergy and Acadians in attendance to pursue a nationalist project like that of Quebec. This movement occurred in the context of a critical period of nation-building in Canada that saw the development of national and multicultural politics (Kymlicka 2001; Taylor 1994; Tully 1995).

The men involved in this Acadian Renaissance aimed to emphasize their distinctness from Quebec yet show their solidarity (Stanley 1981:28). Acadian clergy were essential to the success of Acadian nationalism at this time, helping Acadians develop a movement that shifted Acadian self-awareness to a more positive light through its focus on identity reformation (Biddiscombe 1990; Richard 2006; Stanley 1981). Clergy trained the new Acadian professional class and subsequent generations between 1862 and the beginning of the first world war (Buckner 1993; Biddiscombe 1990:144). Throughout these processes of identity reformation, Catholicism remained at the forefront and clergy continued to be leaders in what became the Acadian Renaissance. Acadians' ability to mobilize within the region and ensure community development demonstrates their capacity to create a collective identity shaped by and shaping a shared history and cultural symbols.

Scholars have noted that nationalism can gain more recognition if attached to key institutions; Saint-Joseph became that for Acadian nationalism (Conversi 1990; Schrijver 2006). Students at the college were encouraged to write and lecture on their ideas and passions. For Pascal Poirier that was Acadian history and he made bold claims about Acadian purity. The Acadian elite "described themselves as members of the "French race"" (Taylor 1990:17). In his writings about history, he claimed that Acadians did not intermarry with Indigenous populations (Landry and Lang 2001).

Acadian National Conventions solidified this sense of collectivity in the late nineteenth century and sought to define, (re)invent, and (re)construct Acadian identities, society, and culture (Thériault and Meunier 2008:16). Acadians constructed elements such as symbols and rites, primarily informed by Catholicism, leading to a reformation of an ethnic identity (Hautecoeur 1976; Clarke 2004). Identity reformation occurred at National Acadian Congresses, the first of which was held in Collège Saint-Joseph in 1881 with over 5,000 Acadians from across the Maritimes in attendance (Stanley 1981:28). Though not all attendees were involved in all elements of the convention, as Landry and Lang explain:

> The general public had the right to attend Mass, to patriotic speeches, etc., but not the deliberations. Most interventions came from a group of leaders already recognized as intellectual elites, including politicians, merchants, lawyers,

> teachers, doctors. This true Acadian intelligentsia was responsible for 79.2% of the topics debated (Landry and Lang 2001:191). [2] [my translation]

Debate topics included the definition of "Acadian", education, colonization, agriculture, and immigration (Landry and Lang 2001:192). The most debated topic in 1881 was the establishment of fête de l'Assomption as the Acadian national holiday on August 15. Société Nationale l'Assomption (SNA), the central organization of the movement, was formed after the first congress and organized later national gatherings in Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Maine roughly every five years until 1937 (Stanley 1981:29). Subsequent conventions debated and established other national symbols including a flag, an anthem, religious figures such as a patron saint, and motto (Biddiscombe 1990). This process of establishing nationalistic pride founded the "purity and humility of French-Acadian culture" led to a contradiction in practice (Biddiscombe 1990:135).

Conventions throughout the 1880s sought input and solidarity from Acadians throughout the region, allowing the population to come together and mobilize ethnicity through the performance of tradition (Eriksen 1991). Through these various avenues, the elite produced a narrative and popular memory that became focused on a constructed official Acadian history, using education and Catholicism to generate nationalism across generations. Between 1890 and 1913 there were three identifiable groups of Acadian elites. These included the traditional elite who were viewed as the leaders of the

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[2] Original text: "Le grand public a droit à la messe, aux discours patriotiques, etc., mas pas aux délibérations. La grande majorité des interventions proviennent d'un groupe de leaders déjà reconnus dans leurs milieux une élite intellectuelle en quelque sorte des hommes politiques, des marchands, des avocats, des enseignants, des médecins. Cette véritable intelligentsia acadienne est responsable pour 79,2% des thèmes débattus."

movement, including the clergy, second was the intellectuals who supported the interests of the traditional elite, and third was a group of outsiders who attended the conventions as guests (Landry and Lang 2001:193).

Acadians effectively attached the movement to the Catholic church and used that relationship to spread the Acadian official history and ideology. Collège Saint-Joseph continued to promote Acadian official history, educating a new generation of intellectual elites. Between Throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the college had an enrollment of approximately 150-200 students annually, with numbers dropping below 150 in 1913 (Collège Saint-Joseph 1881). Pascal Poirier, who attended Saint-Joseph between 1864 and 1880, was an advocate for the purity of Acadian language and how it differed from other French Canadians. He argued that French spoken by Acadians was closer to the French spoken in France than in other parts of Canada and in some of his writings in Le Moniteur Acadian, he noted that not speaking French as an Acadian was shameful (LeBlanc and Boudreau 2016).

With foundations in its literary movement throughout the 1830s and 1840s, Catalonia was able to effectively mobilize language within its ethnonational movement to gain political autonomy (Conversi 1990:53). Similar to the Acadian and Quebec cases, Catalans were able to institutionalize and standardize their language and revive it through education (Conversi 1990). While the capacity to employ language as part of a national movement is striking, William Roseberry notes that "the social is constituted in language, and language is constituted in the social" (1996:75). Language is also not always experienced equally. In examining the Basque national movement, Daniele Conversi notes that the language promoted by the intellectual leaders of the movement isn't necessarily the language of the people (Conversi 1990:59). Language, therefore, is not simply a symbol of or for ethnicity but a key practice through which ethnicity is lived. In the case of the Acadians, local dialects exist throughout the region and at the time of the Acadian Renaissance, many Acadians were not educated or literate; therefore, it is important to note that much of the messaging was not accessible to all.

As I discussed in chapter 3, Acadians and the Nova Scotia tourist economy mobilized Longfellow's epic poem and the figure of Evangeline as a cultural tool to represent strength and survival, and to symbolize cultural revival. Evangeline, who had first appeared in travel books about Nova Scotia in 1859, became increasingly known to Acadians when the poem gained Acadian readership between 1864 and 1887 (Le Blanc 2003:61–63). Alongside her success bolstering the Nova Scotia tourist economy, Evangeline became "effective symbol of cultural revival for an educated minority" (Griffiths 1982:39). Students at Collège Saint-Joseph's were reading and memorizing Evangeline, as the poem supported their religious and political values (Le Blanc 2003). Evangeline emerged as a key figure in extending the Acadian identity reformation across the Maritime Provinces and into the United States.

The founding of Le Moniteur Acadien in 1867, the first major daily newspaper for Acadians, allowed the transmission of knowledge (Biddiscombe 1990). Using newspapers, the poem and the figure of Evangeline was used as an element to forge unity amongst Acadians (Le Blanc 2003:64). The movement used newspapers to communicate across the Maritime region and thereby to create an imagined community (Anderson 2006). As noted earlier, the Acadian Renaissance generated shared consciousness amongst the Acadians without a bounded territory. Through these lines of distribution, the poem and Evangeline were mobilized as something familiar to most Acadians as Acadian culture in the late nineteenth century was mainly oral, for example with the recitation of the poem at Collège Saint-Joseph (Buckner 1993; Griffiths 1982).

Print-capital allowed for imagined communities to expand beyond smaller elite circles because "national print-languages" allowed disjointed communities to communicate with one another and share ideas through print (Anderson 2006:46). Acadian newspapers were able to transmit rhetoric and invented traditions beyond Memramcook, creating conversation across and between remote Acadian communities in the Maritimes. Early issues of Le Moniteur Acadien "were distributed with a copy of the poem and its editorials used the poem as a source of illustrations for messages concerning Acadian unity" (Griffiths 1982:36). Another Acadian newspaper, Evangeline, also contained portions of the poem in its issues, as shown under the main title in Figure 8. Evangeline was founded in Weymouth, Nova Scotia, in 1887 and was known for the "important expression of Acadian opinion" (Griffiths 1982:36).

L'ÉVANGÉLINE

JOURNAL HEBDOMADAIRE

— LONGFELLOW

MONCTON, N. B., JEUDI, 16 MAI 1907.

CALENDRIER

MAI -- 31 Jours.

Jours		Fêtes religieuses
Merc	1	SS. Philippe et Jacques
Jeudi	2	St. Athanase
Vend	3	Inv. de la Ste Croix

SOYONS SUR NOS GARDES!

Il est de par le monde d'étranges types, des êtres incompréhensibles, des individus à projets abracadabrants ; il en fut dans le passé et il y en aura toujours,—c'est peut-être une nécessité, plus ou moins négligeable, mais elle est certainement inévitable.

traditions, nos mœurs et nos coutumes. Il est bon aussi de se rappeler, à ce sujet, que les meilleurs, les plus instruits et les plus intelligents parmi ces fiers catholiques et ces bons patriotes qui voudraient nous attirer à eux sont les mêmes qui nous ont reçus à coups de roches, de pierres et de bâtons quand ils ont vu venir ici nos premiers groupes, alors minimes, de

CONTRE L'ACOOLISME

Devant les progrès de l'alcoolisme les peuples civilisés s'émeuvent, et de toutes parts surgissent des sociétés de tempérance, des comités anti-alcooliques, des associations pour le thisme étant reconnu la forme la plus funeste de l'alcoolisme. Toute une littérature est née, dont le but est de combattre

Figure 12 Front page of l'Evangeline issue from May 1907. Source: Centre d'Études Acadiennes Anselme-Chiasson, Université de Moncton.

Across the Maritimes, the movement, ideologies, and institutions that shaped Acadianité were controlled by men and often led by members of the clergy. In 1890, a French language college was established in Pointe-de-1'Eglise, Nova Scotia (Stanley 1981:27). This college provided increased opportunities for Acadians from across Nova Scotia to access post-secondary education. Similar to the operations at Saint-Joseph, Collège Sainte-Anne was founded by the priests who were part of the Eudist Fathers and who ran both the college and the parish. Convents remained central to the education of Acadian girls with three religious orders founded between 1880 and 1914. These orders, located in New Brunswick, also established colleges for girls and focused on the importance of culture in community life for girls throughout the 1960s (Landry and Lang 2001:211, 284).

In part, the establishment of a school in Nova Scotia was prompted by the few options to educate boys beyond the age of nine in French, unless they travelled to New

Brunswick to attend Saint-Joseph. Camille, who was in her sixties having returned to Pomquet to retire after spending most of her adult life in Massachusetts, noted, “My brother ended up going to Moncton to Saint-Joseph’s, he had gone there to do his high school there, and it was all funded through the Assomption” in the 1960s. Unlike New Brunswick, the majority of the Nova Scotia population spoke English and therefore it was not necessarily seen as beneficial to continue education in French, which presented the priests running Collége Sainte-Anne with low enrollment numbers (Ross and Deveau 1992:97). By 1970 the college became secularized and changed its name to Université Sainte-Anne in 1977. Today, it operates a popular French Immersion Program and has campuses throughout Nova Scotia in Halifax, Petit-de-Grat, Saint-Joseph-du-Moine, and Tusket.

4.2 ACADIANS ON THE MARGINS

By the turn of the century, Acadian nationalist ideology would have come to Pomquet, and other communities, through the Church and newspapers, in the attempt to create a shared sense of collective identity (Fingard 1993:104). New Brunswick remained the central location for the movement and Acadians were able to garner more political power provincially. There were larger Acadian populations throughout the province, while in Nova Scotia fewer Acadians living in smaller rural enclaves. Increased industrialization in the twentieth century led to increased outmigration from Acadian enclaves. Priests in these regions promoted rurality and natural population increases as key to the longevity of Acadian communities during this time (Fingard 1993:103–4). Overall, the Acadian nationalist movement benefited from its deep ties to conservative Catholicism as it developed its ideology and spread it across the region (Biddiscombe 1990:135)

The movement looked different outside New Brunswick. New Brunswick Acadians had increased capacity to produce a collective narrative. This is not to say that Acadians in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island were no longer involved in the perpetuation of the narrative; but rather that it was more present in New Brunswick due to the larger population. Moncton became the center of Acadian political organization. Collège Saint-Joseph's relocated to Moncton in 1964 and became Université de Moncton and "the intellectual centre of Acadie" (Stanley 1981:27).

Acadians in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island became more marginalized as the Francophone populations in those provinces lacked provincial support. In addition to the provincial differences, the professional and political elite developed at Saint-Joseph was not constructed to include and represent rural populations, women, and those in lower class positions (Andrew 2002). The nationalist ideology was not as widely accepted and adopted, as my fieldwork indicates. This is in line with previous research that suggests that even if mainstream nationalism is effectively disseminated, it may only have a limited impact locally (Swedenburg 2003:27). Pascal Poirier and other Acadian leaders emerged from the education they received from Lefebvre at Collège Saint-Joseph (Landry and Lang 2001). According to Michel Roy (1978) a "genuine pluralism simply does not come easily to conservative, rural societies" (as cited in Biddiscombe 1990:139); which did not line up with the 'rural Acadian life' that priests promoted upon resettlement after the deportation. There was some opposition to Lefebvre's approach at

Saint-Joseph, which saw clergymen from Quebec converting “Acadian folk culture into a fully-fledged nationalism” (Biddiscombe 1990:121).

Historically, women were largely absent from Acadian institutions. The movement’s connection to the Catholic Church, with its patriarchal ideology, shaped its relation to women (McLaughin and Heller 2011). Women were symbols, not people. Influenced by the church, the movement adopted female images which lasted in Acadian popular memory, these images ran counter to many of the images of dominance that were associated with the Acadian past of deportations and suppression (Maissicotte 2020:51). As other scholars have noted, Acadian women had been systematically omitted and delegitimized in public and intellectual spaces before 1924 (LeBlanc 2018; McKee-Allain 1995). With women excluded from Collège Saint-Joseph, which was a key site for identity and cultural production, Acadian women were not involved with the early years of nationalist ideology development (LeBlanc 2018; McKee-Allain 1995). Women’s education and place within Acadian society was focused on the family, education, and preservation of the French language (Andrew 2002; LeBlanc 2018:49).

While Collège Saint-Joseph trained male elites beginning in the mid-seventeenth century, it was not until later, with the establishment of Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Cœur in 1924, that women could access college-level education there (Les religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur 2017; McKee-Allain 1995). Prior to this point many women were training to become teachers and nurses at convents throughout Atlantic Canada and into Quebec. Among the convents established to educate girls and young women in Nova Scotia, there was one operated by the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception in Arichat and two by the Sisters Of Charity in Pointe-de-l’Église and Meteghan starting in the late

1860s. Many teachers in Pomquet, in fact, had been trained in one of these convents. Marie, an 82-year-old former teacher in Pomquet, attended a convent in Trois-Rivieres Quebec. Though Acadian, her parents didn't force her and her siblings to learn French growing up, so she learned 'proper' French, during her time at the convent. She recalled one Sister asking her to teach her English. She moved to Pomquet at 20 to teach and married a local man soon thereafter. Élise, who attended the convent in Arichat explained that "classes were in English," but if students were speaking to the sisters, they were to speak French. She attended from age 15 to 18, and recalls that the only class taught in French was French class. Other activities included choir, sewing, chores, and lots of studying.

Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Cœur in Memramcook, New Brunswick, operated differently due to its ties to Collège Saint-Joseph. Sisters at Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Cœur taught courses in religion, French, music, and home economics beginning in 1924 (Les religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur 2017). In 1943, the convent expanded to include Académie Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Cœur to educate young women and was affiliated with and followed the same curriculum as Collège Saint-Joseph (LeBlanc 2018:50). The academy transitioned to Collège Notre-Dame d'Acadie in 1949 which operated until 1964, training over 300 women who had a significant impact on Acadian culture becoming doctors, lawyers, authors, educators, and journalists (Les religieuses de Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Coeur 2017). Many Acadian women who attended college during this time were able to enter the labour force and have successful careers despite the nationalist narrative indicating otherwise (LeBlanc 2018:52).

At Collège Notre-Dame d'Acadie, women were able to work against the dominant discourse in subtle ways, such as in journalistic writing and education (LeBlanc 2018; McKee-Allain 1995). The newspaper "Evangeline," which was created by male leaders of the nationalist movement, focused on Acadian women's roles as mothers. However, the newspaper at Collège Notre-Dame d'Acadie, called "Bleuettes," provided space for women to discuss ideas and challenge their representation in the official history (LeBlanc 2018:66). Further, educated Acadian women in the twentieth century were more focused on providing an education to students than in promoting nationalism (Andrew 2002:18). Women were not passive participants reproducing the nationalist ideologies; rather, some women were actively breaking down "the traditional model for Acadian women" (McKee-Allain 1995:303).

The delay in women's access to post-secondary education in the region is strongly associated with ideas surrounding women's inferiority and role as mothers, ideas that Acadian nationalism perpetuated through its media. Throughout the twentieth century, the Evangeline newspaper published articles that emphasized women's roles in biological and cultural reproduction, including aiding with safeguarding the language, all considered essential to the survival of the Acadians (LeBlanc 2018:48). Importantly, women were expected to do this work without support. Teachers, in these early years, lacked French language resources and curriculum, which I will explain in more detail in chapter 6. As a result, more localized versions of social and cultural reproduction, diverging from the nationalist narrative, developed.

The Acadian ideology was constructed and formulated by men over generations. Religious institutions have exerted influence over Acadian society including issues such as sexual behaviour in Acadian society (LeBlanc 2020:29). Even as women are gaining representation within the popular narrative, we can still note their exclusion from the historical one (LeBlanc 2020). Today, discourses from the Catholic Church “are still present despite believing that the conservative nationalism from the nineteenth century is gone” (McLaughin and Heller 2011:258). Work on gender in the history of the Atlantic region retains a marginal status, and women are absent in the scholarship within the region and nationally (Morton 2000:119). Historian of Acadian history, Phyllis E. LeBlanc (2020:23), explains how this is not just an Acadian problem:

> Women are not included as actors in their past; they are only implicitly referred to: an extension of realities, larger developments and constructions, and in the Acadian narrative. The notions of power, identity construction, and social classes are not incompatible with the "woman" theme.[3] [my translation]

The nationalist pursuits did not match the role of women in society. Therefore, Acadian women were absent from the construction of the nationalist ideology and have been underrepresented within scholarship (Cardinal 1992; LeBlanc 2018; LeBlanc 2020; McKee-Allain 1995; Campbell, 1990). In 1983, Egalité: revue acadienne d’analyse politique, a journal published in Moncton on the political situation of Acadians produced an issue on Acadian women (Thibeault et al. 2020). It was not until 2020 that another comprehensive look at the role of Acadian women within the larger discourse was published with Paroles et regards de femmes en Acadie (Thibeault et al. 2020). The book provides numerous perspectives on women’s place within Acadian narrative, female voices, and ingenuity, with focus on key women, feminism, and history.

[3] Original text reads: La femme n'y figure pas comme un acteur de son passé; on ne réfère à elle qu'implicitement: un apanage aux réalités, aux développements et aux constructions plus larges et plus significatives su récit acadien. Les notions de pouvoir, de construction identitaire et de classes sociales ne sont pourant pas incompatibles avec la thématique "femme.”

