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FRASERVILLE AND ITS TEMISCOUATA HINTERLAND, 1874-1914:

COLONIZATION AND URBANIZATION IN A PERIPHERAL REGION OF THE PROVINCE OF QUEBEC

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ABBREVIATIONS

B.R.R.T.	Bureau du Registrateur: Rivière-du-Loup, Témiscouata
C.H.R.	Canadian Historical Review
C.H.S.H.C./H.P.C.H.A.	Communications historiques, Société Historique du Canada/Historical Papers, Canadian Historical Association
C.J.E.P.S.	Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science
H.S./S.H.	Histoire sociale/Social History
P.V.C.M. de Fraserville	Procès verbaux Conseil Municipal de Fraserville
R.H.A.F.	Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française
R.H.U./U.H.R.	Revue d'histoire urbaine/Urban History Review

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a case study of urbanization and colonization in a peripheral region of the Province of Québec. It is a history of two closely-linked, parallel processes. Most scholars would concur with the general assertion that the history of late 19th Century urban formations should not exclude the larger commercial-financial hinterlands to which they belong. The key terms in contemporary historiography are network, denoting the system of inter-urban relations encompassing a particular town or city, and region, conceived here rather loosely as a social product inscribed in space and not in the territorial sense. The following study of a railtown (Fraserville) in its pertinent subregional (county) context will enable us to explore the nature of town-country relations in a peripheral region and the relationship of the same vis-à-vis its parent Canadian-Québec economy. With respect to the latter relationship two major axes or channels of metropolitan domination will be discussed: first the forestry industry, then the railroad..

Since the publication of La conquête du sol in 1977, students of Québec history have become acquainted with the methodology of underdevelopment and regional differentiation

as it relates to the genesis of the agri-forestry system (1). The experience of the forestry industry in the peripheral regions of the Province of Québec provides a classic example of a metropolitan economy grafting its resource and income needs onto the structure of economy and society in the periphery. In our opinion a second tier can be added to the "problématique" of unequal development in advanced capitalist economies: Namely that the process of economic integration initiated by a metropolitan, central force in the economy can summon, control and above all benefit from an urbanization process in a distant spatial context. This was very much the case with respect to the relationship between the local satellite (Fraserville) on the one hand, and the regional (Québec City) and national (Montréal) metropolises on the other, as we shall see in chapter four.

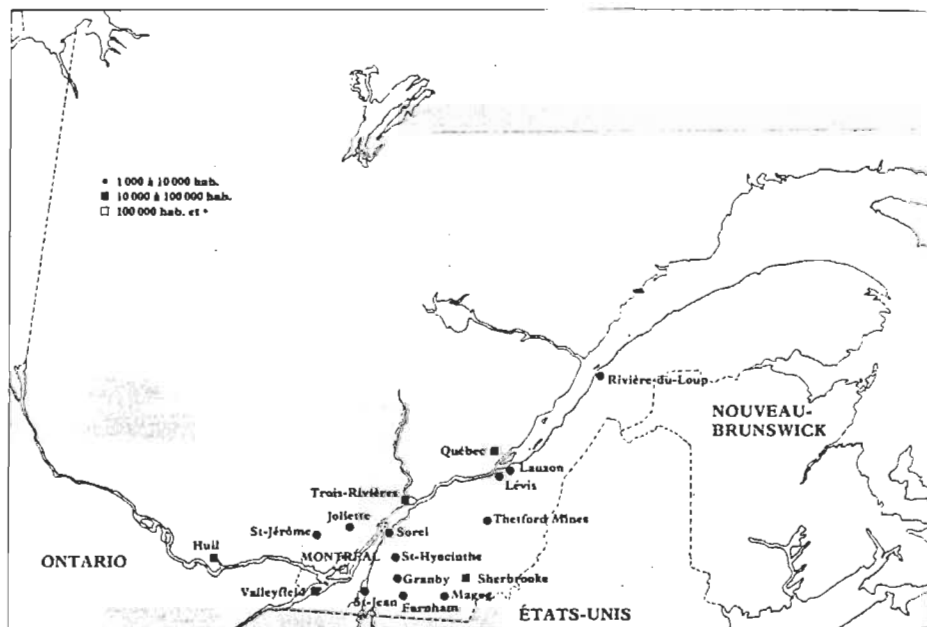
The first half of the text deals with the rural background of Fraserville in time and space. The problem of the late 18th and early 19th Century origins of economy and society in the lower St. Lawrence, will be addressed in chapter one. Of

(1) Normand Séguin, La conquête du sol au 19^e siècle, Sillery, Boréal Express, 1977, 295.

central concern here is the articulation of agriculture and forestry into a singular agri-forestry synthesis. This agri-forestry synthesis or system, it is felt, was well in place by the middle of the last century. Chapter two, entitled "The Rise and Fall of Frasersville's Hinterland," then proceeds to document and explore the expansion and subsequent decline of the agri-forestry system in the Témiscouata during the late 19th and early 20th Century period. Finally chapter three is concerned with the social, economic and political aspects of urbanization in Frasersville, prior to the turn of the century. The chapter on the railboom attempts to convey a sense of the extent as well as the limitations of Frasersville's urban-industrial "boom." An assessment of the inherently short-lived nature of the railboom and the succeeding context of industrial growth and finance capital is offered in the fourth and final chapter of this thesis.

This county monograph is intended as a tentative contribution to the growing field of regional history. It does not by any means represent a definitive history of the entire lower St. Lawrence region. If by its form and content the thesis can provoke further constructive reflection and debate on the regional question in Canada, then, in the author's opinion it will have served its purpose.

Rivière-du-Loup and the Urban Network of the
Province of Québec in 1901



Source: Linteau, Robert, Durocher, op. cit., 150.

Chapter One: Life between River and Forest:
Roughing it on the Lower Saint
Lawrence, 1760-1850

"The general appearance of this seigniory (Rivière-du-Loup) is uneven and mountainous, but it contains some extensive patches of good arable and very fine meadow land; these are divided into several ranges of concessions... The whole seigniory is abundantly timbered with beech, maple, birch and large quantities of pine."*

* J. Bouchette, A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, London, 1815, 535.

The present history of Rivière-du-Loup or Fraserville as it was called until 1919, covers the pre-industrial and the industrial phases of the city's history. The discussion of the period 1760-1850 focuses on the transition from a rural way of life dispersed throughout the parish of St-Patrice-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup, to an urban one centred in Fraserville. Concern with the formative aspects of St-Patrice will touch upon the first white settlers in the lower St. Lawrence and their agri-maritime expedients of survival, for it was the river first and later on the forest which gave unity to the Témiscouata. In order to apprehend the modest but singular urban character of Rivière-du-Loup the antecedent rural fabric of society must be located and explained. A healthy portion of this paper will therefore explore Fraserville's rural background in time and space.

The first settlers of the Témiscouata were born and reared in the 18th Century colonial environment of New France. Yet the social system which was destined to keep the French-Canadian pioneer (or "habitant") on the move for centuries to come--and incidentally was also destined to lead to the colonization of the whole lower St. Lawrence coast line--was not immediately threatened by the British conquest of 1760. Gradually, however, British markets and British investments in the

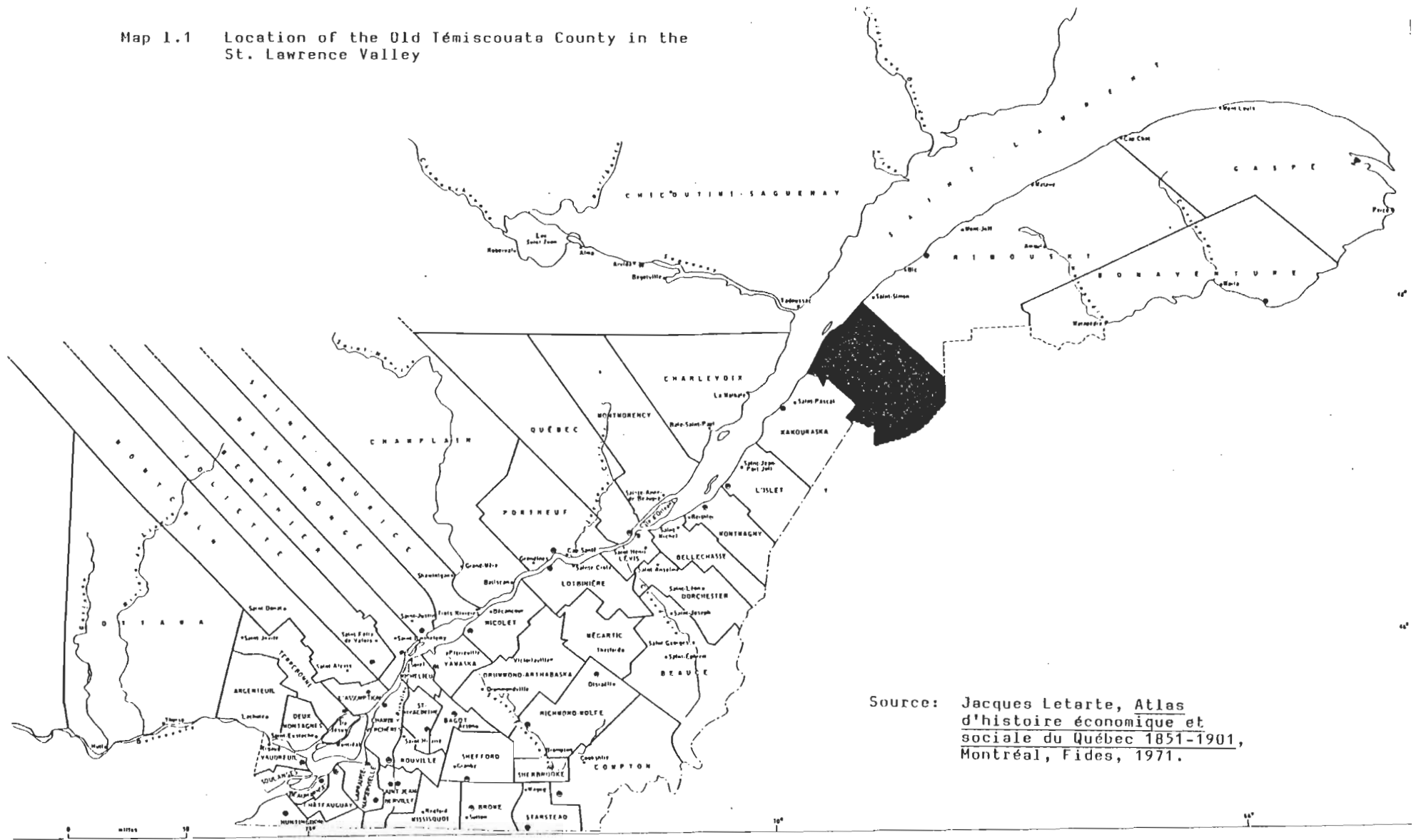
19th Century infiltrated the apparatus by which the colonization process was determined. In this chapter it will be argued that the first half of the 19th Century witnessed the modification of the Témiscouata's economy of subsistence agriculture--which benefitted from the dual resources of a shoreline eco-system--and its reincarnation as a peasant society dominated by forestry, a man-made sector of the economy. The genesis of this transformed agri-forestry social system was all the more remarkable given the unchanging character of geography and demography in the lower St. Lawrence. During the county's early history, by contrast, these two stable contours of geography and demography influenced the pattern of social reproduction most decisively. Here then is a logical point of departure in this discussion of Fraserville's rural background.

1) Geography and demography: stable contours

Today's counties of Rivière-du-Loup and Témiscouata lie just above and below the 48th parallel, with a longitude of 69.5° to 68.5° west.* With the exception of the Matapédia valley in the Gaspé peninsula, the Témiscouata is the only occupied region east of the Beauce to run perpendicular to the Saint Lawrence coastline over such a prolonged distance.

* Our discussion of the 19th and 20th Century County of Témiscouata actually encompasses what are today two separate counties: Témiscouata and Rivière-du-Loup.

Map 1.1 Location of the Old Témiscouata County in the St. Lawrence Valley



It is a short distance, only 90 kilometers, from Rivière-du-Loup to Dégelis, but the region embodies the fundamental geographic duality of the south shore in the province of Québec: lowland and plateau. Temperatures on the succeeding terraces of the coastline reflect the moderating and stabilizing effect of a semi-maritime climate. Winter with its prevailing northeasterly or westerly winds is more rigorous in the lake and river valleys of the interior. In December of each year during the last century the navigation and forwarding business along the St. Lawrence river virtually came to a standstill. Abundant snow precipitation on the other hand made short distance overland travel by sleigh more practicable and more comfortable. Today the work of the automobile and the highway engineer has diminished the area's seasonal sense of isolation. Neither however have had much of an effect upon the natural lie of the land itself which is at once so kind and so forbidding to the cultivator.

Long and parallel ridges lead like a staircase towards the Appalachian interior. Their summit offers a good view of the Saint Lawrence or any one of its tributaries. The richest earth lies behind or below the declivity. The last glacial age deposited a light sandy-clay soil on the slopes

of the lake and river valleys - to which the best agriculture of the interior would be confined. The Notre-Dame mountains disrupted the soil potential of the rest of the interior. Closer to the coastline, the Trois Pistoles, Rivière Verte and Rivière du Loup flood plains offered a fertile clay soil. However, their vulnerability to annual flooding was a problem. A hundred years ago the inhabitants of the Saint Lawrence terraces had no way of knowing that beneath the extensive and delicious blueberry patches there lay a natural resource with great commercial potential, peat moss.

Three rivers drain the coastline terraces of the old Témiscouata County, the northern half of which is now known as the County of Rivière-du-Loup. Each bears the name of its point of arrival: Trois-Pistoles, Rivière-du-Loup, L'Isle (Rivière) Verte. Two thousand feet above sea level, Saint-Honoré marks the division point between the tributaries of the Saint Lawrence and those of Lakes Pohénégamook and Témiscouata which, in the latter case, lead to the Saint John river and eventually the Atlantic Ocean. Quite naturally then Lake Témiscouata became the main link in a portage shortcut between Québec City and Acadia. These hydrological systems had some hydro-electric potential at both ends with a more than one

hundred foot water fall at Rivière-du-Loup, and a seventy-five foot drop at Grand-Sault in New Brunswick.

Along the Témiscouata portage route the forest was composed of various hardwood and softwood species. Birch, wild cherry and maple grew alongside impressive stands of white and red pine, white spruce, cedar, balsam fir and tamarack. These stands along with the lakes, the rivers, the mountains, and soil provided settlers with their initial raw materials, their first challenge. Geography was to be no obstacle to a land hungry and growing peasantry.

Large families and land clearing were the stable factors in the adaptation of French society on both shores of the Saint Lawrence river in the 18th and 19th Centuries. In the past the most concerned observers, jumping to Malthusian conclusions, have tended to view demography alone as the key element in the genesis and survival of French-Canadian society. Fortunately contemporary historiography stresses that the prolonged period of demographic transition was consistent with the collectivity's back door entrance into the industrial regime (1). The peopling of the Témiscouata was

(1) P.-A. Linteau, J.-C. Robert, R. Durocher, Histoire du Québec contemporain, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1979, 39-41.

similar to patterns in the older upriver districts except that it took place after the arrival of Wolfe's Flotilla in 1759.

Throughout the second half of the 18th Century, roughly between 1760 and 1815, the search for new land led hundreds of farmer-migrants east of Saint-Louis-de-Kamouraska. The seigniories of Rivière-du-Loup, Trois-Pistoles and L'Isle-Verte all benefitted from this movement. Altogether it took one hundred and fifty years to establish a continuous string of communities on the shoreline between Isle Saint-Barnabé and the Kamouraska islands. Sometime after 1825 and before 1850 the eastern districts outstripped the western districts of the lower St. Lawrence.

In the ensuing eighty years the population of the Témiscouata surpassed Rimouski and Kamouraska, its two adjacent counties in the lower Saint Lawrence (see table I.1 in appendix). But by the 1930's and early world war II years Rimouski County finally began to catch up and at a surprising rate. In the late 19th and 20th Centuries the County of Kamouraska, its glory long past, simply grew "par la force des choses."

After 1850 natural increase was largely responsible for the Témiscouata's growth in population. Families reproduced at a rate that was equal or even superior to the provincial average. Large families and colonization went hand in hand. The parishes in the colonization districts were more productive than their counterparts along the coastline, Trois-Pistoles excepted (see table I.2 in appendix). The seasonal concentration of conceptions in summer and fall also demonstrates that rural communities from Lake Témiscouata to Saint-Patrice-de-La-Rivière-du-Loup set the tone for the county's demographic behaviour. Births were more evenly distributed throughout the year in the semi-industrial communities of Trois-Pistoles and Fraserville (see table I.3 in appendix). A brief look at the 1891 Census of Canada shows some curious discrepancies in the family size between town and countryside, new and old parishes and finally between village and "rang" (table I.4 in appendix). One wonders whether these variations irritated or affected the course of daily life at all.

The growth of the county's population was quite strong, numerically speaking. However, it did not escape the emigration syndrome. Undoubtedly the consecutive cycle of

large families and emigration, in either order, contributed to the mobility of the rural citizenry. To this interesting but incomplete demographic perspective we must add a socio-economic dimension in order to grasp the legacy of the "ancien régime" in the lower Saint Lawrence. One must, ever so briefly, start from the beginning.

2) Settlement and subsistence along the river in the late 18th Century

The first white colonists of the lower Saint Lawrence hailed from the heart of New France: the "plat pays" outside the walled city of Québec, i.e. Beaupré, Isle d'Orléans, Charlesbourg and surrounding areas. The 18th Century saw the extension of the characteristic "village-rue" all the way along the south shore from Beaumont to Saint-Louis-de-Kamouraska. This settlement commenced in the late 17th Century at four basic points below Québec: Cap-Saint-Ignace, L'Islet-Bonsecours, La-Combe (La Pocatière) and La Bouteillerie (Rivière-Ouelle). The eastern terminal point of this first occupation wave was Kamouraska. The seigniory was settled in the 1690's and achieved parochial status as Saint-Louis in 1709. By 1762 it had become one of the more heavily populated sections of the lower Saint Lawrence (1).

(1) Alexandre Paradis, Kamouraska 1674-1948, Québec, G.S. Grandbois, 1948, 71.

The British conquest of New France, in 1760, did not prevent the "habitants" from extending the eastern frontier of settlement towards the gulf of the Saint Lawrence. While the land available for colonization along the Kamouraska-L'Islet shoreline was scarce, new territory was opened up especially to the east of the Rivière-Ouelle. Some communities squeezed in alongside the Saint Lawrence: for instance Saint-Denis and Saint-André. Others like Sainte-Hélène and Saint-Pascal sprang up in the back ranges. Following the urgings of "curés"- missionaries or their own inclinations, lower St. Lawrence farmers migrated as far inland as the Madawaska. As a rule however, the post-conquest generation of migrants preferred to settle beside the St. Lawrence river. Military policy in British North America tended to reinforce this trend in a round-about way. Called out by the Governor in 1783 to repair the Témiscouata trail, the province's only direct link to the growing colony of Nova Scotia in winter, the Kamouraska and L'Islet militiamen had occasion to gaze longingly and thoughtfully at the unoccupied St. Lawrence shoreline east of the Rivières-des-Caps.*

* The Rivière-des-Caps runs through the Point-de-Saint-André in the western extremity of the Parish of Notre-Dame-du-Portage.

The process of colonization created links between old and new communities beyond those of simple contiguity. ... In 1791 for example, non-residents constituted as much as a third of the total number of tenants in the adjacent seigniories of Rivière-du-Loup and Vertbois. The situation in Cacouna was similar. In 1825 fifty-one tenants out of 167 were not yet residents. Eighty-eight per cent of the absentees were domiciled west of Cacouna. Fifty-four per cent lived within 18 kilometers east or west of the new-born parish. By 1825 much of the first and second "rangs" had been occupied. Within thirty years the remaining lots in the third and fourth ranges of seigniory Le Parc were occupied and in 1845 a new parish, Saint-Arsène, had been established south of Cacouna. A three-pieced pattern of settlement converged east of Rivière-du-Loup by

-
- (1) Gilles Dubé, 1673-1973 Trois cent ans d'histoire à Rivière-du-Loup (recueil du journal Le Saint Laurent). Louise Dechêne suggests that aspiring migrants in the 17th and 18th Centuries hung around the farm until it was time to carve up their deceased parents' estate. The real successor would reconsolidate the peasant estate by purchasing his siblings' shares, thus subsidizing their ambitions to move out. Migrating "on the other side of the fence" to southern Bellechasse, or just up the Chaudière river, or by boat down the St. Lawrence was a function of the modest means of the peasant. His destination was not simply determined by parochial conscience: see Hamelin, Y. Roby, Histoire économique du Québec, Montréal, Fides, 1971, 164. L. Dechêne, Marchands et habitants de Montréal au 17e siècle, Paris, Plon, 1974, 298.

the mid century. One stream came from the west. In 1825 thirty per cent of the absentee tenants were residents of Rivière-du-Loup seigniory. Another stream probably originated with the restless descendants of the first generation of Cacouna's settlers (1770's-1790's) (1).

