

## Marketing the 'forest primeval': The development of romantic tourism in the Land of Evangeline, 1847 to 1920

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*During the second half of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century, tourism in Nova Scotia grew from several thousand to close to two hundred thousand 'summer visitors'. Some of this growth can, of course, be attributed to socio-economic and cultural factors that encouraged the growth of tourism in other locations too. But this paper argues for and traces a unique confluence of forces, including the popular reception of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem, Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie, and the interactions of marketers and tourists, that formed a 'virtuous spiral'. Content analysis of marketing communications from the time period highlights the presence of themes important to the development of 'romantic tourism' in the area.*

*This is the forest primeval; but where are the hearts  
that beneath it*

*Leaped like the roe, when he hears in the woodland the  
voice of the huntsman?*

*Where is the thatch-roofed village, the home of  
Acadian farmers*

These words, from Henry Wadsworth Longfellow's poem *Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie*, published in 1847, gave birth to a cultural icon – Evangeline. The poem tells the tale of the expulsion of the Acadians from 'Acadie' (the land now known as part of the Canadian provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), as the backdrop for the story of Evangeline and Gabriel, two lovers separated on their wedding day. The poem was an immediate success, selling out five printings of 1,000 copies each in its first year and becoming required reading for both American and Canadian school children (Gatenby 1998; Grady 1998; Griffiths 1982; Leblanc 1993; MacMechan 1907).

Described variously as "the first important poem in American literature" (Evans 2002, 105) and "a dated demonstration of misguided metric" (Seelye 1984, 21), it has since had over 300 editions, at least 130 translations and has been spun off into plays, imitative novels, children's books, operas, motion pictures, musical works, and memorial parks (Dick 1997; Gatenby 1994; Ornstein

1997). The title character, Evangeline, inspired an 'iconographic tradition,' her image was first created and then reproduced in lithographs, illustrations, statues, commercial logos, labels and packaging (Robichaud 1997). For the Acadians, she "fulfilled a fundamental function as identity myth" and was utilized by the Acadian elite to rally people together in the last decades of the nineteenth century (Leblanc 1993, 139). For readers of the era, she symbolized the ideal Victorian woman – loyal, demure, selfless, docile, faithful, patient, and religious. Many of these readers became so enamored of her and so passionate about the tale Longfellow spun, that they undertook a type of secular 'pilgrimage'<sup>1</sup> to Nova Scotia in search of Acadian 'shrines' (Grant 1894).

Naomi Griffiths (1982) notes that the acclaim given to the poem aroused an immediate interest in the country of the Acadians, accompanied by the almost immediate appearance of a number of 'travel-cum-history' books using some reference to the Acadians or to Evangeline in their titles. And Barbara Leblanc (1993) reports that within ten years of the appearance of the first of these accounts, Cozzens' (1859) *Acadia: or, a Month with the Bluenoses*, there is evidence that tourism was thriving in the Annapolis Valley. How can we, as marketers and marketing historians, begin to understand the role that this literary work and its heroine played in the development of the tourism industry in Nova Scotia?

This paper details the creation, exploitation and re-creation of Longfellow's *Evangeline*. It argues that the interplay between the actions of consumers and marketers, together with the facilitating forces of industrialization and the romantic ethic, fueled a 'virtuous spiral' that ignited the development of the tourist industry in the Annapolis valley region of Nova Scotia. Industrialization in the New England area produced a large middle class that had both the wealth and the leisure to travel (Ingalls 1989). Romanticism, with its emphasis on development of the self, learning via powerful, often emotion-based, experiences and its new appreciation of natural phenomena which had in earlier times been regarded as unpleasantly frightening or unattractive (e.g. Niagara Falls, Jasen 1995) opened up the ideas of touring for self-improvement and nature as a place

## Setting the Stage for 'romantic tourism' in the Land of Evangeline

*Somewhat apart from the village, and nearer the Basin of Minas,  
Benedict Bellefontaine, the wealthiest farmer of Grand-Pré,  
Dwelt on his goodly acres; and with him, directing his household,  
Gentle Evangeline lived, his child, and the pride of the village.*

Writing in 1907 (203), MacMechan noted, "Evangeline has even become a factor in business; it figures in countless advertisements. Astute managers of steamer and railway lines find their account in a poem that draws the tourist traffic. Every summer thousands of pilgrims from the United States crowd to Nova Scotia, and visit Grand Pré because it is the scene of Longfellow's touching idyl [sic]." How can we account for this tourist boom? As this section details, economic factors and geography played a part. But so did a number of factors more closely allied with a romantic ethic. Table 1, which complements the discussion to follow, provides in outline form a summary of some of the factors that might be seen to influence the tourism trade along what became known as the Evangeline Route<sup>3</sup>.

Certainly, an important factor in the rise of tourism more generally within the time period was the significant economic changes brought about by the ongoing processes of the industrial revolution. Expanding industrialization in New England in essence produced the consumer market – a large middle class that had both the wealth and the leisure to travel (Ingalls 1989; Moffatt 1982). Increasing urbanization heightened the desire of the well-to-do to escape noisy, congested cities for a natural environment which, as we shall see, was thought to have restorative powers. "Unable to emulate the upper class who spent the 'season' abroad, middle class urbanites sought affordable substitutes which could provide an equivalent experience. With transportation facilities in operation, Nova Scotia provided such an alternative" (Ingalls 1989, 22). New Englanders already had strong economic and social ties with Nova Scotia, dating from the pre-revolutionary period when these areas were all British colonies. But beyond Nova Scotia's economic, social and geographic accessibility, larger cultural factors associated with what is known as the 'romantic movement' also exerted an influence on tourism and recreational consumption.

where strong experiences could be had. Together, these social and economic forces helped to create a ready and appreciative audience for Longfellow's work, as its sentimental appeal tapped into contemporary concerns and emotions (Seelye 1984). When prosperous New Englanders considered vacation possibilities, Nova Scotia and the Land of Evangeline was an appealing alternative. Increasing tourist traffic created a demand for more and better accommodation and attractions. As entrepreneurs responded to these needs, all these components became intricately linked in a virtuous spiral, revealing their interdependencies. Their actions became mutually reinforcing and cumulative (hence the 'spiral') leading to growth in the tourism sector.<sup>2</sup>

Previous research has identified a number of 'periods' within the history of travel and tourism in Nova Scotia (McKay 2002; Moffatt 1982; Morrison 1982). The first period dates from the early nineteenth century to roughly 1860/1870. This is the period of the explorer, bent on discovering useful resources for the mother country and ascertaining the opportunity for settlement, and the military traveler, mostly British officers from provincial urban centers pursuing the opportunity for hunting and fishing (Moffatt 1982). A second period runs from 1860 to 1920, during which the 'elite sporting tourist', mostly male Americans, visited the area to take advantage of its rich natural resources. This is also the period during which *Evangeline*-inspired tourism began. A third period dates from the 1920s onward. This period is marked by the widespread adoption of the automobile, making larger areas of the province accessible and by the institution of state-sponsored tourism (McKay 2002). It is the second phase of tourism with which this research is most concerned, before the state became heavily involved, and when we can see more easily the interplay between marketer and consumer.