Historians have noted that women play a secondary role in many historical accounts. For example, Gillis explains that in acts of commemoration, "women remembered the men, while their own contributions were represented largely in terms of sacrifice, a traditional female role that only reinforced gender stereotypes." (1994:12). For example, women who contributed to World War II efforts are not commemorated in the same ways as men, not gaining public recognition until the 1970s with the re-emergence of images like Rosie the Riveter (Gillis 1994:12). There is still a need to give voice to women's past experiences as they have been systematically marginalized (Leydesdorff, Passerini, and Thompson 1996:7). Much of the work on the role of Francophone women in Canada has focused on the roles of mothers in language transmission, which has been largely supported by the Catholic ideology adopted by the dominant Acadian narrative (LeBlanc 2018). Within this narrative, which was perpetuated by Acadian presses, women were seen as mothers and keepers of the language while being socially stigmatized by patriarchal discourse (LeBlanc 2018:47, 66).

4.3 L'ASSOMPTION ET L'ÉGLISE

> "God and the nation, culture and the land would be Acadie's sure defence"
>
> (Stanley 1981:25)

Prior to the arrival of the Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse in Pomquet, any indications of Acadian nationalism appeared through Société Mutuelle l'Assomption and the Church. Héritage Pomquet's holdings were located on the top floor of the SASC building. There was a back room that was partially visible through the windows that made up the top half of the wall that divided it from the main museum space. When I asked Adele what was inside, she noted that it housed materials from the community church and religious organizations. Within the room were old vestments on mannequins, bibles, missals, chalices, and paintings from l'Église Sainte-Croix. Among the religious artifacts in a large glass display case were badges from both men and women's branches of Société Mutuelle l'Assomption (SMA). Although SNA and SMA worked together, their agendas were quite different. I was intrigued by these badges for multiple reasons. First, I recall my grandfather speaking about the organization on occasion; second, because I was familiar with SMA from a previous research project; and third, they intrigued me because of their placement with the other religious materials in Pomquet although SMA was a mutual aid organization founded by Acadian expats in the United States in 1903.

As we have seen, Acadian life and the Roman Catholic Church were deeply intertwined throughout the nineteenth century (Stanley 1981:26). The Patron Saint Notre-Dame de l'Assomption was established as the Acadian patron saint at the first national convention in 1881 and August 15 as the national holiday of Assumption Day. This tied Acadianité strongly to religious figures. When Société Mutuelle l'Assomption was founded, it followed suit. In my own experience, my grandfather would frequent a place most people called "The French Club" or "l'Assomption Hall" in our small post-industrial town. It wasn't until I began my research career that this building began to interest me. It was originally a branch of SMA that had transitioned into a social club called "Cercle Evangeline," of which my grandfather was a founding member. The presence of Société Mutuelle l'Assomption in an industrial coal mining town with a significant Acadian population made sense. There was a need to organize a community and support for miners and their families in a non-Acadian place, similar to how the organization had functioned in the United States. Pomquet, however, was an Acadian community. This led me to think more about SMA's role in Pomquet which was also an outlier, experiencing similar trends and struggles as other Acadians on the margins.

Société Mutuelle l'Assomption was initially founded in Waltham, Massachusetts in 1903 as a men's organization that provided life insurance, scholarships, and a space to collectively preserve Acadian culture, language, and faith. The first men's chapter in Canada was established in Bouctouche, New Brunswick with the first branch in Grand-Étang, Nova Scotia established in 1905 (Léger 1933). The chapters were established in smaller Acadian communities and in industrial areas in the United States and Maritime Provinces prior to them appearing in more dominant Acadian regions or urban centres (Léger 1933). By 1905, SMA began collaborating with Société Nationale l'Assomption, the nationalist organization founded in Canada, while remaining separate organizations (Stanley 1981:29).

Throughout the nineteenth century the Roman Catholic Church was able to provide Acadians with a sense of purpose (Stanley 1981:25). The church served as a central place for nationalist rhetoric to transit throughout the region. A men's branch of SMA, Sainte-Croix, was founded in Pomquet on May 14, 1907. When reflecting on what it means to be Acadian in Pomquet, Élise said the first things that came to mind were l'Assomption and Messe de Minuit (Midnight Mass), held Christmas Eve. Participants over sixty years of age had memories of men in the community being active and engaged members of SMA and their presence at the church. The presence of SMA in Pomquet ties the community to early experiences of nationalism and the strong connection between the Roman Catholic Church and Acadianté. For this older generation, religion and Acadianness were interlinked with SMA as the organization that brought some of the early Acadian symbols, like the flag, to Pomquet.

In 1913, Société Mutuelle l'Assomption made a decision to admit female members into their society noting that women have been interested in participating and are "active agents in the work of propaganda" so it is in the interest of the society to "welcome them with as much enthusiasm and attention as has initially been taken to exclude them" (Léger 1933:94). By 1916, women established a local chapter of l'Assomption under the name of a former parish priest who had passed away, Ansar.

Société Mutuelle l'Assomption's presence in Pomquet, especially during the early period speaks to Pomquet's marginality within the larger Acadian narrative. It was a small village that was disconnected from other Acadian communities due to its agricultural economy, while others, were engaged in fishing. Its location in the province and economy presented it with increased pressures to become assimilated into the dominant Anglophone population in the province. The oppositional narratives that emerge in Pomquet show how they were able to adopt elements of the official history and institutional supports available to them from the larger movement to benefit the community. SMA is an early representation of that effort, offered the community services necessary to its citizens.

A few of my informants noted that l'Assomption was the main source of nationalism in Pomquet, and even then, their efforts were more focused on the needs of the community than the larger movement. Marcel pointed out, "other than l'Assomption there wasn't much talk of nationalism here…" and Jeanette remembered seeing the Acadian flag on the badges work by members l'Assomption. Archival data revealed similar results with l'Assomption, and at times the Church, employed elements of Acadian symbolism. Adele and Estelle remember men attending Sunday Mass at l'Église Sainte-Croix wearing their l'Assomption badges. Adele said that her grandfather would meet the other members of SMA at the church for their meetings. Élise elaborated further that after Sunday Mass, "they would have the big dinner at the hall for the members" of l'Assomption, prepared by women. Women were not entirely absent from this space. They were essential to the operations of the church and processes of sustaining Acadian identity and culture. Women's chapters of Société Mutuelle l'Assomption emerged alongside many of the men's groups, including one in Pomquet in 1916. There seems to be a series of women's organizations emerging in Pomquet over time tied to the church. Eventually, the women's chapter of SMA evolved into a Ladies' Auxiliary and part of the Catholic Women's League of Canada (CWL), most often referred to as Club des Femmes. As we have seen, these groups in their various iterations were groups of women tasked with cultural and social reproduction in Pomquet, with the general consensus of many being "they were women who got the necessary work done," which I will speak to more in Chapter 5.

L'Assomption and the Church were also important avenues for community members to access post-secondary education in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. L'Assomption was able to provide scholarships to young people in Pomquet. These scholarships would send women to study at convents and men to study at universities in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Men in Pomquet received scholarships from SMA as early as 1909 to attend Université Sainte-Anne in Pointe-de-l'Église, Nova Scotia (Léger 1933). Later, women in Pomquet received scholarships to become teachers, often returning to teach. Élise reflected "it was kind of an important thing, that Société l'Assomption" remembering her great aunt who was a teacher, "she had a scholarship from l'Assomption" and might not have been able to access the training without it.

Acadian churches were generally supported by dioceses in the Maritime Provinces and French language dioceses were established in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia between 1936 and 1952 (Stanley 1981:25). During this time, l'Église Sainte-Croix remained central to community and identity in Pomquet. Pomquet was able to maintain francophone priests throughout its history, supporting Acadian culture and language. Between 1957 and 2015 Father Peter (Pierre) Baccardax served as the parish pastor and was Acadian. After his retirement, he moved to his home community, visiting Pomquet regularly up until his passing in 2019. Everyone I spoke with remembered Father Peter fondly. He was an important member of the community. Élise, a retired teacher and active member of the parish, remembered him driving his motorcycle around the village and missed seeing him around. Photographs at church events tend to display women and Father Peter as the key people organizing church-related activities. For example, in a newspaper article from 1992 (see figure 11), there is a photograph of 8 women and the priest standing on the altar of Église St. Croix during Fête de l'Assomption in Pomquet. It was evident from the stories of the women who worked alongside him that they missed having a priest who valued the French language. Since the departure of their long-time parish priest, the reproducing ethnic elements in this space required increased effort, resulting in a feeling of loss for those who attached their identities to the Church.

Figure 13 Father Peter (Pierre) Baccardax and members of Club des Femmes, 1992. Source: Héritage Pomquet.

After Father Peter's retirement in 2015, regular French Masses were no longer held. Adele toured me around the collection at Héritage Pomquet drawing my attention to a wall of black and white photos between two windows across from the main collection of religious materials. The photographs were of the past parish priests. She reflected, "and we had three Masses on weekends, at least three Masses when the last priest was here," pointing to his photograph, "you could get him to say a Mass any time, but now we're down to one." Subsequent priests did not have Sainte-Croix as their sole parish and were Anglophone, resulting in an immense feeling of loss because Masses were both reduced and no longer given in French. Especially for older generations, the French priest was seen as central to both faith and culture in Pomquet. Many individuals and families remain upset that they can no longer worship in French. There are efforts to sustain the connection between language and culture in the church, including readings and intentions read in French monthly. Yvonne described this as "trying to keep some French in the church." Many community events still have a Mass attached to their celebration, and the readings, hymns, and intentions (prayers said for specific purposes) are given in French once a month.

The parish has been affected by the general shift toward secularization in Canada. Adele, who is in her late sixties, reflected that "religion is still very important to some people in Pomquet, but very few. People don't go to church anymore. Young people don't go to church. You know they have their kids baptized and they have Holy Communion, but they don't bring them to church," she explained, "but it's like that everywhere, I don't know, unless things change around soon, there won't be any churches to go to, or Masses to attend." It is difficult for older generations in Pomquet to reconcile to those larger changes, especially since in the past all community and cultural activity centered around the church rather than the school or community centres, which I will discuss in more detail in chapters 6 and 7.

4.4 A RENEWED NATIONALISM

By the 1950s, there was a shift in what in meant to be French Canadian (LeBlanc and Boudreau 2016). The Quiet Revolution in Quebec led the Québécois to redefine their national identity through Acadian affirmationisme in the 1960s. Like earlier forms of nationalism in Quebec, the Quiet Revolution focused on nation-building with a new ideology centered on the urban and industrial society. The state assumed more control over social and educational institutions rather than the Church (McRoberts 2000:321). Through a modern bureaucracy, Quebec society became secularized, saw the development of a new francophone middle class, and new discussions of what constituted "French-Canadian culture" (Handler 1988; McRoberts 2000).

In the 1960s, there was increased attention to Francophone minorities in Canada. Then Prime Minister Pierre Elliot Trudeau focused on bilingualism, introducing the Official Languages Act in1969, which granted equal status given to the French language in Canada. Parti Québécois which emerged in 1967, sought a Quebec nationalism that opposed these changes. This period of transformation in Quebec led to Francophone groups across Canada redefining their identities from Acadians to Franco-Ontarians to Franco-Manitobans. The SNA had been inactive between the years of 1937 (the date of the last Acadian national convention) and 1950. The reorientation of Francophone Canada and the upcoming bicentennial of the deportation led members of the Acadian elite to revive it. There was new motivation to restimulate nationalism among Acadian elites, highlighting the importance of the SNA and the deportation to Acadian identity and history (Richard 2002). These efforts culminated in a period of "Acadian affirmationisme" which involved a reengagement with Acadian nationalist ideologies (Clarke 2000). As briefly mentioned in the last chapter, historians describe the bicentennial celebration of the Acadian Deportation in 1955 as the beginning of the "modern period of Acadie" (Richard 2002). The bicentennial celebration was a chance to reengage Acadian nationalism through acts of commemoration across the region that led to a resurgence of national pride.

Acadian leaders in the 1960s described this moment as the start of a new era for Acadians. Building upon the model of the Acadian Renaissance (Hautecoeur 1976:123), they drew upon the prior, "le discours idéologique de la survivance mettant en valeur la bonne entente ethnique, l'importance de la Renaissance acadienne, la foi catholique ainsi que l'histoire et les traditions" (Richard 2002:36). Acadian affirmationisme, like previous iterations, focused on "survival" as Richard explains:

> Recognizing that the culture of the past had been the source of Acadian survival and of its national fervour, the elite preached unwavering loyalty to the virtues and moral qualities of the ancestors, including their courage, their perseverance, their Catholic faith and patriotism [4] (2002:42) [my translation].

These Acadian elites saw this new direction of Acadians as part of the overall resilience of French in North America. A new generation of "élites politiques et professionnelles Acadiennes" spread this message (Richard 2002:42). This revival was centered in New Brunswick and led to an increased Acadian presence within New Brunswick provincial politics.

In 1982, Pierre Elliot Trudeau added official languages protections to the Canadian Constitution. As a result, New Brunswick became officially bilingual and "Nouvelle Acadie." As associated rise in provincial and regional Acadian organizations followed. While less formal than the processes in Quebec, there was a shift from the Acadian narrative being attached to the church and rather to Acadian organizations provincially in Nova Scotia.

4.5 ORGANIZATIONS IN POMQUET

Between 1960 and 1980, national political shifts coincided with increases in Acadian nationalism, cultural politics, and language revival in Pomquet. Though many

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[4] Original text: "Reconnaissant que le culture du passé avait été la source de la survivance acadienne et de sa ferveur nationale, l'élite prêcha la fidélité indéfectible aux vertus et aux qualités morales des ancêtres, notamment à leur courage, à leur persévérance, à leur foi catholique et à leur patriotisme."

early institutions did provide a degree of structure, they provided residents with a significant amount of autonomy over cultural reproduction. With the 1960s era changes, women in Pomquet found small yet powerful ways to work in line with as well as against the dominant discourse.

In the 1960s, the renewed interest in the nationalist ideology began to trickle into Pomquet. Although the nationalist ideology was present in Pomquet beginning in the 1880s through the Church and l'Assomption it was not fully adopted. Nationalism isn't always adopted at the local level, as Swedenburg explains with respect to Palestinian nationalism:

> Mainstream nationalism, while enthusiastically embraced, was therefore able to imprint specific histories on people's minds only to a limited degree. Because official agencies had effectively circulated the mere outlines of a general historical narrative, many local versions of the past remained relatively untouched as long as they did not directly contradict the official history (2003:27).

Pomqueters to varying degrees engage with he renewed nationalist ideology to be part of the collective identity and to partake in the larger institutions that were engaging with these narratives in Nova Scotia. In 1968, Fédération Acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANE) was founded in the province "to promote the growth and global development of the Acadian and Francophone community of Nova Scotia" (SNA 2020).

A regional committee of la FANE was established in Pomquet the same year. Over time, this resulted in a significant identity shift among citizens. The presence of la FANE promoted elements of Acadian official history and nationalism that had not been adopted in Pomquet during the height of the Acadian Renaissance in the 1880s. The establishment of la FANE and the projects and celebrations it bought to the village exposed citizens to the nationalist ideology, as well as new opportunities for community members to engage with the larger dialogue around language politics in Canada.

Several informants highlighted that la FANE brought funding to Pomquet and increased capacity for tourism and celebrations. It presented an opportunity for residents to engage with their ethnic identities in new ways. Élise remembered more happening in Pomquet after la FANE arrived. Others associate this period with seeing an increased presence of national symbols like Evangeline and the flag in the community. This period differentiated being "French" and being "Acadian" for many who were more aware of their local "Frenchness" than their "Acadianness." Élise explained that events like the Carnaval d'Hiver, concerts, community suppers, and other social activities became more frequent. "They started giving money, government money, so that here the Acadians had money to promote their language, promote their history," she elaborated, la FANE became a central location of community activity. The 1970s saw a period of redevelopment in Pomquet. Closures of services such as the post office and railroad were met with new opportunities, including a fire department and women's group. In 1971, Ste. Croix Ladies Club or Club des Femmes was established. This group of dedicated women took up the organization of most events held in Pomquet, especially those that involved making food. Club des Femmes became something of an institution in the community as I will discuss in more detail in Chapter 5.

In 1989, a new and larger firehall was constructed and old firehall became the office for la FANE. The building became a hub for community activity. Edith, a woman from Pomquet, was a long-time employee of la FANE who many celebrated for her hard work and dedication to the organization and community. While in this position, she provided essential supports to community groups and events. “When Edith was there, there was always something going on.” Leon explained, “from the Carnival, Club des Femmes, the Men’s Club, the Fire Department…she had it organized.” Edith became the person who knew everything that was taking place in Pomquet and ensured that there were no conflicting events or activities.

La FANE helped fund winter festivities, came to house a craft shop, and host gatherings. With “la FANE,” as the building is still referred to by many, as a central location and Edith guiding from within Pomquet’s connection to Acadianité rose. Estelle remembered the arrival of la FANE fondly, “it was great for us because a lot of people realized we were Acadians.” La FANE and Edith’s efforts ensured there was space for Héritage Pomquet to expand from its kitchen table operation into a museum, and for Club des Femmes to organize community events.

Though nationalism had appeared in some forms prior to the 1960s, la FANE and the mainstream Acadianness it offered the community provided them with a language and tools to mobilize around their ethnicity in a new way. The rituals and performances associated with nation-building – especially during the Acadian affirmationisme period – allowed Acadians in Nova Scotia to build a stronger attachment to their identities as Acadians with devices that allowed them to better communicate their ethnicity (Woods and Tsang 2014:4). At this point in time, Acadians in Pomquet drew upon more mainstream understandings of Acadianness to demonstrate that they are Acadian while maintaining their connection to the local.

The presence of FANE led citizens of Pomquet to become more aware of the Acadian nationalist ideology and how locals could benefit from more engagement with the collectivity. These organizations created space for oppositional narratives to emerge as citizen began exploring the tension between the local and the national. The work at the local level continued to differ from the dominant ideology. When Edith retired from the FANE, there were periods were there was no director and others where there was high turnover, leaving a gap in a system that previously operated quite well.

In 2001, la FANE branch in Pomquet was renamed Société Acadienne Sainte-Croix (SASC). SASC remained under the larger umbrella of la FANE. The goal of devolving FANE into these regional organizations in Acadian communities was to better serve the needs of the people living there. Today, most cultural activities in Pomquet are organized by SASC or the Pomquet Development Society. These organizations are made up of a wide variety of individuals of all ages including men, women, residents of Pomquet, and those who reside outside the community yet have a vested interest in Pomquet. In Pomquet, there are organizations focus more on the needs of Pomquet.

George, the director of SASC as I write has been very active and working with community members and groups for several years, the organization is operating in a more effectively. There are regular events held in the space like bingo, women's exercise group, and Héritage Pomquet meetings. SASC sustains relationships with Pomquet Development Society and the school to ensure that there are regular activities, and that the various organizations collaborate on larger events like Carnaval d'Hiver and Acadian Day together. Those involved in Héritage Pomquet participate in community organization with SASC; as Adele explains "we plan activities, like a presentation or sing-along and the community comes out. We are trying to keep French language and the Acadian customs and traditions alive, as much as we can."

