

## A CENTURY OF PARKS CANADA

1911-2011

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# Kouchibouguac: Representations of a Park in Acadian Popular Culture



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## A Walk in the Park

In July 2007, I visited Kouchibouguac National Park, on the east coast of New Brunswick, for the first time, although I already knew much of the story of how it had been created. In 1969 an agreement was reached between the governments of New Brunswick and Canada to create this park, but before it could begin to receive visitors, all of the residents of the territory had to be removed from their lands. This was standard operating procedure for the creation of national parks at the time.<sup>1</sup> However, while residents displaced in other such instances left with little sign of resistance, such was not the case at Kouchibouguac, where periodic instances of civil disobedience prevented the formal opening of the park until 1979 and continued for some time after that. In the end, however, the expropriations were carried out by



FIG. 1. OBLITERATING THE PARK'S NAME WITH THOSE OF THE COMMUNITIES DESTROYED, 16 APRIL 1980. [CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ACADIENNES, E-8364.]

the provincial government (responsible for this job in such agreements with Ottawa), resulting in the displacement of over 1,500 individuals, mostly Acadians, belonging to over 200 households.

In light of this background, I was surprised when I received a brochure at the Welcome Centre (staffed by some members of expropriated families), which noted that “Kouchibouguac holds souvenirs of more than 200 families who gave up their homeland so that Canadians today and future generations can benefit from this special protected area. Thank you for this legacy!” It was not as if the residents had willingly “given up their homeland,” and so the remark was jarring to say the least.<sup>2</sup> The doublespeak then continued just outside the Centre, where a sculpture greeted visitors to the park: a picnic table around which there were bronzes representing individuals who had once lived here. Not far from the table, an explanatory panel rather blandly described the presence in the region of “descendants of three cultures [Mi’kmaqs, Acadians, and English-speakers] that have long shared this

environment and left their mark in this area's beauty.... Today these people often share their table with a more recent arrival – you, the park visitor.”

There was no reference near the picnic table as to what had happened to any of the people no longer present, but at least in the case of the aboriginal people interpretation could be found elsewhere in the park. For instance, the park's Migmag Cedar Trail allowed the First Nations people to be more than abstractions as it provided an opportunity for their story to be told; and upon leaving the trail, there was a message from elders of the nearby Elsipogtog First Nation, thanking the visitor for having come to the park. However, there was no such official recognition in terms of the Acadians. As the singer Zachary Richard, the narrator of a 2007 documentary about the creation of the park, observed, time had obliterated any traces of the Acadian communities that had once existed where the park now stood: “La documentation du parc ne parle pas des gens [acadiens] qui y vivaient: rien – pas un mot, pas une carte, pas un symbole; même pas une photo ou une petite plaque.”<sup>3</sup>

There was, however, one exception to the removal of all signs that Acadians had once lived here. A bit off the beaten path for most visitors, there was a trailer where Jackie Vautour, the leading figure of the resistance to the creation of the park, and his family still lived. While the other residents of the territory ultimately left their properties, Vautour remained. In 1976, provincial authorities bulldozed his house to get him out, but in 1978 he returned to squat on his land and was still there thirty years later. Not far from this site, there was one further reminder of an Acadian presence, a cemetery, somehow a fitting metaphor for the communities that were obliterated so that the park might exist.

While there was no official indication in the park to indicate that long-standing Acadian communities had once existed there, the memory of the Kouchibouguac experience has been perpetuated over the past forty years through the artistic creations of Acadian musicians, filmmakers, artists, and writers. If Parks Canada has, until recently, refused to recognize officially that the Acadians once had a connection with this land, the story has nevertheless been a source of inspiration for Acadian creators working in a variety of media. This essay explores the changing contours of public representation of the Kouchibouguac story over this period. Far beyond its physical dimensions, this park became a landscape endowed with considerable cultural significance. In order to make sense of the various tellings of the Kouchibouguac

tale, it is first necessary to understand exactly how these expropriations came about and how some Acadians resisted their dispossession. Then, in the last two sections of the essay, we will see the popular depictions of the story that emerged in the midst of the conflicts of the 1970s and how that story is being slowly transformed forty years after the creation of the park. As is often the case in terms of public memory, the changing contours of the Kouchibouguac story reflect some significant changes in society – in this case, Acadian society.

## The Story<sup>4</sup>

There were numerous cases in post-war Canada of the use of the state to remove people from their homes, always in the name of “progress” or the “common good” and sometimes with claims that the expropriated would benefit in the process. To name only a few examples: both natives and non-natives were displaced from their homes in Ontario during the 1950s in order to construct the St. Lawrence Seaway; the African-Canadian residents of the Halifax community of Africville were sent packing during the 1960s so that they might be “liberated” from their homes, which were deemed unsuitable by the powers that be; and at the end of that decade the farmers of several communities to the north of Montreal lost their lands to permit the construction of Mirabel airport.<sup>5</sup>

In October 1969, seven months after the Mirabel announcement, the New Brunswick and Canadian governments signed the agreement that would lead to the expropriations needed to create Kouchibouguac National Park. In ordering the removal of everyone from the territory before the park could be developed, what happened in Kent County, New Brunswick, was consistent with federal policy, which had largely followed the “Yellowstone model” of park development. By insisting that a resident population could not coexist with “nature,” Ottawa created a situation that led to numerous conflicts, some of which are chronicled in other essays in this volume.<sup>6</sup> However, while the federal government dictated national parks policy, it was the provinces that were given the responsibility for carrying out the evictions before turning over the land to Ottawa. Provinces, particularly poor ones such as New Brunswick, proved willing to do the job, believing that the fruits of



FIG. 2. KOUCHIBOUGUAC NATIONAL PARK.

economic development via park-related tourism justified the inconvenience of some of their citizens, particularly since the federal government would be paying the bill, once the people were out of the way.<sup>7</sup>

On the face of it, the fate of the residents of Kouchibouguac was little different from that experienced by those displaced to create such parks as Cape Breton Highlands in Nova Scotia in the 1930s, Fundy in New Brunswick in the 1950s, or Forillon in the 1970s. As in these other cases in eastern Canada, certain natural features of the Kouchibouguac territory were deemed worthy of preservation, even if the way of life of a community would be destroyed in the process. In 1966, a joint federal-provincial survey of the New Brunswick shoreline with an eye towards creating a new national park concluded that Kouchibouguac Bay provided the ideal location, with “its 15 ½ mile sweep of sand bars which stretches across the entire ocean front.... Behind the bars, the quiet lagoons are the transitional basins from fresh to salt for the waters of the [local] rivers.” The area also boasted a “major area of fresh-water bog which we wish to preserve and interpret. Its stunted trees, Labrador tea, blueberries and pitcher plants are representative of sphagnum bogs all along this lowland plain of New Brunswick. Within this general area, the higher, better-drained land has a cover of black spruce and some balsam fir, and is also a representative feature of the coastal plain.”<sup>8</sup>