The paper begins with a discussion of socio-economic and cultural factors that provided a fertile ground for the reception of Longfellow's poem and the pursuit of romantic tourism. Some background on the writing of the poem and the debates that have been waged over its historical accuracy is then provided. A content analyses of marketing communications and tourist journals that deal specifically with the 'Evangeline Route' reveals that the elements of romantic tourism were indeed present. Finally, the paper examines the actions of entrepreneurs in Yarmouth, as a case study of how communities adapted to a shift in their economic base from shipping to manufacturing and then further to tourism.

**TABLE 1**  
**A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN THE LAND OF EVANGELINE**

1830-1880	The 'Golden Age of Sail', initially brings prosperity to Nova Scotia, with shipbuilding considered a formidable industry by mid-century
1833	Samuel Cunard is part of the company that launches the <i>Royal William</i> , the first ship to cross the Atlantic entirely by steam (in three weeks). Cunard's vision of an 'ocean railway' would have serious impact on the wooden shipbuilding industry of Nova Scotia in future years
1847	Longfellow publishes <i>Evangeline: A Tale of Acadie</i>
1858	The rail line from Halifax to Truro is completed
1859	The first travel-cum-history book appears, Cozzen's <i>Acadia: or, a Month with the Bluenoses</i>
1865	The first North American translation of <i>Evangeline</i> into French, by Pamphile Le May, is published in Quebec. It is immediately adopted for use in the classes of the Acadian college, St. Joseph's, Memramcook, which had been founded the previous year
1867	The first Acadian newspaper, <i>Le Moniteur Acadian</i> , is founded. Its early issues are distributed with a copy of the French Canadian translation of the poem. Its editorials use the poem as a source of illustrations for messages concerning Acadian unity.
1869	Annapolis to Grand-Pré line of Dominion Atlantic Railroad is completed, two engines are named <i>Evangeline</i> and <i>Gabriel</i>
1871	Group tourism begins with the 'Coit party', four hundred people from Boston, who travel on a special train through the Annapolis Valley, becoming the first group to travel by rail to Nova Scotia
1872	Rail service is extended to New York. New York City to Nova Scotia is a thirty six hour journey
1873	Charles Hallock, first editor of <i>Forest and Stream</i> , publishes <i>The Fishing Tourist: Angler's Guide and Reference Book</i> , in which he notes that Nova Scotia is 'unsurpassed as a game country'
1873	White Star steel-hulled liner <i>Atlantic</i> is wrecked off the coast of Prospect, N.S. 560 people are swept overboard and die.
1870s	Industrial growth in Maritime cities is not keeping pace with the expansion occurring in Ontario and Quebec. The great exodus of Maritimers to places west and the 'Boston States' begins
1881	The first Acadian national convention is held at Memramcook, New Brunswick. Other conventions will follow at Miscouche, Prince Edward Island in 1884, and at Pointe de l'Eglise, Nova Scotia, in 1890
1880s	Nova Scotia is in the midst of an economic depression by the mid-point of the decade
1887	The second major Acadian newspaper, a weekly, begins publication on November 23 <sup>rd</sup> . It is christened <i>Evangeline</i> .
1888	Yarmouth Steamship Company puts the steamship <i>Yarmouth</i> into service, followed by the <i>Boston</i> in 1891. Each ship has a capacity of 350 passengers. In comparison with the alternative rail transportation, the steamship route is faster and less expensive
1891	The 'missing link' between Digby and Annapolis Royal (a major Nova Scotia tourist attraction) is completed, providing a continuous and direct rail route from Yarmouth to Halifax via the Western Counties Railway and the Windsor and Annapolis Railway (later to be consolidated as the Dominion Atlantic Railway)
1894	The Grand Hotel in Yarmouth is completed. Shareholders promote both the hotel's modern facilities and the health benefits to be had from Yarmouth's air and climate. Press representatives from New England, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick are invited to a gala ball as part of the publicity surrounding the hotel's official opening
1897	Nova Scotia Tourist Association is established in Halifax to bring visitors to the city and the province
1899-1900	A price war between the competing steamship companies drives the price of a ticket from Boston to Yarmouth down to seventy-five cents, making the fare, and a short visit, affordable for many, including the workers in New England's industrial towns
1907	John Frederick Herbin, descendant of an Acadian mother, buys a piece of land in Grand-Pré with the intention of setting up a memorial park to his Acadian ancestors and erects a cross there
1908	The Nova Scotia government passes an act to protect the area of Grand-Pré
1911	Railroad steamers from the United States are taking up to 1800 tourists per week to Nova Scotia
1913	Shooting is completed on the Canadian Bioscope Company's production of a five-reel film entitled, <i>Evangeline</i> . The film opened on February 2, 1914, to a packed house at the Empire Theatre in Halifax, NS. It was also shown in New York City, in Montreal and at various sites throughout Nova Scotia. No copy of this film survives today.
1917	The Dominion Atlantic Railway buys Herbin's land at Grand Pre, landscapes it and erects a statue of <i>Evangeline</i> in 1920. By 1930, a church, which operates as a museum rather than a place of worship, is erected on the site where local tradition holds that the Saint-Charles Church was burned in 1755
1920s	Dozens of festivals celebrating <i>Evangeline</i> and <i>Gabriel</i> are held
1924	The Nova Scotia government forms a Tourist Investigation Committee to encourage tourism; a major recommendation of the committee is the improvement and enlargement of hotels
1929	United Artists makes the best known film version of <i>Evangeline</i> , starring Dolores Del Rio in the title role

Pre	Two railroad companies are operating and four major hotels are built along the line from Yarmouth (where Americans arrived by boat from Maine or Boston) to Halifax
1930	The park at Grand-Pré is designated a national historic site by the Government of Canada
1961	A major exhibition entitled <i>Evangeline's Odyssey</i> is held at the Musée acadien to commemorate the 150 <sup>th</sup> anniversary of <i>Evangeline's</i> publication
1997	
Today	"The statue of <i>Evangeline</i> stands solitary in Grand Pre National Historic Site, a site which commemorates a French speaking group in the midst of an ocean of English speaking settlers who were granted land as a result of the Acadian Deportation" (Leblanc 1993, p.150).