A third element of the pattern came from the rapidly expanding districts of Trois-Pistoles and L'Isle-Verte, themselves strongly populated by upriver colonists. By 1825, seventy per cent of the L'Isle-Verte seigniory was occupied (252 lots out of 366). As early as 1800 the settlers were well into the fourth "rang" and were moving towards the island (île verte) itself. Similarly Notre-Dame-du-Portage would recruit colonists from points east and west before becoming a parish in 1856.

In short, settlement was not a straightforward affair of pushing southwards. The built-in mobility of these early 19th Century homesteaders created complex neighbourhoods and sometimes far flung patterns of migration and

(1) Yves Lebel, Essai sur l'histoire civile et sociale de Kakouna (perspectives jeunesse, publié pour le 150^e anniversaire de St -Georges de Cacouna, 1975), 7-22. Cada tre abrégé de la seigneurie Le Parc et de Villeray appartenant à Wm. et Ed. Fraser, clos. le 21 septembre 1858 par Siméon Lelièvre, Québec, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1863.

kinship throughout the lower St. Lawrence. In the face of so much transiency the family constituted a vital element of continuity in the emergence and reproduction of the region's subsistence economy.

Agricultural production and agrarian relations were regulated by a traditional rural economy of self-sufficient units. Commercial activities alone, like the trade in the beaver and wheat staples, were not sufficient to generate the expansion of the agricultural frontier into or beyond the Témiscouata. Feeble or unstable local and British markets for wheat did not have a uniform impact on agriculture in Lower Canada. Even if in 1813 Kamouraska farmers and seigneurs could sell their flour and butter up-river, most of their neighbours' production, to the east, remained unscathed by market stimuli. Administered as a single political entity the late 18th Century colonial economy, whether British or French, was actually made up of disjointed regions and sectors of production. The impetus to "une agriculture traditionnelle très peu articulé au marché" on the lower Saint Lawrence could not be provided by inaccessible markets. Rather it resulted from the

extension of the family farm as the essential productive unit of the subsistence economy, with its characteristic demands on land, labour, and technology.

In this self-sufficient economy demographic pressures engendered the spread of family farm units further and further down the Saint Lawrence. Self-reliance dictated the technology and institutions of the peasantry. Each tenant sought an "equitable" share of river frontage, topography, and vegetation. A linear constellation of these concessions formed a "rang," the base unit of communal organization and of society. Numerically this rural society was dominated by peasants: 96 per cent of the heads of families in Saint-Louis-de-Kamouraska in 1762 and 87 per cent in Cacouna in 1825. A few artisans and merchants, a notary, seignior and a "curé" would round out the rest of the population. This body of village notables, shopkeepers and artisans lived off the peasant who in turn lived off the produce of his farm. In other words, the harvest on land and at "sea" kept everyone in business.

Below Québec City the river is so wide that it is referred to as "la mer." The Saint Lawrence imposed its

utility, if not its presence upon the families of the coastal concessions. Embankments had to be constructed to limit the destruction of the high tides in November and December. Boats brought the most recent goods and news from Québec City. Tidal grasses nourished the livestock. The beaches of Kamouraska sported seventeen fascine fishing stations by 1724. A century later eels, herring and other fish were similarly caught by families living in Cacouna. A couple of white whales could provide leather and lamp oil for a whole community. Hunting expeditions between the bay of La Pocatière and the Isle aux Coudres were recorded as late as 1888 (1). No one questioned the convenience of the river. While it fell far short of perfection, this agri-maritime balance was unquestionably the key to survival in such newly colonized districts as Rivière-du-Loup.

During the second half of the 18th Century a group of farmers settled along the Rivière du Loup, de La Chesnaye's old whaling base in the preceeding century. The first soil was broken not far from the seigniorial flour mill and the old Jesuit mission, on the flood plain beside the tidal waters of the Rivière du Loup. Boats of a shallow draft

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville 18 May 1888

could navigate towards a protected cove upstream. Fascine fisheries could easily be strewn out along the point. Flocks of migratory geese and ducks offered excellent rewards in April and September to the hunter who kept a well-greased musket. The expectations of the forefathers of Fraserville befitted the requirements of a traditional rural way of life. The development of forestry however, would disrupt this "harmony."

3) The timber trade in the Témiscouata

Colonial wood began entering unrestricted and in great quantities on the English market sometime between 1795 and 1805. Orders for the Royal Navy and the home merchant marine gave rise to a strong trade in square timber throughout British North America. In the Atlantic colonies squared-pine shipments and shipbuilding focused themselves in the towns along the Saint-John, Miramichi and Sainte-Croix rivers. Next door in the Canadas naval construction and timber shipping gave substance to Québec City's economy; for in the first half of the 19th Century it too had become "Great Britain's Woodyard."

Timber production became a going concern in the villages east of Québec City. The number of sawmills down-river on the south shore multiplied rapidly: thirty in 1815, seventy in 1831. Much of the timber in the huge County of Cornwallis - stretching from the Rivière Ouelle to Rimouski in 1815 - was produced west of Saint-André-de-Kamouraska where more than half of the county's twenty-two sawmills were located. The census of 1871 indicates the persistence of squared-pine forestry in Kamouraska and its relative insignificance in the neighbouring County of Témiscouata. Timber was produced for the Kamouraska boat Yards, which had been multiplying since the Napoleonic era, as well as for the great shipyards of Québec City (1). Meanwhile a different type of forestry emerged in the Témiscouata.

William Price began his career in the timber trade, in the 1820's, by purchasing his commodities pre-sawn from miller-merchants on both shores of the Saint Lawrence. These local saw-mills harnessed the labour of farmers-cum-lumberjacks-in-winter, in Saint-Thomas-de-Montmagny, La Malbaie,

(1) Census of Canada 1871. In 1871 Kamouraska produced over 2,000 masts and spars, and more than 20,000 cu. feet of square pine timber. The Témiscouata in 1871 produced 28 masts and spars and 13,000 cu. ft. of pine. See Pierre Dufour, "La construction navale à Québec 1760-1825: sources inexplorées et nouvelles perspectives de recherches," in R.H.A.F., vol. 35, no.: 2 (sept. 1981), 231-251.

Saint-Vallier and Rimouski. Price developed an industrial strategy during the 1830's, that shocked his creditors in England. Alone or in partnership with others he built or invested in dozens of mills as in Trois-Pistoles (1841), L'Isle-Verte (1843), Tadoussac (1839), and Rimouski (1830). Price also shifted the emphasis of production. While he was attracted to the great pine resources of the Rimouski river, in the 1840's he emerged as the largest single Canadian producer of spruce deals. The spruce forests of the lower Saint Lawrence were harnessed to provide material for Great Britain, the workshop of the world (1). The scope of the trade was noticeably lucrative for in 1845 a team of provincial tax collectors was dispatched in the direction of Rimouski and Tadoussac.

Canadian investors figured prominently in the 19th Century timber trade of the lower Saint Lawrence. Price himself was in partnership with the owner of a sawmill in Trois-Pistoles, Charels H. Tétu and the latter's creditor from Québec City, Philippe Baby-Casgrain. Two years later, in 1843, he struck a three-way agreement with Louis

(1) Louise Dechêne, "Les entreprises William Price 1810-1850" in H.S./S.H., avril 1968 I, 46. In 1846 66% of Price's deal exports to Britain came from the lower Saint Lawrence. Deals - three-inch thick spruce or pine planking - were often resawn in England, hence the ambiguity as to whether they should be treated as a finished or a semi-finished product.

Bertrand, part seignior of L'Isle-Verte, and Sir John Caldwell. Such partnerships were an effective means of benefitting from the capital and labour of other merchants. For twenty years L. Bertrand had built up a forestry concern in L'Isle-Verte, including a sawmill, a woodyard, docks, schooners, and a seigniorial forest reserve. Member for Rimouski in the 1830's and 1840's, Bertrand was in a good position to represent the interests of his legislative constituency. William Price, then, was not the only big-time Canadian entrepreneur in the lower St. Lawrence. Indeed, prior to the 1870's other Québec City forestry investors operated as far downstream as Saint-Ulric-de-la-Rivière-Blanche (1).

Price's other partner in L'Isle-Verte, Sir John H. Caldwell was no stranger to the region. His father, Sir Henry, had leased the Témiscouata and Madawaska seigniories for twenty years and eventually acquired them both, along with much of the James Murray landed estate in 1801. The two seigniories were sold forthwith, in 1802, to a successful

(1) Three Québec City merchants: Filston, Routh and Lemesurier leased the seignior and built the first sawmill on the rivière Blanche: See Alice Simard, "L'industrie de bois à Saint-Ulric-de-la-Rivière-Blanche..." in L'histoire au pays de Matane vol. XI no. 11, juin 1976, 5-6.

fur trader: Alexander Fraser (1). H. Caldwell retained his interest in the forest resources of this area. During the first two decades of the 19th Century the Caldwells, father and son, began to manufacture spruce deals in Grand-Sault N.B., tapping the forests of the Upper Saint John and Madawaska rivers. Caldwell's bankruptcy in 1821-22 reinforced his forestry thrust east of Québec City. The New Liverpool (St-Romuald) storage and production premises were sold to William Price in 1831. Caldwell held onto his establishments in Grand-Sault N.B., Rivière-du-Loup and L'Isle-Verte, exploiting pine and spruce reserves on both sides of the St-Honoré divide. That to this day a "rang" and a river Caldwell still exist is a tribute to his sustained forestry operations around Lake Témiscouata.

Large capitalists had a lot to do with the emergence of Canadian communities in the early 19th Century. Saint-Cécile-de-Bic was a modest community of 203 souls in 1842. Nine years later, following the construction of the Price mill, there were 1400. Barthélemy Joliette, seignior and lumber manufacturer literally created the Village d'Industrie "de toute pièce." Recent studies of 19th Century Upper

(1) On the enormous and sometimes interconnecting property investments of Malcolm Fraser, Alexander's father, and Sir Henry Caldwell see: Yvon Desloges, "Malcolm Fraser, notice biographique" for the Dictionnaire biographique du Canada, unpublished manuscript, Québec, January 1981.

Canada demonstrate that a single capitalist could create an urban nucleus simply by grouping or building grist-mills and sawmills (1).

Apart from the mill in the 1820's Caldwell used Rivière-du-Loup as a commercial depot in trading with the surrounding countryside. The completion of the Royal Hotel in 1849 further reinforced his presence in the budding community. The agricultural parish of Saint-Patrice gave birth to an urban village that employed as many as 200 men in its sawmills in 1851. History records that the agglomeration situated upon and above the flood plain of the Rivière du Loup was named after the seigniorial family. Fraserville could just as easily have been baptized Caldwellville (2).

(1) Randy W. Smith, The Early Development of Three Upper Canadian Towns: Barrie Holland Landing and New Market (discussion paper no. 16), Toronto Dept. of Geography, York University, 1977. Raoul Blanchard, L'est du Canada français, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1935, 150-152. J.-C. Robert, "Un seigneur-entrepreneur Barthélemi Joliette et la fondation du village d'Industrie 1820-1850," R.H.A.F., vol. 26, no. 3, déc. 1972, 375-395.

(2) The Caldwells, father and son, had identical given names, John Henry. Both were in the forestry business and both became receiver general in the provincial government. The father expired while in office, in 1810. The Caldwell investments in Levis-Lauzon also included the seignior, a hotel, a navigation company and forestry concerns. See P. G. Roy, La traverse entre Québec et Lévis, Levis, Le Quotidien, 1942, 87-90.

The Frasers were understandably pre-occupied with their seigniories. Malcolm Fraser's grandsons, the progeny of Alexander (Rivière-du-Loup) and Joseph (Islet-du-Portage) controlled the seigniories between L'Islet-du-Portage and Le Parc. By 1858 the Lords of Rivière-du-Loup were in a good and most central position. Their seigniories - Rivière-du-Loup, Le Parc and de Villeray, Vertbois and a piece of L'Isle Verte - were worth an estimated \$111,000 in 1858 (see table I.5 in appendix). The gentry in nearby L'Isle-Verte and Trois-Pistoles were apparently of much more modest means. For example, by 1858, the Trois-Pistoles seigniory had been divided up into as many as twenty separate units, each with an average value of \$1,800 or less. Similarly the largest individual morsel of the L'Isle-Verte seigniory, which belonged to Charles Bertrand in 1858, was worth (\$16,000) less than half of the Frasers' total seigniorial holdings in Vertbois (1).

(1) See Cadastre abrégé de la seigneurie de L'Isle-Verte (16 parties), Québec, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1862, and Cadastre abrégé de la seigneurie des Trois-Pistoles (24 parties), Québec, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1862. The L'Isle-Verte seigniory included île verte (the island) and a territory of approximately 16 square kilometers in the vicinity of the village of St-Jean Baptiste-de-L'Isle-Verte, heretofore referred to as L'Isle-Verte.

If the tithe is any indication "cens et rentes" payments were acquitted in kind: usually grain (1). William and Edward Fraser (of Rivière-du-Loup) found it opportune to carry on the wheat business despite the official abolition of the banal monopoly in 1854. A new flour mill was thus built on the west bank of the Rivière-du-Loup. The establishment was conveniently located beside the clearing where seigniorial dues and obligations were collected. By the 1850's another mill appeared in Saint-Arsène.

In 1858, among the three seigniories, Rivière-du-Loup was the least significant in terms of the revenue traditionally extracted from peasants (table I.5 in appendix). There are indications that in keeping with economic developments the seigniors had diversified their revenue sources and investments. In addition to their flour mills, the Frasers ran two carding mills, in Cacouna and Rivière-du-Loup, and two saw-mills, in Saint-Arsène and Rivière-du-Loup, also during the 1850's. The Rivière-du-Loup "Caldwell" mill

(1) Throughout the province "cens et rentes" were paid in kind and in confusio. L. Dechêne, op. cit., 247-250. In 1835 the "dime" in St -Patrice was paid strictly in grain as was the case in L'Isle-Verte in 1825. See R. Chabot, Le curé de campagne et la Contestation locale au Québec, Hurtubise HMH, Montréal, 1975, 118-119.

reverted to the Frasers sometime in the 1850's. William and Edward inherited the machinery and an acquisitive taste for marketable lumber. Fifty years after the "invasion" of Canadian wood on the Imperial market, the seigniors still reserved "tous bois de pin et autres propres à l'exportation" (1). Servitudes on land concessions to farmers in Saint-Patrice and Saint-Antonin, even if customary by 1867, were certainly not forgotten. Deep in the Témiscouata interior the lumberman's axe similarly held sway over the farmer's plough.

Timber was not the best thing about the Témiscouata-Madawaska seigniory, but prior to Confederation, it was virtually the only thing. Once ignored but for its fur trading and transport convenience, Alexander Fraser's wilderness seigniory became a fiefdom of American lumber lords (table I.6 in appendix). In 1818 one third of the seigniory went to Joseph Bouchette. In 1835, on the western side of the Témiscouata-Madawaska valleys, François Languedoc

(1) Bureau du Registrateur: Rivière-du-Loup, Témiscouata Registre des Actes (B.R.R.T.) nos: 6912, 6915, 6914, 6913. Wood was similarly preserved or slaughtered in other seigniories as of the 1820's: see Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique et sociale du Québec 1760-1850, Bibliot. Canadienne Française, Montréal, Fides, 1971, tome 1, 278; tome 2, 352-353. Archives nationales du Québec fonds de la famille Fraser: instrument de recherche no. 300124 M.F.

(successor of Bouchette?) conveyed 63,000 arpents and perpetual woodcutting rights in a 99-year lease to Albert Smith of Boston, Massachusetts and Philander Cockburn of Skowhegan, Maine. In 1864 the latter bought out Smith's rights and claims for \$5,000 (1). Twelve years later the P. Cockburn estate, represented by Abner Cockburn, also of Skowhegan, Maine, sold the said lease and rights to William W. Thomas, a lawyer, from Portland, Maine.

Another section on the eastern side of the Témiscouata-Madawaska valleys was sold by Alexander Fraser to Nathan Cummings of Portland, Maine, in 1835. Thus most of the seigniory fell into American hands in 1835, a year marked by the great American assault on the forests of Lower Canada. 121,760 arpents of the "Cummings Seigniory" belonged to the Témiscouata Pine Land Company of Portland, Maine, in 1863. Commissioner Lelièvre of the Province of Canada apparently ignored 100,000 to 200,000 arpents of the remaining territory in his cadastral survey of the seigniory. Did the Témiscouata Pine Land Company purchase or inherit the real estate

(1) F. Languedoc was incidentally a one-time business partner of Sir John H. Caldwell (the son). In 1816 he, Caldwell and others formed a company to ferry people and goods back and forth between Lévis and Québec City. See P.G. Roy, La traverse entre Québec et Lévis, 1942, 87.

from its fellow citizen of Portland, Maine, Nathan Cummings? We do know that during the 1860's this "ignored" eastern section and probably much more was exploited by several lumber companies. The same chunk was acquired by George Winthrop Coffin in 1872. Coffin had been a land agent for the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in 1835. Thirty-five years later, he was an insurance agent operating out of Boston. It is clear then, that although the seigniorship remained largely unoccupied throughout this period it certainly did not go unnoticed (1).

The situation in the forestry industry by the year 1850 was as follows. Along the St. Lawrence coastline

(1) On the 1 million acre speculative assault see: A.R.M. Lower's PHD thesis quoted in R.G. Wood, A History of Lumbering in Maine 1820-1861 (Maine studies no. 33), University of Maine at Orono, 1971, 78. The assault is corroborated by the comments of the Montréal Gazette in 1835, quoted in S.B. Ryerson, Unequal Union, Toronto Progress Books, 1975, 222. Bouchette's purchase was consistent with the speculation frenzy prevalent among top civil servants and politicians in both of the Canadas. See Fernand Ouellet, Histoire économique..., vol 1, 286. R.G. Wood identifies G.W. Coffin and also Abner Cockburn, somewhat related to Philander. In the 1840's Abner ran a log-driving company in the Kennebec River district and did some lumber politicking in the state (of Maine) Legislature, p. 109. Our knowledge of the ownership of the seigniorship between 1835 and the 1870's is still a bit hazy. See Siméon Lelièvre, Cadastre abrégé de la Seigneurie Madawaska, Québec, Imprimeur de la Reine, 1863, and B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, nos. 13073, 13076, 10150.

local and Québec City lumberlords together with the Témiscouata's growing number of farmers and colonists had steadily rolled back the frontier of settlement. The Témiscouata-Madawaska Seigniory, meanwhile, remained what it had always been: a vast uninhabited and forbidding tract of forested real estate. For the time being at least, there was room enough to settle the county's second and third generation of farmers somewhere between the two.

4) Settlement and agriculture up to the mid 19th Century

By the late 18th Century the population of Kamouraska County was very much on the move. One string of migrants moved downriver. Another one headed inland towards the back concessions of Kamouraska itself and then eastwards. The latter settled in and between Saint-Pascal and Saint-Alexandre, bypassing the southern townships of Painchaud and Chabot in the process. What perturbed the clergymen and the petty-bourgeoisie of the county, most, in 1849, was the constant flow of farmers and their families to the United States. Parochial attachments were not sufficient to prevent people from emigrating as far away as Chicago.

It was felt that the migrants should at least be kept within native bounds. Accordingly a colonization society was set up: "L'Association des comtés de L'Islet et de Kamouraska pour coloniser le Saguenay." The experience proved to be a fiasco, at least for the settlers, and the society folded in 1856. Meanwhile dozens of families and neighbours continued to pursue one another down the St. Lawrence usually without the help of any colonization organization whatsoever. In brief, the settlement of such downriver counties as the Témiscouata, during the first half of the 19th Century was an informal affair.