Quite aside from the physical attributes of the park, the New Brunswick government focused upon Kouchibouguac’s potential for encouraging economic development, no small matter since Kent County was poor by almost any standard. A 1968 study carried out for Fredericton by Dollard Landry indicated that over two-thirds of the families in Kent County, and 80 per cent of those in the territory slated to become parkland, earned less than \$3,000 per year. By contrast, only 39 per cent of New Brunswickers and 24 per cent of Canadians earned so little.<sup>9</sup> Accordingly, even before the agreement had been signed with Ottawa, the province produced a pamphlet touting the fact that “many new jobs will be created as a result of the park’s establishment. Jobs will be available during construction of the park. Permanent jobs will be available for residents during the operation of the park. Other jobs will be created in motels and restaurants to serve visitors to the park.”<sup>10</sup>

This use of the state to encourage economic development was typical of the sort of reforms that were introduced during the 1960s by the government of Louis Robichaud, New Brunswick’s first elected Acadian premier

(1960–70). Given the later depiction of the Kouchibouguac expropriations as a specifically Acadian crisis, it is tempting to view Robichaud's role in the creation of the park as a special effort to improve the lot of Acadians, who made up roughly 85 per cent of those expropriated. However, most of Robichaud's efforts during his decade in power were designed to provide equal opportunities for all New Brunswickers, and so his creation, for instance, of an Acadian university, the Université de Moncton, in 1963, was only "part of a wider modernization of the province's postsecondary educational system."<sup>11</sup>

By and large, Robichaud and his federal partners were engaged in a process that could be found elsewhere in Canada, as the machinery of state expanded to take greater control over a wide array of concerns, sometimes uprooting people in the process. And so there was little out of the ordinary when residents started to be removed from their lands to create Kouchibouguac National Park in 1969. The provincial *Expropriation Act* allowed for the evictions to take place with little advanced warning, and most residents accepted the compensation that was offered, leaving quietly for nearby communities.<sup>12</sup> But here is where the Kouchibouguac story departed from the norm. In other situations, there had sometimes been isolated instances of resistance to expropriation, but never – at least in post-World War II Canada – was there widespread resistance accompanied by instances of violence and the destruction of property. In the end, the Kouchibouguac story has reverberated in Acadian popular culture over the past forty years thanks to the artistic creations inspired by the opportunity to depict this resistance.

## Resistance

Provincial bureaucrats close to the Kouchibouguac dossier observed that there was something special here because "it was the first time a National Park would be developed involving so many people inside its boundaries."<sup>13</sup> In the end, however, resistance did not emerge in this case, as opposed to others, simply because of the size of the operation. In addition, insensitivity on the part of bureaucrats and their political masters (common enough in other contexts as well) coincided with the emergence of an unprecedented willingness on the part of Acadians to express their grievances on the public stage.<sup>14</sup> Students were taking to the streets to defend such causes as the right



to an affordable education at the newly created Université de Moncton, and the right to use French in dealings with the municipal government of the largely English-speaking city of Moncton. They were joined by parents and teachers, who were upset over the administration of French-language schools in Moncton by a school board dominated by English-speakers.<sup>15</sup> While the Robichaud government attempted to improve the lot of Acadians by providing a higher level of services to all New Brunswickers, the protesters sought special recognition of the distinctive needs of Acadians.<sup>16</sup> The short-lived Parti acadien, for example, proposed dividing New Brunswick into two provinces in order to create one that would be largely populated by Acadians. The same willingness to stand up for specifically Acadian interests fuelled both the resistance that emerged to the expropriations at Kouchibouguac and the artistic creations inspired by the conflict.

The process by which residents were removed from their lands provided the raw material for those inclined to resist. Even though Premier Robichaud had indicated that \$2.8 million would be needed to acquire the properties, only half that amount was actually made available. The residents were poorly informed about their options and were often confronted by an agent of the government who would scribble a price on a piece of paper, giving them the impression that this was a take-it-or-leave-it situation. Over time, even the provincial government recognized that the original compensation packages had been insufficient and in the end provided a total of \$4.5 million to acquire the lands, not to mention a comparable amount “to deal with the social upheaval following the expropriation” and a further \$2.2 million for the costs of relocation.<sup>17</sup> These offers were only made, however, after the expropriates (*expropriés*) organized and after some of them turned to confrontational tactics to advance their cause.

Resistance first surfaced in a significant way in June 1971, shortly after the federal government, which was responsible for providing compensation for the loss of income from commercial fishing, made an offer for the loss of an activity that was banned in national parks. Since fishing had been the main occupation of the former residents, it is not surprising that discontent on this score, when coupled with unhappiness about the paltry sums that had been provided to start their lives anew, boiled over into conflict. During the summer of 1971, several citizens’ committees surfaced, one of which was headed by John L. (always called Jackie) Vautour.