4.6 CONCLUSION

Acadianness in Pomquet is attached to social institutions and organizations, but it is not completely aligned with the narratives of male elites in the 1880s nor the more recent reorientations dating from the 1960s. When Pomquet received increased resources from the 1960s through the 1980s Pomqueters employed it to support localized ethnicity in Pomquet. The social and cultural reproduction of Acadian ethnic identities moved away from the church and into other institutions and organizations like the FANE and SASC.

With the arrival of la FANE in the 1970s, there were new avenues for ethic reproduction in Pomquet. The access to services and funding based on their identities as Acadians opened Pomquet to new opportunities. The province viewed residents of Pomquet as Acadian, but a tension still existed. Pomqueters were required to negotiate their ethnicity to better align with the mainstream while maintaining their connection to the local elements that were essential to the existing ethnic reproduction taking place in Pomquet. In the next chapter, I focus on local ethnic reproduction in Pomquet and the ways Pomquet organizations – like Club des Femmes and Pomquet Development Society – have been able to create events, spaces, and opportunities for identity and culture to the reproduction of identity was less directly tied to the church and l'Assomption and led to the founding of new local organizations that paved the way for local identity retention though food.

CHAPTER 5 FOOD AND COMMUNITY WORK

One afternoon, I joined the women's exercise group which met at the SASC building weekly for tea after their workout. One of the women had invited me to join them for this weekly get together. When I arrived, they were finishing up, setting out sweets and cups, and boiling the water for tea. Everyone was helping. When we sat down, Yvonne began to circulate a stack of photographs Héritage Pomquet had received that week. The photos were for the Remembrance Day display Héritage Pomquet was preparing on War Brides mentioned in chapter 3. Everyone shared stories about the women, speculating who each had married, when they had passed away and where they had lived. All the while, tea was being poured, squares were being circulated, and recipes were being shared. "Where did you get this recipe, Adele?" asked Yvonne. "My sister gave me it last week," responded Adele. There was more discussion about how the lemon squares were similar to the ones that Rose's mother had made.

Women in this group, many of whom were former members of Club des Femmes, the women's group that had operated in Pomquet for over three decades, continued to perform foodwork. Without much instruction or organization, women continue to prepare food for small and large gatherings alike, like their mothers and grandmothers did before them. During the Christmas celebration hosted at the SASC building in 2017, it was evident that women informally organized a full table of baked goods for the gathering. The common space was crowded. Children were doing arts and crafts, and musicians were stationed nearby playing holiday classics in French and English. Chairs flanked both sides of the room and were filled with people singing along, dressed in red and green, festive hats and sweaters. In the kitchen, women were brewing coffee and tea, and the selection of squares, cupcakes, and various other items was on the adjacent table. It was clear that foodwork was still taken on by many of the women.

This chapter explores food as one of the most critical spaces for the reproduction of ethnic identity. It shows how food, social organization, and gathering are used as a means of economic, political, and cultural expression in Pomquet. By paying attention to gender (Scott 2010:12), I explain how women in Pomquet's past used food in constructing and reproducing ethnicity and how the gender dynamics have shifted in its continuation today. The chapter begins with a history of women's work in Pomquet and how this work has been impacted by their positions as Acadian and rural women. Drawing upon both historical and ethnographic materials, I show how women were able to use domestic spaces to mark their place in the broader community and reproduce ethnicity locally, attending to the centrality of food in social and cultural reproduction.

I move onto a discussion of Club des Femmes and the legacy this organization has left for the reproduction of ethnicity in Pomquet, particularly through foodwork. Through Pomquet's history of foodwork, I explore the essential role domestic labour or care work has played in the reproduction of ethnicity locally and how community work in Pomquet is an extension of the domestic sphere. The narratives of Club des Femmes and food in Pomquet are intertwined, especially to those who remember or were a part of the work this group embarked on. It is a legacy of foodwork tied to ethnicity in Pomquet; however, when we pay attention to gender in these processes it extends beyond food. I conclude with an account of how foodwork continues in a less gendered capacity today, yet undeniably tied to the community-based work of the past.

5.1 DOMESTIC AND COMMUNITY SPACE

Social and cultural reproduction are bound up together in Pomquet and are embedded in women's work. Social reproduction allows for "an explanation of the structures, relationships, and dynamics that produce the activities of daily and generational life" (Luxton 2006:37). Every society has a way of organizing identity and with that comes a gendered division of labour which is reproduced from one generation to the next (Luxton 2006:31). Domestic labour includes housekeeping activities – such as cooking, cleaning laundry, and household repair – and caregiving, which includes meeting a range of emotional, physical, and social needs (Luxton 1980). Like women in most western societies, Acadian women have been historically responsible for and limited to domestic and social roles and spaces, as Julien Maissicotte explains:

> Acadia was a social environment where the role of women was largely confined to the community aspect of social relations: household maintenance, family management, maintenance of social relations, transmission of cultural and identity heritage, etc., and distant from the political and economic world, in particular [my translation]. [5] (2020:50)

Women's exclusion from social life, or their overall tangential involvement through domestic labour, is not unique and was common in many communities, especially rural ones. Historian Margaret Conrad explains that women in Atlantic Canada throughout the 1950s and 1960s, "were largely defined by their unpaid reproductive and service roles" (Conrad 1993:386). In addition to this, dominant stereotypes and myths that emerged

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[5] Original text: "L'Acadie constituait un environnement social où le rôle des femmes était largement confiné à l'aspect communautaire des relations sociales : entretien du ménage, gestion de la famille, maintien des relations sociales, transmissions du patrimoine culturel et identitaire, etc., et éloigné de l'aspect social, du monde politique et économique, notamment."

through the official narrative and history portrayed Acadian women as virginal, antimodern, and Catholic, often not aligning with the identities of women in local contexts today (LeBlanc 2018:47).

Throughout the 1960s, Acadian women were still not fully represented within the larger Acadian discourse or public life, remaining in a subordinate position that stressed their role as mothers (LeBlanc 2018). This positioning of women resulted in the central role of Acadian women not been adequately recognized, as LeBlanc explains:

> Acadian women have experienced social and linguistic stigmatization through nationalist patriarchal discourse. It is important to study women's discourse because they have been systematically sidelined and delegitimized in the public and intellectual space (2018:66). [6] [my translation]

Framed by an educated male elite, the responsibility of perpetuating the language, both at home and in public schools, was left to women. The women, who were not afforded the same resources, such as money, education, and access to the press, were left to do the labour. As the next few chapters will reveal, women in local contexts performed the labour of ethnic reproduction, not men at nationalist institutions.

Over the years, women in Pomquet have been involved with Fédération des femmes acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FFANE), formerly known as Association des Acadiennes de la Nouvelle-Écosse (AANE), including one community member serving as president. FFANE was an organization that allowed women must move beyond existing institutions to enact social change (Staeheli 2003:816). FFANE is a provincial

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[6] Original text reads: "les femmes acadiennes ont vécu une stigmatisation sociale et linguistique à travers le discours patriarcal nationaliste et qu'il importe d'étudier les discours développés par les femmes, car celles-ci ont systématiquement été écartées et délégitimées dans l'espace public et intellectuel." (LeBlanc 2018:66)

advocacy and support group for Acadian women that was able to successfully establish preschools and daycares in response to educational gaps, especially in rural areas (Christiansen-Ruffman 1995:381).

Given the position of women in Acadian society, a group like this was necessary, reflecting the expansion of women's rights throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s. FFANE was able to lobby for schools, seniors' needs, and access to French services. It connected women from Acadian communities across Nova Scotia in solidarity and sisterhood. Estelle remembered fondly, "we had to fight for everything." It could bring more community based and women's concerns and experiences to la FANE and advocate for those needs at the provincial level which was still largely controlled by men. It lobbied at the provincial level for increased and enhanced French services in Acadian communities and for support for community and regional activities.

Scholar of Gender and Geography, Jo Little, notes that "for many women involvement in voluntary work is an important source of power. In rural areas this is particularly true given the emphasis that is placed on voluntary activity as an essential quality of the rural community" (Little 1997:202). Rural women, in particular, have been firmly positioned within the gender roles of wives prioritizing domestic and family life (Midgley 2006; Little 1997; Little 1987). Milroy and Wismer, in their analysis of rurality in Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario, speak to how the power women have within domestic work extends into their work in the broader community, arguing that community work is able to connect the private and public spheres (1994:82–83). Rural women, more specifically, have been assumed to occupy domestic and social roles and not public and economic spaces (Midgley 2006:229). This has limited their access to certain spaces, kept them from paid work, and resulted in women engaging in more voluntary work (Little 1997).

This work was based within local communities engaged in “promoting linguistic rights, accessing French instruction, and defending their voting strength in the province” (Christiansen-Ruffman 1995:380). It did not come without some struggle, as Christiansen-Ruffman, a scholar of sociology and women’s studies, points out:

> The patriarchal word did not applaud this work, nor did it provide such groups with intellectual resources to understand their situation, its complexities and the resistance to women’s work that arises when traditional power relations are threatened and women’s presence is felt in that men have assumed to be their territorial domains (1995:384).

This political work, that the women did not consider political, helps identify strategies to access necessary good and services to support social and cultural reproduction within communities. In Pomquet, women’s work and charitable activity culminated in the founding of Club des Femmes.

5.2 LEGACY GROUNDED IN FOODWORK

In Pomquet, Club des Femmes spent decades feeding community members. The group was responsible for catering weddings, receptions, banquets and numerous charitable activities. Club des Femmes provided women with a space to craft and reproduce a Pomquet Acadian identity. The group held its first meeting in May of 1971 with 34 women in attendance and was associated with Église Sainte-Croix (Héritage Pomquet n.d.). The presence of this club and its impact on Pomquet's development is still felt at community events, in the stories told, and in the continued centrality of food at all community activities. Each time food was spoken of in an interview or passing conversation, Pomqueters spoke of the incredible fondness and longing they had for the salmon suppers that Club des Femmes once prepared. Many Pomqueters raved about how wonderful these suppers were and how they could bring people together.

Foodwork creates space for women. Scholars have explored the role of food in how gender is shaped and expressed (Allen and Sachs 2012; Inness 2001; Segal and Demos 2016). Food is a significant source of power and political expression for women (Allen and Sachs 2012; Swell 2008). Women have relied on food to build communities and introduce community change (Ferguson 2012; Horner 2000). Stories and experiences of food in Pomquet tell an oppositional narrative about the way ethnic production and reproduction occurred over time, a narrative that doesn't appear in the official history.

As feminist scholars have argued more generally, in domestic and community spaces, women's labour can reproduce an identity and culture across generations (Luxton and Bezanson 2006:3). Social spaces open to women in Pomquet were predominantly those that involved service to the community. The work of "feeding" for women is part of a larger set of social relations within families and communities as part of care work (DeVault 1994:137). This work performed by women both inside and outside of the household is frequently not seen as work to the women engaging in that labour (DeVault 1994; Christiansen-Ruffman 1995). In twentieth century Nova Scotia, there was an increased focus on baking, or domestic work in general, to measure a woman's status (Tye 2014). With most women not working outside of the home, their status within a community was paramount. Folklorist Diane Tye, in her writings about baking in Nova Scotia, elaborates that "church women's production of food legitimated their position as unpaid domestic workers, who were often pressured to perform important, but invisible, work at church and community members – women included – did not recognize as work" (Tye 2014:151). These feminine domains were focused on the realm of "care" work and involved issues that dealt with children, health, education, and safety (DuBois 1999:19). Domestic, care, and kin work is not solely motivated by altruism but rather reflects the power associated with women's labour (di Leonardo 1987).

Food also offers a way to express ethnicity outside of language and institutional processes (Bal 2005; Douglas 2012; Mintz 2008). Kitchens, both in homes and community spaces, are social spaces that were historically controlled by women in Pomquet. Before the Assomption hall was built in 1910, wedding feasts and other gatherings were held in homes. Women would always prepare food for long multiple day wakes that happened in Pomquet (Landry and Landry 1990). Kitchen spaces provided them with an opportunity to aid and build their community in a way that was local and distinct from more dominant narratives of Acadian official history.

Throughout the study, when I asked Pomqueters what makes them Acadian, food was a major theme that emerged across ages and genders, as I will show below. Informants that were less engaged with community life and social activities also commented on the importance of food to their identities. In her study of rural communities in England, Jo Little notes that woman described voluntary work as a "natural part of rural life" (Little 1997:206). In Pomquet, it is further bound to a sense of Acadianness, as Élise notes, "I think the most Acadian tradition would be the tradition of the kitchen, I love to bake, and I love to cook." In rural contexts such as this, foodwork was able to bring people together and build a sense of community, making community stronger (Moore Milroy and Wismer 1994). In a newspaper article about a Paté Dinner held in the 1980s, a member of Club des Femmes reflects "We actually make a social gathering out of our work." She continued, "this is not a money-making project… It's a community project by the community, for the community."

Materials at Héritage Pomquet show women in Acadian dress preparing foods for numerous occasions over the years (see figure 14). The Acadian dress worn by members of Club des Femmes during events seems to have come from the tourist narrative of Acadianité, but was adopted locally in the wake of the Acadian Renaissance. This collaborative approach to community organizing allowed them to perfect specific recipes, events, and traditions that become the core of the hospitality associated with Pomquet today. These include ensuring various community members bring sweets to events like the Christmas gathering at SASC, liaising with the school cafeteria to provide food for meetings held there and ensuring funeral lunches are organized for grieving families.

Figure 14 Women in Acadian dress with Patés. Source: Héritage Pomquet

Historically, women have used food to build communities and impact community change. In Pomquet, foodwork was both political and economic in its ability to generate funds for the parish, which served many community needs. Women were able to use the gendered divisions of labour to their advantage to help their community grow and flourish. The church, which "holds a very important place in the rural ideology," aided in defining gendered divisions of labour in Pomquet, and "is especially valued in many rural communities for its role in evoking and sustaining the notion of community" (Seymour & Short, 1994 as cited in Little 1997). Through these gendered practices of social reproduction, women could use food to promote feelings of belonging, community, and collective identity across generations (Cameron 2006:45–6).

Food preparation Church Ladies are able to perform femininity and demonstrate leadership in the community. (Tye 2014). Club des Femmes provided women with a space to craft and reproduce a Pomquet Acadian identity. As shown in figure 14, the Acadian dress worn by women in Pomquet embodied culture through a performance in a uniquely feminine way that triggers an image of the Acadian past and Evangeline. Further, the salmon suppers, an annual event held by the group, combined layers in the presentation of Acadianness. It was an event that aimed to raise money for the church, but it also performed a feminine Acadianness. "We used to have that when the Highland Games [in Antigonish] were on. And that was – talk about a big production! And it was well, you know – well-liked, well-connected, well-advertised. And I think the biggest crowd we ever had one year was 1,100 people. It was unbelievable. And it was all by the ladies," Jeanette reminisced.

The salmon suppers were complex and well-organized endeavours, that aimed to bring people from outside Pomquet to the community. While the core group of women planned and organized the event, most residents volunteered their time washing dishes, waiting tables, and cooking salmon. Informants recalled a community-wide effort. Noelle, who sometimes volunteered at the supper, noted: “They were perfectionists - everything was impeccable. I would put things on the table, and somebody would come behind correcting my utensil placement.” When looking at how food was used by the Club des Femmes, the popular memory in Pomquet shows a clear “dimension of political power” (Popular Memory Group 1982:205). A sense of loss came with the dissolution of Club des Femmes and the end of the salmon suppers. A generation of Pomqueters were very attached to the sense of community that emerged during this event, as Noelle reflected, “everybody was there – and now, there’s nothing like that.” Yet, as this chapter highlights, community work was not lost, rather it has evolved. The famous salmon suppers were presented as an Acadian experience yet didn’t serve a particularly Acadian dish. They negotiated a presentation of ethnicity that worked, and the event and the ethnic production that surrounded it has had a lasting impact in Pomquet.

5.3 THE COOKBOOK

Church group women produced capital in the ways they knew how, “they raised money through ingenuity and the expert use of their domestic skills, which included hosting food-related events” (Tye 2014:110). In the late 1990s, Club des Femmes published a small community cookbook, a common fundraising strategy throughout Atlantic Canada for community groups or schools. In this section I introduce popular dishes and recipes from Pomquet through the cookbook. The cookbook, aptly titled "Home Cooking Secrets of Pomquet," was for sale at many of the events with proceeds going to l'Église Sainte-Croix. It is a small coil bound paperback book. The Pomquet cookbook straightforwardly presents recipes and is organized by recipe type. There are between five and seven recipes on each page in the fifty-three-page book. It contains 241 recipes, divided into nine sections, including "meat, bread, and poultry," "bread, rolls and cookies," and "candy, jelly, and preserves." The collection demonstrates the diversity of recipes that community members have in their repertoire. It contains Acadian classics, as well as others that come from friends in neighbouring communities. They speak to both the tight-knit nature of the region and the influence from other Acadian regions and Antigonish.

Community cookbooks are a way for women specifically to fundraise and share grassroots or cultural knowledge. They date at least back to the American Civil War when they were a popular way for communities and churches to raise money to assist the widows and children of war victims (Ransom and Wright 2013:672). Anthropologist Arjun Appadurai (1988:3) explains how cookbooks can tell a story about a culture:

> Cookbooks, which usually belong to the humble literature of civilizations, tell unusual cultural tales. They combine the sturdy pragmatic virtues of all manuals with the vicarious pleasures of the literature of the senses. They reflect shifts in the boundaries of edibility, the proprieties of the culinary process, the logic of meals, the exigencies of the household budget, the vagaries of the market, and the structure of domestic ideologies.

Recipes in the Pomquet cookbook represent changes in ideologies. Historian, Margaret Conrad describes the 1950s as a time where the "fabric" of Atlantic Canada changes rapidly, resulting in a significant divide between urban and rural areas (1993:385). This period resulted in an increase of convenience foods being used in baking throughout the region. (Tye 2014:119). The collection does not consist exclusively of what people would perceive as “Acadian,” the majority were reasonably mainstream recipes, or local takes on popular favourites, including “chow mein,” “rhubarb-n-jell-o squares,” and “macaroni and cheese.” These “exotic” ingredients became associated with elements of the urban mainstream culture that were seen as modern and entered into women’s performance of femininity (Tye 2014:120).