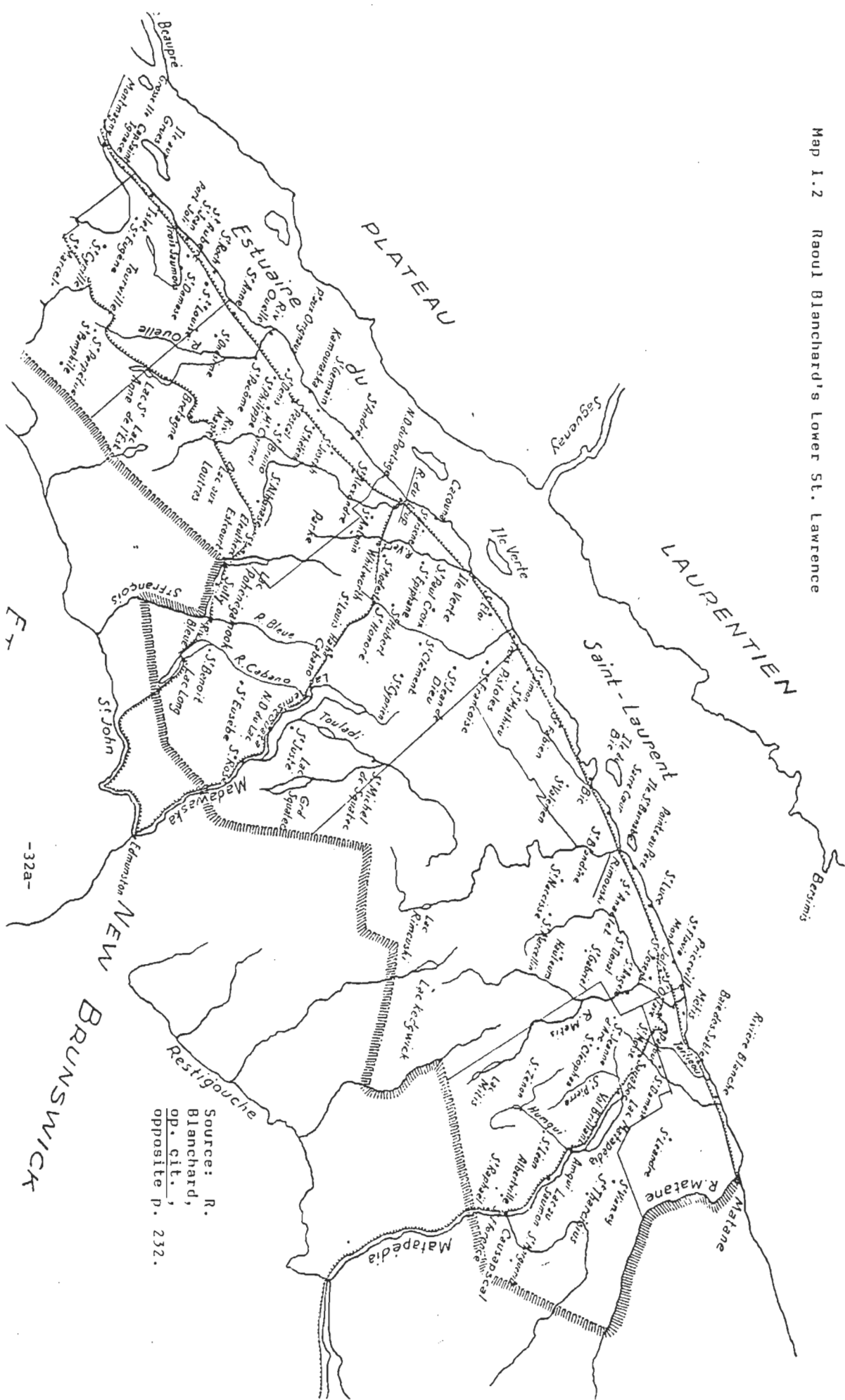
The convergence of settlement inland from Rivière-du-Loup was striking. The period 1813-1867 witnessed the birth of many new farms in the back concessions behind the ageing riverside "rangs." Fernand Ouellet correctly insists that demographic pressures, not systematic (ie. organized) movements of colonization were responsible for the spillover of overpopulated seigniories into contiguous townships (1).

(1) Fernand Ouellet, op. cit., 288. Specifically he refers to the 1820's. As to Ouellet's assertion that the habitant's attachment to the seigniorial system was ideologically determined, we remain sceptical (vol 2, 354). Much more comparative data on land prices and seigniorial rents is necessary to settle the issue.

One might add that it is possible to dissect these blotches of settlement in the lower St. Lawrence and perceive several distinctive patterns. During the 1820's the "eastern front," from Saint-Alexandre to Saint-Antonin welcomed Kamouraska and local-shoreline expatriates.

The concentration of colonization was close to Fraserville. The most populous and settled part of the county lay within a triangular zone between L'Isle-Verte (east), Saint-Modeste (south), and Saint-Alexandre (west). In 1871 the ten Fraserville villages outnumbered the distinct Trois-Pistoles network two to one (see table II.1). This latter subset of the county, dangling on both sides of the Trois-Pistoles river was not a mid-19th Century thrust of settlement. The same can be said for the Métis and Matapédia river valleys. None of these fronts got underway until the 1860's and 1870's. The continuously occupied part of Témiscouata County in 1861 took in the northern reaches of Whitworth, Demers, Denonville, and Began townships. The line of settlement cut so deeply into Viger township that the Indians, discreetly, began to run away.

Map I.2 Raoul Blanchard's Lower St. Lawrence



Source: R.
Blanchard,
op. cit.,
opposite p. 232.

Parish priests were outspoken in their support of colonization. At some point in the 1850's the "curés" of Saint-Patrice, Saint-Antonin, Saint-Modeste, Saint-Arsène, and Notre-Dame-du-Portage encouraged their listeners to settle the Appalachian plateau. In Saint-Patrice a group of parishioners sponsored a "Société de secours et de colonisation." The society's existence was either ephemeral or most discreet, since only the founding date of 1860 has survived (1).

The importance of the clergy in this phenomenon of migration has been overemphasized (2). To no small degree this is due to the clerical origin of our information on colonization: monographs, missionary reports, and parish founding dates. Founding dates, for instance, indicate a maturing, not a nascent pioneering experience. This is why one should make a chronological distinction between the settlement patterns inland from the Rivière du Loup and Trois-Pistoles shoreline.(3) Colonization would progress twenty

(1) Stanislas Drapeau, Etude sur les développements de la colonisation depuis dix ans 1851-1861, Québec, Brousseau, 1863, 60.

(2) J. Hamelin, Y. Roby, op.cit., 168. The authors are perhaps guilty on this point.

(3) Yves Martin, Etude démographique du Bas Saint-Laurent, Conseil d'Orientation Économique du Bas St-Laurent 1959, 20. Martin lumps the two networks together.

years before the recently settled community became a certified parish. Narcisse Beaubien, "curé" of Saint-Patrice (1855-1859) did not create a colonization front in Notre-Dame-du-Portage, but rather helped the property owners of that village - of which there were fifty in 1820 and approximately one-hundred and fifty a generation later - establish a parish institution in 1856. Beaubien's colonization enthusiasms were more probably a reflection of the relatively overpopulated state of St-Patrice-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup, his own "paroisse" (1).

The farming community of Rivière-du-Loup (read parish or seigniory) came of age before 1858. An adequate portrayal of the evolution of this rural community will only result from a meticulous examination of seigniorial and notarial archives (sometime in the future). We do already know that the population of Rivière-du-Loup and Vertbois seigniories combined, rose from 500 in 1800 to 2,986 in 1851. As early as 1815 Joseph Bouchette noted the abundance of large and substantial houses and buildings on those farms that were situated along the King's road (2). It is safe then to

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville (29 March 1888) overemphasizes Beaubien's effect on settlement. See Edm. Pelletier, Album historique et paroissial de Notre Dame du Portage 1723 à 1940, Québec, Imprimerie provinciale, 1942, 79-82.

(2) J. Bouchette, A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, London, 1815, 536.

assume that the agricultural occupancy rate peaked sometime during the first half of the 19th Century. In Saint-Patrice the rural population stabilized at 1,100 from 1851 to 1881. Let us consider some tempting but fallacious explanations that cannot be pinned on this evolution.

The pressure of increased population gave rise to a crisis in many Lower Canadian seigniories. Historian F. Ouellet affirms that in the initial stages of this crisis (the 1820's) : A) there was little or no available land in the seigniories, B) the nearby townships were unsurveyed and therefore unwelcoming and C) that migrant Canadiens disliked putting a great distance between their native parish and their new farm (1). In short, just as the population was ballooning, the "habitants" unfortunately began subdividing their farms amongst their inheritors. The purportedly smaller peasant landholdings, in a context of rising seigniorial dues, could not feed the multiplying families. The French-Canadian "habitants" would not heed the call of the economy's seemingly invisible hand. They obstinately held on to what little land they had left, and suffered, and belly-ached.

(1) Fernand Ouellet, op. cit., 274-283, especially 274,282.

With respect to the Témiscouata, the subdivision thesis is not acceptable. Much of the corroborative source material used by its proponents is either unreliable or inadequate. Oral testimony before a legislative committee and the like might be tempered by a better knowledge of local conditions in the Témiscouata and elsewhere in the province (1). The census statistics concerning the average size of farm plots in various parts of Lower Canada are equally unreliable. F. Ouellet for instance believes that in those seigniorial parishes founded between 1765 and 1844, the subdivision of land was a progressive phenomenon, a result and a component of the problem (2). The pressure on land resources is as undeniable as the poverty. Indeed Kamouraska and L'Islet, in the 1840's, harboured a mass of farm labourers complaining of the new threshing machines that would put them out of work (3). Unfortunately this exclusively rural conception of the problem misses the essential point.

(1) Jean Hamelin, Yves Roby, op. cit., 161. Fernand Ouellet, op. cit., tome 1, 274. For a more global critique of the Hamelin-Ouellet approach to the agricultural crisis see: Serge Courville, "La crise agricole au Bas-Canada, éléments d'une réflexion géographique" in Cahiers de géographie du Québec, vol. 24, no. 62, septembre 1980, 193-223.

(2) F. Ouellet, ibid., tome 2, 347.

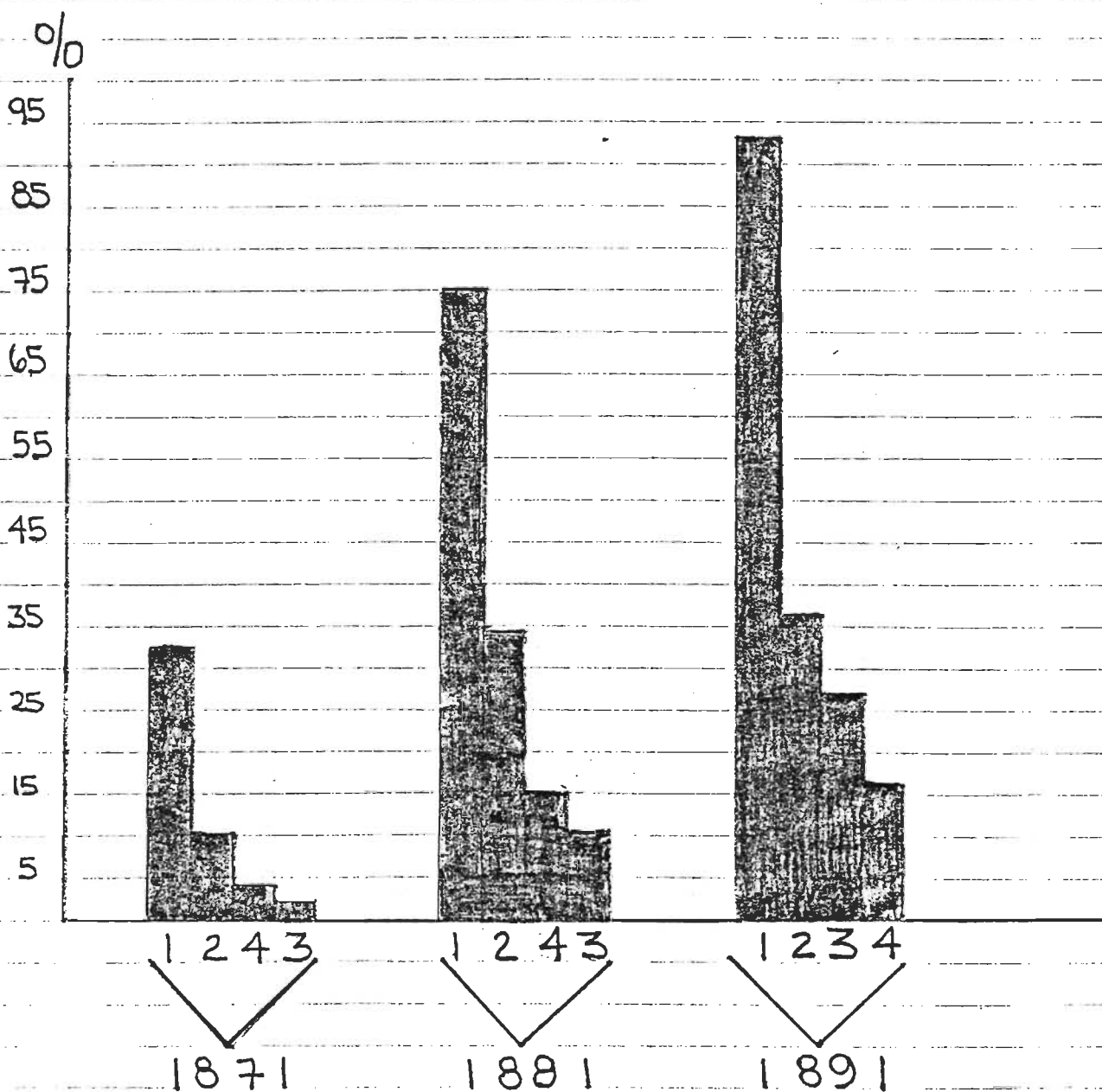
(3) Claude Blouin, "La mécanisation de l'agriculture entre 1830 et 1890 in Normand Seguin, Agriculture et colonisation au Québec, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1980, 94-95.

Land parcelling in the shoreline ranges of the Témiscouata, and probably Kamouraska, was a function of a modest scale of urbanization in the villages and small towns of the lower St. Lawrence. The following table (I.1) identifies this trend in three semi-urban villages from 1871 onwards. At a certain point in the fixation phase of urbanization there appeared a significant number of farms smaller than ten acres. These part-time farmers lower the overall average. The proto-urban lots belonged to artisans, retired farmers, speculators, and factory workers. These were definitely not subdivided peasant households of 30 to 80 "arpents." Our interpretation then is primarily based on the real impact of economic developments such as forestry. With the exception of certain young urban agglomerations - ie. L'Isle-Verte and Fraserville - the continuity of subsistence agriculture in the lower St. Lawrence was assured not threatened, expanded not compressed.

The independant variable that fundamentally transformed the production relations of agriculture in the lower Saint Lawrence is not manifest within agriculture per se. Unlike neighbouring Kamouraska, the dairy industry made no serious inroads into the county prior to the 1880's. In 1861 there

Table 1.1

Lands Ten Acres and Under as Percentage of Total Lands Occupied for
Fraserville, Trois-Pistoles, l'Isle-Verte, St-Patrice.



- 1 = Fraserville
- 2 = Trois-Pistoles
- 3 = l'Isle-Verte
- 4 = St-Patrice

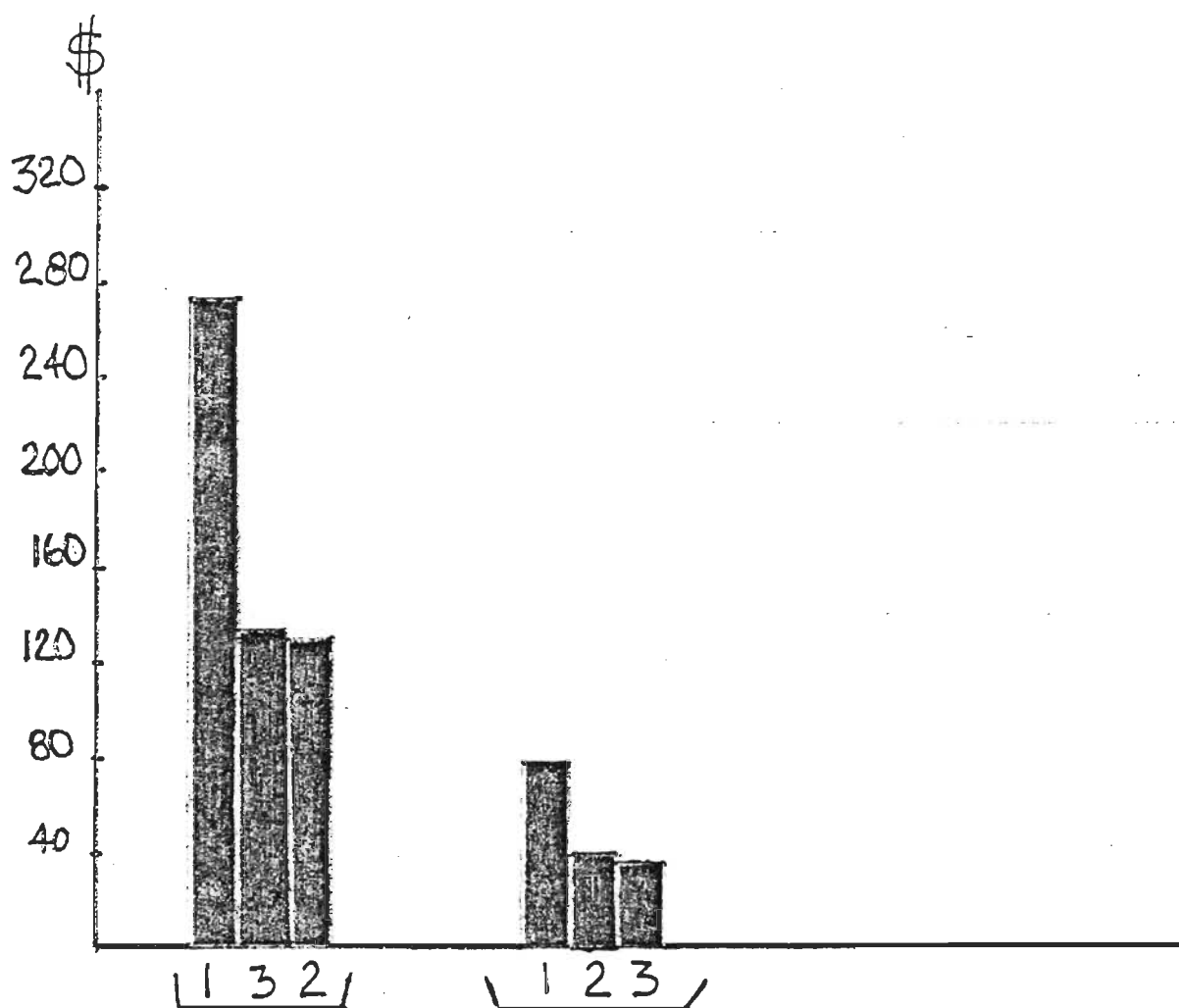
Source: Census of Canada

were three priorities of crop production in the Témiscouata: oats, hay and potatoes. These were the staples of the self-sufficient family farm. In 1871, this crop production was centred on the older census subdistricts of Saint-Arsène, L'Isle-Verte, Trois-Pistoles, Saint-Patrice, and Cacouna (village and parish). We can thereby infer that the situation was much the same in 1861 and perhaps 1851.

Our data on the second half of the 19th Century demonstrates the prevalence of the above items in quantitative terms of production. In live-stock and implements the average Témiscouata farmer was worth half as much as his Kamouraska counterpart (see table I.2 in text). When compared to the latter, a smaller percentage of farmers in the former county used threshing mills in 1871. In the same year reapers and mowers were very rare in both counties. In any event it would have been difficult to rationalize the large capacity of a threshing mill with the low levels of oats productivity in the Témiscouata. The surplus harvest produced in the older subdistricts, if indeed surplus there was, was probably siphoned off or sold to the lumber camps and indirectly to the "colons" of the inland areas.

Table I.2

Average Value of Implements and Livestock per Farm in the Counties of Kamouraska, Témiscouata and Rimouski in 1861.