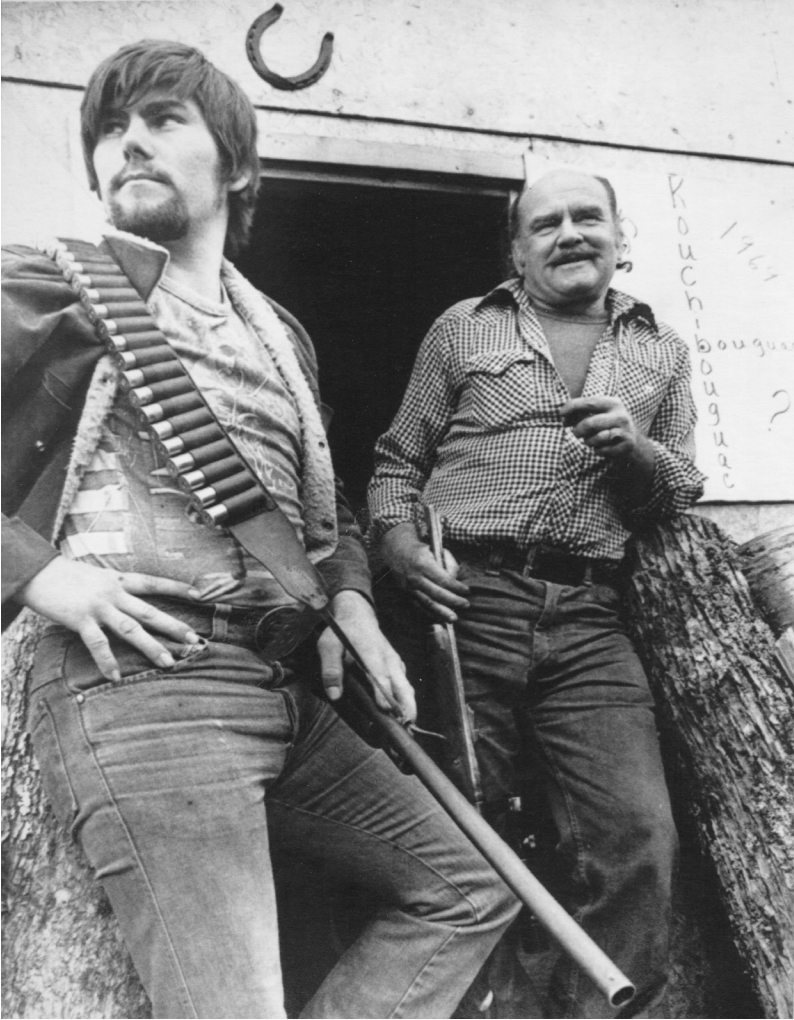


FIG. 3. JACKIE VAUTOUR (ON THE RIGHT), 28 MARCH 1980. [CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ACADIENNES, E-8377.]

Expropriated from his land and offered a sum that he would not accept, Vautour provided both leadership and a public face for the opposition to the park. While nearly all of his neighbours left when ordered to do so, Vautour remained. In 1976, at the time that his house was bulldozed by provincial authorities, there was only one couple left in the territory of the park, and

they had been allowed to stay for “humanitarian reasons.”<sup>18</sup> In 1978 Vautour returned to the park as a squatter and went to the courts to contest the legality of the expropriation process; even though he lost, Vautour remained in place. In the end, the Special Inquiry established to investigate the Kouchibouguac affair advised both levels of government to let Vautour stay on his land, with the understanding that he would be denied access to any services (including deliveries to his property), probably figuring that he would eventually tire of his situation and leave. Forty years after the creation of the park, Vautour was still on “his” property, a living symbol of a conflict that, for most people, had ended long ago.

Vautour and his more militant colleagues concluded early on that petitioning would never be enough to improve the lot of the *expropriés*, and so turned to more direct action. In the spring of 1972 they occupied park offices for two weeks to protest both the compensation being offered for the loss of fishing rights and the failure to hire a sufficient number of expropriated residents to work at Kouchibouguac.<sup>19</sup> Similar scenarios unfolded when park offices were barricaded from January to July 1973 and again briefly in November of the same year. On the second occasion, Jackie Vautour was arrested and found guilty of assault, following which his public statements became more extreme. Early in 1974, by which time most fishers had settled with the government, there were a number of cases of arson on park property, leading Vautour to remark: “Les citoyens du parc Kouchibouguac ont déjà fait brûler tout ce qu’ils étaient capables de faire brûler pour le moment. Le reste le sera lorsque le temps sera propice.”<sup>20</sup> These incidents aside, a period of relative peace then returned to the park as most outstanding grievances had been resolved, largely through the government’s willingness to spend far more than it had ever imagined in order to buy social peace.<sup>21</sup> As most residents were mollified by larger payments, the cause of the expropriates became increasingly that of Jackie Vautour, a shift that would have significant consequences for the public memory of the conflict.

Following the destruction of his home in 1976, Vautour moved to a nearby motel, but he was also evicted from that residence (when the government stopped paying his bills), resisting police in the process, which led to his arrest. Although the charges were dropped, Vautour by now had a following, and he played upon this public notoriety when in June 1978, just before his return to the park, he produced a petition that he claimed had

the signatures of over 600 former residents – representing roughly 90 per cent of the expropriated families – who wanted to return. The timing of this petition was no accident: the provincial government had just handed over title to the property to the federal government, an act that anticipated the formal proclamation of the opening of the park early in 1979, nearly a decade after the signing of the original agreement for Kouchibouguac's creation. Although the extent to which the petitioners really wanted to return to the park could be questioned, Vautour used the document, along with his own return and a court challenge to the legality of the expropriations, to try to delay the inevitable.<sup>22</sup>

The legal route came to an end in March 1980 when the Supreme Court of Canada refused to hear an appeal of a lower court's ruling against Vautour's challenge to the expropriations, and in the months that followed sporadic instances of violence recurred. On the day following the Supreme Court's ruling, the *Globe and Mail* reported that "someone among the squatters living in the park here opened fire on a parks department building, blasting windows and barely missing a guard inside."<sup>23</sup> Later that same month, protesters barricaded the park, and, when park officials tried to reopen the closed offices a week later, tear gas had to be used to quell what the *Globe* described as a "melee." Late in April, one of Vautour's allies declared: "Let me say in plain words. We either get the land back or we destroy it completely. Fire in the woods, oil to pollute the rivers."<sup>24</sup>

These actions soon led the New Brunswick and Canadian governments to jointly establish a Special Inquiry so that all of the issues raised by the Kouchibouguac case might be aired. The report of the commission, issued in October 1981, recommended that Vautour be left alone, and when this suggestion was accepted the story slowly receded from public view. Vautour, however, has not entirely disappeared. In 1987, following defeat in the provincial election of that year and only hours before leaving office, Premier Richard Hatfield made Vautour an offer of over \$275,000 plus 50 hectares of land in return for his departure from the park. On previous occasions when offers were made, Vautour refused them, but this time he accepted the payment – although he did not leave the park.<sup>25</sup> He returned to public view one more time late in 1998, when he and his wife were arrested for illegally digging for clams on park property, but his conviction was ultimately overturned because he had not been allowed to defend himself on the basis of his



FIG. 4. BARRICADING OFFICES, KOUCHIBOUGUAC NATIONAL PARK, 28 MARCH 1980.  
[CENTRE D'ÉTUDES ACADIENNES, E-8367.]

aboriginal rights as a Métis. A retrial was ordered, but due to various delays the case remains before the courts as these lines are written.

Even before the Special Inquiry was created, however, the federal government had come (rather belatedly) to recognize that it was counter-productive to use expropriation as a means of creating new national parks. Quite aside from the insensitivity of uprooting people from lives they seemed to value, the point was often made during the Kouchibouguac crisis that tourists might have been attracted by the presence of “authentic” residents going about their lives within the park.<sup>26</sup> Accordingly, in 1979 Parks Canada announced that in establishing new national parks it would only remove people if they agreed to leave, making it highly unlikely that there would be another crisis such as the one provoked by the creation of Kouchibouguac National Park.<sup>27</sup>

## Kouchibouguac Meets the Acadian Artistic Community

The story of the Kouchibouguac expropriations struck a chord among Acadian artists, sensitized by the ferment in their society during the 1960s and responsive to the story of yet another case of dispossession. Acadians had long been reluctant to make explicit public reference to the wrongs they had suffered at the time of their deportation by the British in the eighteenth century. Rather than point fingers at those responsible for this act of “ethnic cleansing,” they preferred to view the deportation through the symbol of Evangeline, the creation of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow but one long assimilated by Acadians as the model deportee who had borne her suffering without either complaint or resistance.<sup>28</sup> In this context, the Kouchibouguac affair, a story of dispossession in its own right, offered an opportunity for Acadians to make public reference to the deportation, but without the baggage of Evangeline.