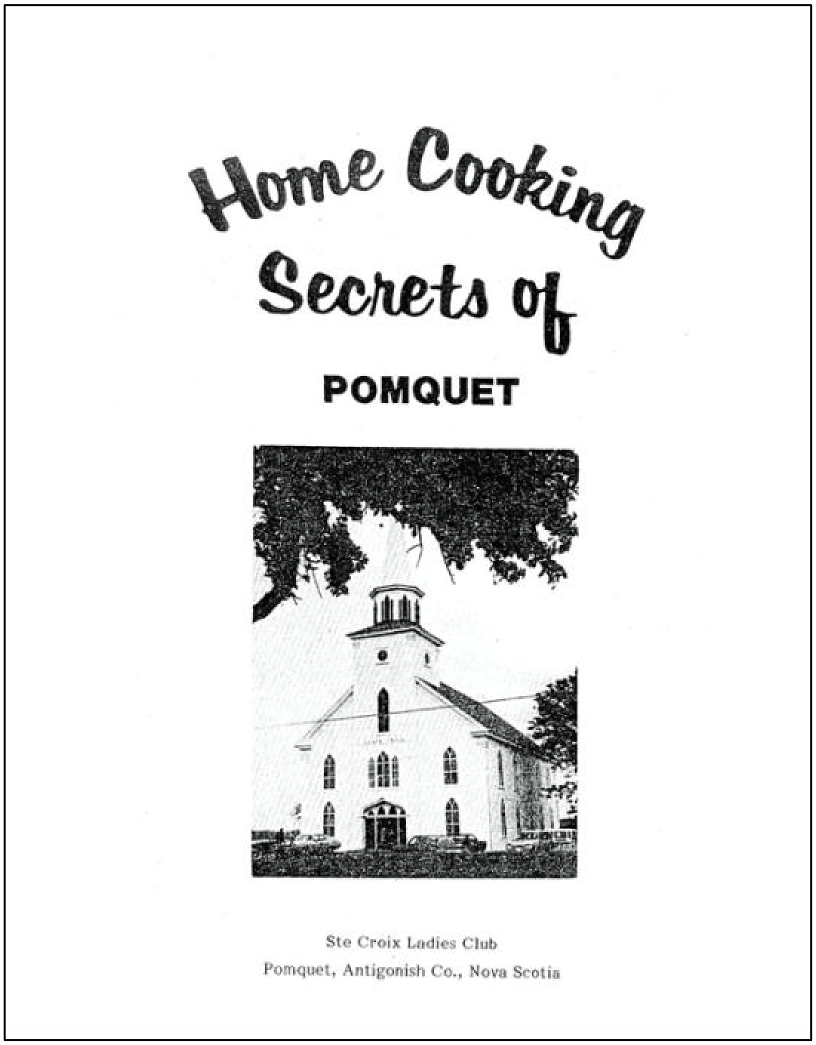


Figure 15 Front Cover, Home Cooking Secrets of Pomquet

Throughout the book, alongside the recipes, there are advertisements, poems, and jokes. The ads and sponsorship within the cookbook also tell a story of the post-agricultural economy in Pomquet. Many businesses that sponsored the cookbook no longer exist. The cookbook's main sponsor was Pomquet Co-Operative Limited, the local grocer that was opened in 1936 and closed in 2005. Nash Credit Union, which was located within the Pomquet Co-Op at this time, was a sponsor. There were forty-five other sponsors mainly located in Antigonish. The cookbook was printed in English, which speaks to the audience they were trying to reach, and the language spoken by most sponsors and potential buyers – largely those who visited Pomquet for the salmon suppers and other meals throughout the year.

Diane Tye explains that "cookbooks can reveal important cultural scripts" (Tye 2014:111). Each recipe within the cookbook had the name of the woman who had contributed it next to the title, and those that were tried and true are accredited to the "Pomquet Parish Ladies' Club." The sale of this cookbook at community gatherings highlighted the importance of food, and specifically food unique to Pomquet. Importantly, recipes in Home Cooking Secrets of Pomquet can be vague. Often the cook is expected to reproduce the recipe without much instruction or procedure (Sutton 2012; Tye 2014). The recipes seem to assume a level of skill in the reader. For example, in figure 16, the recipe for fricôt does not give exact measurements for the amount of water that should be added to create the soup, nor how long it should cook in advance of adding the potatoes. It merely notes "until tender," and the directions for cooking the dumplings in the soup broth provide even less guidance.

FRICÔT — Pomquet Parish Ladies' Club

1 3- or 4-lb. fowl
1 Tbsp. salted onions
6 c. diced potatoes
Dumplings

Cut up fowl into small pieces; sear until well browned. Add enough water to cover meat. Add dash of pepper and salted onions; cook meat until tender. Add potatoes and cook about 10 minutes. Add dumplings and cook a few more minutes.

Dumplings:
1 c. flour
3 tsp. baking powder
2 Tbsp. shortening
1/2 c. milk
Pinch of salt

Mix together and drop by teaspoonful into fricôt.

Figure 16 Fricôt Recipe , Home Cooking Secrets of Pomquet

The creation and scale of a cookbook indicates that there is information members of the group wish to share and pass on. It also implies an audience willing to learn and try these recipes – an audience with an existing nostalgia for Acadian cooking. Examining cookbooks and their proliferation across India, Appadurai notes that "regional and ethnic cookbooks do two things," they allow an outsider to see and experience culinary traditions of another people and represent "food-based characterizations of the ethnic other" (Appadurai 1988:15). These regional texts are "written by insiders," presenting a sense of authenticity and a unique repertoire (Appadurai 1988:17). Often, cooking involves teaching and apprenticeship (Sutton 2012); yet, in the post-modern society, there are fewer transmissions of this knowledge or lack of apprenticeship that has in part been replaced with "new sources of cooking apprenticeship such as the ubiquitous cooking shows" (Sutton 2012:305). Perhaps the cookbook acts as a way for the Club des Femmes to continue to teach even though the group is no longer able to train a new generation how to cook their tried-and-true recipes as they had before. It is worth noting that a new edition of the cookbook is in the works, being led by a student at Pomquet school.

5.4 CONTINUATION OF COMMUNITY WORK

Club des Femmes built a strong foundation for community work in Pomquet. Moore Milroy and Wismer define community work as "a collective term for the work that women (and men) do outside their homes and paid working hours, and within their localities. It can be political or publicly directed, yet often appears to be maintenance work – part of the 'social glue' which holds a community together." (1994:72). This sphere of community work, which exists between the domestic and public, continues to play a key role in the social reproduction of ethnicity in Pomquet. In the previous section, I shared Élise's description of a generation of Pomqueters coming together to put on salmon suppers and her noting, "– and now, there's nothing like that." Food-based events are not absent so much as different; community events generally have changed how they reproduce community and identity through food. And there are continuities; many who engage in food work today are family or mentees of the members of Club des Femmes, whose legacy remains in local gatherings, kitchen spaces, and recipes.

The changes are not unusual; traditions and ethnic identities change over time (Hobsbawm and Ranger 1992:5). That same sense of community and togetherness that makes up a large part of Pomquet identity can be found in new places. The way foodwork is undertaken has shifted because of a larger change within domestic space and labour as women entered the workforce and dual earner households became the norm in Canada (Luxton and Bezanson 2006:5). Those participating in the food work have grown more diverse over time with men and younger generations being more involved in both the groups and the execution of events, though some groups still do have higher numbers of retirees. Various groups in the community assume responsibility for facets of community work, including the Fire Department, SASC, church councils, foyer-école (parent-teacher association), Pomquet Area Cultural, Recreation Community Development Association (PACRCDA), Héritage Pomquet, and Pomquet Development Society. Though their interests may vary, the basis of their work is the community.

As mentioned in the beginning of the chapter, women are continuing to sustain elements of "Pomquetness" that are in decline. For example, Élise mentioned being part of the organizing committee for after-funeral lunches and one of the remaining residents teaching religion classes at the church. What is striking is how women continue to organize and perform domestic and care labour. Despite members of the Pomquet Development Society taking over many of the larger food-based events, the women who once played a key role in Pomquet's foodwork continue to provide for events in any way they are able. Tye notes that women age out of foodwork; however, they tend to continue to contribute in less demanding ways (2014:195).

When I began my formal fieldwork in Pomquet in August 2016, my partner and I travelled from Sydney to Pomquet that rainy afternoon to ensure we made it to the Acadian Day celebration, on the fifteenth of August or le quinze août. It was a stormy day with a constant stream of rain and the celebrations had been moved from the planned location of Chez Deslauriers to the parish hall. Like we would have in most small communities in Atlantic Canada, my partner and I received puzzled looks when we walked into the main floor of the parish hall that afternoon. It was evident that we were not from Pomquet or familiar with the space. We sat down and enjoyed some of the musical entertainment, after which we went to check out the food. There was a long line of tables draped in the Acadian colours of red, white, and blue, with endless sweets and sandwiches spanning the hall's length. There was hot chocolate, craft tables for the children, and a barbeque positioned outside one of the main doors.

As we moved down the long table of food, I noticed Anna, who I had previously met at Chez Deslauriers. I introduced her to my partner, we began chatting, and she introduced me to other community members who were helping serve food and organize the event. Despite the location change and bad weather, there was a sense of community pride presented in the actions, welcoming spirit, and presence that day. Even though this was not the planned location for the celebration, it had not hindered the celebrations of the day, including the decoration of the hall and availability of food for those attending. Those involved in planning events in Pomquet were skilled at the craft, were quick to adjust to changes, and always prioritized food at the events.

The following year, Acadian Day celebrations returned to Chez Deslauriers. Élise mentioned that in the past, celebrations were less grand and public; rather, it was celebrated with a Mass focused on the day as the fête de l'Assomption de la Vierge Marie (Virgin Mary), and Club des Femmes would make a crown of roses or carnations to place upon the head of the statue of the Virgin Mary. Noemie said that Pomquet emphasises Carnaval d'Hiver over Acadian Day in August; however, on a beautiful August 15th, the grounds of Chez Deslauriers is filled with Acadian flags, children's activities, and happy residents eating hotdogs. On Acadian day there were games for the children to enjoy positioned around the field, including some competitive games of tug-of-war. Others chatted in groups or sat on the wooden benches that spanned the lawn next to the interpretive center to enjoy music or performances.

Carnaval d'Hiver is a celebratory time in Pomquet where food-based events are popular. The main two being the pancake breakfast prepared by the fire department and the fricôt lunch by Pomquet Development Society volunteers. In February 2017, I attended the fricôt lunch held in the basement of the parish hall for Carnaval d'Hiver. This was my first time in the basement space of the hall, and it was crowded with hungry patrons. I had heard that that the basement of the hall was where most community meals had been prepared in the past and it was popular location for community meals.

Constructed in the 1970s, the parish hall was not working too well for this purpose; it was not accessible for the aging population and the facility was showing signs of its age with a kitchen that no longer met the needs of the events organizations wished to hold.

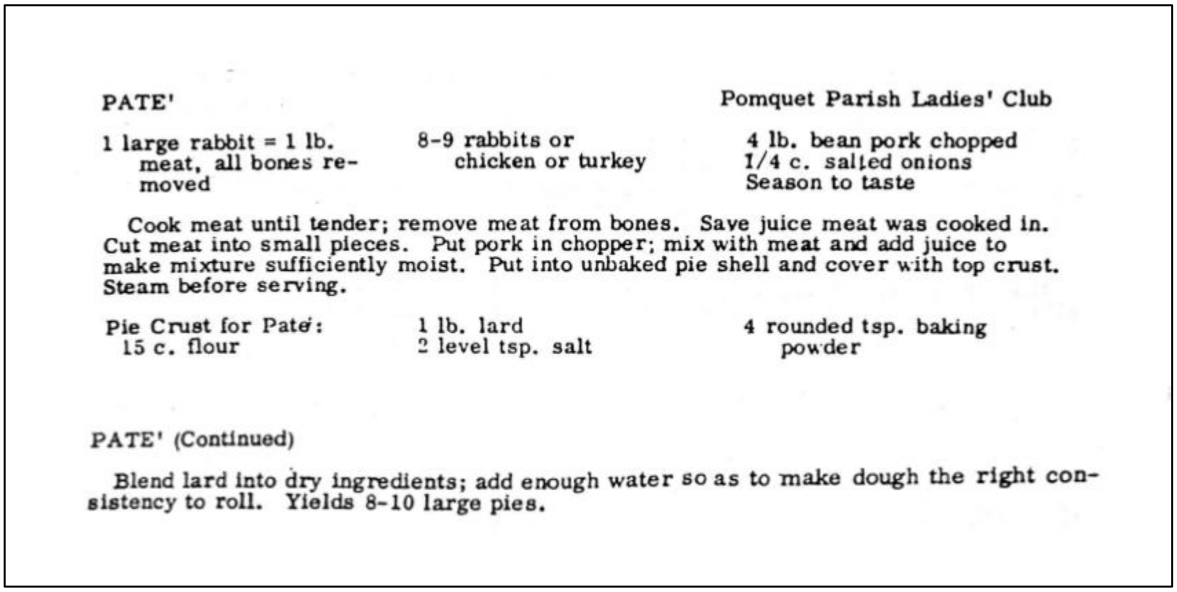
As I entered the building, I was greeted by a man with a roll of blue 50/50 tickets. I purchased one, he kept one piece and passed me the other – this is what I could then exchange for my fricôt. I proceeded down the stairs to the table lined room. It was full. I navigated my way through the crowd to the kitchen area at the back of the large basement space filled with tables and patrons. The area was open to the rest of the room but separated by a long and winding countertop, with plastic wood veneer on all sides, where the food was being prepared. I was greeted at the counter by Anna; she was frequently volunteering at these large food events. I exchanged my ticket for a bowl of fricôt and a roll and found a place to sit with Rose, Richard, Peter, and a few others. As people ate, there was a mixture of silence and chatter. A slide show of photographs was projected onto a wall of the hall showing photographs of past carnivals. Every now and then, someone would point out a particular photo and laughter would erupt, and people would begin to talk across the room reminiscing about being Monsieur and Madame Acadie, or their daughter playing Evangeline that year.

The bowl of fricôt had a dark broth, chunks of chicken, potatoes, and dumplings. The dumplings cooked in the soup liquid (see fricôt recipe above in Figure 16). Sharing foods they viewed as "Acadian" instilled feelings of nostalgia for many. As Proust (1924) describes in his famous anecdote about madeleines, food can evoke powerful images and memories. Yvonne, who was seated nearby, commented that throughout the history of the carnival, it was mostly organized for locals, except when food was involved, it attracted audiences from outside Pomquet. This was due to the work of the Club des Femmes over the years, ensuring that the food at Pomquet events was the best of the best. In the past, there were more food events serving fricôt, paté, biscuits, and other favourites. She reminisced, "it ended up all the Acadians worked to feed all the outsiders because they enjoyed our food so much." Today, the events are attended more by locals, with some visitors from neighbouring communities.

There has been a shift in what food is prepared by whom, but there has been significant social reproduction in the transfer of responsibility to the next generation. I contend here that food is also a site of ethnic identity, even though, as John Comaroff explains that nationalist imaginings fail to distinguish the conditions that give rise to ethnic consciousness from those that sustain it (1996:179). It is not solely the food that is able to sustain and reproduce culture and identity, but the people who make that food. Despite the ever-changing dynamics of food work and relationships with food it continues to have a role in the reproduction of ethnicity in Poqmuet.

The foods most associated with Acadianness in Pomquet were fricôt and paté, the two dishes that I fondly remember my grandmother making most often. One afternoon during a February blizzard, I sat down at a kitchen table with Rose to chat. Rose was a pleasant and accommodating woman who was very helpful and kind as we talked in her Bed and Breakfast, where I was staying for the week. Her family and I were stuck inside due to the amount of snow that had fallen, the week of Carnaval d'Hiver, during a particularly harsh Nova Scotia winter. Many of the carnival events were cancelled due to the weather. As a result, I spent more time with Rose and her family. Rose and her husband Richard were in their sixties and had lived at their property since the 1980s, having converted it into a B&B in the early 2000s. Their son, Peter, who was in his thirties, also lived with them. I enjoyed the week at the B&B. Despite missing some of the carnival events, I was able to spend more time learning about Pomquet's history from Richard and talking about food with Rose. During that time, she ensured I was fed and insisted I dine with her family, noting quite surely that I "need to eat!" She insisted that the peanut butter sandwiches I was making myself in my room were not sufficient, and honestly, she was right.

As we chatted over tea, we naturally began to talk about paté. Paté is a stewed meat pie baked with biscuit-type dough. As shown in figure 17 from the Pomquet Cookbook, rabbit, chicken, and turkey meat are listed as the suggested fillings for paté. This dish, as well as others, often used what meat was accessible and have developed over time to suit preferences of communities and families. Today, most are made using stewed pork, chicken, or a mixture of the two. I grew up referring to paté as "meat pie" in my family which is originally from the Chéticamp region. Although I had spent time in other Acadian regions over the years, this was the first time I heard the dish specifically referred to as paté. Richard wandered into the kitchen to pour himself another cup of tea before returning to the living room and having overheard our discussion of paté, and said, "oh paté from Chéticamp is so dry because they bake it!" I was a bit confused because I had assumed that the paté in Pomquet had to have been baked too – I had spent a lot of the last summer eating at Chez Deslauriers on Friday afternoons and hadn't noted much difference.



PATE'

Pomquet Parish Ladies' Club

1 large rabbit = 1 lb. meat, all bones removed

8-9 rabbits or chicken or turkey

4 lb. bean pork chopped
1/4 c. salted onions
Season to taste

Cook meat until tender; remove meat from bones. Save juice meat was cooked in. Cut meat into small pieces. Put pork in chopper; mix with meat and add juice to make mixture sufficiently moist. Put into unbaked pie shell and cover with top crust. Steam before serving.

Pie Crust for Pate':
15 c. flour

1 lb. lard
2 level tsp. salt

4 rounded tsp. baking powder

PATE' (Continued)

Blend lard into dry ingredients; add enough water so as to make dough the right consistency to roll. Yields 8-10 large pies.

Figure 17 Paté Recipe , Home Cooking Secrets of Pomquet

Rose explained that in Pomquet, the meat pies are steamed while they bake. When it is placed in the oven, rather than placing the pie on the oven rack the pie is placed in another tray in a water bath to increase moisture in the pie. In retrospect (and having consumed pies from both regions since this conversation), the difference is now apparent. The dough of the pie crust is softer in Pomquet pies than in Chéticamp ones where the crust is more crisp. Rose, who had taken her recipe book out by this point in our conversation, went on to say that she prefers to use pork chop meat in her pies rather than pork shoulder which many others use. Ways of preparing Acadian foods varied by personal preference as well as by region.

Paté is a Christmas food, even though it is served in the summer at Chez Deslauriers, which locals and visitors enjoy. Pomqueters make their pies for Christmas

Eve. Prior to it being served at community events, that was the only time most people in Pomquet ate paté. As Adele reflected:

> The day before was a day of fast and abstinence, so the patés, no one ate them before Midnight Mass. But in many, many homes after Midnight Mass, families would gather to have their meat pie, their paté, and their you know – families – and even relatives, you know, would get together for that.

Many informants spoke about the excitement they felt to head home after Midnight Mass to have their paté. It was a special dish for a special night of the year, and it showed. Others mentioned continuing to eat paté at Christmas as an important aspect of culture, one they felt a need to pass down to younger generations.

5.5 CONCLUSION

The way residents reminisced about salmon suppers of the past reminded me of the work being undertaken by volunteers at food-based events today, most of whom had learned what to do from their mothers and grandmothers of Club des Femmes. The Friday lunches at Chez Deslauriers present a similar opportunity for community food production with community effort. The lunches aren't targeted at tourists (much to the amazement of tourism professionals), outside of sharing the meal schedule locally through online sources and the Newspaper in Antigonish, but rather are a place for people to gather and reconnect. They fulfill a similar function for gathering but also attract some tourists and people from surrounding communities to Pomquet, some of whom have visited Pomquet for the salmon suppers in the past. The volunteers provide summer lunches to serve other Pomqueters and those who shared a nostalgia for Pomquet's past.