1 = County of Kamouraska
 2 = County of Témiscouata
 3 = County of Rimouski

Source: Census of Canada, 1871

Insofar as the Témiscouata is concerned one has to discount the Hamelin-Roby hypothesis that oats production alone coincided with and perhaps determined the expansion of improved land (1). In fact, potatoes and hay were just as much a part of the colonization cycle as oats. While at an early stage of occupation, the townships of Denonville and Bégon produced substantially more "minots" of grain than potatoes. At the same time (1861) in the older colonization centres such as Notre-Dame-du-Portage, Saint-Antonin and Saint-Modeste, the exact reverse was true. The drive towards self-sufficiency usually took more than a decade (2).

5) Conclusion: agriculture and forestry entwined: a turning point

Following the era of Napoleonic blockades, a linkage was established between agriculture and forestry in British North America. This was evidenced in the 1825 Sketches of New Brunswick: "the woods furnish a sort of simple manufactory for the inhabitants from which after attending to their farms in the summer they can draw returns during the

(1) J. Hamelin, Y. Roby, op. cit., 166.

(2) Stanislas Drapeau, op. cit., 58-66.

winter (1). The assumption that the agri-forestry symbiosis is applicable to the whole Saint Lawrence valley outside Montréal and Québec is a daring one. Nonetheless the methodology of inter-penetration is relevant to the case of the Témiscouata throughout most of the 19th Century. This agri-forestry system can be defined as follows:

Il s'agit d'une économie de type particulier définie par la co-existence d'un secteur agricole et d'un secteur forestier unis dans un même espace par des liens de complémentarité... (characterized by) 1) absence ou grande faiblesse d'intégration du secteur agricole aux circuits commerciaux; 2) dépendance plus ou moins poussée du secteur agricole aux activités forestières. (2)

The network of family farms along the lower Saint Lawrence was not an initial consequence of forestry or any other capitalist industry. Rather, it was the regional by-product of an undifferentiated 18th Century colonial economy. Agriculture was from the beginning the foundation of this subsistence

(1) A.R.M. Lower, H.A. Innis, Settlement and the Forest and the Mining Frontiers, Toronto, Macmillan, 1936, 32.

(2) Normand Séguin, "L'Economie agro-forestière: genèse du développement au Saguenay au 19^e siècle" in Normand Séguin (ed.), Agriculture et colonisation..., 160. See also "Problèmes théoriques et orientations de recherches" by the same author. For a discussion of the concept "l'exploitation du travail paysan" see ibid., 181-199.

economy. Something, however, should be said for the not inconsiderable contribution of the river's resources which was embedded in the agri-maritime equilibrium. Yet even this aspect of the peasant's world was destined to evolve. By the early 19th Century commercial expeditions towards the Gaspé fisheries provided many lower St. Lawrence inhabitants with seasonal employment. The net impact of the fishing industry upon the lower St. Lawrence was rather marginal in the final analysis. The forestry industry - another dynamic sector in the expanding world capitalist economy - managed to reach much further into the fabric of society on the lower St. Lawrence and incorporate a system of agrarian relations and a subsistence level of economy whose historical antecedents lay in another form of production. Subsistence agriculture now emerged as a dependant, determined form of production in a new social ensemble. In this respect the experience of the Témiscouata before 1850, is quite distinct from the agri-forestry premises of the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean and the Outaouais valley regions (1).

(1) The contrast with the Gaspé peninsula which early in the 19th Century witnessed the emergence "ex nihilo" of a society entirely dependant upon the fishing industry, is equally striking. See Roch Samson, "Gaspé 1760-1830, l'action du capital marchand chez les pêcheurs" in Anthropologie et Sociétés, 1981, vol. 5, no. 1, 57-85.

Forestry harnessed the rural society of the lower Saint Lawrence to an expanding capitalist world. Government, economy and ideology formed a backdrop for a vigorous upheaval during the second third of Canada's 19th Century. Harvest failures such as in La Malbaie (1836) and Rivière-du-Loup (1835) provided the lumber lords with a dependable supply of labour. The inhabitants of the old seigniories and new parishes had probably been lumberjacking in the Témiscouata-Madawaska bush since the early days of the Caldwells. Events in the second half of the 19th Century did not marginalize subsistence agriculture in the Témiscouata. Instead, they amplified the symbiosis between peasantry and forestry.

"Naissance et renaissance"; the demise of the old square timber trade during the second half of the 19th Century ushered in the beginnings of the lumber industry. With the Prices, the Hamiltons and others, "Canadian" wealth achieved new dimensions, new objectives. The ensuing assault on the timber and labour resources of the Témiscouata was unprecedented as we shall see. The hierarchy of social forces that had crystallized in the old parishes proceeded to express itself in a new spatial context. A formidable new breed of forestry bucanears

uprooted forests and farmers, enlisting the support of the clergy and the petty-bourgeoisie in the process. Like an open sack of potatoes - "a single addition of like entities"(1) - the peasantry of the migrant farmer-labourers were emptied into the Témiscouata wilderness. For the "colon" there was no turning back to the 18th Century. His destination lay inland, well removed from the familiar sunset on the Laurentian horizon of the north shore.

(1) Karl Marx from the 18 Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte quoted in Isaac Deutscher, The Prophet Unarmed, Trotsky 1921-1929, Oxford University Press, 1959, 8.

Chapter Two: The Rise and Fall of Fraserville's
Hinterland 1850-1921

"Over most of the backland from l'Islet to Rimouski the woods hold sway and the scattering villages are clustered about a sawmill or are in a state of evolution from cut over lands to farm."*

* Edward P. Conklin in: William Wood, The Storied Province of Québec, Toronto, The Dominion Publishing Co., 1931, vol.I, 280.

Set amidst the industrializing framework of North America, society in the province of Québec experienced significant changes during the second half of the 19th Century. For some, the context of irreversible urbanization provoked visions of agrarian salvation, a desperate feeling of the old paradise lost or going fast (1). But for many, the emerging network of cities provided the integrative and hierarchial substance of society. Montréal with its industrial, agricultural and inter-regional sources of wealth, became the metropolitan institution "par excellence" of the Canadian bourgeoisie. Its network transmitted the fundamental antagonism that enriched the centre and exploited the periphery. In other words, the metropolis sent out the commanding signals of the economy.

Timber, as the rythm—maker of the economy, was increasingly displaced by the diverse manufacturing and industrial "élan" of Canadian and American cities. Although a secondary process of capital accumulation in central Canada, the forestry sector had an outstanding effect upon rural economy and society in the eccentric regions of the

(1) Hofstadter has mentioned a similar phenomenon operative in the late 19th Century U.S.A.. Richard Hofstadter, "Populism Nostalgic Agrarianism" in A.F. Davis, H.D. Woodman, Conflict or Consensus in Modern American History, D.C. Heath and Company, U.S.A., 1967, 81-91.

nation. During the 19th Century it accounted for colonization that was perpendicular to the initial coastline pattern of settlement in the Témiscouata. In an era of Confederation and railroads, small time farmers, boosters and notables were no match for a new breed of lumberlords and big city slickers.

The late 19th and 20th Century colonization movement in Québec was a last ditch attempt on the part of the petty-bourgeoisie to inscribe its institutions and investments onto the expanding frontier. In the Témiscouata, as elsewhere, they mobilized their assets and their imagination to insert themselves between the lumberlords and the migrant farmer-labourers. The new regional units were as much a fragment as an extension of the initial social point of departure. An association of non-labouring classes, around the forestry industry, had already crystallized near the shores of the lower Saint Lawrence in the first half of the 19th Century. As it turned out, the bourgeoisie did not find the participation of its petty "vis à vis" indispensable.

Before embarking on a study of Fraserville per se, the economic evolution of its Témiscouata hinterland should

be outlined. In short, this chapter attempts to characterize forestry's under-development of agriculture: a process that affected townspeople and "colons," big investors and small ones, both at home and at work.

Dependence on the lumber market, for agriculture, was simply bad business. Subsistence farming flourished in the agri-forestry parishes of the Lake Témiscouata and Pohénégamook districts. The modest produce of the fields (hay, oats, and potatoes) was used to feed the family and especially the horses that brought a decent return during winter in the camps. In the 1920's, as Blanchard points out, these farmers were still using antiquated and soil-exhausting methods of crop rotation. Dairy prospects and productivity languished without chemical fertilizers and forage crops. A farmer could not expand his herd of livestock, if he was busily marketing his hay and grains in the lumber camps. Farmers in the neighbouring state of Maine complained that if a horse accompanied his master on logging expeditions, the farmer lost several months worth of good manure (1).

(1) R.G. Wood, op. cit., 196-198. Raoul Blanchard, op. cit., 218-219.

In order to procure needed provisions and implements, farmers became seasonally attached to the forestry industry. The Colonisation Department (of Québec) in 1910 reassuringly informed settlers that logging employment was readily available in the Témiscouata (1). With the homestead as a shock-absorber, wages accordingly remained at a depressed level. The profits and consequent demands of the capitalist economy came together in an extra-territorial, more "advanced", milieu. This ensured the continuity of an impoverishing "traditional" type of economy in the periphery, in this case the Témiscouata.

This challenge of survival spanned the length, breadth and evolution of a Témiscouata frontier dominated by the forestry cycle. The period dealt with in this study commences with the penniless "colons" of Saint-Eleuthère who, in the 1870's, computed and resolved their debts at the general store with cedar shingles. It terminates in the second decade of the 20th Century; focusing on the farmers of Squatteck so vividly portrayed by Jean-François Pouliot, who sold their produce to, bought wood from, and

(1) Alfred Pelland, La Colonisation dans la province de Québec (Québec Ministère de la Colonisation des Mines des Pêcheries, 1910), 48-49.

worked the camps of one single organization: Fraser Limited (1).

- 1) An agri-forestry equilibrium: 1860's to 1880's
 - a) The forestry frontier: a spatial-temporal framework of settlement

Colonization was the final element in the triangular relationship erected by the agri-forestry system between labour, subsistence agriculture and forestry itself. Seasonal offers of employment did not create the high birth rate of the coastline parishes. They did, however, serve to regulate the intense demographic pressure by attracting farmer-labourers and their families closer to the scene of operations in the Matapédia and, of course, the Témiscouata valleys. The population of the old districts, the coastline half of Témiscouata County, barely increased after 1871 and actually slumped from 1881 to 1901. In the southern half of the county (Lake Témiscouata and later Pohénégamook-Estcourt)

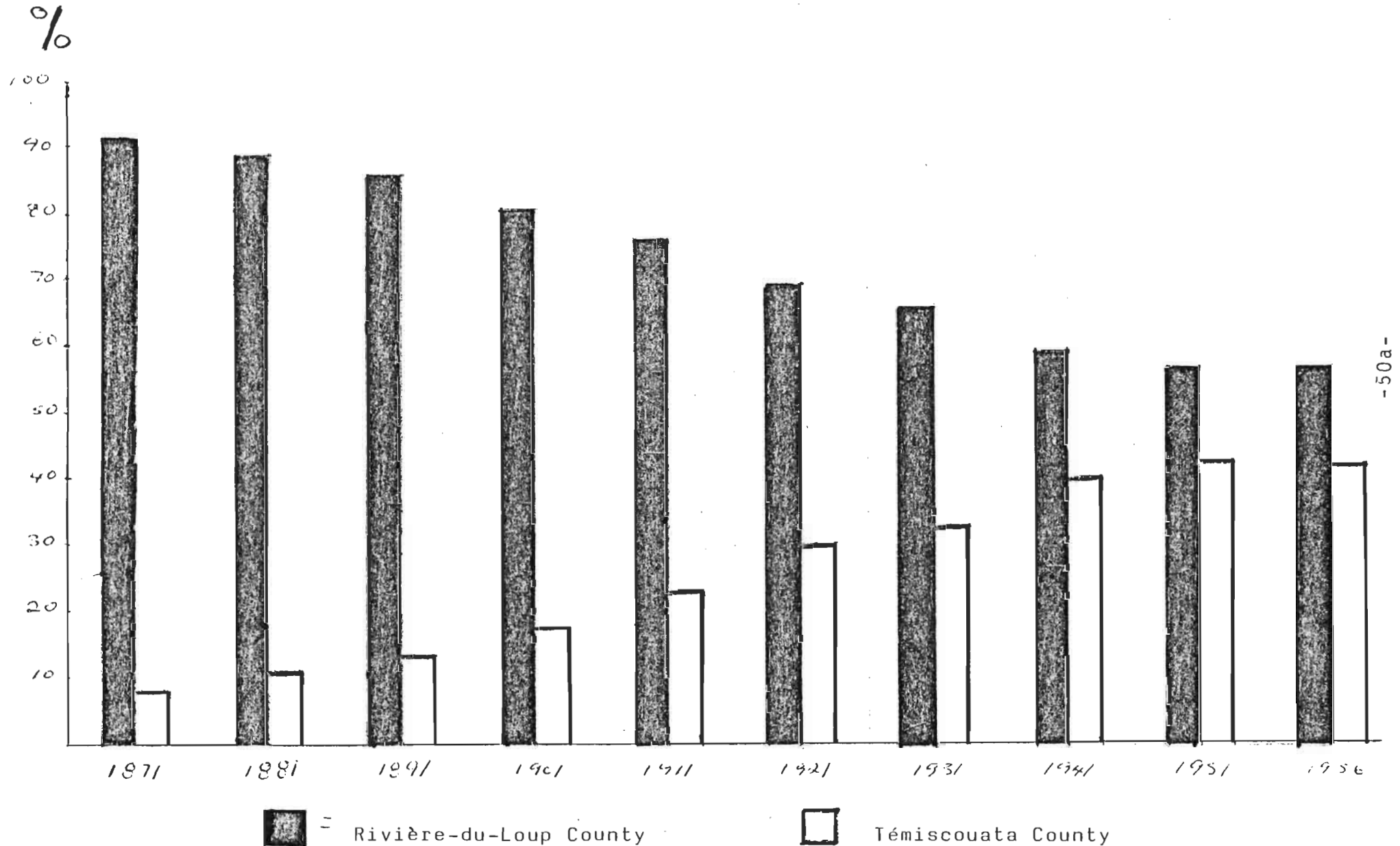
(1) Jean-François Pouliot, Le barrage du Témiscouata, Rivière-du-Loup, Imprimerie Le St-Laurent, 1928. Guy Thériberge, St-Eleuthère-de-Pohénégamook 1874-1974, Ville Pohénégamook, 1974, 176-177. Debts and shingles also intermingled in the mid 19th Century district of Saint Stephan, N.B. and Calais, Maine. See A.R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, Montréal and London, McGill-Queens University Press, 1973, 167.

the increase was impressive right up to 1941 (table II.1 in the text). The tempo was particularly strong during the 1870's, from 1891-1901, and finally in the first four decades of the 20th Century. The localization and success of forestry activities had a lot to do with these migratory rhythms.

The new Témiscouata wagon road of 1861 facilitated travel to and from the interior. The founding families set themselves up on the slopes west of Lake Témiscouata. Settlement would extend north and south of the original nucleus at "Le Detour" (Notre-Dame-du-Lac). By 1871 almost 300 farms had been carved out of the forest stretching north from Dégelis to Poste-du-Lac and just beyond (the future Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!). While road construction attracted some men to the area, a route all by itself could not generate settlement. In 1875 there were few residents on the western half of the Cabano road, and perhaps even fewer along the Saint-André road (see map). What probably most interested the men was the convenience of pine and spruce logging employment on either side of the Témiscouata-Madawaska depression. Before the railroad era, forestry activities in the area were restricted to cutting operations. Without an easy navigable passage, as in the Saguenay for instance, the economic weight

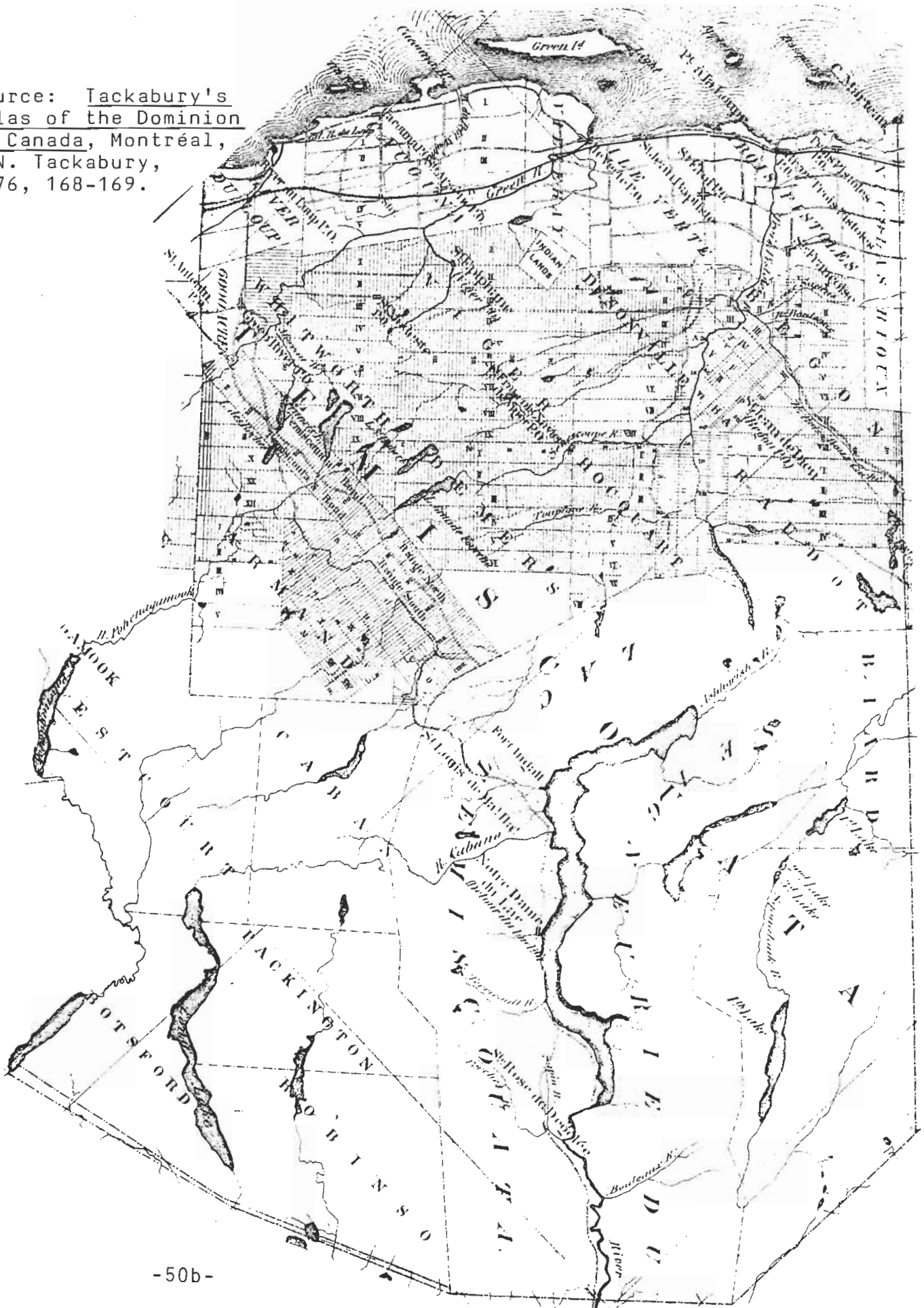
Table II.1

Percentage of Total Population in Coastline (Rivière-du-Loup) and Interior (Témiscouata) Sections of the County (1871-1956).



Source: Yves Martin, op. cit.

Source: Tackabury's
Atlas of the Dominion
of Canada, Montréal,
G.N. Tackabury,
1876, 168-169.



and attractiveness of the area was limited. So it was with the population which by the 1880's had slowed to a trickle (see table II.1 in appendix).

The coming of the Railway in 1888 was a much needed shot in the arm for the original lakeside communities. Sawmills sprang up in the various communities along the rail line. The spruce and cedar stands of the county were attacked with renewed vigour. With the coastline stagnant outside of Fraser-ville, the interior section of the county rounded out the century with a booming 55.5% population increase. The frontier inched away from Lake Témiscouata and headed for the western extremity of the seigniory and the townships beyond. The Témiscouata Railway, especially the Clair N.B. branch line completed in 1892, flung open the doors to the Upper Saint John valley. The Madawaska virtually quadrupled its numbers between 1860 and 1900 (1). Indeed, it became the prime benefactor of this iron rail thrust.

When Donald Fraser built his large sawmill at the mouth of the Cabano river in 1899, he had to start from scratch.