The link between the deportation and Kouchibouguac emerged quite clearly in the immediate aftermath of the destruction of Jackie Vautour’s home in 1976, the most striking image of the heavy-handedness of the expropriation process. Numerous authors of letters to the editor of the Acadian daily *L’Évangéline* explicitly linked the two cases of expulsion, writing: “On revit en quelque sorte l’histoire de 1755”; or “Je suis convaincu que l’amertume ressentie par cette famille est aussi profonde que celle ressentie par leurs ancêtres en 1755.” The same newspaper, which did not always support Vautour’s actions, was moved nevertheless to editorialize that Kouchibouguac was “Le parc des déportés.”<sup>29</sup>

Artistic creations also made the connection between the deportation and the story of the Kouchibouguac expropriations, frequently giving centre stage to Vautour, the assertive male, who seemed a more appropriate symbol than the submissive female, embodied by Evangeline. Jules Boudreau dedicated his 1979 play *Cochu et le Soleil*, which focuses on an Acadian family repeatedly uprooted by the *grand dérangement*, “À Jackie Vautour et aux déportés de Kouchibouguac, puissent-ils être les derniers.”<sup>30</sup> Visual artist Claude Rousset created several works inspired by the Kouchibouguac affair, including one of molded plastic with the inscription, “Kouchibouguac: La nature sans





FIG. 5. JACKIE VAUTOUR HOLDING "KOUCHIBOUGUAC OU LE GRAND DÉRACINEMENT." EPOXY RESIN WORK, CREATED BY THE SCULPTOR, CLAUDE ROUSSEL. [COURTESY OF CLAUDE ROUSSEL.]

l'homme, c'est aussi triste que l'homme sans la nature"; this was followed by a second work, "Kouchibouguac ou le grand déracinement," which featured objects such as pieces of a small doll that he had found in the rubble of a house that had been demolished.<sup>31</sup>

These were only two of many cultural creations that made reference to Kouchibouguac during the 1970s, but some creators reached a larger audience than others. Cajun singer-songwriter Zachary Richard has probably done the most to advance the image of Vautour as the agent of resistance and has provided an account of his own discovery of the Kouchibouguac story in the 1970s:

It was during one of [my first] visits to Acadie [in 1977] that I was asked to participate in a benefit concert, the proceeds of which were dedicated to helping the expropriates of Kouchibouguac. The creation of a National Park had provoked great turmoil in Acadian society. Many referred to it as a second Deportation.... When I learned of what had happened, I was outraged. The spokesman for the expropriates was John L. "Jackie" Vautour. This is how I came to learn the story of this otherwise ordinary man who, in spite of himself, has struggled against the governments of New Brunswick and of Canada for most of his life. I can't remember much about our first meeting. In the photos, Jackie is a small man, balding, smartly dressed with a Fu Manchu moustache. I can't remember anything about the speech he made during that concert. It must have inspired me, however, because, not too long thereafter, I wrote a song dedicated to him, *La Ballade de Jackie Vautour*.<sup>32</sup>

The song is written in the first person, with a menacing tone against a "you" representing the authorities, equipped with guns, that had driven Vautour from his home. Embracing the resistance of Vautour's actions, Richard wrote – in the first verse of the song – of someone who did not want to resort to violence, but who could be pushed in that direction if need be.<sup>33</sup>



O no, tu vas pas me grouiller.  
c'est ma terre icitte,  
c'est icitte que moi j'vas rester.  
O no, tu me fais pas peur  
avec ton fusil.  
J'veux pas voir du sang couler,  
mais c'est ma vie  
que t'essaies d'arracher.

Born in Louisiana, Richard first came to *Acadie* in 1975 and has credited the people that he met upon his arrival with the “evolution of [his] militant French identity.” He gave special credit to the Acadian poet Gérald Leblanc, who “was part of the Moncton counterculture which was shaking the cage of that mid sized small town with its reactionary English speaking anglo dominant style.”<sup>34</sup> At the time that the two would have first met, Leblanc had already begun his own significant involvement with the Kouchibouguac story, finding himself as a researcher and scriptwriter for a National Film Board (NFB) project on the expropriation of Kouchibouguac Park.

The project required considerable work, sifting through numerous documents and materials. I applied myself feverishly to the job. I was trying to stay objective and not to think too much about the way the population had been uprooted. These Acadians' ancestors had already lived through the Deportation of 1755 and were now going through something else not unlike that experience. I sorted through the documents and testimonies. I met with some of the people who had been expropriated, in order to familiarize myself with the facts of the crime.<sup>35</sup>

The film in question, *Kouchibouguac*, would appear in 1979 and would play a significant role in the public's understanding of the crisis. However, even before the completion of the film, Leblanc made his own personal contribution to the popular representation of the expropriation through his poem, *Complainte du parc Kouchibouguac*, written in 1978 and recorded by the band 1755, whose rendition of the piece figured prominently in the NFB production.<sup>36</sup>

*Complainte* was dedicated “aux expropriés du parc national Kouchibouguac,” so as to make it appear less focused upon one individual than was the case in Richard’s treatment. Nevertheless, there were elements of Leblanc’s poem that paralleled the case of Vautour, who by 1978 was agitating for the return of the expropriates to their land, ultimately doing so himself in July of that year. The opening stanzas, written in the style of a fable, describe the general situation at the time of the creation of the park; the closing ones express the hope that Acadians would be able to get even for their mistreatment. By contrast, the central stanzas – with verbs written in an archaic form designed to make them appear more genuinely “Acadian” – describe a conversation between one individual and his neighbours. This character does not seem to have left his land, because some of his friends were telling him “Restez! Restez!” Still others express the hope that they might be able to return to their land, even if it was “Avec la vieille lampe pis le poêle plein de bois.” A life of poverty at Kouchibouguac was preferable to the sterile lives they were enduring elsewhere.