Sources: Choyce 1996, Dick 1997, Dixon 2000, Dixon and Muise 2001, Evans 2002, Griffiths 1982, Ingalls 1989, Leblanc 1993, Morrison 1982, Robichaud 1997.

In his efforts to understand why consumers consume in the way they do, Colin Campbell (1983, 1987) explores the links between romanticism and the beginnings of consumer society (cf. Corrigan 1997). Campbell considers romanticism not only as a movement in the arts, but also more broadly, as a 'general world view' or 'distinct set of value biases', coinciding with a critical stage of the industrial revolution. As a reaction against the emphasis placed on reason and science during the Enlightenment, romanticism emphasized "the primacy of feeling, the cult of the individual, a new appreciation of nature and the primitive, the exploration of the unconscious and a fascination with the supernatural" (Campbell 1983, 285). Although, as a group, the romantics were opposed to the industrial revolution, materialism and rationalism, Campbell argues that their philosophy had rather ironic consequences.

One of the most important contributions of the romantic movement was the notion that each individual is unique and autonomous and that this uniqueness should be highly valued, celebrated and encouraged (cf. Jasen 1995). Linked to this was the practice of social emulation, the idea of ease of inter-class mobility and the idea of experiential knowledge or 'feeling as a way of knowing' (Campbell 1983). Experiencing the world and acquiring knowledge of it were one and the same thing. The ethic of consumption that arises from the influence of the Romantic movement entails not only an expectation that one might improve him or herself, but also a moral imperative to do so, an obligation to seek out and satisfy new wants. It is a doctrine of selfhood that provides the intellectual and moral justification for consumption, that is, through powerful experiences we can come to know the world and ourselves (Campbell 1983).

Campbell (1983) links romanticism with the consumption of 'trashy' novels by young middle class women in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, in the process demonstrating that romanticism was a popular as well as elite movement and linking it to the development of a 'fiction-manufacturing industry'. By providing "the necessary cultural material for new motivational and legitimational structures" (Campbell 1983, 293) as well as social and cultural forms, romanticism and 'the Romantic Ethic', facilitated consumerism. The pattern that was established

with respect to cultural products served as a model for recreational activities and consumption activity in general.

Together, economic and socio-cultural factors existing in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century created a fertile medium for the reception of Longfellow's poem and for the "first major eruption of literary tourism" (McKay 2002, 12). We turn now to a discussion of the 'birth' of *Evangeline* and the debates that have been waged over the poem's historical accuracy.

#### In the beginning: creation of the *Evangeline* myth.

*He was a valiant youth, and his face, like the face of the morning,  
Gladdened the earth with its light, and ripened thought into action.  
She as a woman now, with the heart and hopes of a woman.  
'Sunshine of Saint Eulalie' was she called; for that was the sunshine  
Which, as the farmers believed, would load their orchards with apples;  
She, too, would bring to her husband's house delight and abundance,  
Filling it with love and the ruddy faces of children.*

There are divergent opinions regarding the origins of Longfellow's work<sup>4</sup>. The most popular version of its source holds that the poem originates in a tale told by the Reverend Horatio Lorenzo Conolly, rector of St. Matthew's Episcopal Church in South Boston, to Nathaniel Hawthorne (Evans 2002). Hawthorne's notebook for October 24, 1838 contains the following passage:

H.L.C. heard from a French Canadian a story of a young couple in Acadie. On their marriage-day all the men of the province were summoned to assemble in the church to hear a proclamation. When assembled, they were all seized and shipped off to be distributed through New England - among them the new bridegroom. His bride set off in search of him - wandered about New England all her life-time, and at last, when she was old, she found her bridegroom on his death-bed. The shock was so great that it killed her likewise (cited in Gatenby 1994, p.244).

Hawthorne apparently wasn't interested in using the story as inspiration for his own work. However, two years later he was dining at Longfellow's home along with Conolly when the story was retold. Longfellow is reported to have said, "It is the best illustration of faithfulness and the constancy of woman that I have ever heard of or read" (in Gatenby 1994, p. 245). Longfellow asked for and was granted permission by Hawthorne to use the story. The attraction of the story for Longfellow was not primarily the Acadian expulsion, but rather the image of individual Christian virtue that he wished to promote (Dick 1997, Griffiths 1982). He began work on the poem on the day following Thanksgiving Day in 1845. It took about one year to write Part 1, with the entire poem being finished in time for his 40<sup>th</sup> birthday, on February 27, 1847 (Gatenby 1994; Seelye 1984).

Greeted in its day as a masterpiece (Seelye 1984), Longfellow's poem has since been the subject of heated debate regarding its origins and its historical veracity. As MacMechan puts it (1907, 203) "French and Catholics take one side, English and Protestants the other. *Evangeline* feeds the flame of controversy." When it was published the poem challenged the sensibilities of the English speaking community in Nova Scotia, since it suggested that the province had been founded on an 'act of immorality'. Nova Scotian historians attempted to counteract the impact of the poem by revealing the bias in the sources upon which Longfellow drew (e.g. MacMechan 1907) and the flaws in its historical details, but the Acadian community took umbrage to this, since "Evangeline had become a symbol of renewal" (Taylor 1988, 46). For researchers interested in employing historical methods, the poem and the controversy surrounding it form an intriguing object lesson.