This chapter has demonstrated how community work though food-based events and activity can play a significant role in the reproduction of ethnicity. In Pomquet, the organization of food work extends well beyond the family unit. Women's activities, especially in the reproduction of foodways in Pomquet, serve a much larger role than merely providing nutrition or sustenance; they can create and sustain a complex social, cultural, and political landscape within the community. As Pomquet continues to change over time, food may be more essential than ever to the social reproduction of culture and maintenance of identity and culture. Within both community and domestic spaces, food which has for most part of the life of Pomquet been "women's work," has been particularly central to social and cultural reproduction. The importance of food work and community gathering continued beyond this gendered work, particularly after Acadians gained more power as a result of provincial and national policy changes that supported francophones.

Through these narratives around food, I have demonstrated that while the Acadian official history is masculine and promotes an ideology that was not fully adopted in Pomquet, domestic and community spaces had a greater impact on the reproduction of local identities. Acadian official histories and nationalist narratives had less impact on the social and cultural reproduction women undertook daily and across generations in Pomquet. When women adopted more mainstream elements it was largely for the good of the community. Despite their marginalization in the nationalist ideology, the work accomplished by women, and later the broader community, presents a strong juxtaposition between the local and the official narratives that highlight what is vital to ethnic reproduction in a marginal space.

CHAPTER 6 EDUCATION AND LANGAUGE [7]

Travelling on the main road out of the village, I turned into the parking lot of l'École Acadienne de Pomquet. It was nearing supper time, and the last of the employees were leaving the school and making their way to their vehicles. I was there to attend the Annual General Meeting of the Société Acadienne Sainte Croix (SASC). I was asked to make a presentation on the research I was doing in Pomquet. As I made my way to the school cafeteria where the meeting was being held, I passed parents who were picking up their children from the after-school program and teachers and administrators closing their offices and classrooms for the day. Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provincial (CSAP), the Francophone school board for Nova Scotia, operates the school. The actions and the policies of the school's administration and the mandate of the board often ignites debate because the school is an important place in the community. Prior to the school's construction in 2001, residents and teachers had more autonomy over how language and culture were taught in Pomquet.

There were several presentations in addition to the regular business of the AGM that evening, all of which was conducted in French. In addition to myself, there was a representative from Heritage Canada, one of the SASC's main funders and the group of senior students. The evening was informative, highlighting much of the activity that SASC, the school, and other community groups had undertaken in the last year. One of the main points highlighted in the students' presentation was to ensure the community and

[7] This chapter appears in a different form in *The Right to be Rural*, edited by Karen R. Foster and Jennifer Jarman, University of Alberta Press, 2022.

the school continue to work together for the students and increase student exposure to culture and language in Pomquet.

After the event had ended, I was chatting with some community members. I mentioned how impressed I was that the students were so passionate about their culture and language. One of the women with whom I was speaking, Élise, quickly noted that the French the students speak is not “Pomquet French,” but a standardized French taught in the school. When I inquired further, she told me that most students who attend school in Pomquet do not speak, or rarely speak, French at home. Without French spoken at home, most of the students attending school who are Acadian or from Pomquet are learning the standardized language at school with an absence of the Pomquet accent, dialect, and words. This encounter sparked something for me. There was a clear divide regarding what counts as French in Pomquet. In other Acadian communities where I have done research, there has been a similar sentiment towards the French taught in the Conseil Scolaire Acadien Provincial system.

This chapter provides an overview of how education developed in Pomquet and demonstrates how attachment to community space and a need for ownership and belonging emerged alongside this process. It examines the shift that occurred when Francophone language education became a central focus of national policy – processes that did not always align with the educational goal of locals. Speaking to how culture and language were sustained and reproduced at the local level, the chapter shows women shouldered most of the burden of the labour required to sustain ethnicity within education and language despite having little or no institutional support. I argue that residents experienced numerous challenges and tensions in balancing localized perceptions of culture and language with the versions that arrived through mainstream Acadianness and more institutionalized processes. I conclude with a discussion of how citizenship's exclusionary practices, such as not providing adequate or culturally appropriate education for Acadians, can result in language loss. For Pomquet, the discussion reveals how the educational priorities of Nova Scotia have never been in line with the educational priorities of many in the community.

6.1 LANGUAGE RIGHTS IN CANADA

Under federalism sovereignty is constitutionally divided, and power is shared between the national and provincial governments. This permits individual provinces to sustain a degree of authority over the policy and legislation of their region (Breton 2005). Within this model, provincial governments oversee education. Liberalism, in a federalist multinational state, attempts to account for cultural difference and cultural pluralism; however, the liberal model still promotes and reinforces the ideologies of the dominant culture (Taylor and Laforest 1992; Mackey 2002; Marshall 1950). As we have seen, Acadian identities present the additional level of ethnic identity. These strong identities and movements aid Acadians in their goal to implement French-language education in the Maritime Provinces even though it serves a minority population. Since ethnonationalism moves toward cultural autonomy, priorities do not always align within the multination government structure (Kymlicka 2001; Conversi 1990). The federal system accommodates national minorities; nevertheless, it exercises a degree of control over minority groups. Simultaneously, that distanced minority can experience inequality related to their unique linguistic and cultural elements (Kymlicka 2001).

Primary and secondary education are part of the fundamental rights of citizenship in Canada; however, they are a provincial responsibility. Rural education in particular presents both unique challenges and definitive advantages for students, and for communities in which schools often act as hubs of community engagement and activity. The extent to which French-language education in each province is successfully implemented is one way to assess challenges and advantages in accessing French-language education. Prior to the 1960s, Nova Scotia was not overly interested in French language education in the province. In Pomquet, however, there was a strong community commitment to provide French-language education well before the reorientation of language rights in Canada. Estelle explained, "we spoke French, but I think it's when [Pierre] Trudeau came and said, 'I want this place to be bilingual from one ocean to another,' that things began to change." The Official Languages Act in1969 granted equal status given to the French language in Canada. This resulted in the dominant English-speaking population becoming more accepting of the French language, though equally everywhere. Further, section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982 went a step farther by explicitly addressing the rights of Francophone minorities and the topic of minority-language education rights (Woehrling 1985).

With these national shifts in Canada, there was a wider acceptance and recognition of Francophone minority rights throughout the country. The move towards language equality in the province can also be seen as resulting from rights of citizen equality (Brodie 2002). Based on the idea of social citizenship rights, Nova Scotia developed French language education in response to citizens' educational needs. Nova Scotia envisioned its collective response to Francophone language needs as benefiting all

Acadians and Francophones within the province. Even with larger national changes for language equality in place, their impact must be understood through the varying availability of French-language education in each province. As I detail in the following sections, the move towards language equality in Nova Scotia was significantly impacted by their previous struggles to secure French-language education for the Acadian population.

6.2 FRANCOPHONE EDUCATION IN POMQUET

In the initial settlement of Pomquet in the seventeenth century organizing education in the community was difficult for a variety of reasons: many children were needed at home to work on the farms. Due to its rural locale, it was hard to find French teachers to work in Pomquet and many families were unable to afford the taxes associated with education, as the Free School Act was not implemented in Nova Scotia until 1864 (Buckner 1993:75). At the time, there was little access to minority language education in Atlantic Canada (Buckner 1993). In 1816, missionary Father Antoine Maneau established the first school in Pomquet for parishioners of Pomquet, Tracadie, and Havre Boucher (Rennie et al. 1980). In 1823, three nuns established another school called "Le Petit Couvent," speculated to have closed in 1835. Pomquet secured established schools in 1848 which were later expanded to create the Pomquet school district in 1916.

Strong ethnic identities and the nationalist movement allowed Acadians to implement French-language education in the Maritime Provinces despite their minority status. New Brunswick had a number of French-language schools, and there was limited

French schooling in other parts of the Maritimes. In the Education Act of 1841, Nova Scotia allowed French as a language of instruction in schools, but the curriculum remained in English (Buckner 1993:79; Ross and Deveau 1992:96). Even with these allowances from the provinces, Acadian regions in Nova Scotia were not guaranteed French-language teachers. Acadian women became essential to providing education in Acadian communities, both at home and in the schools.

Early education in Pomquet was largely delivered by nuns and later by teachers trained in convents. Schools were influenced by Catholicism and local priests attached to the Acadian Renaissance. As discussed in the chapter four, the Acadian elite promoted ideas of purity which focused on a standardized version of French that was reproduced in print. Acadians struggled with both the “France French” or standardized French that was pushed by the Acadian elite within schools and with the Anglicization of French (Boudreau and LeBlanc 2000). What was deemed “good French” by the nationalist ideology was promoted and used at both Collège Saint-Joseph and Académie Notre-Dame-du-Sacré-Cœur in the production of the next generations of educators and leaders (LeBlanc 2018:60).

Despite having a connection to the larger movement and religious institutions, Pomquet experienced difficulty recruiting teachers to the community, especially teachers qualified to teach French (Benoit (n.d.).). This trend continued into the 1950s. A letter from an anonymous citizen from Pomquet in Evangeline from November 24, 1902 shows that there was concern around language and Anglophone teachers:

> This year we must make an effort to have an Acadian teacher, because if our school continues to be run by English language teachers it is certain that our children will remain in the dark and moreover that they will come to lose their

> language, the language of our ancestors, which is the most precious of the treasures they left us.[8] [my translation]. (L'Evangeline 1902)

Pomquet schools tried to have teachers that were able to speak French; however, in neighbouring Tracadie and Havre Boucher it was more common to have Irish and Scottish teachers throughout the early to mid-twentieth century. An interview in the collection at Héritage Pomquet reveals this impact in Havre Boucher:

> At l'École du Couvent, there was always a Sister who taught in French. When I attended school there we studied French, but after some time there were no longer Sisters that taught French. Everyone lost their French.[9] [my translation]

If Pomquet schools were able to secure a Francophone teacher, classes were often taught in French, but with English materials. Francophone teachers shouldered the burden of translating curriculum, lessons, and reading materials into French for their students. It is no coincidence that these teachers were mostly women. Organizing around community needs tends to be women's work, located within the feminine domain (DuBois 1999). As teachers and parents, women were able to champion many of the changes required in the education system within the community, as well as smaller needs that could be identified through their social networks.

Teachers and community members aimed to provide children in the village with a proper education despite the lack of resources to provide culturally and linguistically appropriate content. Acadian teachers who came to Pomquet, most of whom settled in the community, were able to teach in French despite the English curriculum. Yet this was not

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[8] Original text: "Il faut donner un coup d'effort cette année pour avoir un instituteur acadien, car si notre école continue à être dirigée par les instituteurs de langue anglaises il est certain que nos enfants resteront dans l'ignorance et de plus qu'ils viendront à perdre leur langue la langue de nos ancêtres, ce qui est le plus précieux des trésors qu'ils nous ont laissés."

[9] Translation: A l'école du couvent i avait toujours une sœur là qui enseignait le français. Mais à l'école là nous avons étudié le français, mais après un espace de temps i avait pus de sœur qui enseignait le français. Le monde a oublié leur français.

always the case; residents recounted stories of struggling to adjust to the English language and English resources used at school. Camille, who attended school in Pomquet during the 1940s into the 1950s, remembers classes as difficult because many of the teachers were English. She and most people in Pomquet still spoke French at home.

Adele and Élise, retired teachers, both of whom moved to Pomquet for work from other Acadian communities, remember the difficulty of using the province's English curriculum in Pomquet schools. They noted that it took more effort on their part to offer the students in Pomquet an adequate education because most did not speak or read English, so there was a lot of preparation involved in translating materials and providing bilingual education. There was a passion among the teachers to educate the children of Pomquet in French when possible, which speaks to these teachers' desire to reflect the local language ideologies (Cormier, Bourque, and Jolicoeur 2014).

Another educational challenge in Pomquet is the centralization of education. In Pomquet, schools remained in the Antigonish School District and followed an English curriculum. The challenges associated with rural education increase with the added dimension of minority language and rights. Educators and community members in Pomquet lobbied for a new school and, in 1961, a much-demanded and much-needed new education facility was built in the community. The curriculum, however, remained in English. Teachers at the new Pomquet Consolidated School continued to promote French education and the new school fostered an important relationship with the broader community. There was a feeling of ownership and gratitude associated with the new school. It became the centre of community activity and pride. Though it represented an improved education for the children in Pomquet, it did not offer all necessary programs for its upper-level students, particularly in the sciences. A few years after the construction of Pomquet School, the teachers lobbied for the Grade 9 students to attend school at Antigonish East School in Monastery or in Antigonish proper. This transition allowed students to have dedicated science and math teachers as well as access to labs and other facilities that Pomquet Consolidated School lacked.

Anna described students from Pomquet as "always getting the bottom end of everything." When they were young and attending school in Pomquet, there was not enough support for French education. Then they were sent to school in Antigonish or Monastery where they did not always feel welcome, and students were never fully supported. Marcel, who also attended school during this transition period no longer speaks French which he attributes to experiences of discrimination when attending school in Antigonish. Both remember being called "French Frogs," remarks that dissipated over time but seem to have had a lasting impact on this generation's willingness to retain French as well as educate their children in French. These negative experiences associated with language as well as increased assimilation into dominant culture account for a significant amount of language loss.

6.3 JURISDICTIONAL SHIFTS

Between 1960 and 1980, national political shifts coincided with increases in Acadian nationalism, cultural politics, and language revival in Pomquet. Changes resulting from the Official Languages Act in1969 and section 23 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, 1982 led to the provincial governments in both New Brunswick and Nova Scotia to provide French education and French social resources to Acadians. In

Nova Scotia, there was already plans to create Acadian schools, and by 1986, within five different school districts, there were 19 designated Acadian schools; however, much of the authority within these schools remained with the English school boards that operated them (Goreham and Dougherty 1998).

The curriculum at Pomquet School remained predominantly English throughout the 1980s despite these political changes locally and nationally. But teachers in Pomquet, many of whom were women, went above and beyond to ensure students were educated in French. In 1990, the Nova Scotia Department of Education increased French Immersion offerings (Ross and Deveau 1992). Shortly thereafter, Pomquet School was granted French Immersion programming within the English school board. Adele and Élise both noted that this was a difficult transition for parents and students. Parents, many of whom had mixed emotions about French education due to their own experiences in the school system, were hesitant about their children transiting to an immersion program. Adele noted, however, that if students were not in the immersion program, they would be in multi-graded classrooms, which was challenging for both students and teachers.

In 1992, Pomquet School gained Acadian school status. Gaining Acadian school status meant Pomquet school became a French-language school. A French-language school aims to cater to the needs of Francophone students. This contrasts with French Immersion programs that provide Anglophone children with the advantages of bilingualism in French and English in Canada (Hart and Lapkin 1998). The implementation of Acadian schools in Nova Scotia under the English school boards resulted in conflicts around jurisdiction, decision-making, and infrastructure associated with the designated schools across the province at the provincial level (Goreham and Dougherty 1998).

After several public consultations, in 1995, a French-language school board with jurisdiction to manage minority language educational facilities was formed alongside a new Education Act for the province (Nova Scotia 1995; Goreham and Dougherty 1998). The Conseil scolaire acadien provincial (CSAP), the Francophone school board for Nova Scotia, was founded in 1996 (CSAP 2019a). The same year, Pomquet School became part of the CSAP. Although the government consulted with communities, education remained under provincial jurisdiction. The CSAP system requires a parent or grandparent to be Francophone or to have received their elementary education in French. The transition to Acadian school status and the move to the new French-language school board ensured children in Pomquet would continue to be educated in French.

This was a critical shift in education and institutionalization in Pomquet. Adele was principal of Pomquet Consolidated School during the transition to CSAP jurisdiction. Prior to CSAP they were regularly teaching kindergarten to grade six each year. When CSAP took over, portable classrooms were added to accommodate students up to grade eight. She remembers Pomquet Consolidated as a tight-knit school where everyone knew everyone. She noted “it was a Francophone school, just not in name. We had already made the transition to immersion, so there wasn’t too much change with it becoming an Acadian school under CSAP.” She explained that they were already teaching fully in French from kindergarten to grade three, introducing English as a subject in grade four. The teachers and administration had successfully been operating the school as a French-language school prior to this change without it officially being known publicly as one.

6.4 CONFLICTING SOLIDARITIES IN LANGUAGE EDUCATION

Citizens of Pomquet lobbied for a new school within the Conseil scolaire acadien provincial system. In 2001, École Acadienne de Pomquet was constructed and offered primary[10] to Grade 12 education. The new facility had many elements that Pomquet Consolidated school was unable to offer, including a gymnasium, science labs, and updated spacious classrooms. Since this time, students have been able to complete their entire elementary and secondary school education in Pomquet rather than having to travel to Antigonish. Many view it as a benefit to students; however, it brought with it a new set of concerns and challenges. Adele explained that in addition to the students who attended Pomquet Consolidated School, when École Acadienne de Pomquet was constructed, the school experienced an influx of students from surrounding communities, many of whom were Anglophone. Though this is contradictory to the French-language school model, it is quite common-place in Nova Scotia where Anglophones make up the bulk of the population. Although there are admittance requirements, those with Acadian and Francophone ancestry, French-speaking parents, and grandparents, or those whose parents received an elementary education in French may be granted entry.

Teachers who currently teach at the school noted that students from Pomquet make up a minority of current students. It is also important to note that by the time of the school's construction in 2001, many children native to Pomquet would have experienced significant language loss. Many parents wish for their children to be educated in French today, and Pomquet is the school in the area that offers full French-language education.

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[10] In Nova Scotia Kingergarten is called Primary.

CSAP schools, particularly those within urban areas or surrounded by Anglophone communities, are becoming English-dominant. The sociocultural environment in Nova Scotia is English dominant, which places increased challenges on these schools and communities to maintain the French language (Cormier, Bourque, and Jolicoeur 2014).

There is an emphasis on 'choice' when enrolling children in Acadian schools (DiGiorgio 2006). Describing another CSAP school in the province, DiGiorgio (2006) notes that the school in her study emphasizes aspects that are not available elsewhere in the English public school – in this case, a system that offers a more valuable product, the French language. This is also true of other schools within CSAP; they emphasize supporting Acadians or French heritage, smaller class sizes, familial spirit, and willingness to help children succeed. These elements of the CSAP system are what makes the schools attractive to parents outside of Pomquet.

Pomquet benefited from national policies from the 1960s through the 1980s, and unlike other forms of regional and cultural nationalism, Acadian nationalism does not threaten the nation-state. Despite being in line with the school's mandate, the promotion of culture and language became increasingly difficult for teachers because Acadians made up the minority, and there was little interaction between the school and the community. The cultural differences that became important factors in promoting culture and language (in this case Acadian culture and language) become lost in the large, dominant English population that attend these schools. Charlie, a teacher at the school, explained that it is difficult to convince students to speak French at school. He noted that it becomes increasingly difficult after long breaks or after weekends when they have been home in English-speaking environments for an extended period. He did, however, stress the importance of speaking French with his students noting that when he sees them outside of school, like during extra-curricular activities or if students come to his house trick-or-treating, he always speaks to them in French.