The spirit of Leblanc’s *Complainte* was reflected in the film *Kouchibouguac*.<sup>37</sup> Once again, the focus was not entirely upon Jackie Vautour. As David Lonergan has observed, “[il] y occupe une place importante, mais il n’est pas le pivot du documentaire.” Indeed, the bulk of the film focused on the suffering of expropriates not as well known as Vautour. As Lonergan put it, the film “est essentiellement un film militant: on est dans l’action.”<sup>38</sup> English-speakers (although they constituted about 15 per cent of the expropriates) are generally depicted in a negative light, so that they became the “other” to the dispossessed Acadians. One of the expropriates switches into English to recreate the offer made to him; and Richard Hatfield appears from time to time, speaking English and looking uncomfortable with his own role in a process that he had inherited from his Acadian predecessor. Hatfield’s appearances, however, constituted one of the few moments when the focus was taken from those who had lost their land. That this was their film is reinforced by the absence of a narrator, so that the expropriated families, often standing where their homes had once been, do the talking without any intermediary. That this film had to do with a collectivity was further reinforced by the fact it was the work of a large group of people (26 participants, including Leblanc and the group 1755, are listed) functioning as one so that it did not belong to a single creator.

In the end, however, while Lonergan was correct in asserting that Vautour was not the “pivot” of *Kouchibouguac*, the fact remains that most of the final thirty minutes of the seventy-five-minute film focuses on him. It includes a series of interviews with people asking what they thought of Vautour, followed by footage of the major moments with which he was associated, especially the destruction of his home. Near the end of the film, the focus does return – albeit quickly – to the “other” expropriates, but *Kouchibouguac* closes with the following text running along the bottom of the screen, with storm clouds and thunder in the background: “En mai 1978, 577 expropriés de 213 familles signent une pétition réclamant des gouvernements de reprendre leurs terres et leurs droits.” As we have seen, this petition was orchestrated by Vautour, only two months before his own return.

Now firmly installed, albeit illegally, on park property, a Vautour-like character made one further appearance during the 1970s in Jacques Savoie’s novel *Raconte-moi Massabielle*, which was subsequently made into a film with a slightly different tale.<sup>39</sup> Savoie, himself a well-known member of the Acadian artistic community (having founded the band Beausoleil Broussard several years earlier), tells the story of Pacifique Haché, the sole remaining member of a community that had been expropriated by the Noranda Mining Company. Haché’s neighbours are shown (in the novel but not in the film) living sad lives in Bathurst, “une ville d’Anglais,” where the men pass their time hanging out in a bar. To the extent that Noranda (referred to as Panda Mining in the film) did have mining operations in the vicinity of Bathurst, Savoie’s story about the challenges faced by Acadians was larger than that of *Kouchibouguac*. Indeed, some of the commentary on both the novel and the film has suggested little or no connection between Savoie’s story and the *Kouchibouguac* crisis.<sup>40</sup> Nevertheless, it is hard to avoid seeing the sole remaining person on the land of an expropriated Acadian community of the 1970s as based upon anyone other than Vautour.

As his name suggests, Pacifique Haché is a complicated figure, depicted by Savoie as slightly (but not entirely) crazy in his insistence that he is “le roi de Massabielle,” a place name that referred to the Grotto of Massabielle at Lourdes where Bernadette had seen visions of the Virgin Mary in the mid-nineteenth century. The religious allusion is appropriate since Haché has taken up residence in the parish church, the only structure still standing in the town, where he is courted by two very different forces. On the one hand,

a lawyer from the mining company is trying to get him to leave his land, bringing gifts such as a television that was supposed to seduce him to accept modern society. Instead, Haché preaches to the lawyer from the pulpit of the church and eventually throws the television into the sea. The other suitor for Haché's attention is Stella, a woman presumably named after the Stella Maris, the star of the sea, a symbol of the Virgin Mary who has long played a central role in Acadian culture (the Stella Maris is the star on the Acadian flag and the Acadian national anthem is Ave Maris Stella). Unlike the lawyer, who was sent packing, Stella stays with Haché, although the consequences of their relationship differed in the novel and the film.

In his 1979 telling of the story, Savoie depicts Haché and Stella as living together detached from real time, so that Stella's diary ends with an entry on 51 September. Much like Vautour only months after he had repossessed his land, Haché and Stella live in "a form of escape or self-imposed exile."<sup>41</sup> By contrast, the film produced four years later had a much more positive ending that shows, during the credits, Haché and Stella with their ever-growing family. On one level, this reflected the changing circumstances for Acadians, who in 1981 saw the introduction of provincial legislation that established the equality of the two linguistic communities. This equality was enshrined in the Canadian constitution in 1983, providing Acadians with the sort of promise for a long-term existence that also now seems to lie ahead for Haché and Stella.

On another level, however, the "happy ending" for Haché reflects the fact that by 1983 Vautour had been accepted as a permanent, if bothersome, presence on park land; and in this regard the film *Massabielle* constituted both an end and a beginning in terms of popular representations of the Kouchibouguac affair. It constituted the last of a number of such representations that were produced by key members of the Acadian cultural community during the moments of greatest tension over the expropriations, only a few of which could be discussed here at any length, but all of which focused on the anger that came out of the 1970s version of the deportation. After the release of Savoie's production in 1983, it would be over twenty years until another version of the crisis would appear on film; and when the Kouchibouguac crisis returned to the screen it – along with other representations of the early twenty-first century – would pick up on the depiction in Savoie's film of people who had come, however difficult it may have been, to accept their lives after Kouchibouguac.

## Acadians Return to Kouchibouguac

While Jacques Savoie's *Massabielle* suggested a new approach to depicting the Kouchibouguac affair, it stood as an exception to the norm during the 1970s and early 1980s when representations focused on the removal of the Acadians, leaving little room to consider what happened to the vast majority of expropriates who (unlike Jackie Vautour) went on to build new lives elsewhere. Indeed, one of the criticisms of the 1979 film *Kouchibouguac* was precisely its focus upon confrontation, without ample evidence that there was life, however difficult, after Kouchibouguac. Writing in *L'Évangéline*, Nelson Landry, who penned numerous pieces for the newspaper about the Kouchibouguac situation, published a pointed commentary in which he quite correctly observed that the film – and one could extend this to the other treatments from the 1970s – dealt with the victimization of the expropriates but had little to say about “l’avenir d’une population déracinée.” While the film captured “le mode de vie de ces gens avant l’expropriation, [les réalisateurs] ont ignoré d’expliquer en profondeur le mode de vie actuel.”<sup>42</sup> A similar critique was offered in the report of the Special Inquiry, which argued that the film had

a powerful influence in shaping the perception that many people have of the park.... It is difficult to say that any particular event in the film is false, but the total impression is extremely misleading. The plight of the Park residents following the expropriation is rightly underlined. But life did not stop there. Much is made of the small amounts the expropriates received in compensation for their homes, and their consequent inability to find suitable homes outside the Park. But nothing is said of the relocation program under which the expropriates were able to get far better houses than most of them had before.<sup>43</sup>

The Inquiry looked forward to the day when the *expropriés* might see the park as theirs, and so, among its recommendations, called for Parks Canada “to involve the former residents in developments that directly affect them,” and to “stress the history of the Acadian community in the development and promotion of the park.”<sup>44</sup>



FIG. 6. EXPROPRIATED FAMILIES RETURN TO KOUCHIBOUGUAC, JULY 2008. [PHOTO: RONALD RUDIN.]