Longfellow never visited Acadia or Louisiana. He made one trip only to Canada – a tour of Niagara Falls, Toronto, Kingston and Montreal in June 1862 (Gatenby 1994). But he had traveled broadly throughout Europe; his portrayal of Acadian life before the expulsion has been interpreted variously as closely approximating life in the Swedish countryside (Evans 2002) and as having a "distinctive Norman character and coloration" (Seelye 1984, 26). In addition to his own travels, Longfellow acknowledged that he used Abbé Raynal's book (1766) *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*, as the source for his account of the simple pastoral life of the Acadians prior to the expulsion. Raynal's work was premised upon "the common assumption of many French 18<sup>th</sup> century intellectuals that there existed somewhere a human community characterized by virtues, in particular those of charity and chastity... For Raynal, the Acadians were such a people" (Griffiths 1982, 33). He also drew upon the work of the early Nova Scotian historian Thomas Chandler Haliburton for the history of their deportation. But for Longfellow, the extensive history of political intrigue and the battle for the control of Nova Scotia between the French and the English was only the background setting for

his romantic drama, and as Griffiths (1982, 34) comments, "it is much easier to trace the influence of the philosopher upon the poem than to discover that of the historian."

Grady (1998) argues, and Evans (2002) concurs, that Longfellow misrepresented what happened in 1755 in order to appeal to an American audience, and that rather than British troops evicting the French-speaking Acadians,

The expulsion of the Acadians was first proposed by the governor of Massachusetts, the raid was conducted without orders by Massachusetts troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Winslow, a Massachusetts officer. Acadian lands were expropriated by Winslow for the use of future New England settlers, should New England settlers ever have need of such land – as they would twenty years later, when the American Revolution pushed many New Englanders who wanted to remain under British rule into Nova Scotia, where they took up exactly the Acadian land that had been made vacant in 1755, as Longfellow well knew (Grady 1998, 391).

As a result, "We can read *Evangeline* ... as fiction, but we must remember that it is American fiction, and the historical facts tweaked to make the fiction work were directed at an American audience" (Grady 1998, 386).

The Acadian expulsion, or 'Grand Dérangement', is an historical fact; during the years 1755 to 1764 between 7,000 and 10,000 Acadian inhabitants of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick were rounded up and put on ships destined for the New England states and other ports (Evans 2002; MacMechan 1907). Their homes and barns were burned, leaving them very little to return to (Choyce 1996). In 1764, after the end of the Seven Years War, Britain rescinded the deportation decree and Acadians began to return home (Evans 2002) where they discovered that their lands had been given to New England colonists, known colloquially as 'planters'. A few families were allowed to return to their land in the Pubnico area in southwest Nova Scotia and on Ile Madame off the coast of Cape Breton. But with the growth of the fishery, Acadians were encouraged to settle in more remote areas of the region (Choyce 1996).

In spite of the inherent tension between the historical record, with its own admitted biases (Taylor 1988), and Longfellow's reformulation of history, it is "Longfellow's fanciful descriptions of Grand-Pré [that] are solemnly taken for matter of fact" (MacMechan 1907, 203). The weight that is placed on Longfellow's version of history plays an important role in framing and later the construction of the tourist experience. Tourists set out for Grand-Pré, an area where Acadians, for the most part, no longer resided, hoping to identify the remains of a village that existed only in imagination. Still, they "saw much of the province through the eyes of Longfellow" and were prepared to interpret what they saw in line with the way it was portrayed in the poem (Ingalls 1989, 25).

### Marketing appeals: constructing tourists' experience of the Land of Evangeline

*Then uprose the commander, and spake from the  
steps of the altar,  
Holding aloft in his hands, with its seals, the royal  
commission.  
Painful the task is I do, which to you I know must be  
grievous.  
Yet I bow and obey, and deliver the will of our  
monarch;  
Namely, that all your lands, and dwelling, and cattle of  
all kinds,  
Forfeited be to the crown; and that you yourselves from  
this province  
Be transported to other lands. God grant that you may  
dwell there.*

In her study of the initiation and growth of the tourism industry in Ontario, Patricia Jasen (1995, 7) argues that "the tourist sensibility was overwhelmingly a romantic one." She identifies several new cultural priorities arising out of the romantic movement which she sees as being essential to the creation of a tourism industry in that part of Canada. Among these cultural factors were "the emergence of the 'picturesque' and the 'sublime' as major aesthetic categories; the rising importance of landscape as an element of taste; growing links between concepts of landscape, nationalism, and history; and a deepening fascination with aboriginal peoples" (Jasen 1995, 7). These and other themes are also present in the marketing communications produced by Nova Scotian railways and in two of the earliest accounts produced by travelers to the Land of Evangeline (Cozzens 1859; Grant 1894).

It is generally accepted that it was the Railway companies that marketed the Evangeline theme to the fullest (Leblanc 1993, Morrison 1982). Not only did they brand their major route, 'The Evangeline Route', but they published and distributed to every passenger a guide book complete with romantic descriptions of the train journey and surrounding area. For this project, the text of two documents, a pamphlet, *Evangeline Route - Shortest, Quickest Route between Boston and Halifax, St. John N.B. Evangeline's Land and Cape Breton*, produced by the Dominion Atlantic Railway (1900) and *Illustrated Guide to the Land of Evangeline Route*, produced by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway circa 1893, were content analysed with the assistance of the NVIVO software program

NVIVO is a software tool, marketed by QSR International, which supports qualitative data analysis. The tool allows researchers to code portions of text electronically, using a point and click interface. The software keeps track of the codes and the portions of text to which they have been applied. Researchers control the process and exercise their own judgement regarding coding categories and the association of codes with passages of text. For this exercise, certain key terms or phrases which

were identified in previous research, i.e. the words 'picturesque' and 'sublime' from Jasen's (1995) work, were established as *a priori* coding categories. As coding progressed similar terms were identified and set up as coding categories. For instance, the category 'quality of service' was set up to include such phrases as 'service unexcelled in the whole of North America.' In each case, a definition of the category was created and examples of the type of content that would fit within the category were provided. This process was followed not only to make it easier for reviewers or other researchers to understand the coding scheme, but also to provide consistency to my own efforts. In order to minimize problems with emergent codes not being applied to earlier sections of text, earlier sections were re-analysed and, where necessary, additional passages were coded. This iterative process continued until a comprehensive categorization scheme was achieved and no further emergent codes were identified.