Several factors led to disengagement between the school and the community at large. Few of the teachers at Pomquet school have the ties to the community necessary to make cultural connections to place. Noémie, who teaches at École Pomquet, explained "a lot of the educators are from other Acadian regions, they have a cultural attachment to their home regions and not as much to Pomquet." Noémie, also highlighted that "there is a complete generation that has lived in embarrassment of their language." She continued to explain that she can see it in her students from Pomquet, "it has created some shame in certain families." The lack of consistent support for French-language education in Pomquet has had lasting impacts on the community and school.

Many community members, past and current teachers, and members of the school board viewed the construction of the new school as a significant achievement for Pomquet. Others reflected that it came too late to save the French language in Pomquet. Conflicted feelings around French education are mainly raised by residents who attended school during the transitionary period in the 1950s and 1960s, many of whom chose not to send their children to École Acadienne de Pomquet. The move to a French-language school operated by the province presented new challenges for residents and students. Some described the relationship between the school and Pomquet as turbulent. This turbulence arose because the school was felt to no longer serve local interests, but rather provincial ones, with a more standardized curriculum and French-language outcomes. With these changes, Pomquet as a community lost a degree of control over its school not just with respect to curriculum but also as a physical and social resource. The school, therefore, has become a place of contention for some in Pomquet, with community members feeling a loss of community control over the school as it shifted to CSAP jurisdiction.

Some community members do not have the same feelings of ownership and belonging with École Acadienne de Pomquet that they had developed at Pomquet Consolidated School. Villa and Knutas explain how the loss of a rural school can be detrimental to local culture because these spaces play a vital role in reproducing community and culture (2020:629). The tensions between the citizens and the new school led many Pomqueters to feel unwelcome and as though they had lost a sense of belonging. Adele reflected:

> In the 1970s, Pomquet began hosting an annual winter carnival at the school. We had concerts; we had suppers, we had parades, we had snow sculpting – a nice variety of activities. Everything, everything was in French. And they were very, very popular and drew a lot of people. They went on until the nineties. Then for some reason, when we got our new Francophone school, the emphasis turned more on the school and less on the community. When we had them at the Consolidated School, the whole community was involved.

The divide that occurred with the jurisdictional change raises new questions about the link between culture and language pertaining to Acadian identities in the twenty-first century. With the construction of École Acadienne de Pomquet, residents and teachers were no longer the authority on how language and culture were taught in the school.

The work of residents, teachers, and parents has ensured that students in the community are educated in their language (but not their dialect) despite the lack of an adequate and linguistically appropriate curriculum. This is especially true of learning the French language and knowledge of Acadian culture. The CSAP also teaches standardized

French. As I noted in this chapter's opening, there has been an emphasis on what counts as French in Pomquet, and many older residents note that the dialect that students learn in school is indeed different. Concerned citizens in this study noted Pomquet French has largely been lost due to the various social factors outlined in this chapter. The standardized French taught in schools has led to an overall loss of common words and phrases that residents describe as unique to Pomquet. There are some efforts to preserve Pomquet French at Héritage Pomquet. For example, students employed with them in the summer of 2017 visited elderly residents and recorded them speaking old phrases and words. Further, I aided the group with the digitization of some oral history recordings in their collection which they hope to share with younger generations.

The problem between “Acadian” French and standardized French exists across the Acadian school board. When the teachers taught in the former Pomquet schools there was more autonomy within the system; however, there were fewer resources. Now the reverse is true, there is less autonomy for teachers and community within the school, curriculum, and the type of French spoken. In the CSAP system, students from Pomquet have become marginalized, ironically, due to the valorization of the French language in the country, largely by parents. In the past, there was discrimination associated with French in the region; however, one of the upsides to the CSAP school and shifts in national policy has been that this discrimination has passed, and French language education is seen as an asset.

With the move to CSAP, they were required to move more in line with Acadian official history and narrative, yet, in a more institutionalized way, albeit not a specifically ‘nationalist’ way. CSAP elementary curricula cover the Acadian flag, their school, their community and region, and the deportation (CSAP 2019b; CSAP 2019c). Grades 7 through 9 dive deeper into geography, francophone Canada, the Atlantic region along with encouraging self-expression in French and developing their own sense of Acadian and/or Francophone identity (CSAP 2005:18–19; CSAP 2017). In late secondary school, students must take either Historie du Canada 11 or Études Acadiennes 11, both of which focus on the contributions made by Acadians and Francophones within Canada. Should a student pursue Études Acadiennes 11 the course does provide a more detailed account of history, culture, economy, nationalism, and the social and political impact of contemporary Acadians (CSAP 2005:25–26).

The shift to CSAP control over education in Pomquet led to some tensions between the citizens and the school and has led to many not feeling welcome at the school and feeling as though they had lost a sense of belonging. Some participants said that the language and culture at the school were not necessarily representative of Pomquet. These tensions were exacerbated with the increase of students from outside communities. While some students from outside Pomquet proper do have Acadian and Francophone heritage or are from the Havre Boucher and Tracadie, others are from the Anglophone centre of Antigonish. Exclusionary practices of citizenship led to a significant degree of language loss for this rural linguistic minority because the educational priorities of the province were not in line with the educational priorities of all Pomquet residents. Through these processes, CSAP reinstitutionalized culture and language within Pomquet while increasing access to French language services and education. The economic restructuring and privatization of neoliberalism in Canada "between the mid-1990s and the first decade of the twenty-first century" led to inequities centred around gender, race, and class

(Luxton and Bezanson 2006:4–5). École Acadienne de Pomquet and the demand from the more urban upper class to have their children educated in the French language is more in line with the neo-liberal agenda than the needs of the small community and its connection to the language (Brodie 2002).

One of the underlying sources of this bad feeling is that schools effectively serve as a community hub outside of provincial authorities and their educational mandate (Foster and Main 2018:9). The tension that arose with the new school and the loss of what had been a "cultural institution and intergenerational meeting place" (Melheim 2011 as cited in Kvalsund 2019:185) continues to be felt and will be explored further in the next chapter with regard to the development of a new community facility. Residents of Pomquet need to work within the structures and institutions available to it within the province and country to ensure the future generations have access to quality education, even if not all community members agree with the way the CSAP operates.

6.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlighted the issues that have arisen concerning access to French-language education in Pomquet with particular attention to the divide that emerged between community ownership and response to state policy. As culture and language became more institutionalized, there was less autonomy granted to community members, less control over curriculum, and restricted access to the school as a community space. Pomquet's rurality created unique barriers to the implementation of a French-language school that may not have been present in more urban centres or in Acadian communities with stronger connections to cultural and linguistic politics.

Citizens of Pomquet have fought for their schools and their language since the establishment of their community in the late eighteenth century. The hard work of teachers and parents has ensured that local students are educated in their language despite the lack of adequate and linguistically appropriate curriculum in the province. Even with the implementation of supportive policies at the national level after the 1960s, Pomquet no longer ‘owns’ its education, nor do residents have the control they once had to develop it for local benefit.

Pomquet Consolidated School acted as a hub for community activities and engagement, similar to how I described SASC in the previous chapter. Schools in rural areas tend to have great importance to local communities, which led residents of Pomquet to feel ‘ownership’ in the old school (Villa and Knutas 2020; Kvalsund 2019). As education and language became more institutionalized, community members lost autonomy over these spaces. Further, the CSAP school may not have ever come to fruition without the female teachers' efforts; they strove to educate children in French. Despite the best efforts of community members, there was substantial language loss, and the local school now serves more than just Pomquet and Acadian interests. The tension the school contends with is a result of the many years of inadequate support. Now that they have a well-supported school, it does not necessarily line up with how they see their language and culture – which is more localized – and requires Acadians in Pomquet to continue to negotiate their ethnicities to be aligned with the mainstream.

Provincial and national agendas do not necessarily support the needs of an ethnic or linguistic minority, especially in rural contexts. It is evident, through this case study, that in Pomquet rural and linguistic minority rights were not taken into consideration by the state. Although Pomquet was influenced by national shifts in language policy, the community's linguistic minority rights were not fully supported by these processes; rather, it was their rural position and the authority that community members held within their schools that allowed the language to flourish within the education system.

CHAPTER 7 SPACE AND PLACE

This chapter focuses on key places of ethnic reproduction in Pomquet and how these spaces and the gatherings that take place therein are essential to sustaining ethnicity in Pomquet. To do so, I focus on two sites: Chez Deslauriers and a proposed new community centre. One points to the past, and the other to the future of gathering and cultural reproduction in Pomquet. I situate Chez Deslauriers as a gathering place important to the reproduction of ethnicity, especially as residents live in less populated spaces. I further show how gathering places are essential to identity reproduction by looking at the plans to build a new community centre in Pomquet a process which involves balancing layers within ethnic reproduction.

In all of this, it matters that Pomquet is, like other rural communities, at risk of depopulation. Kvalsund works with a nuanced understanding of depopulation as 'thinning out communities' (2019:188). In chapter 2, I highlighted the prevalence of outmigration in Pomquet. One of the sustaining elements of Pomquet is how people return. Though there is depopulation and continued outmigration, the sense of place and wanting to return to Pomquet remains, with those who settled in New England returning to retire, those working in Alberta engaging in a remittance economy, and others returning to participate in community events and gatherings. The processes of thinning out communities leads to a diminished capacity for residents to receive social services (Aasbrenn 1989; Kvalsund 2019; Sørli 2016). I explore the tension between depopulation and the need for a school expansion as an example of a place where the community is experiencing growth. Further, the plans for a new community centre show Pomqueters creating and adjusting to new links to sustain their language, place, and identity – especially when their needs are not being met. The stability that had once existed in a thriving agricultural economy is no longer present.

7.1 DEPOPULATION AND SPACE

One of Charlie's earliest memories was gathering with his classmates around a classroom window at Pomquet Consolidated School in the late 1990s to watch a building being demolished. Buildings becoming unoccupied, and disappearing was common. Post-World War II, farming in the Maritime Provinces experienced significant decline due to free trade policy, rapid technological changes in agriculture, and deindustrialization (Winson 1985:413). "Well, the thing [is] it was a farming community. Everyone had a barn, five or six cows, two or three horses." Estelle reminisced as she told me about what Pomquet used to be, "Now it's quite different. They all work in Antigonish." A handful of farms still operate in the community. Most residents below retirement age work in Antigonish or the oil industry in Western Canada. Élise observed, "well I mean if you drive through Pomquet, you can see how many farms there are left. You know the barns are empty."

The area is now a post-agricultural landscape, and Chez Deslauriers is not the only old farm and farmhouse to have become unoccupied due to the declining economy. As you travel through Pomquet, there are old farms visible from the road, many of which are no longer operational with many barns caving in on themselves. There were a mix of old and new homes scattered throughout the community. Leon, who has a home on Taylors Road, the main road out of Pomquet, noted that when he was young there weren't many homes on the road. Rather, they began at Pomquet-Monks Head Road (refer to figure 8) and were dispersed, many of them beautiful farmhouses.

Pomquet's landscape changed over the course of my fieldwork. For much of my fieldwork, I lived in a small loft above a garage at Pomquet Beach Cottages. The property had several cottages in addition to the loft that they rented to tourists during the summer season and to teachers during the school year, since there were few rentals for young teachers available in the community. One summer evening as I drove down the long dirt road toward my accommodation, noticing the increased vibrations on my small vehicle due to the freshly graded dirt road. I have always been drawn to old homes; there's something about them that piques my interest, especially old farmhouses. Pomquet is filled with old farmhouses, although most of these properties are no longer operating as farms. I saw a little old, abandoned house about one kilometre from my destination and decided to turn onto the property to have a closer look. It was partially hidden by trees, but as I drove up the long dirt driveway, I noticed the beauty behind the neglect.

The property where the house sat was outstanding. It was near the water, a five-minute drive from a vast provincial beach; however, it was evident that nobody had lived there for quite some time. The grass was overgrown, the driveway unkept, and weeds had overtaken the property which proved challenging for my small car to navigate. The house itself was in terrible condition. The windows were smashed, the step was full of broken boards, and the paint had peeled from the saltwater and age. The yard was littered with wooden shingles from the roof. Although I was certainly trespassing, I decided to enter the open house. It was not the first time someone had visited the abandoned house. There was broken glass inside, from both the windows and liquor bottles. There were old pieces of furniture that laid broken throughout the house. The house had a strong foundation despite its condition, but I didn't dare venture to the second floor in case it was not structurally sound.

At one time, it would have been a beautiful home. A woodstove oven stood in the heart of the kitchen, like those I still saw operational in other homes throughout Pomquet. There was a step overlooking the water, bedrooms, sofas, and a kitchen table where I'm sure many meals were once shared. The house represented the history of outmigration and depopulation in the area. The agricultural industry in the area had been in decline for decades and like many rural communities in Atlantic Canada, Pomquet was experiencing significant youth outmigration (Corbett 2007; Stalker and Phyne 2014). The old was being replaced in many ways; those moving to the area, most often individuals with no attachment to Pomquet, were building large summer homes or expensive new houses, not repurposing what is already there. All the while, homes like this one were unoccupied and forgotten.

There are many abandoned homes throughout the community, some less isolated than the one I explored. When I first arrived in Pomquet, there was a small, abandoned house at a fork in the road near the Pomquet Station. It looked out of place on the corner of the main intersection, surrounded by much newer homes with bright vinyl siding, asphalt roofing, and modern windows. The grey weathered wooden house was small and caught my eye each time I passed, appearing less and less sound, until one day it was gone. With the number of abandoned houses in Pomquet, a local student was researching and hosting tours. At Héritage Pomquet, her project was set on a table with photographs of all the abandoned properties. On the wall behind that project was another done by a student the previous summer documenting the old barns on farms.

Pomquet was changing; it changed a lot during my time spent in the field. Photographs of community halls, schools and stores I viewed at the museum were now empty lots, abandoned buildings, or transitioned to residential use. The highway that linked Pomquet to surrounding communities was being twinned at the time. Many residents were experiencing disruptions from properties being purchased by the government. The highway changes also rerouted the main highway exit into Pomquet via Taylor's Road and caused some businesses to close in the neighbouring community. Buildings in Pomquet were ageing and becoming underutilized. The Senior's Centre was sold in 2017 and developed into a duplex for private residence. The space was previously used for card games, quilting bees, socials, showers, and anniversaries. Yvonne noted that once the building was sold the group moved their activities to SASC; however, the SASC building was also showing signs of age. With issues increasing at these aging facilities, the capacity for social reproduction in these spaces has been diminished.

7.2 CHEZ DESLAURIERS

Rural communities require space to gather in order to reproduce community identity and culture. Chez Deslauriers is a reminder of Pomquet's agricultural past and has become a prime place to gather as a community in the summer months. People shared fond memories of their experiences and recalled the generations of families that had worked and lived there before its conversion into the Chez Deslauriers site. Individuals and societies search for their collective voice through memory, making memory one of the essential catalysts in developing and sustaining both individual and collective identities (Le Goff 1992:98)

Chez Deslauriers is a marker of the past. The dirt roads leading to the property on a hill overlooking the Atlantic Ocean presented a landscape that allowed you to go back in time. It represents Pomquet's agricultural past and the of life that went with it. I often found myself in conversation with relatives or friends of the Deslauriers family who once operated the farm. Within moments of engaging in small talk in line for a Friday lunch, someone would begin recounting their memories of where the barns and outbuildings were positioned on the property or how they were related to the Deslauriers family. The property had generations of layered memories associated with it.

On Fridays, in the summer, as described in chapter 2, the Chez Deslauriers property transitions into a small restaurant or tearoom for lunch. The site is where residents, tourists, and family from away gathered, celebrated, met, and reconnected during the summer months. Each Friday the tearoom at Chez Deslauriers was full, as was the adjoining patio, and people waited in the small entranceway for a table to open. People greeted one another with glee, evidentially not having seen one another in some time. Mothers would reintroduce their visiting children to friends and neighbours. There is a multi-generational experience of food at Chez Deslauriers that allows locals and visitors alike to take part in home-cooked meals reminiscent of food their mothers and grandmothers once prepared for them.

The menu changes week-to-week with popular Acadian dishes such as paté (a stewed meat pie, as discussed earlier), fricôt, and fishcakes and beans. On Saturdays in September, they also host lobster roll suppers. Visiting Chez Deslauriers on these days presents a stark contrast to the first time I saw the property and had tea with Anna. These weekly gatherings provide a space for locals to meet, eat, and reconnect. The property is filled with vehicles, groups of people talking and browsing the small market set up on the interpretative centre step. The interpretative centre is also open for visitors to walk through Friday and Saturday when the meals are held. Each Friday there was a long line at the back of the building with locals, people from surrounding communities, and those who have come home to Pomquet for summer vacation. Inside the house there are approximately twelve tables and six additional tables on a patio overlooking the Atlantic Ocean and Pomquet Beach.

During events at Chez Deslauriers, I would find myself between the farmhouse and the interpretive centre enjoying music and chatting with residents. The interpretative center is viewed fondly by locals as the stage where bands can perform, and weddings are sometimes held. Musicians perform on the outdoor stage during events and while people enjoy their Friday lunches. On the Friday afternoons, families would be gathered around as children played in the open field between the tearoom and the entrance to the hiking trails at the rear of the property.

The tearoom is broken into three rooms that would have made up the main floor of the farmhouse. As patrons enter, they purchase a meal and are seated by a volunteer, typically a young local woman. The kitchen was located immediately on the left of the main eating area, and people are bustling in and out as they busily prepared and served meals. Men and women worked in the kitchen each Friday afternoon, trying to keep up with the rush of customers eager to indulge in some Acadian delicacies (myself included).

As I sat down for my meal one Friday afternoon, a young woman came over to take my order. I ordered my bowl of fricôt, served with a freshly baked biscuit. Anna came over to serve me a glass of water and a cup of tea. We chatted briefly, and she introduced me to a couple at the next table. Further across the room, the former parish priest was enjoying his meal, visited frequently by passersby. A woman approached him and introduced him to her five-year-old daughter, noting that she was visiting for the summer; they discussed how much they were enjoying the food. Many Pomqueters told me they missed him as the parish priest, but he visited Pomquet a few times a year to partake in celebrations.

Chez Deslauriers is a place to gather and celebrate Pomquet and its people. While local histories can be overshadowed by the mythologized history at other Acadian heritage sites, in Pomquet, the popular narrative and memory is differently constructed and adopted by the population due to how they interpret their history. The focus is on how these spaces can be used to benefit the needs of the people. Chez Deslauriers is an important space with important capacity to gather community and reproduce culture, sometimes just through its presence. The landscape, the views, the music, and the ability to gather were at the forefront of the site's importance.

Buildings, sites, and neighbourhoods hold varying and changing memories and histories (DuBois 2014). Chez Deslauriers uses space to promote Pomquet's Acadianness and inherent values. What a population sees as important about its past comes through in what is commemorated, memorialized, and performed within heritage sites. Sometimes that is not the history itself, but rather the cultural reproduction that can take place there. Though Chez Deslauriers is a place where Pomquet presents its past, the property's gatherings are much more community-oriented than curated for tourism. Chez Deslauriers is reproducing culture. The more time I spent at the site, the more I noticed that it serves the community more than tourists. Chez Deslauriers is a place where people gather, share, and eat, and because of this, it reproduces social relations and culture.