While this sentiment was laudable, it was not realistic when proposed in 1981, given the focus at the time upon the conflicts, in general, and Jackie Vautour, in particular; and there was little evidence that anything had been done to act upon these recommendations when I visited the park more than a quarter century later. However, only weeks after that visit, an unprecedented event indicated that change was in the air. In late July 2007 Parks Canada organized a reunion in the park of those who had been expropriated, attended by over 500 people<sup>45</sup>; and following this event still other projects were put in place. By the fall, Parks Canada had established an advisory committee so as to “impliquer les anciens résidents expulsés, et trouver les façons de commémorer le passé. On souhaite ainsi que les expropriés puissent raconter leur histoire et en venir à se sentir chez eux dans le parc.”<sup>46</sup> By early in 2008, the advisory committee was up and running, and its president, Linda Cormier, was hoping that there would soon be “quelque chose de permanent

sur les sites pour identifier les anciens villages pour les générations futures. Les familles ont sacrifié leurs terres pour la création de ce parc. Mes enfants ne connaissent pas où j'ai été élevée.... Pendant longtemps, l'expropriation a été un sujet tabou. Au moins, si Parcs Canada veut travailler avec nous, cela facilitera le processus de guérison.”<sup>47</sup>

So what had happened to make this possible? For new stories, not heard in the 1970s, to be told, for Parks Canada to welcome the expropriates back to “their” land, and for the expropriates to respond positively to the outstretched hand of the agency that had removed them? Obviously, time had healed some of the wounds from the 1970s, allowing both Parks Canada and the expropriates to look for common ground instead of dwelling on the conflicts of the past. Reflecting on the whole affair with the benefit of some distance, Zachary Richard remarked in 2006, “I understood much later that the situation was not as black and white as I had first imagined. The creation of the park was inspired by a sincere desire to improve the quality of life in the region.”<sup>48</sup>

In addition, there had been some significant changes among New Brunswick's Acadians, who were feeling somewhat more confident about their prospects than had been the case in the 1970s. Acadians in the province still had some serious problems to confront at the start of the new century: their share of the New Brunswick population was in decline and the incomes of Acadians remained fixed at about 90 per cent of those earned by English-speakers. Nevertheless, while the Acadian population was in decline everywhere else in New Brunswick, the turn of the century saw the trend moving in the opposite direction in the vicinity of Moncton. This was particularly the case in the neighbouring, and largely Acadian, town of Dieppe, where such institutions as the Société nationale de l'Acadie (SNA), the leading organization representing Acadians, have their head offices.<sup>49</sup> It is worth remembering that Zachary Richard was introduced to the Kouchibouguac story (and to *Acadie* more generally) by such figures of the local arts community as Gérald Leblanc in the context of struggles between French and English-speakers in Moncton. By the turn of the century, these struggles, at least as far as Moncton was concerned, were things of the past, so that the city could be the site of a summit meeting of leaders of the *francophonie* in 1999. In this context, there was the possibility of developing a more relaxed,



sometimes even optimistic, view of the prospects for Acadians, the expropriates included.

This upbeat view of both the past and present was evident in 2004, when the leaders of such organizations as the SNA invested considerable energy to celebrate the 400th anniversary of the founding of *Acadie*.<sup>50</sup> This was a self-conscious effort to move the start of the modern Acadian experience from the aftermath of the deportation to the arrival of the first French settlers in 1604. In the process, Acadian leaders were creating a story that did not dwell on suffering, but rather on the emergence of a people whose itinerary was like that of others (especially the *Québécois*) whose societies had taken root in North America in the seventeenth century. Starting from the same *point de départ* as other modern people, the president of the SNA could proclaim that Acadians on their 400th birthday constituted “a people who continue to shine through their dynamism, their cultural richness, and their unstoppable desire to affirm their existence.”<sup>51</sup> Even in 2005, on the 250th anniversary of the deportation, Acadian leaders did not cultivate the image of a defeated people, but rather one which had resisted and now found itself ready to face new challenges. Recourse to the past was on the agenda in the early twenty-first century, but not simply as a tool to fuel grievances. The Kouchibouguac story could now be understood not simply as a second deportation, but also as a story that spoke to the Acadians’ resilience.

This revisiting of the Acadian past facilitated the engagement of Parks Canada with the expropriates, but it also encouraged the creation of several new representations of the Kouchibouguac story, the first since the 1970s. A number of these efforts, including two plays and a novel, are at various stages of development as I write these lines.<sup>52</sup> However, a new documentary on Kouchibouguac had its première in 2007, only weeks after the expropriates had their reunion in the park. Jean Bourbonnais’ *Kouchibouguac: L’histoire de Jackie Vautour et des expropriés* shares certain characteristics with the representations of the 1970s. First, it features Zachary Richard as narrator, along with his *Ballade de Jackie Vautour*; and closely connected to Richard’s participation, the title emphasizes the role of Vautour, actually giving him even greater visibility than in the 1979 documentary *Kouchibouguac*. In this regard, writing in *Acadie nouvelle*, David Lonergan complained that the new documentary was wedded “aux canons d’aujourd’hui: une vedette populaire comme narrateur et intervieweur, [et] un personnage principal qui a



valeur de mythe.” While Lonergan did not contest the value of the film to educate a generation that would have no particular understanding of the expropriation, he did find that the film constituted an opportunity lost since there still remained, as in the depictions of the 1970s, an emphasis entirely “tourné vers le passé: les expropriés se souviennent et on ne saura rien de leur vie d’aujourd’hui même si cet aspect était un des objectifs du film. Unique exception, la famille Vautour qui continue sa lutte.... Vautour a choisi de consacrer sa vie à son expropriation, mais les autres où en sont-ils?”<sup>53</sup>

Indeed, there are relatively few interviews with people who had been expropriated, a much larger place being reserved for individuals who had been connected with the crisis (leaders of the citizens’ committees, government officials, etc.), and of course there was the very large place accorded to Jackie Vautour who provided the focus for the second half of the film, not unlike the situation in the documentary from the 1970s. By and large, Bourbonnais’ film dwelled on the same issues that had been touched on in the documentary made thirty years earlier; all that had really changed was that the park lands visited were now overgrown, providing little sense that anyone had ever lived there. If other stories were not told, this was – at least in part – because many of those who were contacted refused to speak, a point made in Richard’s narration and by Bourbonnais in an interview about the documentary. On the subject of Vautour, the director observed: “Il est glorifié de la part des gens dans le film, mais les gens qui avaient quelque chose contre lui n’ont pas voulu venir témoigner devant la caméra. On a invité beaucoup de personnes, mais elles n’ont pas voulu venir.”<sup>54</sup>