In general, many of the results of the content analysis align with the purpose and length of the documents. The pamphlet, 'Shortest, Quickest Route', is twenty pages in length, and in addition to its description of the Land of Evangeline and a section entitled 'Hints for Tourists', includes route schedules, a rate sheet, a map of train routes in Nova Scotia, diagrams and photographs of the steamers, a list of Nova Scotia hotels including their rates, advertisements and the locations of ticket agents. The document appears to be targeted equally at the traveler, the businessman, the general public, the tourist and other business firms (i.e. 'freighters'), as they all receive the same number of mentions. The major advantages of using this supplier are overwhelming portrayed as 'quality' (e.g. 'splendid saloon coaches', 'service unexcelled in the whole of North America', 'the best and readiest facilities', 'staterooms...as luxuriously fitted as on the finest trans-Atlantic liners', and quite explicitly, 'ours is the Perfect Service' with the 'best in everything') and 'speed' (e.g. 'a remarkably fast service', 'best on time', 'ours are the finest, fastest and favorite steamers'). Given somewhat less but still important emphasis is passenger *comfort* (e.g. 'the acme of comfort' and 'Our Agents take pleasure in fixing you up comfortably') and *safety* (e.g. 'safety, the first and absolute necessity, is insured by every device known to human skill', and 'twin screws supply the maximum of safety').

While most of the space seems to be given over to attracting custom on the basis of the firm's perceived competitive advantages, the prospective traveler is also given some description of the Land of Evangeline as further enticement to travel. Touring the Land of Evangeline is described as 'varied', 'interesting', and 'charming'. Major selling points are the availability of sporting opportunities (e.g. 'the sportsman's paradise') and health-giving benefits (e.g. 'the healthiest spot on the foot-stool' and 'breathing the bracing air is rare enjoyment indeed'). Noticeably missing from the description are any mention of historic sites, specific details of the Acadian expulsion or origins of

Evangeline, any mention of 'seeing' Acadians or native peoples (i.e. exotic 'others'), and 'nature'. The one 'extraordinary' experience that is to be had in the area is identified as the high tides in the Bay of Fundy. But in general, when the natural environment is spoken of it is in terms of 'scenery', that is, the social construction of nature as the 'picturesque' and therefore in accord with aesthetic standards of the romantic era or garden-like and therefore bearing the signs of cultivation by humans.

The overall message of this document appears to be 'come see the Land of Evangeline with us and in the process, you'll enjoy what are perhaps even higher levels of comfort and luxury than you would in your own home.' Just what 'seeing the Land of Evangeline' entails is somewhat ambiguous and vague. Which is where the second document comes into play.

The *Illustrated Guide to the Land of Evangeline Route* is a pocket-sized (4 inches by 5 ½ inches), 75 page guide to traveling along the Land of Evangeline route, produced by the Windsor and Annapolis Railway (later to be consolidated under the Dominion Atlantic Railway banner) and targeted at 'the traveler', 'the tourist', 'the searcher after health', 'the disciple of Izaak Walton', and 'the searcher after the picturesque in nature'. In addition to containing numerous illustrations, it includes a discussion of the game laws of Nova Scotia; fishing sites, seasons and related fees for guides and accommodation; a list of hotels adjacent to the railway; and advertisements for ferry services. This is the type of document that would be handed out to passengers aboard the train or could be sent 'gratis and post free' to prospective travelers seeking additional information prior to making vacation plans.

That the messages contained within are similar to those of the brochure discussed above is not surprising, given the overlap in managerial personnel. Although the message about the quality and speed of the transportation is still present, it is emphasized less than are descriptions of the area. The 'reality' of Evangeline's Land is said to 'outstrip the pictures'. Descriptions of the 'enchanted', 'seductive', 'glorious' 'captivating' and 'bewitching' scenery which emphasize the cultured nature of the landscape (e.g. 'a veritable paradise for picknickers', 'Annapolis Valley...the Garden of Nova Scotia', and 'a paradise...specially created for him') are juxtaposed with phrases portraying its wild, rugged and extraordinary features (e.g. 'immense gorges', 'Blomidon...a magnificent promontory...the view from which...is grand to the point of sublimity', 'By some mighty volcanic action...the North Mountain was thrown up and the waters of Fundy driven back...'). Here we begin to see some of the themes of romantic tourism identified in other studies (e.g. Jasen 1995) beginning to emerge. The picturesque views are contrasted with 'wild nature at its most sublime'. This 'fascination with nature' is extended into using the natural resources both for recreation (e.g. 'yachting, boating, bathing and all kinds of aquatic sports' as well as 'deep sea and fresh water fishing, and hunting') and for their health-giving aspects (e.g. 'a time of rest and

relaxation', 'health-giving air of Nova Scotia', and the 'cool, healthful, and pleasurable resort' contrasted with 'the hot months in summer, which are so enervating and unbearable in the sun-baked cities').

Descriptions of historic sites and 'melancholy remains of bloody battles and dead heroes' also figure prominently (e.g. 'here stands the remains of Fort Edward', 'that old historic town, Annapolis Royal... the oldest town ever founded by Europeans on the American Continent' featuring 'the venerable remains of what were in its day massive fortifications', and 'The Marsh, the field of many a bloody battle between the English and French'). But the guide is silent when it comes to the opportunity for 'association with supposedly primitive people'. It does make reference to Acadians, but only as 'exotic others' across time, not as an ethnic group prospering in the present (e.g. 'There are still many traces of the work of that band of French settlers whose history is the saddest and most melancholy in the annals of history and romance').

Perhaps most interesting and notable for both its blending of history and fiction and its construction of a 'history' geared specifically for tourist consumption is the following passage:

Among the historic sights to be seen from the car windows are the locations of the well beside which Basil, the father of Gabriel, erected his forge; of the old parish church, the bell of which summoned the ill-fated inhabitants to their doom; and, later, of the narrow land in which Colonel Noble and his gallant band of seventy followers were surprised in the early hours of morning during a blinding snowstorm and massacred (Windsor and Annapolis Railway 1893, 27).