(1) Thomas Albert (l'abbé), Histoire du Madawaska, Québec Imprimerie, Franciscaine Missionnaire, 1920, 236, 287. Population 1860: 8,500, population 1900: 30,000.

Owning no part of the seigniory before 1911, Fraser had to depend on his cutting licenses in the townships of Auclair and Robitaille to supply his new plant. This resulted in a third wave of settlement, particularly on the hitherto empty eastern side of the lake. Settlers flocked to either side of the Touladi-Squatteck basin. These waters conveniently flowed into Lake Témiscouata almost directly opposite Cabano. Even the Murchies conceded over 2,000 arpents during the first decade of the century, on their's the eastern section of the seigniory. This movement, essentially focused on Saint-Michel-de-Squatteck or the township of Robitaille, was sustained, if not amplified, by the strong World War I demand for lumber products: boards, paddles and the like. Along with Robitaille, the townships of Lejeune and Saint-Juste-du-Lac were "invaded" during the depression years of the 1930's. Clearly the occupation of land and the location of woodcutting opportunities were spatially as well as economically inter-related(1).

A fourth and final frontier developed in the Pohénégamook-Estcourt vicinity at roughly the same time: 1900-1941.

(1) We will eventually have to pile up much more empirical evidence to face Bouchard's skepticism on this point. Gérard Bouchard, "Introduction à l'étude de la société saguenayenne" in R.H.A.F.; vol. 31, no. 1, juin 1977, 14.

The construction of the government's Transcontinental did not escape the eye of settlers and lumberlords alike. Parishes from Saint-Athanase to Saint-Marc-du-Lac-Long (Les Etroits) mushroomed beside the tracks. Milltowns, lumbercamps, and depressed, hilly farming areas evoked a now familiar pattern. Here too, the crisis of the 1930's produced many newcomers. In these troubled times circumstantial agriculturalism was a cause of great anxiety for all concerned (1).

Thus far the expansionist tendencies of the agri-forestry frontier have been discussed in a chronological light. The implosive character of the system that differentially structured space in the Témiscouata will presently be considered. As might be expected, the spatial pattern was not perfectly uniform.

Fraserville, because of its urban pre-eminence, was relatively unique. While the rest of the county was in the throes of emigration, its population almost doubled from 1881 to 1891. Even the group of villages, in Fraserville's

(1) Invoking its slim assets, the municipal council of Saint-Eléuthère, in 1935, resolved that the maintenance of several poor families, recently arrived, remain the sole responsibility of those citizens upon whose property they were camped, in Guy Thériage, op. cit., 119.

immediate vicinity, had stopped growing in the 1870's. It is far from clear whether the rural "surplus" here as well as elsewhere in the county was directed towards the Rivière du Loup. The limited quality of industry hindered the flow of migration to this and other towns. It also prevented Fraserville from thoroughly cashing in on the expansion of the frontier. The Témiscouata remained a predominantly rural county throughout the late 19th and early 20th Centuries. Increased population usually resulted from the diffusion of settlement.

Four other networks of rural communities emerged during the period 1871-1956 (see table II.1 in appendix). The optimal population of all four units hovered between nine and ten thousand each. Settlement was thinly spread even on the micro-level. Townships contained one, exceptionally two parishes. Subsistence agriculture made few demands of its village servant. The locus of church, store, office and boutique was fixed on the basis of farming priorities: arable land, pasture, construction and heating materials and hydrography (ie. energy for sawmills and grist-mills)(1). Hydrography alone had

(1) N. Séguin, "Hebertville au Lac Saint-Jean 1850-1900: un exemple québécois de colonisation au XIXe siècle," C.H.S.H.C./H.P.C.H.A., 1973, 258-259.

much to do with the location of villages included in the Trois-Pistoles, Squatteck, Témiscouata and Pohénégamook-Estcourt "ensembles."

The intense occupation phase or boom of settlement marginally increased the demand on village services. Thus the lumbercamp farm developed into a village nucleus once the labour demands and migratory flows intersected. In similar circumstances a slightly older village provided services over and above its parochial role, if fortuitously, it was situated on a transportation route between a peopled and a peopling region. Stuck between the "congested" Saint Lawrence and a young and booming-pioneering-frontier, Notre-Dame-du-Lac was one such transitory step in time and place along the "Chemin Témiscouata." Yet the centrifugal flow of settlement weakened the initial centre. The mediocrity of affluence and extra-parochial function would then diffuse itself on even terms to Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!, Sainte-Rose and eventually Saint-Eusèbe.

The second axis of forestry-settlement ascended the Trois-Pistoles river from the Saint Lawrence. Here the process of colonization was slow if not downright erratic. Parishes such as Saint-Jean-de-Dieu and Saint-Clément saw

their numbers diminish in the period from 1881 to 1891. In fact, the same decade was a write-off for the whole coastline half of the county (table II.1 in appendix). The trend culminated in 1891, with the disappearance of Saint-François-Xavier-de-Viger. The parish was divided up between Saint-Epiphanie and Saint-Hubert.

Two other settlement fronts grew in most emphatic leaps and bounds. In Pohénégamook-Estcourt, the Transcontinental gave birth to a series of agri-forestry communities much as in the Great Clay belt- Témiscamīngue region of northern Ontario and Québec. The tardiness of the move into the Squattack country demands a careful look at the factors promoting and impeding the progress of colonization around Lake Témiscouata.

The remarkable paucity of habitations on the eastern side of Lake Témiscouata was observed in 1899, 1910, and 1945. Part of this area remains uninhabited to this day. An analysis of Crown Land sources and policies is of little aid to the student here. The land was not the government's to sell. In asserting that private real-estate domains, anachronistically called seigniories, retarded colonization, E. Minville was not

just singling out the Price Bros.' domains behind Rimouski (1). He must have been thinking of the relative impermeability of much of the Témiscouata-Madawaska seigniory. In his era of the 1940's, the fief belonged to a forestry magnate, Fraser Companies Limited.

By 1881 the seigniory was split between three businessmen: George Winthrop Coffin (of Boston, Mass.), James Murchie (of the Saint-Stephen-Calais area) and William Widgery Thomas (of Portland, Maine). Murchie's land, 94,000 arpents, ran east of Lake Témiscouata and the Madawaska river and south of the Touladi basin to the New Brunswick border. Thomas was situated on the opposite side of the valley between the New Brunswick border and, perhaps, the Cabano river. He increased his property from 63,000 arpents in 1876 to 113,000 in 1881. Thomas acquired the extra 50,000 arpents from Coffin in 1881, leaving the latter with about 100,000 arpents. Most of this domain was sold again to Thomas in three chunks by 1900.

The seigniors had ample occasion to run into each other. George W. Coffin was most likely acquainted with Sir John

(1) Esdras Minville, "La colonisation" in Actualité économique, XVIII, 2, mai 1942, 139.

Caldwell, either through matrimonial or business dealings (1). Coffin got along famously with another prominent lumberlord: James Murchie. In 1872 he sold over 140,000 arpents, perhaps in common and undivided ownership, to Murchie. Apparently the two of them let the tax date elapse and Coffin bought back the entire property from the county sheriff five years later, for \$600. Eventually Coffin sold 94,000 arpents outright to Murchie for one dollar, in 1881. James Murchie, lumber and cotton manufacturer, banker, and one-time M.L.A. in the New Brunswick legislature, was above all interested in the resources and mortgageability of his landed real estate. One of his first acquisitions was a slice of 2,700 arpents purchased from the Canal National Bank of Portland, Maine. William W. Thomas was the president of that bank.

Seignior Thomas would have an eventful career. His experience as United States pleni-potentiary to the Kingdom of Norway and Sweden marked him for life. Thomas founded the colony of New Sweden in Aroostook County, Maine, and published two volumes on Scandinavian culture and history (see bibliography). Unlike the other two seigniors, Thomas'

(1) Charels W. Coffin, George's son, was married to Dame Marie-Alma de Courberon, daughter (?) of Clément D'Amours Desplaines de Courberon. De Courberon leased and operated Fraserville's Royal Hotel from sir John H. Caldwell, in 1849. See B.R.R.T., Registre des Actes, nos. 425 (1851), 14,884 (1878), 18,007 (1882). See table I.6 in appendix.

investment in colonization was considerable. A substantial amount of land had already been cleared on his, the western side of the Témiscouata valley, before 1877. He did not resist the trend and sold at least 60 lots from 1877-1884, in Sainte-Rose-du-Dégelé, Saint-Louis, and Notre-Dame-du-Lac. Ground rent and especially mortgage payments combined with the occasional leasing of cutting rights in seigneurial forests provided dependable revenues. Streams of settlers and the railroad gave real estate values a remunerative, upward flair in the late 1880's.

Hucksters would have been hard put to out-traffic seigniorial directors in their concurrent attempts to speculate on woodlots. It goes without saying that much more research is needed to fix the rhythm of land exchanges and revocations in their semi-urban, forested, cleared, seigniorial and non-seigniorial forms. Historians could fruitfully study the crown lands situated outside of the Témiscouata seigniory. At the peak of the Transcontinental Railway boom from 1909 to 1931, 75% of the lots in the parish of Rivière-Bleue changed hands at least twice (1). One suspects that the sale of cutting rights on individual lots to lumber companies was a widespread phenomenon.

(1) Raoul Blanchard, op. cit., 215-217.

Studies on the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean have demonstrated the connection between railroads, timber-value, woodlot speculation and the occupation, willful or not, of bad soil (1). The land authorities in Fraserville and Notre-Dame-du-Lac were somewhat removed in person and spirit from the scene of land exchanges. One agent issued a "billet de colonisation" to a settler who had taken the additional precaution of purchasing a steam-saw: hardly the most useful instrument for ploughing fields (2). The unique seigniorial character of real estate management around Lake Témiscouata merits a closer look.

None of the seigniors was careless about land concessions. The average deed of sale specified the terms of payment usually encompassing mortgage, right of way, and road-maintenance clauses. The latter unburdened the grantor from his neighbourly (share-cost) obligations. Mindful of the human propensity to err, the seigniors hired caretakers to protect their forests. George Murchie opened the tap on colonization

(1) See Daniel Larouche, "Le mouvement de concession des terres à Laterrière" in Normand Séguin, Agriculture et Colonisation au Québec, 178-179. Normand Séguin, La conquête du sol au 19e siècle (coll. 1760), Sillery, Boréal Express, 1977, 129-132.

(2) Le Journal de Fraserville, June 1890. The incident occurred in Chabot township.

after his father's death in 1904. Yet the land-clearing and burning operations of his "colons" were supervised by his hired hands. While overseas, seignior Thomas delegated his power of attorney to Frederick G. Quincy, a land surveyor from Bangor, Maine. The instructions give us a glimpse of his colonization "politik":

- 1) spot cash (down payments) must be paid before the deed is transferred;
- 2) do not sell lots exceeding 100 acres in area;
- 3) preferably sell lots with buildings erect and land already cleared;
- 4) do not, or try not to, sell lots with merchantable lumber;
- 5) do not sell more than one lot to the same person;
- 6) concentrate sales on the western side of the Témiscouata-Madawaska valley (1).

(1) B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no. 41972, (1908). Adequate research on land concessions should go beyond quantitative analyses of the "Index aux Immeubles." Individually registered contracts, though bothersome to locate, contain a wealth of information. Ibid: Registre des Actes, nos. 28941, 45464, 45660, 47041; Registre C, vol. 2, nos. 1017, 1018, (1884). Hired hands were a fact of life in forests throughout the province. J. Hamelin, Y. Roby, op. cit., 209.

It was in the interests of the seigniorial landlord or lumberlords to maintain the supply of cheap forestry labour by providing for some degree of colonization. The government road and the first settlers happened to occupy the western side of the seigniory. The integrity of the forests located on the opposite side of the valley was a "sine qua non" of their wealth. Put succinctly, east and west were exploited on a complementary, not an identical basis.

b) Lumbering in the Témiscouata: transportation and production

The process of integrating the dispersed communities of the Témiscouata into a distinct economic unit was a gradual one. The development of pine and spruce logging in the generation following 1850 established a primitive common denominator.

Fraserville was a creation of transportation, lumber, and commerce. These activities established a firm and lasting relationship between the town and the evolving Témiscouata countryside. To some extent, particularly with respect to lumber and commerce, this creation had been in the making for

some time. The proliferation of woodcutting and settlement, in the first half of the 19th Century, stimulated new communities and demands for a variety of goods and services. Foundries and tanneries, grocers and dry-goods merchants, all were encouraged by the signature of reciprocity in 1854. The trade with the Aroostook-Madawaska colonists was thriving even before 1860 and the completion of the brand new "Chemin du Lac." Thomas Jones, Fraserville's first mayor, combined mail delivery with commercial pursuits and by his death, in 1853, he had amassed a fleet of 10 wagons.

In one swift stroke the merchants of Fraserville became general purveyors for the whole county. In 1860 the Grand Trunk Railway made the Rivière du Loup its eastern terminus in a reluctant march towards the Atlantic colonies. Quite naturally, the terminus became a first-rate commercial depot for more than a decade. Historiography usually emphasizes the importance of the Grand Trunk and the Intercolonial in eroding the chronic "isolationism" of the economy in the lower Saint Lawrence. W. Parker for example has argued that the north and south shores were completely out of touch

with each other (1). On the contrary: sea-ships, barges, and goélettes were all part of a developing navigation scene. In the place of one dock in 1854, there were now four in 1886; stretched along the bulging cove upstream from the mouth of the Rivière du Loup. Of course the Intercolonial too competed for the upriver trade. Indeed, as Faucher points out, it drove the Richelieu and Ontario Steamship Company, and the passenger business itself, right out of the Saint Lawrence and into the Atlantic (2). Yet a substratum of "goélette" trade in empty beer bottles, foodstuffs and agricultural produce persisted. Some of the traffic actually headed downstream in the form of fishing expeditions and lumber exports.

The piers of Trois-Pistoles, L'Isle-Verte, and Fraserville were constructed by or for lumbermen. The Intercolonial branchline reached the new dock on the Rivière du Loup point in 1886. Increased handling capacity simply magnified the volume of those initial mainstays: firewood and lumber. As was the case in other river ports the strong tides complicated

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- (1) W.H. Parker, "The Towns of Lower Canada in the 1830's" in R.P. Beckinsale and J.M. Houston (ed.), Urbanization and its Problems, Oxford, Blackwell, 1968, 408. Others have drawn hasty conclusions: P.A. Linteau, J.C. Robert, R. Durocher, op. cit., 97.
- (2) Albert Faucher, Québec en Amérique, Montréal, Fides, 1973, 112.

connections. Small barges and lighters made up the difference between the lumber stockpiled on shore and the ocean vessels anchored several hundred yards out. During the 1900's the Fraserville Chambre of Commerce, the Trans Saint-Laurent (a local navigation company) and Donald Fraser and Sons lobbied unsuccessfully for a deep sea port. The federal government responded by lengthening the wharf in 1911 which, excepting the Gros Cacouna harbour project, is pretty much where the situation still stands. The mediocrity of the Témiscouata's navigational infrastructure was based on expectations and exigencies of limited industrial output. The genius of lumbering was to invest very little and take very much.

The numerical multiplication of sawmills in the county imperfectly reflects the progress of logging and migration. The quantitative fluctuation of production units is not a dependable indicator of the health of commercial forestry. Of course nothing was to prevent a small businessman from supplying one of the Québec City lumber marauders. In terms of costs, small was vulnerable. Access to power and cutting rights was a paying proposition, if not an exclusive privilege for seigniors-cum-landlords. Under the circumstances polyvalence was a necessity. Modest installations became saw-grist-carding-fulling-mills all rolled into one. Such was

the fate of the Beaulieu establishment in Saint-Clément, founded in 1875. The real substance of commercial forestry, prior to the 1900's, lay beyond the reach of parochial production.

A large part of the log harvest was transformed into deals and lumber at the mouth of the rivers: Trois-Pistoles, Verte, and du Loup, before heading for Great Britain. The trade in squared pine had rapidly exhausted the choice stands by 1871 (table II.2 in appendix). In 1894 Ixworth and Bungay Townships were even running out of construction wood (spruce?) (1). The construction of the railroad west of Rivière-du-Loup in the 1850's and east thereof twenty years later stimulated woodcutting. Conversely some producers were brought to their knees. The Caldwell mill on the Rivière du Loup was in ruins by the 1860's. Nazaire Tétu sold his Trois-Pistoles mill and crownland cutting rights in 1871. Was the Price competition for the British market unbearable? Which struck Tétu with greater force: credit or timber exhaustion? What of the enormous potential around the wilderness lakes: Témiscouata and Pohénégamook? These two questions, which are for the moment unanswerable, bring us to a third line of enquiry.

(1) Guide du colon 1894, Québec, Département des Terres de la Couronne, 1894, 108.

Situated on the other side of the Appalachian divide, the Témiscouata and Pohénégamook districts were initially outside of the Saint Lawrence line of fire. One source indicates that 75% of the county's total surface was under licence to cut in 1897 (1). Evidently the sparsely populated area between the Robitaille and Estcourt townships figured prominently in some sort of timber strategy.

A voracious appetite for lumber pushed New Brunswick and American loggers into the Témiscouata-Madawaska valley. A.R.M. Lower notes that as of 1868, the pine forests of the Saint John had disappeared: "excepting on the streams which flow into it from Maine" (2). It might be added that the authorities in Fredericton further stimulated the march north by alienating, rather than leasing crown lands, in the 19th Century. Timber raiding took place unabashedly in public and private forests on either side of the border. This mobility formed the backdrop to the Aroostook border dispute

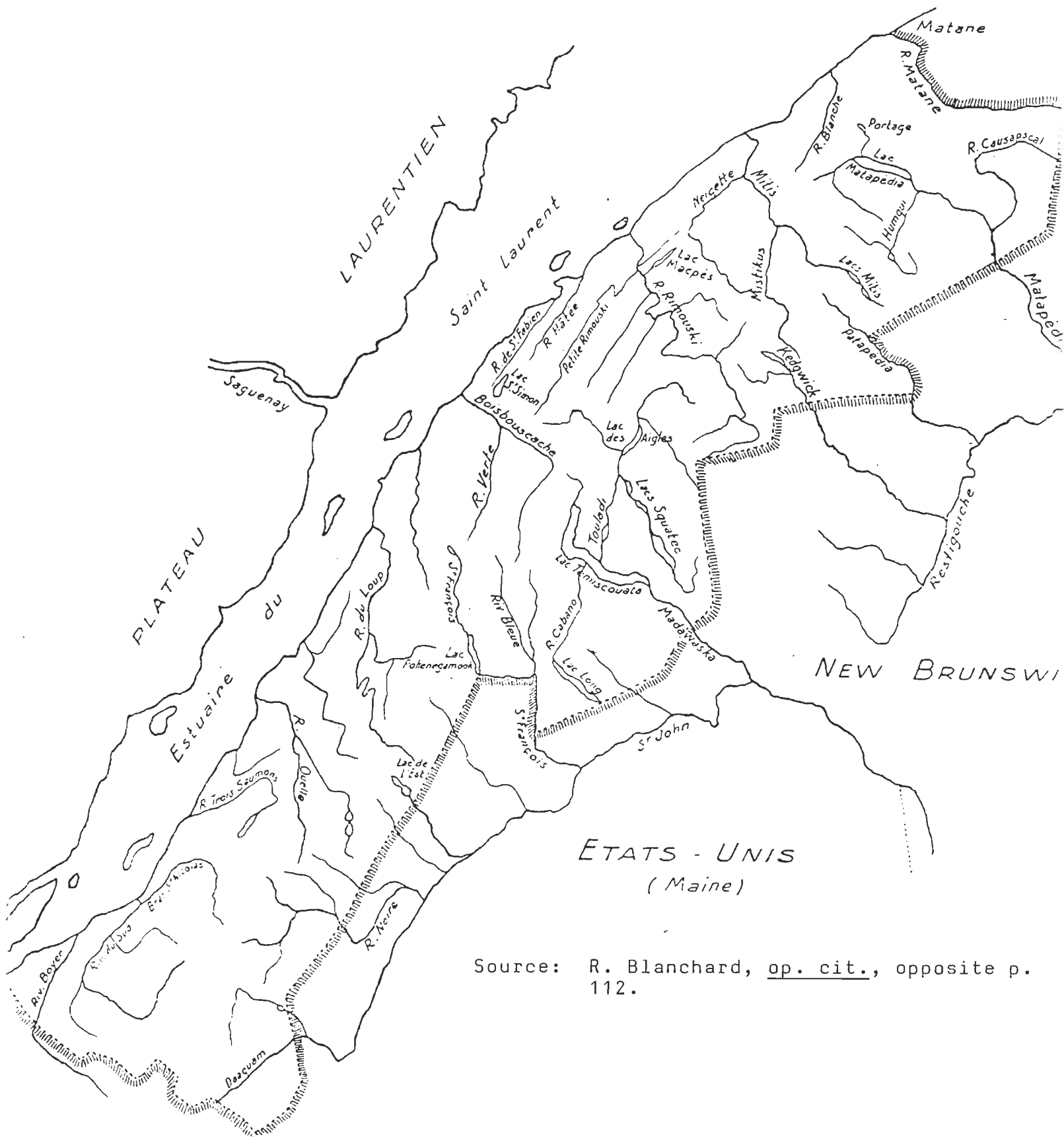
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- (1) 1,393 square miles were under licence, total area of the county in 1891: 1,841 sq. miles, in Eugène Rouillard, La Colonisation dans les comtés Témiscouata, Matane..., Québec ministre de la Colonisation, 1891, 81-89.
- (2) A.R.M. Lower, The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest, Toronto Ryerson Press, 1958, 139.

of the early 1840's. The invisibility of the border was enshrined ten years later in the Reciprocity Treaty (1). Acadian settlers ignored the border line and built their parishes on both sides of the Saint John river.