In spite of the focus on Vautour, however, there were moments when the film did provide some access to what had happened to the former residents in the nearly forty years since their expropriation. In this regard, the most touching moment in the film came with the interview of the family of Aurèle Arsenault. Arsenault had kind words for Vautour, viewing him as a hero who had stood up for the expropriated when no one else would. By contrast, his daughter, Doris Guimond thought that her father “était plus qu’un héros que Jackie” for all that he had done during the years since the expropriation – having moved his family to build a new life, all without the glare of television cameras. As for Jackie Vautour, who had received his considerable payment from the Hatfield government since the filming of the previous documentary, she had nothing but scorn, calling the payment “un

cadeau avec nos taxes.” While one can wish that the film had had more such stories, Doris Guimond’s testimony – much like the stories that can now be told by the expropriates working with Parks Canada – offers the possibility of constructing a very different version of the Kouchibouguac story: one that reflects *Acadie* in the early twenty-first century, as much as those of the 1970s reflected that time of confrontation.

## NOTES

- 1 In this regard, see Alan MacEachern, *Natural Selections: National Parks in Atlantic Canada, 1935–70* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2001).
- 2 In a similar case of whitewashing the past, the Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada put up a plaque in 2004 to tell the story of the Melanson settlement, just outside Annapolis Royal, Nova Scotia, to mark a site where an Acadian community had existed prior to the deportation. Oddly, the plaque indicated that the Melansons had “abandoned” the settlement in 1755, as if they had had a choice.
- 3 Jean Bourbonnais, *Kouchibouguac: L’histoire de Jackie Vautour et des expropriés* (Moncton: Bellefeuille Production et Productions Vic Pelletier, 2007).
- 4 This is a rather cursory description of the Kouchibouguac story. A more complete chronicle can be found in *Report of the Special Inquiry on Kouchibouguac National Park* (Gérard La Forest, Chairman; Muriel Kent-Roy, Commissioner), October 1981; hereafter referred to as La Forest/Kent-Roy.
- 5 Joy Parr, *Sensing Changes: Technologies, Environments, and the Everyday, 1954–2003* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2010); Jennifer Nelson, *Razing Africville: A Geography of Racism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008); Jean-Paul Raymond, *La Mémoire de Mirabel: le président des expropriés, Jean-Paul Raymond, se raconte à Gilles Boileau* (Montréal: Méridien, 1988). There were many other such examples, all cases of what James C. Scott has called “high modernism,” which found the state imposing its will in the name of “progress” with scant regard for the interests of those already resident on the land, often viewing their displacement as in their own interest. For Scott’s classic statement of the dangers of high modernism, see his *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1998).
- 6 See, in particular, the essays by Bill Waiser, David Neufeld, Brad Martin, and I.S. MacLaren.
- 7 MacEachern, *Natural Selections*, 42.
- 8 Archives du Centre d’études acadiennes, Université de Moncton (hereafter CEA), Fonds Muriel-Kent-Roy,

- 188–119: “Proposed Kouchibouguac National Park: Preliminary Report, March 16, 1967.” The La Forest/Kent-Roy commission observed that in the park territory “are found many different kinds of animals, fish, birds and plants ... [including] seals at play on the offshore islands, and 27 specific species of orchids including one hybrid believed to be unique” (5).
- 9 Provincial Archives of New Brunswick (PANB), RS106. 16/6, Dollard Landry, “Report on Survey of Kent County National Park: A Study of Its People and Their Relocation,” 16 September 1968.
  - 10 *New Brunswick’s New National Park: What does it mean for the residents of Kent County?* (Fredericton: Government of New Brunswick, 1968).
  - 11 Joel Belliveau, “Acadian New Brunswick’s Ambivalent Leap into the Canadian Liberal Order,” in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent 1945–75*, ed. Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherford, 69 (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008). Belliveau provides an excellent overview of changes in *Acadie* during the 1960s and 1970s that are pertinent to the Kouchibouguac story.
  - 12 La Forest/Kent-Roy, 26.
  - 13 PANB, RS639: C7, statement of R.S. MacLaggan to Interdepartmental Committee, 26 November 1968.
  - 14 For the disinclination of Acadians to express their grievances on a public stage, see my *Remembering and Forgetting in Acadie: A Historian’s Journey through Public Memory* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
  - 15 Moncton, in particular, was a site of protest, represented as it was by the infamous Mayor Leonard Jones (1964–73), who preferred the deferential Acadians of the 1950s. An interesting view of the Université de Moncton students can be found in the documentary film, *L’Acadie l’Acadie??*, ONF, 1971.
  - 16 Belliveau, “Acadian New Brunswick,” 76; Belliveau has also dealt with the student movement of the time in “Contributions estudiantines à la Révolution tranquille acadienne,” in *Regards croisés sur l’histoire et la littérature acadiennes*, ed. Madeleine Frédéric and Serge Jaumin, 169–90 (Brussels: Peter Lang, 2006).
  - 17 La Forest/Kent-Roy, 12.
  - 18 *Ibid.*, 74.
  - 19 *Globe and Mail*, 5 June 1972.
  - 20 *L’Évangéline*, 28 March 1974.
  - 21 La Forest/Kent-Roy, 12. In addition to the skyrocketing costs needed to resolve questions of property rights, the original estimate of \$300,000 to extinguish fishing rights ended up at a final price of \$2.2 million, and that did not even entirely do the job.
  - 22 On the subject of the petition, see La Forest/Kent-Roy, 88.
  - 23 *Globe and Mail*, 19 March 1980.
  - 24 *Ibid.*, 4 April 1980, 26 April 1980.
  - 25 *Ottawa Citizen*, 29 October 1987.
  - 26 Of course, the notion that the residents of Kouchibouguac might have been allowed to remain to play the roles of characters in a theme park has problems of its own.
  - 27 MacEachern, *Natural Selections*, 238; Kopas, *Taking the Air: Ideas and Change in Canada’s National Parks* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 88;