Sandwiched between descriptions of the sublimity of the view from Blomidon and the 'seductive' scenery of Kentville, are the two pages which deal primarily with the Acadian lands and quote at some length from Longfellow's poem. It is here that the above-cited quotation is found. A detailed examination of this sentence reveals several things. First, the traveler's experience with Acadian culture will not be first-hand but rather will be 'framed' by the train window. Second, fictional characters from the poem are treated as 'real' in the sense that the well which remains is 'real' and said to belong to one of them. Third, although the church and its bell, important elements in the telling of Longfellow's tale and the rich story being told in the guide, are invoked – neither exists anymore; they are not actually available for 'viewing'. Finally, the felicitously named Colonel Noble is portrayed as having a 'gallant' not 'incompetent' (although they were 'surprised') band of 'followers', not 'trained military men', who were 'massacred' rather than just 'killed'. This group was set upon by a group which didn't play by the rules – they attacked during a blinding snowstorm. Although it's not mentioned explicitly here, any traveler who inquired into the matter would be informed that the attackers were the French.

An alternate version of the account portrays a slightly different picture:

Arthur Noble was to make his biggest and his final mark on the history Nova Scotia in the winter of 1746/1747, when he led 500 men up to Nova Scotia from their farms and villages in New England to deal with certain French incursions. They were to eventually station themselves at Grand Pré, amongst the Acadians who had long since settled in the area. These New Englanders took no defensive precautions, though they were at war and knew that there was a sizable French army contingent but 150 miles away at the Isthmus of Chignecto. Noble did not figure the French would move until the spring and so snuggled in to pass the winter. These New Englanders were pre-empted and surprised by a brilliant overland march made by the French. The French were entirely successful in defeating the English. During this battle about 70 of the 500 English (all caught with their pajamas on) were killed including Noble (Landry 1999).

It is interesting to see the way in which the guide portrays this particular story to an audience that would have been made up of predominantly American and predominantly New England visitors. Amidst the hyperbole with which the scenery and the transportation are addressed, this small passage begins to indicate the way in which the Evangeline tale will be framed for the tourist trade by the tourism operators.

The marketing appeals in the brochures and guides produced by the railway companies were based not only their perceived competitive advantages (quality, speed, comfort, and safety) but also on the core themes of romantic tourism: picturesque and even sublime landscapes, the health-restoring benefits of nature, and the opportunity to experience history, even if it has been re-written. These themes also emerge from an analysis of early travel accounts.

### Travelers' Accounts of the Land of Evangeline

*Gabriel! be of good cheer! for if we love one another,  
Nothing in truth, can harm us, whatever mischances  
may happen!*

The above discussion provides us with some insight into the way the travelers' experience of the Evangeline Route was being framed by marketers. Important also were travelogues penned by early visitors; some 60 such accounts spanning the years 1770 to 1860 have been identified (Chiasson 1982). These accounts functioned much as they continue to do today – providing a first-person perspective, giving advice to future travelers and painting a picture of the area and its attractions. The reports of these early travellers “may be expected to have had an influence on the propensity of others to visit the area for pleasure” (Moffatt 1982, 124).

Although marketers did not control the content of these accounts, it's fair to say that they repeated many of the themes present in the marketing communications of the railway companies while also including new themes. Two early travelogues have been selected for discussion here; they were analysed via more traditional content analysis methods.

Probably the first such book, *Acadia; or a Month with the Blue Noses*, was written by wine merchant, essayist and popular humorist Frederic Swartwout Cozzens. His book is important because it set the pattern not only for Americans traveling in Nova Scotia (Ingalls 1989) but also for other ‘travel-cum-history’ books which would follow (Griffiths 1982). Cozzens was on his way to Bermuda, in search of a cure for a stomach malady, when he was delayed in and decided to explore Nova Scotia. While on a schooner heading to Louisbourg he found that the sea air had cured his illness. Cozzens not only conveyed the impression that the Nova Scotian climate was very healthy, but “his accounts of the tragic history of the Acadians, along with his descriptions of the Annapolis and Cornwallis valleys, inspired others to follow his example” (Ingalls 1989, p.24). Cozzens, as with many of the tourists who would follow him, was influenced by the words of Longfellow. “Prepared to find the Acadians a virtuous, devout people unsullied by the vices of modern civilization, this is what tourists perceived when they actually encountered them” (Ingalls 1989, p.25).

Jeannette A. Grant, author of *Through Evangeline's Country*, took the seventeen hour steamer trip from Boston to Yarmouth in order to tour the Evangeline Route in the early 1890s. Her account has been selected because it represents an opportunity to explore a relatively rare part of the travel literature, that is, a travelogue authored by a female traveler (Pratt 1992). Her book follows the pattern established by Cozzens (1859) – it contains an account of her travels, recounts the history of the deportation, and speculates on the present and future condition of the Acadians, interspersing these details with citations from Longfellow's poem (Griffiths 1982). Earlier female travel writers had been accused of “see[ing] everything through the medium of poetical fiction” (Pratt 1992, 170), yet Grant was not some dreamy-eyed maiden ignorant of the historical facts. She had insight into the role New Englanders played in the deportation (1894, 54), was aware of the details of Longfellow's authorship (1894, 19) and knew that she would have to look outside of the Grand-Pré area to find the descendents of the exiles (1894, 20).

Touching on several themes of ‘romantic tourism’ Grant (1894, 62) makes note of “picturesque points in the vicinity”, and comments on the historical relics to be seen, as well as advising her readers of how locate accommodation (1894, 82) and how best to travel the area

The true way to enjoy the beauties of any country is to walk or drive through its byways... But this, in out-of-the-way places, is extremely difficult to do, for the few horses have their appointed daily tasks, and there are



none for extra occasions. Therefore, the best that can be done is to travel by rail, tarrying at various point of interest long enough to see them satisfactorily (1894, 26).

Yet it is in her portrayal of herself as being a 'pilgrim' visiting Acadian 'shrines,' and her pursuit of a more secular form of religious experience, that Grant shows a predilection for the type of intense emotional experience preferred by the romantics. "The willows are said to have at least sprung from those planted by the French, and, believing this, every single tree or clump of trees gives untold satisfaction to one who has learned to love the least trace of the romantic first settlers" (1894, 74). Grant seems to weigh in the balance the cold, hard light of fact with her desire to believe in the power of Longfellow's tale.