The hydrography of the Témiscouata-Madawaska and Pohénégamook-Saint-François valleys provided routes, some circuitous and some more convenient for getting the logs to the Saint John. The first one of these, the Lake Témiscouata-Madawaska River - St. John River axis, was a relatively simple route. Caldwell may have used this direct route to Grand-Sault on the St. John river during the early part of the 19th Century. Seignior and lumberlord James Murchie shipped from the Touladi and Cabano river valleys into Lake Témiscouata and thence down its outlet to the junction of the Madawaska and St. John rivers at Edmunston. In this manner Murchie could supply his Edmunston mill with logs cut dozens and sometimes hundreds of kilometers away (see map II.2).

Log-drive operators disposed of two other routes. The Lake Pohénégamook - Saint-François system, and Lake Merumticook and outlet, its more easterly vis-à-vis. Both emptied

(1) R.G. Wood, op. cit., 52, 69-70. New Brunswick's forest land was privately owned in 1935. See J.A. Guthrie, The Newsprint Paper Industry, Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1941, 31.



into the Saint John river. The tributaries of the system: the Rivière Bleue and the Petite Rivière Bleue drained the townships of Estcourt and Cabano. In the 1890's the nearby townships of Pohénégamook and Packington had run out of pine. The efficient Atlantic loggers were probably well into Robinson township with still few settlers in sight.

The pine resources of the Témiscouata were the initial victims of the forestry assault. Somewhere between the 1870's and the 1890's the lumberlords switched from pine to spruce. For some reason the gap in this consecutive cycle, first pine then spruce, was more rapidly bridged in the Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean region. Here the volume and pattern of migration was more impressive. The weak demand for labour during its more gradual period of transition made the Témiscouata frontier less attractive to Québécois migrants. The intensity of colonization and logging after 1890 bears out this point. In any event, the lumberlords could count on another pool of cheap labour made up of migrant Acadian farmer-labourers. Thus Murchie's large sawmill at Edmunston gave birth to an agglomeration that leapt from oblivion in 1878 to 3,000 people eleven years later. Tucked away in a north-west corner the Madawaska escaped Arthur Lower's generally perceptive glance. New Brunswick's most recent mixture

of lumbering and farming disappeared not in the 1860's, but some time in the 20th Century (1).

Atlantic routes and entrepreneurship explain the orientation of lumbering and therefore settlement between Lakes Témiscouata and Pohénégamook. This articulation literally yanked the economy in a southern direction. Meanwhile the stands within reach of the Saint Lawrence were feverishly appropriated or destroyed. The massive scale of the lumber exporting business was bound to attract attention. Ambitious and indignant "Témiscouatans" circulated a petition in 1897 demanding that the spruce and cedar harvest off crown lands be transformed inside the province of Québec. They too desired to profit from the agri-forestry "boom"(2).

c) Elements of petty-bourgeois power: credit, land appropriation, and the colonization movement

The overflow of traditional society into the Témiscouata wilderness, beginning during the second half of the 19th Century, was made cohesive by a specific socio-cultural force: the petty-bourgeoisie. The colonization movement

(1)A.R.M. Lower, H.A. Innis, op. cit., 37.

(2)Le Saint Laurent, 30 Dec., 1897.

mobilized their energies particularly in the province of Québec; apparently consolidating a politico-economic position, however decadent, of some prestige. We shall examine first the economic, then the politico-cultural ramifications of this effort.

It has been argued that the redundancy of institution-alized overhead costs impoverished the rural citizenry in the peripheral regions of Québec during the 19th and 20th Centuries. A. Faucher suggests that part of the "savings," much needed in the old parishes, emigrated with the "colons" (1). This put the heart and soul of the rural economy on very thin ice. One wonders in which direction the resources were being drained. Faucher disregards one of V. Fowke's valuable contributions to our understanding of Canadian rural society in Ontario and the prairies: namely that agricultural areas are from the very beginning in time and space investment frontiers (2). In short, historically-speaking, new regions rapidly become heavily indebted to older more established ones.

(1) A. Faucher, "Explication socio-économique des migrations dans l'histoire du Québec". N. Séguin, Agriculture et colonisation au Québec, 146.

(2) Vernon Fowke, The National Policy and the Wheat Economy, University of Toronto Press, 1957.

The country merchant linked city and countryside by his general store which modestly institutionalized the commercial flow of industrial and agricultural commodities. In order to survive this middle man had to squeeze the right customer at the right time and thus meet his obligations toward the big city commercial jobbers. In this manner he could maintain a widespread and viable business. The expanding rural frontier of the Témiscouata provided an opportunity for considerable investment.

As mortgage lenders and landowners the merchants, notables, and professionals of Fraserville had a strong real estate position in many parts of the county. William Fraser, the seignior of Rivière-du-Loup, was a prominent landowner in town and country. Land parcelling due to urbanization and railroad expropriation would contribute substantially to the seigniorial coffers (see chapter three: 3a),b),c)).

Other notables had recourse to more aggressive methods of acquiring wealth and land. Even before the 1850's Antoine-G. Côté of Fraserville and Louis Bertrand of L'Isle-Verte accepted mortgages on land in exchange for merchandise or cash forwarded. The success of the Georges Pelletier and the Louis Dugal families largely resulted from the diffusion

of credit (table II.3 in appendix). The case of Philéas Dubé illustrates the effective nature of the credit chain between Fraserville and, for example, Notre-Dame-du-Lac. In 1887 Dubé was deemed the most important merchant in Notre-Dame-du-Lac (1). Within a year and a half he borrowed \$4,000. The business subsequently caved in.

Real estate speculation and trafficking added a second dimension to town-country credit relationships. Jean-Baptiste Pouliot, a notary, and Charles-Eugène Pouliot, lawyer and son of the former, specialized in this line of investment. Prudently it could be suggested that their prime objective was to maximize land values without improvements. Both resided in Fraserville. Both erected a stable profit margin on exchanges of woodlots - in the outlying townships of Armand and Whitworth - and farmlots - notably around Notre-Dame-du-Lac - during the 1880's and the 1890's (2). In general, foreclosures and sharp deals revealed an interest in two things: acquisition of property for a quick resolution of a previous debt; and acquisition of property

(1) Le Jour, 9 Dec., 1887.

(2) B.R.R.T., Registre des Actes, no. 30943 (1898); Index aux Immeubles Notre-Dame-du-Lac, vol. 1.

as a financial end in itself (1).

Studies in the Saguenay, a region of similar vocation, reveal that the family farm, a most prized possession in the so-called "folk society," was not always nor evenly passed on from father to son (2). Lucrative real estate and credit operations disrupted the transmission or continuity of ownership and produced a concomitant exploitation of peasant labour (3). Amidst defaulting farmers and exacting capitalists, the petty-bourgeoisie acted to conserve its advantageous position to the detriment of the former. Peasant and petty-bourgeois lay antagonistically suspended in a non-capitalist but subordinate form of production that was in a gradual process of erosion. Their struggle was a subtle one. The one distrusted the other's intentions without taking him too seriously. Deep down it was understood that neither commanded the important levers of economic and political power by which they were both governed.

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- (1) On the concept of land capital in a rural context, see N. Séguin, La conquête du sol au 19e siècle (coll. 1760), Sillery Québec, Boréal Express, 1977, 234.
- (2) N. Séguin, ibid., 185-187.
- (3) N. Séguin, "Problèmes théoriques et orientation de recherche" in N. Séguin, Agriculture et colonisation..., 185-189 on the concept of the exploitation of peasant labour.

Such a brief discussion does not do justice to the complexity and multiplicity of mechanisms implicit in a county chain of credit. It does, however, substantiate the impact of the petty-bourgeoisie in the peopled parts of the Témiscouata. The commercial-financial presence of Fraserville's notables in the backwoods of the county is striking, as is their aversion to industrial investment outside their hometown. In an agri-forestry frontier the collaboration-association of the petty-bourgeoisie with the forestry capitalists was not an act of faith. Interest payments and real estate speculation were as much a part of their creed as "la Colonisation."

The Colonization movement brought together shopkeepers, professionals, clergymen, and of course settlers. The association was harmoniously laced with vested interests. It was an opportunity for small businessmen to make promising investments in real estate. The clergy stood to gain a stimulus to its politico-moral prestige. Quite naturally the executive of the "Société de colonisation de Kamouraska" (1869 version) brought together: François Pilote, superior at the Collège Saint-Anne-de-la-Pocatière and president of the society, Curé Roy of Saint-Alexandre - vice-president, and Alexandre Gagnon, notary, also from Saint-Alexandre. The "société" wanted to

settle the townships of Parke, Pohénégamook, Chabot, Estcourt and Cabano. Presumably Curé Roy's parish was running out of room.

Seven years later in Trois-Pistoles the local notables founded the "Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Trois-Pistoles." The project assembled Napoléon Rioux, seignior of Trois-Pistoles and future M.L.A., Nazaire Tétu, ex-lumber merchant, and of course the parish priest. Their energies were concentrated on the township of Bégon near Saint-Jean-de-Dieu, a parish founded in 1874. Undoubtedly the group wanted to control a share of the thousands of acres put up for sale by the province in 1875 (1). The "Société de Colonisation de Trois-Pistoles" took over from the "Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste" in 1890. The "curé"-founders from Saint-Eloi, Saint-Clément, and Trois-Pistoles intended to colonize the townships of Bégon, Raudot and Robitaille. More prudent than societies elsewhere in the province, they resolved not to open up the Squatteck country until a road was built and thus the government was petitioned accordingly (2).

(1) Part of the 1 million acres granted to the Grand Trunk Railway from Trois-Pistoles to New Brunswick (by the Province of Canada) in 1852-53. J. Hamelin, Y. Roby, *op. cit.*, 130.

(2) Le Journal de Fraserville, 4 Feb., 1890. C.A. Gauvreau, M. D'Amours, Les Trois-Pistoles, vol. II, 1946, 181-191.

As early as 1875 the province of Québec established a program of cash advances to attract "Canadien" expatriates in the United States. Some felt that legislated promises were insufficient. A clerical group banded together, in 1908, to promote a colonization (repatriation) society for Franco-Americans. The venture lasted only four years despite the potential of the clientèle and the strength of the overall back-to-Québec movement. They did establish the nucleus of the future parish of Saint-David-d'Estcourt (Sully) which in 1921 numbered more than 1,000 (1).

Road construction and land purchases were complicated and costly endeavours for colonization societies. In some respects the "société" replaced the state, to the knowledge and benefit of the latter. For instance, a harvest failure left the "colons" of Saint-Eleuthère stranded in 1870. Philosophically opposed to idleness, the provincial government pledged a lump sum of \$500., on the condition that the colons improve the roads in the neighbourhood free of charge.

(1) Guy Théberge, op. cit., 70. The Témiscouata-Madawaska-Pohénégamook triangle could provide a good testing ground for hypotheses on the mobility of Québec's population. See Yolande Lavoie, "Les mouvements migratoires des Canadiens entre leurs pays et les Etats-Unis au XIXe siècle" in H. Charbonneau, La population du Québec, études rétrospectives, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1973, 73-88.

Need it be added that lumbermen too found such roads convenient. The improvement of land, in other words labour itself, was a favourite type of down payment for government subsidies or other reciprocal agreements (1).

In 1880 the Kamouraska society closed its doors. Settlement in the Pohénégamook remained insignificant until the years of the Transcontinental Railway, 1908-1921. The Franco-American repatriation organization vanished merely four years after it was founded. The Trois-Pistoles societies were more successful in Saint-Jean-de-Dieu. The township of Raudot, however, remained "impervious" to settlement up until the depression years. Meanwhile the township of Robitaille waited on the 20th Century needs of the Fraser plant in Cabano.

In the final analysis the clerical-petty-bourgeois leadership would encounter "undisciplined" colonization motivations. Moreover the objectives of these colonization institutions or the powerful figures within them were not altogether altruistic.

(1) Guy Thériage, op. cit., 24, 37. The government applied the same principle of road labour in return for subsidies to the desperate colons of La Patrie in 1877. See J.I. Little, "La Patrie Québec's Repatriation Colony 1875-1888" in C.H.S.H.C./H.P.-C.H.A., 1977, 76. This is the only other Franco-American colonization society that I have encountered.

These were politically as well as practically-minded men. Certainly the media - the Gazette des Campagnes in La Pocatière, Le Jour and later Le St-Laurent in Fraserville - expressed a dependable "party line." "Emparons-nous du sol" and other exclamations were useful slogans for conservative-minded ideologues distressed by the diaspora to the United States and the execution of Louis Riel. The context of political-economic and demographic flux either swamped or disregarded the spirit and institution of colonization in the late 19th and 20th Century Témiscouata. For the people the godliness of the endeavour was tempered by the reality of hard times.

d) Working the land: survival and mobility

Subsistence farmers had a difficult time making ends meet in the Témiscouata. The fields and livestock that fed the family commanded their attention from late spring to autumn. In addition, farmers were obligated to spend many a long winter in the lumber camps earning cash to keep up the yearly payments on the homestead and hopefully secure a permanent claim thereto. Apart from the government or the seignior, there were the ever recurrent debts at the general store. Challenging as it was this life discouraged many

settlers in their first years of colonization. In light of the usual problems incumbent on homesteaders such as destruction of soil, property and timber by forest fires, harvest failures, and flooding, the tenacity of the "colons" in Témiscouata was amazing. From an economic standpoint the position of the Témiscouata farmer was anything but encouraging.

The rudimentary road network, the lure of forestry and the relatively depressed level of agricultural prices in the last quarter of the 19th Century did little to stimulate farming in the Témiscouata. Thus isolated from extra-territorial circuits, the county's agriculture remained dependant on its own markets. Considering the paucity of industry and urbanization during the last quarter of the 19th Century, the farmers were reduced to pretty slim pickings.

Land use, productivity, livestock, in brief the general structure of farming in the county, suggests a rather mediocre overall picture of agriculture although production, as evidenced by certain micro-trends, did vary. The following paragraphs then, will deal with the unchanging characteristics of harvesting and husbandry in the county before and after 1900.

Predominantly commercialized activities such as dairying and potato-farming, that stood apart from the subsistence "élan" during the 20th Century, will be discussed later on in the chapter.

The landscape reflected the self-sufficient orientation of the family economy. At least 50% of the farms covered 100 acres or more (table IIA.1 in appendix). Urbanization artificially increased the number of farms smaller than 50 acres in 1881 and 1891. A little behind the Mauricie region the average Témiscouata farm started to get bigger at the turn of the century (1). Settlement was constantly taking place somewhere in the county. As a result, the ratio of improved to occupied farmland rarely exceeded 45% (table IIA.2 in appendix). Uncovered soil was put to various uses. The farmers in an older subdistrict such as L'Isle-Verte reserved consistently more room for pastures: 45 to 50% of the total improved. A younger district such as Notre-Dame-du-Lac usually reserved 27-33% of the total improved for this purpose (see table II.A.3 in appendix). Such a pasture shortage hindered the expansion of the dairy industry in the younger parts of the county.

(1) Normand Séguin, René Hardy, Louise Verreault-Roy, l'Agriculture en Mauricie dossier statistique, 1850-1950, Trois-Rivières, publication du groupe de recherche sur la Mauricie (cahier no. 2), 1979.

The forest accounted for approximately 45% of the occupied land in the county, from 1871-1921. However some sectors were more wooded than others (tables IIA.3 and IIA.4 in appendix). Woodlands prevailed in the Pohénégamook-Estcourt and Témiscouata interior but not along the coastline. Of course the more recently colonized areas had been tilled for a comparatively shorter period of time. Some, again mainly in the interior, laboured in vain. In 1965 unarable soil constituted at least 25% of the cleared land in eight communities (table II.4 in appendix). The relationship between land use and soil quality was not perfectly regular nor agronomically speaking, was it perfectly rational. This was in part responsible for the uninspired levels of production and productivity.

For the fifty years following 1871 agriculture assumed a stable course, or at least pursued predictable deviations. Hamelin and Roby have pointed accusingly at the eight-fold increase of lower Saint Lawrence buckwheat production during the decade 1851-1861 (1). The trend, however, was not uniformly felt throughout the Témiscouata. Buckwheat was grown as an expedient survival crop in the opening stages of a

(1) J. Hamelin, Y. Roby, op. cit., 194-195.

settlement drive. Around Lake Témiscouata for instance annual production rarely exceeded, if at all, 10-12,000 bushels during the post-1871 period. Towards the end of an occupation phase farmers invested their energies in other crops.

Increased production of hay, oats, and potatoes was made possible by the extension of the county's agricultural frontier. Not counting 1901, wheat, in terms of acreage, production, and productivity declined steadily. The growth in the same categories of hay, potatoes, and oats was most pronounced between 1891 and 1911 (tables IIA.5 and .7 in appendix). Prior to 1891, levels of production and productivity were highest in the original core of the county: the coastline and intimate back concessions from Saint-Eloi to Saint-Antonin. By the turn of the 19th Century, the new areas (on the upper reaches of the Trois Pistoles river and around Lake Témiscouata) were producing the three stable crops with comparable efficacy. A brief comparison between a commercializing agricultural sub-district (L'Isle-Verte) and an agri-forestry one (Notre-Dame-du-Lac), demonstrates the remarkable continuity of crop priorities and productivity in the county over time and space (see tables IIA. 6 and .7 in appendix). Without being dissolved,

this continuity was somewhat eroded by changes in the use and proliferation of livestock.

The late 19th Century inaugurated the era of the horse, which replaced the oxen team at the plough. At the same time the quantity of swine, sheep and poultry remained relatively stable (table IIA.8 in appendix). The proliferation of milk cows was more impressive, particularly from 1891 onwards. With respect to dairy production some subdistricts pulled ahead of others. Yet as a whole the Témiscouata would have to go a long way before it could catch up with forage producing and market gardening counties such as Stanstead in the south-eastern corner of the province. (table IIA. 9 in appendix).

From 1871 to 1911 the trend was towards a uniformity of fieldcrop priorities. The production and productivity levels of certain crops became generalized all throughout the county. Hay, oats and potatoes formed the cornerstone of an austere family diet. This brief overview of agriculture may sound pessimistic. At least it permits us to understand why farmers felt that recourse to non-agricultural labour would make the circumstances more tolerable.

The phenomenon of emigration made considerable inroads into the peripheral-colonizing regions of the province. Rural Québec much like the post-Bellum American south, was on the giving end of a deadly emigration conveyor belt. Vagabondage became the ceaseless dance of a transient proletariat. According to James P. Allen, parishes in Montmagny, L'Islet, Kamouraska and Témiscouata figured prominently in the growth of such towns in the state of Maine as Lewiston, Bidderford and Brunswick (1). Whole families headed for the textile mills of New England, leaving gaping holes in the neighbourhood. True, "Un grand nombre se repatrieraient s'ils avaient l'argent nécessaire"(2). However, the large number of seasonal excursions that turned into life-time adventures infirms such wishful thinking. The migrants chose a number of directions. Lower points out that "wherever forest operations were being conducted there the French-Canadians were migrating" (3). Closer to home in the 1880's construction companies employed hundreds of lower Saint Lawrence labourers on the C.P.R., the

(1) James P. Allen, "Migration Fields of French Canadians in Maine," Geographical Review, vol. 62, no. 3, July, 1972, 366-383. I owe this reference to Yves Frenette.