7.3 SPACES IN TRANSITION

Community spaces deteriorate and evolve over time, and some gathering places hold more meaning than others. This becomes increasingly relevant when we talk about rural ethnic minority communities. As discussed, Pomquet Consolidated School was a key gathering space for locals. Adele remembered community members going to the Consolidated School and teaching children how to make fricôt and paté. It served as more than a school, it was where the winter carnival took place, it was where meetings were held, it was where culture was reproduced. Villa and Knutas (2020) argue that rural schools are an essential place for community engagement. As we have seen, the efforts of teachers and community members at previous schools in Pomquet have been essential to the community sustaining culture and language over time. Arguably, Pomquet may not have sustained a school had it not been for their minority status and their previous efforts to sustain language.

Since École Acadienne de Pomquet was constructed in 2001, there have been tensions between the school and the community. Though many citizens were behind the development of the new facility, it never achieved the expected function as a community hub. The tension stems from feelings of loss on the part of locals and some disputes over the years between the administration and residents of Pomquet. For example, informants lamented that the Carnaval d'Hiver no longer took place after the new school was built. In recent years, however, with a change in the school administration and new efforts on the part of SASC, the relationship between residents, community groups, and the school is on the mend. Place meaning and memories attached to specific sites can change over time.

At the Société Acadienne Sainte-Croix AGM in 2017 there was conversation about how to improve the relationship, including hosting the meeting at the school that year. It was becoming obvious to many in the community that with other spaces aging and deteriorating that the school was a better location for some community events. The new challenge around the school is that it has reached capacity and some students are attending school in portable classrooms behind the building (see figure 18). There has been a significant effort on the part of community members, parents, teachers, and students to advocate for an expansion of the school. In 2001, when the school opened there were approximately 100 students enrolled at École Acadienne de Pomquet, by 2017 there were approximately 300 students attending from primary to grade 12. The enrolment simply surpassed the school's capacity. The citizens have, yet again, assumed the responsibility calling attention to the problem, to ensure the school has adequate space for students to receive appropriate education.

Figure 18 Portable classrooms behind École Acadienne de Pomquet

7.4 A NEW COMMUNITY FACILITY

A facility that can meet the changing dynamics in Pomquet is needed. The Pomquet Area Cultural, Recreation Community Development Association (PACRCDA) went through significant planning and fundraising efforts to facilitate the development of a new community centre in Pomquet. These efforts began in 2014 and involved the PACRCDA hosting community fundraisers and soliciting funders to support the new construction. The new community centre was to replace two ageing facilities: the SASC building and the parish hall. The buildings, both over fifty years old, were hard to heat and posing accessibility issues.

Over the years, the association made significant progress. They had several community meetings, consulted with the FANE, CSAP, Heritage Canada, and the County of Antigonish concerning their project. They hosted numerous fundraising events, the most successful of which was a Chase the Ace (a local fundraising initiative where a card is drawn weekly until the Ace is drawn as the prize-winning card), which raised a significant portion of funds for the community centre project. The project also received funding from the provincial and federal government and personal donations from community members. Early on, the plan was for the community centre to be built in an empty lot where Pomquet Consolidated School once stood. It was a vacant piece of land at the centre in the village, near the church, near a building that once housed school rooms. The goal was to create a space where the community could gather. The building's conceptual drawings showed a full kitchen, hall, meeting spaces, space for the museum, and offices for SASC staff.

In 2018, I travelled to Pomquet for the final follow-up meetings for my fieldwork. It was a chilly December afternoon, and I sat outside the SASC building sipping a hot coffee. I had a meeting with Marcel, who said he had an update on the new community centre's status. Marcel pulled into the parking space next to me in a large pick-up truck. We met at the door to the SASC and realized that it was locked. "Hop in the truck," he said, "we can chat in there – I have a lot of changes to tell you about." As Marcel began talking, it became clear that the community centre's plans had changed dramatically since we last spoke. In November 2018, members of PACRCDA and the director of SASC were contacted by CSAP to build the community centre as part of the school expansion project. The proposal came as a surprise to many in the community. The PACRCDA had previously approached the school and school board about potentially following the centre scolaire-communautaire model (which merges the school and community centre in one location) they have employed in other communities with Acadian schools. The CSAP board declined this proposition as Pomquet wanted to alter the model to build in a degree of autonomy from FANE and CSAP.

The community centre needs to continue to fulfill certain functions in the community of Pomquet. It must be available for concerts, weddings, events, funeral lunches, as well as community celebrations such as Acadian Day, Remembrance Day, and Carnaval d'hiver. Some of these events would involve using the community centre on evenings and weekends and include serving alcohol and gambling (bingo), activities which the school board was wary of on school property. However, with improved relationships between the school and community in recent years, and the school's administration realizing the importance of community-school relationships in sustaining Acadian schools in the province, they approached SASC and the PACRCDA about moving forward with the centre scolaire-communautaire in Pomquet.

When the proposal from CSAP came in November 2018, the community centre project was quite close to breaking ground on the original vision. They had just secured their funding from the province the month prior, the building plans had been finalized, and they had received approval to begin construction. Community representatives were steadfast that if they were to move forward with the proposal from CSAP as a partner, they would need flexibility and additional consideration for the community's needs in what the building would offer.

The proposal put forward to PACRCDA involved a centre where residents could hold events independently from the school. The proposition was appealing because in their research for the community centre, they explored and witnessed the successes in other community centres housed within CSAP schools in Sydney, Truro, Isle Madame, and Chéticamp. After some consideration, the group decided to continue to have conversations about this option. Simultaneously, an expansion was approved for the school, which would increase the number of classrooms by eight in spring 2019 (though this was delayed due to COVID-19). This initiative was led by the foyer-école (parent-teacher association) and teachers at École Acadienne de Pomquet. CSAP proposed that the community centre's construction could start at the same time as the school expansion.

Some residents feared that moving into space within the school would result in a loss of control. Therefore, they plan to form a group to oversee the centre comprised of members from the school, SASC, and community to ensure the centre meets all involved needs. In early November 2018, SASC and PACRCDA met with the CSAP board and presented their needs for the centre. They explained that they would need twenty-four-hour access to the building, a separate entrance, their own parking lot, the ability to gamble and serve alcohol, have their own kitchen space, and to operate during school hours. The board approved these requests. There were certain aspects that the school board would not be able to pay for, including the kitchen, because it does not directly serve the school's purposes. Since PACRCDA had already engaged in a lot of fundraising and secured funds from the government, they would make up the costs of aspects not approved by the school board. A new feasibility study had to be conducted to release funding from Heritage Canada, but it was positive, which meant they could move forward with their new community centre project at the school.

This account highlights how the community continues to negotiate the tensions and jurisdictional issues at play when seeking services, specifically those that involve community access to resources that support ethnic and social reproduction. The tensions that I highlighted in Chapter 6 around educational jurisdiction are now extending into other areas, including heritage, gathering, and food production. The space, which will be built as part of the school, will house SASC, the museum, a multi-purpose room, and daycare. The school expansion is essential with the rising number of students, mainly from outside Pomquet.

On January 28, 2021, there was a final funding announcement for the project in the amount of $3.4 million from the federal government. Mélanie Joly, then Federal Minister of Economic Development and Official Languages, noted that this commitment to the project will "ensure that there are better infrastructures to support the Acadian community in the region and to make sure that this culture, tradition, [and] this history of French speaking Acadians continues for decades and centuries" during the announcement. Various representatives noted the importance of community, supporting localized needs, and supporting Francophone infrastructure.

The PACRCDA worked tirelessly with the three levels of government to realize this project. The community, teachers, parents, and students fought for the right to have children educated in French from primary to grade 12 and advocated for the importance of a community centre for cultural activity in Pomquet. Member of Parliament for Cape Breton-Canso, where Pomquet is located, Mike Kelloway commented that "rural Acadian communities like Pomquet are an integral part of the diverse tapestry of Cape Breton and northeastern Nova Scotia. They are experiencing strong demographic growth and need appropriate and welcoming infrastructure in order to preserve the vitality of their language and culture." The provincial government, which has also committed an undisclosed amount of money to the project, mentioned expanding the school to include 8 new classrooms and learning spaces.

There is a unique aspect to the development of the Centre culturel et communautaire de Pomquet; residents contributing $800,000 toward the project through the own fundraising efforts and donations through PACRCDA. This facility will support a more localized interpretation of Acadian identities and culture and have a greater impact on the continuation of ethnicity in the region. This new facility, like Chez Deslauriers, will create a space for social and cultural reproduction to happen. It will offer the support and belonging for residents, students, and visitors.

Citizens of Pomquet have continually advocated for needs of the community. There is a need for this constant advocacy and negotiation for infrastructure and services in rural communities due to the top-down distribution that has not always provided Pomquet with what it needed. Heller (2011) argues that people must create links between language, place and identity that work for them. With increased mobility and post-nationalism, the natural connection between these elements and the common understanding of community is broken. Pomqueters made some adjustments to their plan for a new community centre along the way; however, the outcome of a new space for the continuation of social and cultural reproduction will likely be worth some of the concessions made. Though all citizens may not be on board with the new plan, there is potential for the space to provide Pomquet with a community hub like the one they lost with Pomquet Consolidated School.

The community centre will house several of the former social institutions that supported cultural reproduction in Pomquet. There was a sense of urgency alongside these issues and needs. Many were feeling losses from numerous changes, such as the French-language priest leaving their parish, the growing number non-Pomqueters at the school, ageing facilities, and development on the margins of the community. As the community centre's decisions approached approval and their fundraising efforts were successful, residents seemed relieved about having a space that would meet so many needs and have a positive impact moving forward.

Adopting the Centre Scolaire-Communautaire model presents an opportunity to rebuild the community hub that was lost. Norway is experiencing similar trends of outmigration as Atlantic Canada resulting in the depopulation of rural areas (Kvalsund 2019:188). These trends have led to threats of school closures. In their study of rural schools in Norway, Villa and Knutas spoke with teachers, parents and grandparents at three rural schools all of whom noted the "importance of the school to the local community and the local community to the school" (2020:629). Residents described a loss of connection with the school and community space when the new school was constructed. Kvalsund explains how local cultural capital is " constituted through practice carried over and across generations;" and when local communities lose space, connections, and social units it can be increasingly difficult to maintain (Kvalsund 2019:179). Through there were other spaces for culture to be reproduced, community spaces located a schools create the potential for the larger community "resources to educate the children in ways that put local culture at the fore" (Villa and Knutas 2020:631). Having the Centre culturel et communautaire de Pomquet located at the school will present opportunities to reconstitute and develop activities to centralize local practices of social reproduction and reconnect the generations.

7.5 CONCLUSION

This chapter has highlighted the importance of spaces, and places for the reproduction of ethnicity. Chez Deslauriers is a beacon for the community and a place where they can gather, as well as highlight local past. It has been sustained over generations as a place that has met the community's needs. The new community centre and school expansion has the potential to meet community needs in similar ways. The population's needs are very different from those in the past when the many abandoned homes were operating farms, and there is a new push to centralize community efforts. With a past of depopulation and signs of demographic growth, there is more need for cultural reproduction. Replacing aging facilities and reinvigorating the idea of the school as a community hub will allow the new community centre to serve as many purposes and persons as possible.

When I spoke with individuals who were not originally from Pomquet, but who lived or worked in the community, they hinted at the fact that Pomquet was less invested in the "Acadianité" of the culture and identity and truly more focused on the "Pomquetness" of things. Though these new spaces are more institutionalized and in line with governmental perceptions of Acadianness, residents have made it clear what is important to Pomquet. Narratives which question official accounts demonstrate strategies of localization which require situating in terms of place (Escobar 2001:169). These spaces are important to social and cultural reproduction and essential to how ethnicity is reproduced in Pomquet. It is evident that, despite some disagreements, the new community centre will be a place for the social and cultural reproduction of Pomquet to continue. Residents have worked toward creating spaces where the community will gather and live their Acadianness in various ways. Residents involved in the community centre project were required to navigate tensions in determining what a new community centre in Pomquet would look like. They experienced numerous points of tension when ensuring that the new space would adequately meet the needs of Pomquet. SASC and PACRCDA drew upon individual, local, and mainstream layers to produce the various iterations of this project, ultimately making few concessions around local needs in the various stages of redevelopment. The new community facility located at the school will provide Pomquet with a central space for which to sustain this rural community for years to come.

CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSION

The spaces of ethnic reproduction in Pomquet have demonstrated how the individual, local, and mainstream layers of Acadianness intersect to reproduce ethnicity. At the points of tension, I have shown how what might first appear as a banal anthropological observation of the local is actually a process of constant negotiation of ethnic reproduction in the everyday. Understanding ethnicity not as a thing, but as a dynamic identity produced through processes at various scales allows us to consider the different layers involved in the fluidity of Acadianness over time. There have been times where Acadians in Pomquet identified very little with the nation-building performances and rituals devised during the nationalist movement, and other times where those elements of culture were extremely useful to them. Within the context of Acadians, this project has shown the diversity within ethnic identities and that paying attention to the local reveals the tensions involved in the production and reproduction of ethnicity.

Ethnicity happens in people, not in a discourse. Acadianité is not just Evangeline, the flag, fricôt, a school, or a heritage site – it is how Acadians as individuals and collectives use those elements to formulate their ethnicity. For Pomqueters, their ethnicity is rooted in nostalgia, sometimes dependent on performative elements of nation building, and deeply tied to the mundane elements of the everyday. Since Acadians in Pomquet are rural and were marginalized from the initial movement, people were not paying attention to Acadian nationalism, which left space, especially for women, to explore alternative conceptions of Acadianness.

This dissertation offered an analysis of how Acadians in Pomquet understand their identities today in relation to both the larger Acadian ideology and their more localized understandings, presentations, and experiences of ethnicity. The overall project has examined the relationship between ethnic identity and practices of social reproduction. I analyzed relevant literatures on ethnicity and nationalism but ultimately my data led me to a critique of how mainstream ethnic identities and nationalisms are constructed and reproduced. Employing a gendered lens and a critical look at the Acadian national past, I explored how Acadians at the margins can offer an alternative narrative to how ethnicity is produced and reproduced in Acadian communities.

The study has shown how local accounts of history and identity differ in important ways from the more widespread Acadian official history. Using a gendered critique of nationalism, I was able to show how stories from Pomquet did not align with the Acadian nationalist ideology and official history and have potential to oppose and impact our wider understand of how nationalism is understood at the local level. Practices of social and cultural reproduction allowed locals to produce and reproduce a collective identity, education, heritage, and tourism, while balancing their localized Acadianness or Pomquetness with the nationalist narrative and provincial institutions.

The dissertation's primary objective was to provide an ethnographic history of a marginalized Acadian community, to demonstrate how these identities are reproduced and to what degree the Acadian nationalist ideology and official history play a role. Ultimately, using a dynamic concept of ethnicity, the study reveals that practices of social and cultural reproduction play a crucial role in the continuation of ethnicity in a rural Acadian community, yet there are benefits of drawing upon element to the national or mainstream. The study also shows how the community has navigated these tensions and maneuvered their conceptualizations of ethnicity to fit within the official histories, nationalist ideologies, and state mandates over time. Specifically, this project has highlighted the tension between local and national constructions of Acadian identities. It shows how small Acadian enclaves must adapt and subscribe to the official history and ideological elements to gain to access certain services.

The juxtaposition between the official and local in this ethnographic exploration of Acadian identities demonstrates the need to pay attention to gender to fully understand the development and reproduction of ethnicity over time. The nationalist discourse placed women in a subordinate role while requiring their labour to reproduce Acadianité which has had a lasting impact on Acadian identities over time. In paying attention to gender in both nationalist and Pomquet history, it becomes evident that women were, and continue to be, crucial to the social and cultural reproduction of these identities.

Situated on the margins of the nationalist discourse, Pomquet did not fully engage in nationalism. Since Pomquet as a community was on the margins of the Acadian movement, they experienced a push and pull with the discourse as it never fully represented their experience. Residents of Pomquet did, however, use nationalism, its institutions, and rhetoric to their advantage. The presence of la FANE provided funding and space for cultural activities and relationship building, CSAP revived a generation of lost French, and the new community centre is poised to provide space for social and cultural reproduction for years to come. Pomqueters reproduced ethnic identity at points of tension and merged mainstream Acadianness with aspects that were more localized. Sociologist Margaret Somers notes that "if identities are fixed there can be no room to accommodate changing power relations – or history itself - as they are constituted and reconstituted over time" (Somers 1994:611). As I have demonstrated through this ethnographic and historical account, local memories and Acadians' oppositional narratives in Pomquet present Acadian identities that are specific to their community and have been produced and reproduced across generations, not always aligning with the mainstream construction of Acadienité. Acadianness in Pomquet is not fixed, it is fluid and the exploration of alternative narratives allowed us to see how the various players and layers in ethnic reproduction come and go within that fluid space.

This project speaks to wider literatures on sustainable rural communities and women's role in the reproduction of ethnicity and culture within these spaces. Though not the main focus of my work, residents and those with ties to Pomquet have shown the importance of place in sustaining ethnic identity and the role rurality plays in its reproduction. As a rural community, Pomquet has been able to sustain a strong sense of place and purpose that is situated poignantly alongside their sense of ethnic identity. From life-long residents, those who returned to raise families or retire, to those who visit in the summer, the place continues to hold meaning to many and allow people to experience and reconnect with Acadianness and Pomquetness.

This study makes an essential contribution to Acadian scholarship in its telling of women's stories, rural identities, and alternative histories. Recent scholarship has shown that Acadian women are underrepresented in Acadian and Atlantic Canadian studies more broadly (LeBlanc 2018; LeBlanc 2020). The study also illustrated how embracing a more localized identity rather than a national collective one has led to lasting cultural elements unique in the region – elements that come from the wide origins of people who live in Pomquet, pride in their agricultural past, and acknowledgement of their struggles. Above all is the drive this community has had over generations to ensure the French language, culture, traditions, and capacity to gather together was not lost with institutional or social change. The negotiation between the local and official representations of culture and identity has continuously been at play throughout history. This contribution is significant in understanding how the needs of rural communities are met locally instead of provincially or nationally, especially for ethnic minorities. It justifies supporting local community initiatives when it comes to funding projects and creating policy.

The narrative of the dissertation moved back and forth between the past and the present. The engagement with both the past and the present was purposeful, illustrating how national understandings of identity create identity tensions locally. These tensions, which I have shown through historical and ethnographic accounts, highlight numerous levels of social and cultural reproduction of Acadian identity in Pomquet. To understand ethnicity in Pomquet today, we needed to explore the larger structures that have been at play in their development. Residents of Pomquet have experienced constant tension in maintaining their culture and language. The outside institutions, both anglophone and francophone, had limited their ability to reproduce aspects of their culture and language when it was most critical. Community members and leaders followed and attempted to access services that would continue to offer Francophone opportunities to their community; however, this has not always fully benefited locals. They have been dedicated to their language, culture, identity, and community while handling community needs and adapting to the collective expectations of what it means to be Acadian to secure resources and infrastructure. If only paying attention to the collective Acadian narrative developed by the nationalist movement and reconstituted in during Acadian affirmationisme, the gendered practices of social reproduction required for the reproduction of ethnicity are unclear. However, when we pay attention to gender, the connections and inequalities within the larger narrative become more apparent (Scott 1986:1058–1059); revealing the ways Pomquet was left out of the larger official history, and women's community labour to ensure ethnic reproduction happened.