As we entered the village of Grand-Pré we drove up before the house of a man who, my driver said, would show us some relics that had been dug up in the neighborhood. This he did, but with the manner of one who wondered why anybody should desire to see such things. The relics are undoubtedly reliable. They all show the effects of lying long hidden in damp earth. Their present owner makes quizzical remarks as he carelessly hands them to his visitor. The long, rusty key, he says, was the key of the chapel where the French people were shut up by the soldiers. It may have been so. A great cow-bell, worn into holes by the moisture of the earth, belonged, so says this exhibitor of Acadian relics, to Evangeline's heifer. With this statement he gives a sly wink to my driver, and seems to be highly pleased with his own ingenuity. But what matters a little scoffing on the part of those who have no sympathy with the traditions of Grand-Pré? Has not the poet given us this picture, and does it not rise before us as we take the clumsy bell in our hands? (1894, 90, 93-94).

In Cozzens and Grants accounts we see repeated many of the themes that were identified previously in the railway communications: the health-giving aspects of the area, its beauty (especially during apple blossom time in the Annapolis and Cornwallis valleys), the still-primitive nature of the descendents of the Acadian exiles, and the opportunity to experience the picturesque. We see introduced the idea of visiting historic sites and ruins, and especially in Grant's tale, we get a sense for the way in which emotion could be intertwined with geography to create meaningful personal experiences. Marketing communications issuing from the railway companies and from travelers were no doubt influential in persuading many tourists to visit the region. But for sustained growth to occur, other tourism operators and entrepreneurs also had to respond. The completion of the railway routes provided access to the area, but also needed were accommodations and attractions.

### Tourism Development in Yarmouth, the 'Gateway to Nova Scotia'

*Then there escaped from her lips a cry of such terrible anguish,*

*That the dying heard it, and started up from their pillows.*

*On the pallet before her was stretched the form of an old man.*

*Long, and thin, and gray were the locks that shaded his temples;*

*But, as he lay in the morning light, his for a moment*

*Seemed to assume once more the forms of its earlier manhood;*

Initially, tourists to Nova Scotia were accommodated in boarding houses, inns and small hotels (Cozzens 1859, Grant 1894, Ingalls 1989). The expansion of the railways made travel somewhat easier, but by 1870 there were only 250 miles of main-line track (Moffatt 1982). The need to engage other means of transport (by ship, stagecoach, or private horse-drawn cart) to visit sites not along the rail line meant that early travelers had to be resourceful and often were forced to make do with what was locally available at the time (Cozzens 1859, Grant 1894). Entrepreneurs in many communities reacted to the concerns and needs of the influx of tourists but none more so than the entrepreneurial community centered in Yarmouth.

Yarmouth was ideally situated to act as a tourist gateway to the rest of Nova Scotia because of its geographic location, as the closest point between Nova Scotia and the United States it was the site where Americans arrived by boat from Maine or Boston (Dixon 2000), and its entrepreneurial spirit. Yarmouth was the home of a group of elite businessmen who had grown wealthy from the shipping and shipbuilding trade who, as the prospects for wooden ships dimmed, turned their attention to diversifying Yarmouth's economy (Dixon and Muise 2001). Having become accustomed to sharing risk in the shipping trade, they continued the practice - shareholding financed the Western Counties Railway, the Yarmouth Steamship Company and later, the Grand Hotel, all three of which would play important roles in the development of the tourism industry (Dixon and Muise 2001; Woodworth 1936).

Steamship service between Yarmouth and Boston had been established in 1855 when a group of Yarmouth merchants formed the Yarmouth Steamship Navigation Company (Woodworth 1936). Over time other companies entered the market - in 1864 a Captain Clements started up the Yarmouth and Boston Steamship Company and in 1884 Samuel Killam of Yarmouth launched his steamship, the Alpha. In 1885, the Hon. Lorne E. Baker, together with a group of elite businessmen took over both Clements' and Killam's operations, forming the Yarmouth Steamship

Company. Prior to the formation of the Yarmouth Steamship Company passenger travel between Boston and Yarmouth had consisted mainly of Nova Scotians traveling between their homes and New England. The Yarmouth Steamship Company became the 'pioneer tourist line' (Woodworth 1936). Anticipating the completion of the 'missing link' of railway between Annapolis and Digby, Baker reached a cooperation agreement with the Dominion Atlantic Railway to issue tickets over their respective lines.

Both the Yarmouth Steamship Company and the Dominion Atlantic Railway promoted the Land of Evangeline Route extensively. They invited journalists to experience its delights firsthand, with the result that "the New England papers were seldom without some article glorifying the beauties of the Province" and a 'phenomenal increase' in traffic occurred in the late 1880s (Woodworth 1936, 116).

In the early 1890s, Yarmouth had a choice – it could either retain a share of the tourist trade by transforming itself into a tourist destination, or it could remain a 'gateway' through which tourists, and their money, passed. One way to entice tourists to stay awhile was to improve the town's facilities, and the entrepreneurs who formed the Grand Hotel Company led the way (Dixon 2000). The Grand Hotel incorporated the latest in technological, scientific and managerial thought and achievements. It was managed by Charles T. Wilson, the former manager of the Tremont House in Boston, a prototype for the 'grand hotel' concept (Dixon and Muise 2001). It targeted its services to appeal to both business travelers and families – large suites suitable for accommodating children were available. Electric lighting was installed throughout the building, electric bells connected each room with the main office and modern washrooms with hot water were standard. The hotel had been designed for good ventilation, with each room having a window. The hotel promoted itself by advocating the advantages of Yarmouth's air and climate for hay fever sufferers (Dixon and Muise 2001).

Gradually, tourist needs were met as other towns also built new accommodations, but creating attractions or preserving sites of interest to tourists was somewhat slower to develop (Ingalls 1989). When Cozzens (1859) visited Grand-Pré, the only evidence of an Acadian presence was ancient willows and the dykes. By 1884, when Elizabeth Chase visited, her group was able to admire an Acadian well and the site of the ancient church (Ingalls 1989). Grant (1894) too remarked on the well, which had been restored and was protected by a white railing. To some degree this is to be expected – the destruction of Grand-Pré was so thorough, not much remained. In 1908 the Nova Scotia legislature passed an act to protect the land at Grand-Pré, but neither J.F. Herbin, who owned the land, nor the Acadian Society were in a financial position to construct tourist attractions (Woodworth 1936). With the purchase of Herbin's land at Grand-Pré by the Dominion Atlantic Railway in 1917 and the subsequent development of a

commemorative site there, tourism in the Land of Evangeline entered a new stage.