(2) Quote from Le Jour, 26 Dec., 1884.

(3) A.R.M. Lower, Great Britain's Woodyard, 184.

Québec and Lac Saint-Jean and the Baie des Chaleurs Railroads.

Once infused into the growth process of North American capitalism, the rural society of Québec could no longer expand as a self-reproductive, let alone prosperous unit. Large scale departures for the U.S.A. and subsequently Montréal, in the 20th Century, illustrate the bi-polar source of the transformation of rural Québec. The peak of the "Canadien" emigration to the U.S. was the decade 1881-1891 both in the province and the Témiscouata (table II.5 in appendix) (1). Characteristically the newspapers carried court notices of payments-due to merchants, that barked without biting at indebted farmers who had long since departed for the U.S.. With the American "eldorado" at the door, the Témiscouata's family farms were singularly incapable of restraining their children.

A good look at the parish of Notre-Dame-du-Lac might reveal the sensitivity of country people to the evolution of the labour market in and outside the county. In the late 19th Century the parishioners could have easily traced their ancestry back to the older communities of the Saint-Lawrence

(1) See Yolande Lavoie, L'émigration des Québécois aux Etats-Unis de 1840 à 1930, Québec, Editeur Officiel, 1979, 44.

between Kamouraska and Cacouna. Several of them may have already shared home, land clearing and harvest duties with migrating cousins (1). For women, employment within the county was uncertain. Apart from school teaching, dress-making, tailoring and other related clothing and domestic artisanry they were a negligible if existant part of the labour force (2). The American textile mill offered jobs for both sexes and sometimes for the whole family. Such an offer was difficult to refuse.

The village agglomeration of Notre-Dame-du-Lac bulged with migrant workers during the 1880's. This was principally due to the construction of the Témiscouata Railway. The railway employed 600 workers in 1887, and 1,800 of them between Fraserville and Edmunston during the construction boom a year earlier. Even after the tracks were laid, a hard core of professionals, small businessmen, artisans, and old wise men and women, took root in the village. At the same time

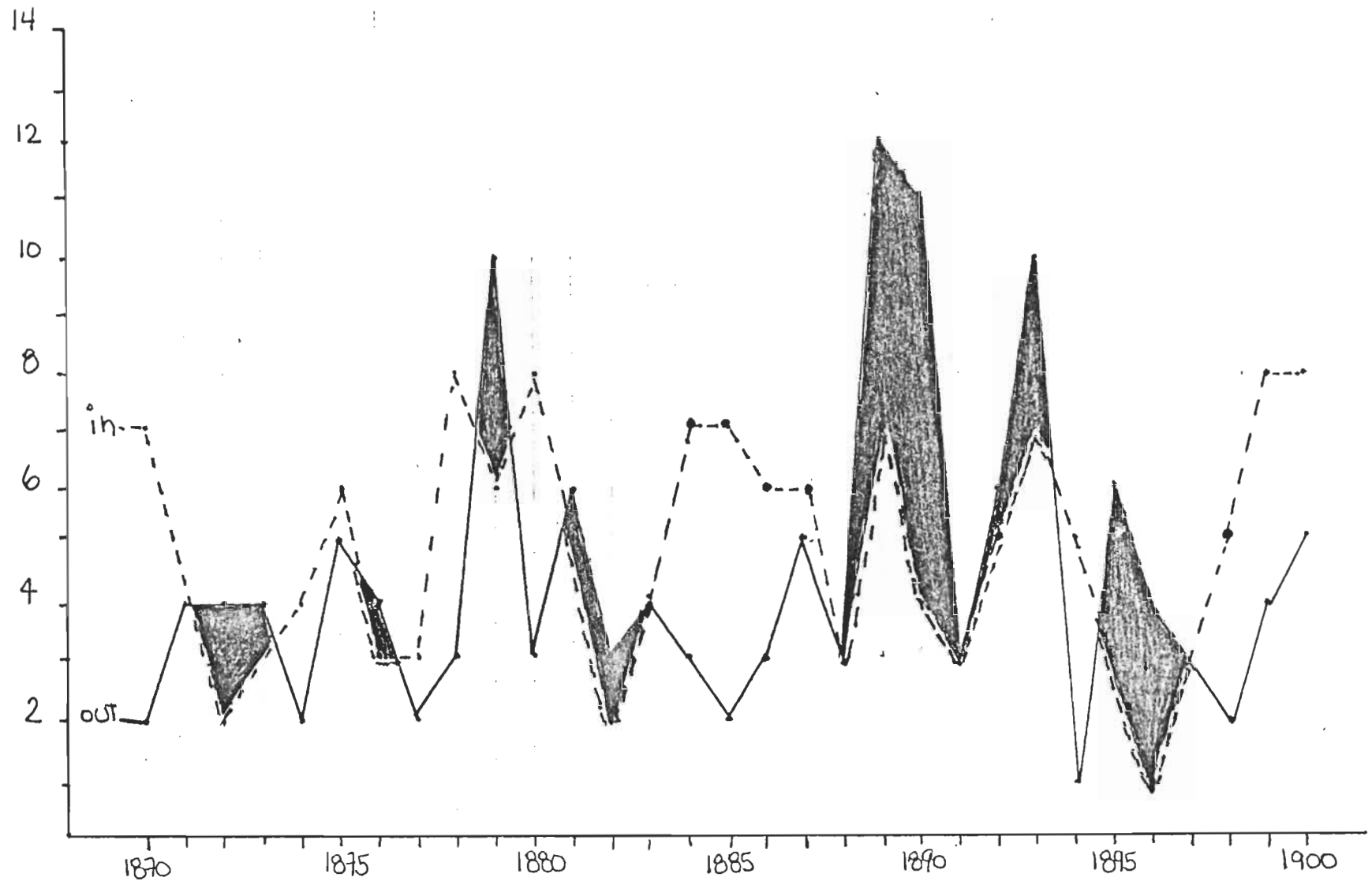
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- (1) Inter-familial welfare has been observed in the 19th Century Saguenay region: D. Larouche, "Le mouvement de concession des terres à Laterrière" in N. Séguin, Agriculture et Colonisation au Québec, 178., as well as in the Ottawa valley. See Chad M. Gaffield, "Canadian Families in Cultural Context: hypothesis from the mid-nineteenth century" in C.H.S.H.C./H.P.C.H.A., 1979, 55.
- (2) Based on information obtained in the Census of Canada, 1871, 1891.

the parish was losing part of its population. The curé estimated that at least 10 families shipped out in 1879 and again in 1893. Concerning departures, the years 1889 and 1890 were high points witnessing the departure of two-dozen families (table II.2 in the text). The increased outflow was immediately or subsequently compensated by expanded immigration into the "paroisse." Without being perfectly explicit the "curé's" estimates are indicative of a high turnover rate of arrivals and departures. Once the alternately corresponding and consecutive relationship between the two is perceived, the hypothesis that the same families went back and forth becomes highly probable.

The mobility of the labour force in Notre-Dame-du-Lac was a characteristic feature of the Témiscouata's vulnerable and underdeveloped rural society. With one foot on the farm, another in the forest and a third somewhere else across the border, the county's farmer-laborers responded to specific economic pressures by galloping madly off in all directions. As the tempo of forestry quickened, the lumber and rail tycoons of the Témiscouata Railway sought to harness this migratory reflex to their own designs. The schemers re-assembled the semi-urban and rural pawns of the region. The resulting hinterland lifted Fraserville upward to unexpected heights of

Table II.2

Families Coming into and Going out of the Parish of Notre-Dame-du-Lac 1870-1900.



Source: Comité du Centenaire, Un portage le détour, Notre-Dame-du-Lac, Comité..., 1969, 72-75.

technological sophistication and urban prominence.

2) The thrust of the bourgeoisie, the 1880's to the 1900's

The overriding impression of "fin de siècle" is one of size. Mammoth corporate institutions now controlled most industries and maximized their productive capacity. From 1880-1914 the bourgeoisie built and financed its way into every corner of the nation. Canadian banking, wholesaling and transportation was centralized in the metropolis of Montréal. Not surprisingly it was during this apogee of Canadian finance capital that the economy of the Témiscouata received very strong pulsations that were not of its own making.

Lumbering has been one of the most mobile and widespread activities to operate outside of the industrial core in central Canada. It is a small wonder that the natural resources and the manpower of the Témiscouata caught the eye of big business. Here their great offensive began with the Témiscouata Railway. The railroad and the industry it attracted, rationalized and enlarged the productive capacity of lumbering. Railmen and lumberlords stood to profit from each other's success.

The lumbering thrust of big business gave rise to a subsequent wave of resource-based industrialization in Québec. Fernand Harvey believes that the anemic presence of secondary industry in the peripheral regions of the province is attributable to the massive and hegemonic position of the resource extractive — export sector during this second industrial début (1). Indeed it could be argued that the experience of Canadian and American oligopolies in lumber severely restricted the manufacturing potential both prior to and during the pulp and paper and hydro-electric era. The transition from lumber to pulp was most rapid in Témiscouata County. Lumbering was a preparatory phase of continental integration: implicating the metropolitan ambitions of Toronto and Montréal and American markets. Monopolized industrial penetration was seconded by a direct financial assault of extra-territorial provenance. Together they neutralized the self-sustaining "élan" of the region's economy and its native sons: the county bourgeoisie. In keeping with the age of iron and steam, it all began with the railway.

a) The Témiscouata Railway

Some Canadian historians have paid much attention to

(1) Fernand Harvey, "La question régionale au Québec 2, l'expérience historique" in Le Devoir, 6 Dec., 1979, 5.

the grandiose schemes of the C.P.R. and the Grand Trunk Railway. Yet small independent lines, usually hooked up to the larger networks, played an important role in integrating the vast resource potential of distant regions to the central Canadian economy. They merit a closer look.

Ideally the Temiscouata Railway was supposed to harness the forests of the Trois-Pistoles, Témiscouata and upper Saint John frontiers. The main line from Edmunston, N.B. to Fraserville also promised the most expedient route for the estimated \$15 million of trade between central and Atlantic Canada. Convinced of the strategic value of the Témiscouata shortcut, Donald Smith and George Stephen purchased the New Brunswick Railway Co. in 1880 (1). They intended to shave several hundred miles (and thousands of dollars!) off the laborious Intercolonial route to the Maritimes. Their attention was drawn elsewhere and Edmunston remained the north-western terminus it had become in 1878. Another company, the Saint-Lawrence and Temiscouata Railway was organized for the same purpose in 1883. Within five years salesmen successfully invoked the lumber and carrying potential of the railroad and obtained sufficient public and private backing. Neither

(1) T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes 1880-1910" in G.A. Stelter, A.F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City, Carleton library no. 109, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, 1977, 104, 107.

the Canadian state nor the British bondholders could foresee the shortlived future of railroads and lumbering in Eastern Québec. Railroad construction and financing seemed a logical successor to the age of steel-belted imperialism (1).

During the last third of the 19th Century the white dominions of the Empire began absorbing a higher proportion of British overseas investments. Railroad projects in British and republican North America were instrumental in pulling the plug on the enormous financial resources of the London market. In the young Dominion of Canada portfolio investment trends had their ups and downs. The costly experience of the Grand Trunk and the C.P.R. called for a more conservative approach. Caution restricted the scale and liability of railroad enterprise. Government subsidies and bond guarantees further ensured the popularity and security of smaller projects like the Temiscouata Railway.

Financially speaking, the construction of the Temiscouata Railway was a success. The Government of Canada put up about \$500,000 or approximately \$6,900 per mile. The province of Québec provided a land grant of 10,000 acres.

(1) Charels Morazé, The Triumph of the Middle Classes, New York, Anchor Books, Doubleday and Company, 1968, 302-314. "English Steel Master of the Seas."

The lion's share of private funding came from England, in the form of bond investments: over £500,000 (or \$2,250,00.) between 1889 and 1949. The bulk of overseas debenture marketing and promotion was handled by W.C. Heaton Armstrong, a London banker and broker. Armstrong was himself or by proxy a substantial bondholder. Needless to add either one of the two levels of government in Canada guaranteed most of the issues. Armstrong's zeal for a proposed extension of the rail line from Edmunston to Moncton contained one characteristic hitch: "à condition que le gouvernement garantisse l'intérêt des débentures" (1). The comment bespoke the inherent complicity of public purse and private enterprise: the quintessence of railroad policy in Canada.

The cooperative attitude of the state vis-à-vis the Temiscouata Railway was due in no small part to the presence

(1) Le Courrier de Fraserville, 18 Oct. 1889. One wonders how or if the government granted crown lands through the Temiscouata seigniory. Did it simply pay off the seigniors for the Railway? The total volume of Federal aid eventually reached about \$650,000. while the provincial bonuses - Québec \$362,250., New Brunswick \$66,000. - were worth well over \$400,000..Source: Department of Railways and Canals, Annual Report 1904-1905, Ottawa, 1905.

of several provincial and federal politicians on the company's board of governors. Tarte, Grandbois and Deschênes, all sitting Conservatives, applied themselves diligently to the business of railroad promotion. Levitte Thériault, New Brunswick and Fraserville politician, and the mayor of Fraserville, rounded out the state's vested interest in the enterprise. From the very beginning the company obtained additional connections with the Québec City bourgeoisie including Hamel, Langelier and Tarte to name only a few. Lawyers and other such "éminences grises" showed up at deliberations of the board of directors or the shareholders, when they were held on "rue" Saint-Louis (1).

The job of constructing the railway was farmed out to four or five contracting firms, most of whom, like Hogan the bridge builder - who had previously re-ballasted the Intercolonial's Levis-Rivière-du-Loup branchline - were experienced men of their trade. They finished the job in two years.

(1) Le Saint-Laurent, 17 Nov., 1889. Lawyer George Irvinne hosted a shareholders meeting in 1896. Irvinne had already acted for the railway in the case of Gibson and Cunningham vs. the Temiscouata Contracting Company, in Le Journal de Fraserville, 16 Nov. 1888.

A single umbrella firm supervised the whole project and provided the veritable leadership in the company. All four owners of the Temiscouata Construction Company, founded in 1886 in turn presided over the railway concern: A.R. MacDonald (1887-1890), John James MacDonald (1890-1893), Edward Desbarats Boswell (1893-1899) and C. Riordan (1899-1900).(1)

As superintendant of the western division of the Intercolonial since the early 1880's, A.R. Macdonald had impeccable Tory credentials and . . . pertinent administrative experience. Macdonald's services were solicited by other companies such as the Baie des Chaleurs Railway. Prior to 1887 John James MacDonald had built sections of the Great Western Railway, the Intercolonial and C.P.R.. J.J. MacDonald and Boswell obtained the controlling interest in the railroad company, 84.3% of the capital stock in 1888. They ousted A.R. from the presidency and the organization within two years. In their precipitous zeal the new owners overlooked \$200,000., which A.R. MacDonald later regained in court.

(1) The Temiscouata Construction Company, also called Contracting etc., was founded in the state of New Jersey, U.S.A.. B.R.R.T: Avis de société, no. 131, 17 sept. 1887. Information on the executive obtained in Le St-Laurent, Le Courrier de Fraserville, Le Progrès de Fraserville.

The executive was disposed to cutting costs. The sub-contractors became aware of this as did the government which was not even sure whether all the company directors had paid up 10% of their stockholding as they were legally bound to do. Tarte himself had become a director without spending a cent (1). Politicians too had their price.

Once the Temiscouata began rolling during the winter of 1888-1889, other expedients would be required to sustain the health of the company. Entrepreneurship gravitating in and around the railway would focus on mother nature's gift to the county, the forest. In 1888 John J. MacDonald drove home the significance of the railroad by distributing liberal quantities of wood to his friends in Fraserville.

Some company directors and officers had a special interest in the viability of the lumber industry. L. Thériault had acquired over 1,300 acres in the Témiscouata seigniory by 1882. He attempted to organize a steamship company on the lake, perhaps to service his timber investment. The promoters also included a seignior, W.W. Thomas, a Fraserville merchant,

(1) G  t  n Gervais, L'Expansion du r  seau ferroviaire qu  becois (1875-1895), th  se de Ph. D. (histoire), Universit   d'Ottawa, 1978, 350-353.

Evariste Talbot, a future sawmill entrepreneur in Cabano, Georges Bérubé, and finally a lumber merchant from Edmuntston, N.B., J.F. Anderson. Although unsuccessful this project did express the lumber priorities of the business circles active in the county.

The intermixture of forestry and railroads was propelled by the lumber investments of two of the company's general managers: James S. Miller and Thomas Crockett. Miller's sojourn in 1888 was brief but he went on to assemble cutting licences in crown territory throughout the county. His cutting operations were apparently concentrated in the townships to the north-east and south-west of Lake Témiscouata. Auclair, Robitaille, Rouillard and Botsford, Packington and Robinson townships were all part of his forestry fief. Crockett in contrast, ran the day to day business of the railway for ten years. We shall assume that such tenure nourished his subsequent interest in waterworks and forestry. The scope of his extra-curricular activities forced him to leave his post in 1900. Six years later Crockett opened a sawmill in Saint-Honoré with another Fraserville merchant, Polycarpe Nadeau. Transportation and lumbering picked the same bone and in some cases stuffed identical pockets.

In the two decades after 1891 almost every community along the railway had a sawmill. Each station yard, whether along the main line or the Connors branchline could double as a lumber depot. Consequently forest products accounted for most of the volume of freight hauled on the Temiscouata: 80% in 1946 (1). New woodcutting activities and new markets for forest products emerged in the wake of railroad construction. The route itself demanded a clear passage through forested domains as well as lumber for ties and bridges. Woodstoves made the citizens of Fraserville and Edmunston dependable consumers of heating wood. The railroad reached well beyond the township of Whitworth where heating wood and lumber priorities had clashed for years (2). There was no denying it, the railroad had had some very tangible results.

In addition to logs and lumber products the Temiscouata was kept busy by shipments of coal and potatoes. The overall quantitative emphasis was no substitute for the more valuable trade in a wide range of manufactured commodities. Its

(1) Hansard House of Commons: Honorable Lionel Chevrier, Ministre des Transports Nationaux, Ottawa, 4 Nov., 1949, 1473.

(2) Procès-Verbaux Conseil Municipal de Fraserville, 4 Sept., 1882 (P.V.C.M. de Fraserville)

economy underdeveloped, the county of Témiscouata was hardly in a position to be of much service to the carrying trade. Industry remained the gold mine of a select few and a bitter wine for most.

b) The weakness of homegrown industry

More than navigation the advent of railroad transportation had serious consequences for the economic substance of the Témiscouata. The Intercolonial in the 1870's and the Témiscouata Railway in the 1880's rounded out the initial commercial-construction boom of the Grand Trunk in the 1860's. Fraserville in particular, was no longer a mere milltown distributing imports and exporting produce. The increase in the value of the county's industrial production, from 1881 to 1891, was almost entirely concentrated in Fraserville (table II.6 in appendix). Adequate service for a new means of transportation required a partial industrialization of the railtown. By regional standards Fraserville was distinctively blessed with more than one industry in a semi-urban setting. Yet in Linteau, Robert, Durocher's opinion, the farming, fishing, and forestry economy of Eastern Québec

was not conducive to urbanization (1). Industry tended to disperse itself throughout a region rather than polarize in one specific urban centre. In the Témiscouata the prevailing centrifugal pattern was set by the lumber industry.

The lumber export industry maintained a strong footing in L'Isle-Verte, Trois-Pistoles and in the agri-forestry interior. Village society hovered beneath the shadow of steeple, station, and woodyard. Every small 19th Century community had its blacksmith, bakery, sawmill and general store. What was remarkable about Notre-Dame-du-Lac, Saint-Mathias-de-Cabano and L'Isle-Verte for instance, was the incorporation of such services under one entrepreneur or company. During the late 19th and 20th Centuries Olivier Guerrette, Donald Fraser (both in lumber) and Charles Bertrand presided over a classic North American institution: the company town. The community came and went with the company. The lower Saint Lawrence, like the Saguenay, has its ghostly "Val Jalberts."

(1) P.-A. Linteau, R. Durocher, J.-C. Robert, op. cit., 426.