- A.T. Davidson, "Canada's National Parks: Past and Future," in *The Canadian National Parks: Today and Tomorrow Conference II: Ten Years Later*, ed. J.G. Nelson et al., 26 (Waterloo: University of Waterloo, Faculty of Environmental Studies, 1979).
- 28 See, for instance, Robert Viau, *Les visages d'Évangéline: Du poème au mythe* (Beauport: MNH, 1998); I also discuss such issues in *Remembering and Forgetting in Acadie*. The reference to the Acadian deportation as an act of "ethnic cleansing" comes from John Mack Faragher, *A Great and Noble Scheme* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 469.
- 29 *L'Évangéline*, 12 November 1976; 23 November 1976; 19 November 1976.
- 30 Jules Boudreau, *Cochu et le Soleil* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1979), n.p.
- 31 The first of these works can be seen at: [http://web.umoncton.ca/gaum/roussel/en\\_relief/en\\_relief9.html](http://web.umoncton.ca/gaum/roussel/en_relief/en_relief9.html). Roussel gave the second work to Vautour in recognition of his resistance (e-mail correspondence with the artist, 13 March 2008).
- 32 <http://zacharyrichard.com/english/reports2006.html>.
- 33 Zachary Richard, *La Ballade de Jackie Vautour* (1978); Richard's English translation of the lyrics is available at: <http://zacharyrichard.com/francais/parolesetpoesie.html>. In some versions of the lyrics, there is a short poem that was not recorded and which refers directly to Vautour's removal from his land:
- Exproprié de Kouchibouguac le 5 novembre, 1976.
- Tous nos affaires étaient mis dans un truck.
- Pis, ils sont rentré dedans avec un bulldozer.
- Ils ont cassé toute la maison et le trailer à côté.
- Ils ont rien laissé du tout  
(<http://www.lyricsmania.com>)
- Richard returned to the same representation of Vautour twenty years later when he recorded a song that had already achieved some success for the Acadian band, Zéro Celsius. *Petit Codiak* (written by the band's Yves Chiasson) has in its refrain a tribute to various "freedom fighters," including Crazy Horse, Beausoleil [Broussard], Louis Riel, and Jackie Vautour.
- 34 Zachary Richard, blog posted, 5 July 2006, <http://zacharyrichard.com/english/reports2006.html>; blog posted, 1 June 2005, <http://zacharyrichard.com/english/reports2005.html>.
- 35 Gérard Leblanc. *Moncton Mantra*, trans. Jo-Anne Elder (Toronto: Guernica Editions, 2001), 86. Leblanc billed this work as an autobiographical novel.
- 36 Gérard Leblanc, *L'extrême frontière. Poèmes : 1972–1988* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1988), 57–58; 1755, *Kouchibouguac*, in album *Vivre à la Baie*, 1979. Leblanc wrote many of the lyrics for 1755. This particular poem/song, however, was sufficiently important in defining Leblanc's career that in the film *L'extrême frontière* (NFB, 2006) dedicated to his life (he died in 2005) it was played from time to time, leading up to a short rendition performed by Zachary Richard near the close.

- 37 The role of the NFB in representing a Canadian national park is also the subject of George Colpitts's essay in this volume. While *Kouchibouguac* was in opposition to the creation of the park, the film discussed by Colpitts, *Bears and Man* (1978), was funded by Parks Canada, which wanted to stop visitors from feeding the animals. The films were both produced in the late 1970s and dealt with similar issues in the sense that *Bears and Man* advocated separating humans from animals within the parks, and in that regard echoed the problem at the core of the Kouchibouguac crisis, namely that residents could not live within a park.
- 38 David Lonergan, "La mémoire nécessaire," *Acadie nouvelle*, 29 September 2007.
- 39 Jacques Savoie, *Raconte-moi Massabielle* (Moncton: Éditions d'Acadie, 1979); *Massabielle* (NFB, 1983). While most of the elements of the novel were carried over to the film (directed and with a screenplay by Savoie), it was very short (only 25 minutes) and some elements of the novel were purged, so as to keep the focus on Haché, the lawyer, and Stella.
- 40 See, for instance, Tony Simons, "'Raconte-moi Acadie': The Competing Voices of Acadia in Jacques Savoie's Novel *Raconte-Moi Massabielle* and his film *Massabielle*," in *Francophone Post-Colonial Cultures: Critical Essays*, ed. Kamal Salhi, 251–61 (Lanham, MD: Lexington, 2003).
- 41 Simons, "'Raconte-moi Acadie'," 255.
- 42 Nelson Landry, "'Kouchibouguac' la nostalgie," *L'Évangéline*, 26 March 1979.
- 43 Special Inquiry, 75; 83. After having viewed the film, Gérard La Forest wrote that the film makers did "not mind twisting reality a bit to convince people" (CEA, 188-1114).
- 44 Ibid., 110.
- 45 *Acadie nouvelle*, 30 July 2007. Interestingly, Parks Canada had a similar reunion only a week later for those who had been expropriated from Parc Forillon in Quebec, which was created in 1970. Radio-Canada (Est du Québec), "Parc Forillon: Retour émouvant des expropriés," <http://www.radio-canada.ca/regions/est-quebec/2007/08/03/005-forillon-expropriation.asp?ref=rss>. Further reunions, both of which I had the good fortune to attend, took place at Kouchibouguac during the summers of 2008 and 2009.
- 46 "Parcs Canada tend un rameau d'olivier aux expropriés de Kouchibouguac," [radioacif.com](http://radioacif.com), 30 September 2007, <http://www.radioactif.com/nouvelles/imprime-32082-2.html>.
- 47 *Acadie nouvelle*, 12 January 2008. A visitor's centre, providing significant attention to the lives of the families that had been removed, is slated to open in 2011.
- 48 <http://zacharyrichard.com/english/reports2006.html>.
- 49 While the population of New Brunswick declined between 1996 and 2001, Dieppe's increased by nearly 20 per cent. Moreover, while Acadian incomes lagged behind those of English-speakers everywhere else in the province, in Dieppe the Acadians had average incomes higher than those

- of their English-speaking counterparts. Gilles Grenier, "Linguistic and Economic Characteristics of Francophone Minorities in Canada: A Comparison of Ontario and Quebec," *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 18 (1997): 297; *Census of Canada*, 1996; 2001.
- 50 These celebrations are discussed in my *Remembering and Forgetting in Acadie*, but also in the documentary film that I produced and Leo Aristimuño directed: *Life After Île Ste-Croix* (Montreal: NFB, 2006).
- 51 Speech by Michel Cyr, 26 June 2004.
- 52 The plays are by Emma Haché, (*Wolfe*) and Marcel-Romain Thériault (*La persistance du sable*); the novel is by Jean Babineau (*Infini*).
- 53 David Lonergan, "La mémoire nécessaire," *Acadie nouvelle*, 29 September 2007.
- 54 Sylvie Mousseau, "Le combat de Jackie Vautour sur grand écran," *Acadie nouvelle*, 20 September 2007.