Exploring Acadianité and localized ethnicity through a gendered lens has allowed me to uncover many tensions and disconnections between Pomquet and the Acadian official history. This study revealed how gender is "a useful category of historical analysis" (Scott 1986; Scott 2010) because it allows us to see how taking gender seriously in understanding these histories and identities tells a different story, a localized story, that does not appear in the nationalist account. It highlights the importance of committed community members, teachers, local schools, gathering places, heritage, and food in the reproduction of ethnicity.

This examination has also shown that not all Acadians are enrolled in the Acadian nationalist project that emerged from the Acadian Renaissance nor are they fully engaged in its official history. There are Acadian identities that do not neatly fit into the Acadian nationalist ideology and engage with ethnicity differently. The construction of an ethnic nationalism can represent similar problems as larger nationalisms, resulting in oppositional narratives.

Women in Pomquet could make women's voices heard through their various modes of social and cultural reproduction. Héritage Pomquet, for example, gave voice to women whose histories and identities did not meet the ethnonationalist ideal. Pomqueters celebrated their culture through foodwork, gathering, and local traditions rather than nationalistic images and icons. Their narratives reveal that the community has been strongly impacted by the legacy of the women who worked to reproduce ethnicity in Pomquet. With social reproduction practices becoming less gendered, many community members are creating space and time to ensure Acadian ethnic identities in Pomquet continue to be reproduced into the future. Over time, more tensions will arise around what constitutes Acadianness. Acadianness may look different in the future as it moves beyond today and adopts new layers, elements, performances, and practices. Thinking about ethnicity as fluid, allows for ethnic identities to grow and develop beyond official histories, nationalist ideologies, and local histories to provide a more holistic understanding of an ethnic group that attends to the people.

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APPENDIX D: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH)

- Do you consider yourself Acadian?
- Why?
- Please tell me about what it means to be Acadian.
- Can you give an example?
- How do you express your Acadianness?
- How can you tell if someone else is Acadian?
    - Objects
    - Language
    - Names
    - Food
    - What else?
- What makes someone Acadian?
- Do you feel as if you know about Acadian history?
- Where have you learned about it?
- How did you learn what it means to be Acadian?
- Is history important?
    - Why?
- Where and how do you learn it?
    - Resources
    - People
- Do you pass it along (to your kids/ grandkids)? Where and how?
- Do you talk about this with anyone?
- If you had to explain Acadian history to someone, what would be the important points to make?
- What elements of Acadian history do you think have been foregrounded or backgrounded?
- What about connections with the Mi'kmaq?
- I understand that there are longstanding connections between Mi'kmaq and Acadian communitites. Can you tell me anything about that?

Further Questions (as required):

- How has the development of Highway 104 impacted you and your community?
- Do you remember personally, or stories of the Paq'tnkek being located within Pomquet? Could you elaborate on this?
- Can you tell me about the current relationship between Pomquet and Paq'tnkek?

APPENDIX E: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE (FRENCH)

  - Considérez-vous acadienne ?
  - Pourquoi ?
  - S'il vous plaît me dire, quoi signifie-vous comme acadien(ne) ?
  - Pouvez-vous me donner un exemple ?
  - Comment pouvez-vous exprimer votre Acadianité?
  - Comment savez-vous si quelqu'un d'autre est acadienne ?
    - Objets
    - Langue
    - Noms
    - Alimentation
    - Quelles sont les autres ?
- Qu'est-ce qui rend une personne acadienne ?
- Avez-vous une compréhension de l'histoire acadienne ?
- Où avez-vous appris ce sujet ?
- Comment avez-vous appris la signifie d'être acadienne ?
- L'histoire, est-elle importante ?
  - Pourquoi ?
- Où et comment avez-vous appris l'histoire ?
  - Ressources
  - Personnes
- Est-ce que vous passez à d'autres générations (à vos enfants / petits-enfants) ? Où et comment ?
- Avez-vous parlé avec les autres ?
- Si vous deviez expliquer l'histoire acadienne à quelqu'un, quels seraient les points importants?
- Quels pensez-vous sont les éléments de l'histoire acadienne placés au premier plan ou l'arrière-plan?
- Est-ce qu'il y a des liens avec les Mi'kmaq ?
- Je comprends qu'il existe des liens historiques entre les Mi'kmaq et communautés acadiennes. Pouvez-vous me dire quelque chose à ce sujet ?

D'autres questions (au besoin) :

- Comment le développement de la route 104 affecté la communauté ?
- Vous souvenez-vous personnellement, ou des histoires de la Paq'tnkek étant situés à Pomquet ? Pourriez-vous élaborer sur ce sujet ?
- Pouvez-vous me parler de la relation actuelle entre Pomquet et Paq'tnkek?

APPENDIX F: LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW GUIDE (ENGLISH)

- What is your name, age, etc?
- What are your earliest memories?
- Can you tell me about your childhood?
    - Are there certain games you would play?
    - Are there certain songs you would sing?
- Did you attend school?
    - If so, which school did you attend?
    - What language were the classes taught in?
    - What were your school experiences?
- What jobs have you held?

- What languages do you speak?
    - So you use different languages in different settings?
    - Can you give me some examples?
- What do you know about your family name?
    - Orgins?
    - Has it undergone changes?
- What holidays does your family celebrate?
- Are there certain traditions? Songs? Food?
- Can you tell me some stories that have been passed down from your parents or grandparents? More distant ancestors?

- How has Pomquet changed over the years?
    - Culturally
    - Socially
    - Geographically
- What traditions are common in Pomquet?
- Are there traditions that are less present today?
- What is your favourite place in Pomquet? Can you explain why?

- How did you learn Acadian history?
    - School
    - Family
- What events were discussed?
- How did your family relate to the Deportation?
- Do you remember any particular events or times Acadian culture was celebrated?

APPENDIX G: LIFE HISTORY INTERVIEW GUIDE (FRENCH)

- Votre nom et âge ?
- Quels sont vos premiers souvenirs ?
- Pouvez-vous me parler de votre enfance?
    - jeux vous jouer?
    - chansons que vous chantez?
- Avez-vous aller à l'école?
    - Si oui, quelle école avez-vous assisté?
- Quelle langue ont été les classes enseignées dans?
- Quelles ont été vos expériences scolaires?
- Quels emplois avez-vous occupé?

- Quelles langues parles-tu?
- Utilisez-vous langues différentes dans contextes différents ?
    - Pouvez-vous me donner quelques exemples ?
- Que savez-vous au sujet de votre nom de famille ?
    - origines?
    - des changements?
- Quelles vacances ta famille célébrer?
    - Certaines traditions?
    - Chansons ?
    - Nourriture ?
- Pouvez-vous me raconter des histoires qui ont été transmises de vos parents ou grands-parents ? ancêtres plus éloignés ?

- Comment avez Pomquet changé pendent des années ?
    - Culturellement
    - Socialement
    - Géographiquement
- Quelles sont les traditions communes à Pomquet ?
- Est-ce qu'il y a des traditions qui sont moins présents aujourd'hui ?
- Quel est votre endroit préféré à Pomquet? Pouvez-vous expliquer pourquoi ?
-
- Comment avez-vous appris l'histoire acadienne ?
    - École
    - Famille
    - Quels sont les événements ont été discutés ?
- Comment votre famille se rapportent à la Déportation ?
- Vous souvenez-vous des événements ou des moments particuliers de la culture acadienne a été célébré ?

APPENDIX H: ORAL CONSENT SCRIPT (ENGLISH)

ORAL CONSENT SCRIPT

Research Study:
Acadian Experiences of Memories, Identities, and Histories

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Katie MacLeod and I am a PhD candidate at Dalhousie University. I am conducting research on Acadian identity, nationalism, and historic relations and would appreciate your input as an interview participant. Interviews will be [semi-structured] **OR** [oral historical] and will inquire about [your knowledge and experiences with Acadian identity, nationalism and history] **OR** [traditions, foodways, customs, and experiences]. If you consent to me doing so, I would also like to make an audio recording of our interview. If you consent to me doing so, I would also like to make an audio recording of our interview.

Participating in this research poses minimal risk to participants. Participants are at risk of a breach of confidentiality within the context of a small community. I am sensitive to these risks, and I will implement all necessary measures to ensure your privacy and anonymity. All information you provide to me will be kept securely stored and responses will not be attributed to participants but rather attributed to pseudonyms to protect your identity. While all measures will be taken to protect your identity, if you are in a position of authority, there is a risk that your identity could be discovered, due to the nature of your position within the organization and/or community. My supervisor and I will be the only people with access to the data, which I will keep securely stored.

Participants may withdraw from the interview at any time and have a subsequent window of 3 months from the date of the interview to withdraw their statements (in whole or in part). If you do choose to withdraw from the study, any information you provided to me will be destroyed. You also have the right to refuse to answer any question. When this project is completed, you will be notified as to where the results can be accessed. Data and findings will be securely stored in the student's private filing cabinet to be used for future research on this topic.

Katie MacLeod
PhD Candidate, Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University
katie.macleod@dal.ca, (902) 304-7165

APPENDIX I: ORAL CONSENT SCRIPT (FRENCH)

GUIDE DE CONSENTEMENT ORAL

Projet de recherche :
Expériences acadiennes de souvenirs, des identités et des histoires

Cher Monsieur / Madame,

Mon nom est Katie MacLeod et je suis un candidat au doctorat à Dalhousie University. Je mène des recherches sur l'identité acadienne, le nationalisme et les relations historiques et apprécierait vos commentaires comme un participant de l'entrevue. Les entrevues durent entre 30 et 120 minutes à un endroit de votre choix. Les entrevues seront semi-structurés et se renseigner sur vos connaissances et expériences avec l'identité acadienne, le nationalisme et l'histoire. Si vous consentez à me faire, je voudrais aussi faire un enregistrement audio de notre conversation.

La participation dans cette étude pose un risque minimal pour les participants. Je suis sensible à ces risques et je vais mettre en œuvre toutes les mesures nécessaires pour assurer la confidentialité et l'anonymat. Toutes les informations que vous me fournissez seront conservés en sécurité et les réponses ne seront pas attribués aux participants, mais plutôt attribuée à des pseudonymes pour protéger votre identité. Bien que toutes les mesures soient prises pour protéger votre identité, si vous êtes dans une position d'autorité, il y a un risque que votre identité pourrait être découvert, en raison de la nature de votre position au sein de l'organisation et / ou de la communauté. Moi et mon superviseur serons les seuls ayant accès aux données. Je vais garder les informations en toute sécurité stockée.

Les participants peuvent se retirer de l'entrevue à tout moment, et avoir une période subséquente de 3 mois à compter de la date de l'interview de retirer leurs déclarations (en tout ou en partie). Si vous choisissez de retirer de l'étude, tous les renseignements que vous avez me fournis sera détruit. Vous avez également le droit de refuser de répondre à toute question. Lorsque ce projet sera terminé, vous serez informé de l'endroit où les résultats peuvent être consultés. Les données et les résultats seront stockés en toute sécurité dans le classeur privé de l'étudiant à utiliser pour les recherches futures sur ce sujet.

Katie MacLeod
Candidat au doctorat, Département de sociologie et d'anthropologie sociale, Dalhousie University
katie.macleod@dal.ca, (902) 304-7165

APPENDIX J: INFORMED CONSENT FORM

CONSENT FORM

Project title: Acadian Understanding of a Mythologized Past: Explorations of Popular Memory and Nationalism

Lead researcher: Katie MacLeod, Dalhousie University
katie.macleod@dal.ca, (902) 304-7165

Funding provided by: Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council (SSHRC)

Introduction
You are invited to take part in a research study being conducted by me, Katie MacLeod, a doctoral student at Dalhousie University as part of my PhD in Anthropology degree program. Choosing whether or not to take part in this research is entirely your choice. There will be no impact on your employment or the services you receive if you decide not to participate in the research. The information below tells you about what is involved in the research, what you will be asked to do and about any benefit, risk, inconvenience or discomfort that you might experience.

You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Katie MacLeod. Please ask as many questions as you like. If you have questions later, please contact the lead researcher.

Purpose and Outline of the Research Study
I am conducting research on Acadian identity, nationalism, and historic relations and would appreciate your input as an interview participant.

Who Can Take Part in the Research Study
You may participate in this study if you self-identify as an Acadian and are over 18 years of age.

What You Will Be Asked to Do
Interviews will last between 30 and 120 minutes at a location of your choice. Interviews will inquire about your knowledge and experiences with Acadian identity, nationalism and history. If you consent to me doing so, I would also like to make an audio recording of our interview.

Possible Benefits, Risks and Discomforts
The risks associated with this study are minimal, and there are no known risks for participating in this research beyond being bored or fatigued. However, you will be offered breaks between activities to reduce these risks.

How your information will be protected:
Participating in this research poses minimal risk to participants, though your statements

could lead to social, economic, psychological and/or emotional harm if they are attributable to individual persons or organizations. I am sensitive to these risks, and I will implement all necessary measures to ensure your privacy and anonymity. I will use a pseudonym (not your name) in our written and computer records so that the information I have about you contains no names. While all measures will be taken to protect your identity, if you are in a position of authority, there is a risk that your identity could be discovered, due to the nature of your position within the organization and/or community. In these circumstances necessary measures will be taken to hide your identity and/or the organization you are associated with using pseudonyms, changing context or setting to ensure privacy and anonymity.

I will not disclose any information about your participation in this research to anyone unless compelled to do so by law. That is, in the unlikely event that I witness child abuse, or suspect it, I am required to contact authorities.

Information that you provide to us will be kept private. I will describe and share my findings in a thesis, presentations, conference presentations, and journal articles. I will be very careful to only talk about group results so that no one will be identified. This means that you will not be identified in any way in our reports. All your identifying information will be securely stored. All electronic records will be kept secure in an encrypted file on the researcher's password-protected computer.

If You Decide to Stop Participating
You are free to leave the study at any time. If you decide to stop participating at any point in the study, you can also decide whether you want any of the information that you have contributed up to that point to be removed or if you will allow us to use that information. You can also decide for up to 3 months if you want us to remove your data. After that time, it will become impossible for me to remove it because it will already be analyzed and part of the study.

How to Obtain Results
I will provide the community with a copy of my dissertation and a community report when the study is finished. No individual results will be provided. You can obtain these results by including your contact information at the end of the signature page and I will inform you when the results are available.

Questions
I am happy to talk with you about any questions or concerns you may have about your participation in this research study. Please contact Katie MacLeod (at 902 304-7165, Katie.macleod@dal.ca). This project is being conducted with faculty supervision. You may contact my supervisor Dr. Lindsay DuBois (at 902 494-8860, lindsay.dubois @dal.ca) at any time with questions, comments, or concerns about the research study (if you are calling long distance, please call collect). I will also tell you if any new information comes up that could affect your decision to participate.

If you have any ethical concerns about your participation in this research, you may also contact Research Ethics, Dalhousie University at (902) 494-1462, or email: ethics@dal.ca.

Signature Page

Project Title: Acadian Understanding of a Mythologized Past: Explorations of Popular Memory and Nationalism

Lead Researcher: Katie MacLeod, Dalhousie University
katie.macleod@dal.ca, (902) 304-7165

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I have been asked to take part in two interviews that will occur at a location acceptable to me, and that those interviews will be recorded. I understand direct quotes of things I say may be used without identifying me. I agree to take part in this study. My participation is voluntary, and I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, until 3 months after my second interview is completed.

Name Signature Date

I have read the explanation about this study. I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I understand that I have been asked to take part in an interview that will occur at a location acceptable to me. I agree to take part in this study. I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time, until ** months after my interview is completed.

Name Signature Date

I agree that my interview may be audio-recorded ☐Yes ☐No
I agree that direct quotes from my interview may be used without identifying me ☐Yes ☐No

Name Signature Date

APPENDIX K: ADDITIONAL DETAILS ON ETHICS AND DATA ANALYSIS

All interviews were semi- structured and open-ended. Informed consent was obtained after reviewing a consent form or being read a consent script at the time of interview which will explain the study in full. Either verbal or written consent was given after informant understood all aspects of the study (see appendices H, I, and J). At the time of the interview participants will be instructed to sign the form or verbally consent if they wish to participate in the study. Participants were able withdraw from the interview at any time and had subsequent window of three months from the date of the interview to withdraw their statements (in whole or in part); however, this did not occur.

All files have been kept in a password protected folders on my personal computer and are backed up on a password protected external hard drive. All file names will be recorded with the participant's pseudonym. Apart from some assistance with transcription, I was the only person with access to the files. When others had access audio files for transcription, they were unable to download the file, all identifying information was removed from the file, and pseudonyms were used. Any physical data, printed transcripts or consent forms were be secured in filing cabinets at my residence during and after the completion of the study.

Data was be collected through audio recording, which will be later transcribed, and field notes based on participant observation (which were later typed), and archival data. Qualitative data analysis requires the identification of patterns and themes within the data collected. In examination of my interview transcripts, textual records, and field notes, I will identify themes, groups, and patterns. My research questions guided the themes, groups and patterns Data was analyzed and coded using MaxQDA data analysis software. MaxQDA allows for coding across various types of media. I coded and analyzed interview transcripts, fieldnotes, photographs, archival documents, I identified themes, groups, and patterns – including the larger themes of identity, history, culture, nationalism, and tourism. Data was analyzed and guided by the project's larger research questions. After codes were developed, I used them to track and retrieve relevant information within the data. This will allow me to make comparisons, theories, and construct a deeper analysis.

APPENDIX L: RECRUITMENT DOCUMENTS

INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE

DALHOUSIE
UNIVERSITY

[Organization Name]
[Street]
[City, Province]
[Postal Code]

[Organization or Employee Name],

My name is Katie MacLeod and I am a PhD student in the Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology at Dalhousie University. My research project explores how Acadians experience their identity and culture in their day-to-day lives and how they relate and experience Acadian nationalism. I believe that Pomquet would be the ideal community to explore these issues and hope to spend some time in the community. I am contacting [Organization Name] to see if the organization as well as people in your community would be interested in participating in this research project.

I am also offering my time and skills as a researcher to volunteer with your organization during my time in your community. I wish for this project to benefit the community. The study will involve interviews about Acadian culture, traditions, practices, heritage and history.

Participants would remain anonymous and information would remain confidential. If the organization would like to remain anonymous, necessary measures will be taken to hide the identity of the organization (pseudonyms, changing context or setting). If that person wishes to remain anonymous all necessary measures will be taken to ensure anonymity. Participants can withdraw from the study up until 3 months after the date of the interview, in which case, the information provided would be destroyed.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Katie MacLeod
PhD Student
Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology
Dalhousie University
katie.macleod@dal.ca
(902) 304-7165