### Suggestions for Further Research

*Then he beheld, in a dream, once more the home of his childhood;*

*Green Acadian meadows, with sylvan rivers among them,*

*Village, and mountain, and woodlands; and, walking under their shadow,*

*As in the days of her youth, Evangeline rose in his vision.*

Nova Scotia and Louisiana have both been called the 'Land of Evangeline' and both Acadians and Cajuns have adopted the figure of Evangeline as a symbol to represent their ethnic identity to others (Griffiths 1982, Leblanc 1993, Ross 1991). In Felix Voochries (1907) version of the tale, *Acadian Reminiscences: The True Story of Evangeline*, he extends the heroine's stay in Louisiana beyond what Longfellow had described. Voochries's heroine is named Emmeline Labiche, her fiancé is named Louis Arceneaux, and the lovers are not old when they are reunited. In a scene under a large oak tree, Emmeline learns that Louis has not been faithful – he is betrothed to another. Upon learning this, she goes mad, dies in her grandmother's arms and is buried under the tree. Today, tourists visit the 'Evangeline Oak', in St. Martinsville, along with Evangeline/Emmeline's gravesite and statue. Although Carl Brasseaux (1988) later painstakingly reviewed all the records and could find no evidence that Emmeline or Louis ever lived, Voochries' tale has become widely accepted. It would be interesting to provide a comparative account of the influence of these varying tales on the growth of the tourism industry in Louisiana and Nova Scotia.

Other examples of literary tourism and the influence of preconceived notions based on stereotypes from popular literature have been investigated (Chiasson 1982; Squire 1988). Perhaps the closest parallel exists in the influence of L.M. Montgomery's *Anne of Green Gables* on the tourism industry in Prince Edward Island.<sup>5</sup> In both cases, a fictional romantic heroine, popularized in literature, provides the basis for an expansion in the tourism industry (Baldwin 1993; Squire 1992). The potential exists for further exploration of the link between romantic fiction and tourism.

Similarly, the utility of *Evangeline* to business carried beyond its application in the tourism industry. Citing her virtues of "purity, excellence, constancy, romance, sentiment and sweetness" (Robichaud 1997), Ganong Chocolates successfully used the name and image of Evangeline for seventy years to promote its line of chocolates (Dick 1997). Leblanc (1993, 146) reports, "The best pure bread was Evangeline bread. The faithful steadfast Maritime busline was Acadian Lines. Pure drinking water or soft drinks were called Evangeline." Furthermore, the name Evangeline was used for 'a veritable

host' of institutions including companies, schools, streets, car dealerships, taverns, funeral homes, recreation centers, credit unions and for products such as table syrup and hot pepper sauce (Dick 1997, Robichaud 1997). For researchers interested in branding and brand equity, it might prove enlightening to examine this popular, well-loved brand with such a broad-based and popular 'ownership'.

### CONCLUSION

*Vainly he strove to whisper her name, for the accents unuttered*

*Died on his lips, and their motion revealed what his tongue would have spoken.*

*Vainly he strove to rise; and Evangeline, kneeling beside him,*

*Kissed his dying lips, and laid his head on her bosom.*

This paper has argued that the expansion of the tourism industry in the Evangeline Route area of Nova Scotia during the years between the publication of Longfellow's

<sup>1</sup> Probably the nearest contemporary comparison with the Evangeline phenomenon are the pilgrimages made to the grave of the seaman J. Dawson, assumed by many to mark the resting place of the fictional character portrayed by Leonardo diCaprio in James Cameron's immensely popular and successful film, *Titanic* (McKay 2002). Yet Dawson's 'fame' is fleeting in comparison with Evangeline's 155 year (and counting) hold on the public's imagination.

<sup>2</sup> It is also possible for 'vicious spirals' to exist. If tourism operators failed to maintain or upgrade their facilities, tourists would eventually fail to come, leaving operators with less income to put towards capital improvements, with the cycle perpetuating itself.

<sup>3</sup> The 'Evangeline Route' or 'Land of Evangeline Route' refers, in general, to the rail route from Yarmouth to Halifax, with usual stops at Meteghan, Weymouth, Digby, Annapolis, Middleton, Kentville, Wolfville, Windsor and Windsor Junction. In effect, passengers could choose to stop-over at any of these towns for an extended stay, or could arrange for connections via train, stage coach or private cart to other towns such as Parrsboro and Grand-Pré. Therefore, the actual route taken under the umbrella label of the 'Evangeline Route' could be customized.

<sup>4</sup> Grady (1998) identifies *The Acadian Exile* and its heroine Gabrielle as the source for Longfellow's poem. The book's author, one Mrs. Williams, was apparently related to Thomas Chandler Haliburton, a resident of Halifax and author of the famous *Sam Spade* detective series. According to Grady (1998, 387), the account in Hawthorne's notebook reads like "a fairly accurate thumbnail of *The Acadian Exile*." Evans (2002) notes that the person, now identified

poem, in 1847, and the 1920s, was due to the interplay between the actions of consumers and marketers, together with the facilitating forces of industrialization and the romantic ethic, that fueled a 'virtuous spiral' of growth. The area attracted thousands of visitors in part "because it perfectly reflected the taste of the period. Nineteenth-century love of sentimental narrative, and pastoral scenery peopled by rustic, but virtuous peasants was embodied in Evangeline and reflected in the landscape and people of Nova Scotia" (Ingalls 1989 21). Initiatives undertaken by entrepreneurs and tourism operators gradually met the needs of tourists. Improvements to accommodations, transportation and attractions fueled another round of expansion in the inter-war period and later that was aided and shaped by state intervention.

*Still stands the forest primeval; but far away from its shadow,*

*Side by side, in their nameless graves, the lovers are sleeping.*

### NOTES

as a woman, from whom Reverend Conolly heard the original tale was related by marriage to the family of Thomas Chandler Haliburton.

<sup>5</sup> I am grateful to both reviewers for identifying the potential for comparison between *Evangeline* and *Anne of Green Gables*.

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