The impoverished lot of farmer-labourers in the Témiscouata did not constitute an easily accessible market for local producers of consumer goods. Charles Bertrand enlarged his father's lumber and commercial interests in l'Isle-Verte to include a farm tool factory, iron foundry, bakery and furniture upholstery boutique. The tools and machinery found markets in the eastern part of the province (1). The business prospered particularly in the 1880's. According to the Census of Canada the number of employees more than tripled between 1881 and 1891. In addition to production capacity, production value also increased from \$6,650 in 1881 to \$14,000 ten years later.

To the nucleus of Bertrand's seigniorial property in L'Isle-Verte were added the speculative endeavours in Fraser-ville and in the Lake Témiscouata area. A comprehensive biographical portrait might emphasize the interpenetration of industrial and landed wealth in the fortune of this the region's most successful native son. After almost thirty years the bubble burst in 1888 and again in 1895. The business could not survive two disastrous fires. Bertrand's

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville, 19 Oct., 1888. Robert Michaud, l'Isle-Verte vue du large, Montréal, Leméac, 1978, 230-240.

chief local competitor, Alfred Desjardins, bought up the remains for his foundry and machinery works in Saint-André-de-Kamouraska. The latter would have to struggle with larger Ontario-based firms to hold on to Bertrand's lower Saint Lawrence and northshore customers. On the local scene Desjardins contended with the dealer of the Massey Harris Co. who had arrived in Fraserville three years before in 1893 (1).

Indigenous entrepreneurship made few dents in the domination of the lumber-export industry. In fact it complemented the latter by providing the farmer-labourers with certain essential services. As a result, home-grown manufacturing became attached to each subsistence community in the county. The plethora of parish mills produced much of the flour, lumber and cloth for the household needs of villagers and farmers. The involuted scope of domestic markets produced a class of entrepreneurs that served a restricted clientèle of one or two villages. Modest sash-door-window-frame plants, sawmills and shingle-mills had a difficult time scrambling for

(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 16 Jan. 1893. Our knowledge of Desjardins is scant. He was elected to the provincial legislature as Conservative member for Kamouraska in 1890. The factory in Saint-André did business at least up until the depression. It stands hollow and a shambles today. See: Répertoire des parlementaires québécois 1867-1978, Québec, Bibliothèque de la Législature, 1980, 168.

natural resources and extra-territorial markets against their big time competitors: the Lumberlords.

The Témiscouata was tied together by a steel ribbon. But railroad prosperity per se was neither spectacular nor even. Fraserville itself was not a fully-equipped urban-industrial complex. In fact the transportation, commercial and industrial structure of the hinterland was not centred on the one town. South of the coastline the railway permitted the transformation of forest products on the spot, for subsequent export. Here the monopolized integration of natural and productive resources provided the most expedient means of adapting the lumber potential of the Témiscouata to the enormous demands of Great Britain and the United States. For big business the Temiscouata Railway was but a step in the right direction.

c) Big business: new industry, new markets

During the period of 1891-1911 the progress of industry in the county resulted from the establishment of large-scale units of production. The dozens of artisan boutiques and shops in Fraserville were replaced by a few big employers as of 1901 (table II.7 in appendix). The arrival of big business

thus signalled the end of the town's industrial boom of the 1880's. Monopolization was consistent with the general mutations of industry in the North America of "fin de siècle" (see infra. chapter four).

The growth of industry outside of Fraserville climaxed in the first decade of the 20th Century (table II.7 in appendix). This growth was attributable to the operations of three or four corporate groups most active in the lumber industry. The importance of the lumber producing and wood-working businesses was even apparent in 1891. Ten years later the wood sector employed over sixty percent of the county's ever-increasing industrial labor force. It accounted for at least 43% of the total value of the county's "industrial" production (tables II.8 and.9 in appendix). Great strides were of course made in output capacity per production unit. Big businessmen, especially the lumberlords took important steps to ensure the continuity of their activities in the county. Their methods and morals were a tribute to a primitive "raw unlovely society where the strife of competition with its prodigal waste testified to the shortcomings of an age in a process of transition" (1).

(1) Vernon Louis Parrington, "The Great American Barbeque" in A.F. Davis, H.D. Woodman (eds.), Conflict or Consensus in Modern American History, U.S.A., D.C. Heath and Company, 1967, 39.

In the economic tug of war opposing small producers and large lumberlords, when the former were not beaten they were "forcibly" joined to the destinies of the latter. Nazaire Tétu's Trois-Pistoles business, cutting rights, mill and all, eventually landed on the doorstep of the Price Brothers (table II.9 in appendix). With their enormous reserves behind Métis and Rimouski, and in the Saguenay, the Prices managed to hang onto their British clientèle although not without some difficulty in the 1890's (1). The operation included a steam-sawmill in Saint-Cyprien, and cutting rights on crown lands in the townships of Denonville, Bégon, Demers, Hocquart and part of Robitaille. After barely twenty years in the Trois Pistoles valley, they beat a retreat. Pulpwood replaced former lumbering priorities. The arrival of the Brown Corporation, in 1917 completed the job of reintegrating the Trois Pistoles district into continental markets, usually American.

In a manner of speaking, the integration of the territory around Lake Témiscouata into Canadian-American Atlantic markets had been a "fait accompli" since the 1870's. James Murchie's industrial strategy was concentrated in Edmunston. Not a single factory was built within the seigniory. In 1897 he

(1) Normand Séguin, La Conquête du sol au 19^e siècle, 46.

exceptionally acquired a small shingle-mill in Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!. Again and again Murchie's Témiscouata-Madawaska strategy sponged the deficits of his manufacturing investments in the St. Stephen-Calais area (1). Smaller producers were not in a position to balance out their losses. For Olivier Guérette, selling out to the Temiscouata Lumber Company was the quickest means of settling a crippling debt of \$40,000. (table II.10 in appendix). A large New England firm was willing in any case to absorb an eight-year old floundering operation. Direct investment secured a dependable access to raw materials (in the Témiscouata) for the home (U.S.) market.

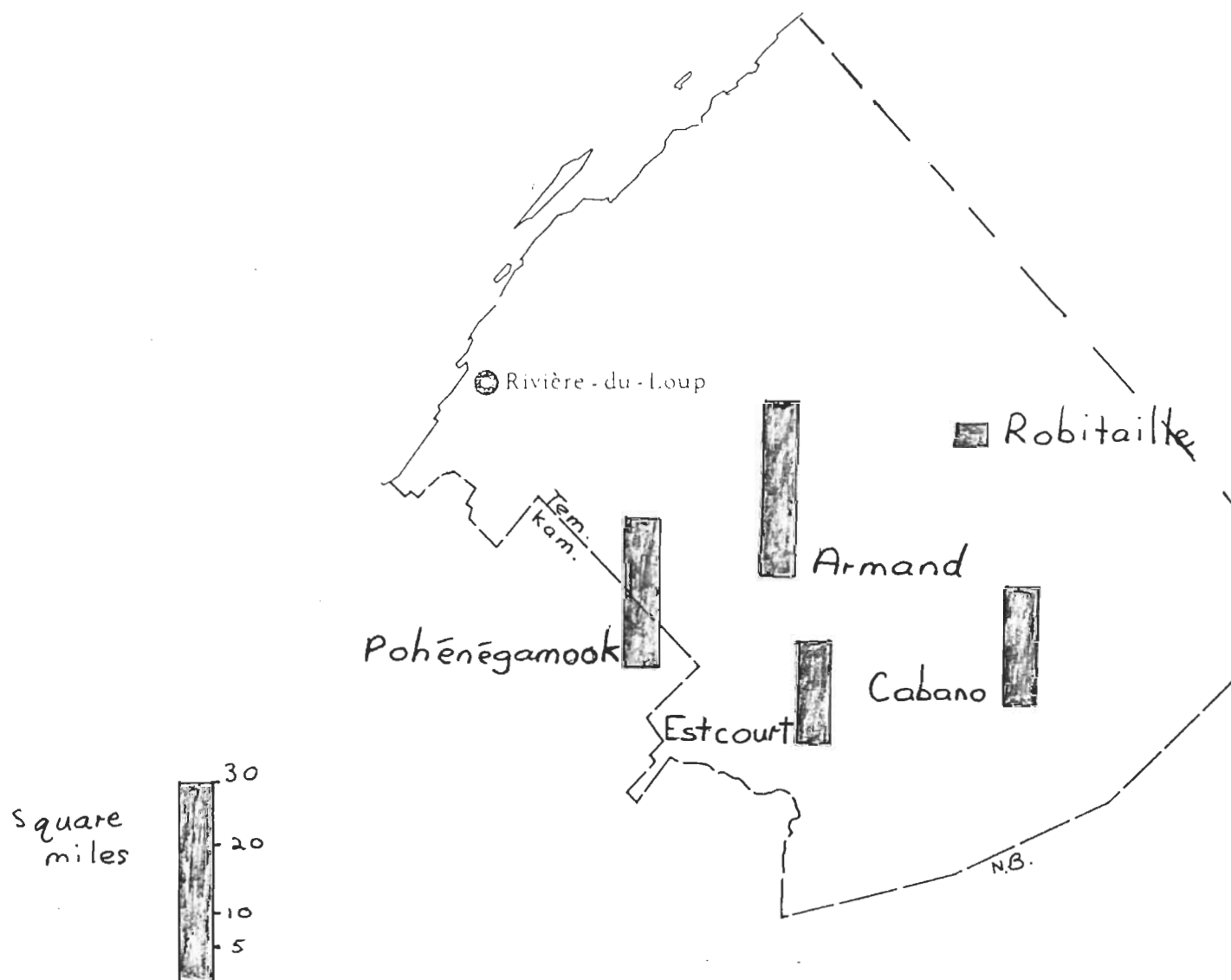
Some producers from Québec, New Brunswick and New England leased their cutting rights in the area from William W. Thomas, veritable governor of the Témiscouata seigniory. One assumes of course that Murchie kept his forests to himself. Such revenues eventually permitted Thomas to go into business for himself. He recruited Robert England of England Brothers, an experienced lumber firm with its head office in Cabano. Thomas's

(1) H.A. Davis, An International Community on the Sainte Croix, Orono, University of Maine studies, no. 64, 1950, 270-290. Silas W. Tweed bought the shingle mill in Saint-Louis from Narcisse-G. Pelletier, Fraserville entrepreneur, in 1894, and sold it to Murchie 3 years later. B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no. 29956.

brainchild, the Blue River Lumber Company, was part of a Transcontinental (Pohémégamook) axis of forestry. In 1912 the American consul correctly predicted that the lumber industry would migrate westwards towards the new Transcontinental railroad (1). Not suprisingly Thomas acquired cutting limits and property in the townships of Armand, Demers, Cabano, Estcourt and Pohénégamook (see map II.3). The mills, machines, dams and boarding houses were set up in Saint-Joseph de-la-Rivière-Bleue in 1913. Thomas had assembled a pungent concentration of landed and industrial wealth between Lakes Témiscouata and Pohénégamook. Devoid of feudal trappings, the Témiscouata seigniory became part and parcel of one of the county's largest (personal) capitalist fortunes. Such episodes were part of a continuous and cumulative process of monopolization. The movement achieved enormous proportions with the inception of New Brunswick's giant into the Témiscouata.

Donald Fraser opened his first sawmill at River La Chute,

(1) Dossier Beauvais Bérubé, The American Consulate in Rimouski and Rivière-du-Loup, correspondance of Rimouski consul to Assistant Secretary of State, February 3, 1912. For a complete description of the Thomas estate see: B.R.R.I., Registre des Actes, no. 74967 (1930).



Source: B.R.R.I. Registre des Actes, no.: 74,968

N.B. in 1887. Timber in the Saint John valley had long since fallen under the axe or had become the exclusive domain of the province's eminent lumberlords such as Gibson and Murchie. Substantial profits had to be made in order to purchase woodlots close to the initial nucleus of Fredericton. Fraser side-stepped the competition by moving into the more congenial environment of the Témiscouata. The acquisition of J.S. Miller's cutting rights was the key to Fraser's introduction into the county. This put the Cabano mill, built in 1899, on solid ground. Some skilled labourers were transferred from River La Chute. Others were imported from Scotland; an employment expedient that was widely practiced in the Maritimes (1). The firm grip on resources, technology and labour turned out to be quite profitable. Prior to World War I the company acquired new mills and large timber reserves in south and central New Brunswick. Meanwhile Fraser's Témiscouata interests expanded north and west to include mills in Whitworth, Saint-Honoré, Glendyne and eventually Saint-Pierre-d'Estcourt.

Expansion was the corollary to Fraser's aggressive policy

(1) Réseau Populaire, A la recherche du Témiscouata, 140. T.W. Acheson, "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes". G.A. Stelter, A.F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City, 102.

that either crushed or charmed the competition unto his bosom. Edmunston's Murchie mill was purchased in 1911. A 98,000 acre-chunk of the seigniory was also part of the deal and added some north-south cohesion to the Témiscouata and Madawaska area. During the next two decades this "mainmise" was supplemented by the incorporation of several smaller American concerns: including the complete Témiscouata estate of W.W. Thomas. Within a generation, the New Brunswick Frasers had become the masters of the territory between the Témiscouata and the Trans-continental railways. Towards the end of the 1920's the company was floating logs into the Saint John system from as far west as the Grande Rivière Noire, just south of Saint-Adalbert and Saint-Pamphile.

New American markets encouraged cutting on a massive scale. They energetically eroded older British connections. The consequences for the export patterns of Témiscouata pulpwood and lumber are self evident. The confirmation that much of the lower St. Lawrence was involved in this rearticulation process comes from an unexpected source.

Business between Canada and the United States was so important that the U.S. government decided to establish a

consulate in Rimouski, in 1897. Within a decade another office was handling Fraser's American shipments in Cabano. In 1915 the State Department moved the Rimouski office to Rivière-du-Loup. There followed a passionate and revealing stream of petitions from the biggest lumber companies in the Rimouski-Matapédia region, notably the Price Brothers, John Fenderson and Company, The Métis Lumber Company, and finally the B. and S. Lumber Company(1). All stressed the importance of U.S. capital and markets for their enterprises but to no avail. The intensity and destination of lumber exports between Lakes Témiscouata and Pohénégamook conclusively tipped the scales in Rivière-du-Loup's favour.

d) The periphery defined: metropolitanism in the Témiscouata

During the late 19th and early 20th Centuries metropolitan industry and capital swamped the Témiscouata and in fact much of Eastern Canada, in one Atlantic wave (2). Here it would be relevant to adapt Careless' terms: that eastern Québec and the

(1) Op. cit... Beauvais Bérubé correspondance of the companies to the consulate, respectively April 5th, April 6th, 1915.

(2) Op. cit., T.W. Acheson, 93-114.

Maritimes traded with the world through an ultimate Canadian metropolis, Montréal (1). Central Canada's banks, commercial houses, and industrial needs (raw materials) accompanied the Intercolonial and the C.P.R. eastwards. In New Brunswick, the forest resources of the Saint John valley partially resolved the financial and trade deficit with Montréal. The lopsided relationship eventually took its toll. For some time James Murchie had nurtured his diversified manufacturing base in the Saint Croix valley with his Témiscouata-Madawaska lumbering assets. This base was dismantled by central Canadian competitors (2). By the 20th Century industrial diversification was out of the question for Donald Fraser. Sectoral and virtually exclusive concentration in forestry was no accident. Underdevelopment literally drove the lumber industry into the heretofore unoccupied Madawaska.

The hub of a county hinterland, Fraserville was solidly in the grip of pan-Canadian connections. Extra-territorial capital gave impetus to lumber exports, railroad construction, commerce and finance throughout the county. The presence of the "Crédit Foncier Franco-Canadien" and other investment societies in the county is a good case in point (see chapter

(1) J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism Metropolitanism and Canadian History" in C. Berger (ed.), Approaches to Canadian History, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1967, 79.

(2) H.A. Davis, An International Community on the Sainte-Croix, 258-259.

four). The role of the Halifax (The People's, The Merchants) and Montréal (Molson's) banks in propping up lumber enterprises is another (1).

The metropolitan thrust was formulated in a three-way Halifax-Saint John-Québec City pincer movement directed from Montréal. In 1912 most U.S. bound shipments coming down the Témiscouata Railway sped westwards along the Intercolonial. Freight was subsequently processed in Québec-Lévis, Montréal, or at the border (2).

The monopolized scope of industry enlarged the county's transportation and productive infrastructure. The thrust prevented the flow of multiplier effects and productivity improvements to the non-monopolized sectors of the county economy. "Over specialization" in lumber exports produced unequal ill-distributed spurts of growth in the Témiscouata: the very substance of underdevelopment. Within a streamlined

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- (1) James Murchie and the People's Bank of Halifax: B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no. 30972 (1890); O. Guérette and the Molson's Bank (Fraserville Branch), ibid. Index aux Immeubles Notre-Dame-du-Lac, vol. 1. D. Fraser and the Merchant's Bank of Halifax in Réseau Populaire, A la recherche du Témiscouata, 13.
- (2) Dossier Beauvais Bérubé, The American Consulate in Rimouski and Rivière-du-Loup, correspondence of consul to Assistant Secretary of State, February 3, 1912.

social structure, class and entrepreneurship remained remarkably vulnerable and "petite." The modest "urbanization" of Fraserville did not reflect a systematic transformation of society in the hinterland: there was no rural exodus here. Instead it followed the numerical and spatial expansion of a rural society and a self-sufficient family economy. The Témiscouata was in fact a peripheral formation that was unevenly affected by the growth of capitalism and the urbanization of society.

Our concept of region is spatially flexible and historically rooted. Over time some elements in the agri-forestry system got worse, others got better. The resiliency of the system was nonetheless extraordinary. This becomes abundantly clear when one considers the subsequent and conclusive evolution of agriculture and industry in the Témiscouata. The role of leadership, both economic and social, was passed on to a different town. In some respects it disappeared altogether.

3) Epilogue: the 20th Century rupture of Fraserville's hinterland

In the period subsequent to World War I the elements traditionally associated with Fraserville's hinterland disappeared one by one. Agriculture and industry in the Témiscouata fashioned new products for new markets. Growth was not

harmonious. The cooperative and commercialized structure of farming on the coastline increasingly differed from the depressed pulpwood producing areas of the Appalachian interior. Economically-speaking Edmunston, the southern terminus of the Témiscouata, pulled well ahead of its principal local competitor Rivière-du-Loup. The railroad was in no position to induce a more intense regional economy. The requirements of staying in business were challenging enough.

a) The railway in troubled waters

The Témiscouata Railway was never a smashing success. The county's pride and joy was a victim of a leadership crisis as well as other unfortunate circumstances. The London partners were probably unimpressed by the limited number of sawmills situated along the line. Time after time proposals of extension towards Moncton, Saint-Léonard and Fredericton, remained on the shelf. The company had successfully obtained the cooperation of the Federal government in Ottawa on two occasions in 1893 and 1895. The results were embarassingly meagre. Such a financial and administrative "malaise," in retrospect, renders the bondholders' turn of the century "coup d'Etat" comprehensible.

The County in 1915

Map of the County of St. Lawrence, showing various towns, rivers, and roads. The map includes labels for towns such as Cacouna, St. Arsené, St. Modeste, St. Honoré, St. Louis, St. Mathias, St. Eusebe, St. Rose, Robinson, and Botsford. It also shows the Riv. du Loup, Riv. Bleue, and the Madawaska River. The map is titled "The County in 1915" and includes a scale bar indicating distances in miles and kilometers.

Scale: 0 to 10 Miles / 0 to 16 Kilometers

Map of the County of St. Lawrence, showing various towns, rivers, and roads. The map includes labels for towns such as Cacouna, St. Arsené, St. Modeste, St. Honoré, St. Louis, St. Mathias, St. Eusebe, St. Rose, Robinson, and Botsford. It also shows the Riv. du Loup, Riv. Bleue, and the Madawaska River. The map is titled "The County in 1915" and includes a scale bar indicating distances in miles and kilometers.

The Railway continued to operate on a thin profit margin dependant as it was upon a bulky but unrewarding volume of freight. A boom in the carrying trade between eastern and central Canada was simply not forthcoming. The C.P.R.'s direct line to Saint John, in 1890, completely bypassed the lower Saint Lawrence. By the turn of the century the Bangor and Aroostook Railway's Ashland branch serviced Fort Kent in the State of Maine. It drew lumber and goods away from the Temiscouata's Connors branch line. The prosperity of the Great War barely cushioned the "coup de grâce" that was the completion of the National Transcontinental in 1914. The new lumbering frontier in the western part of the county enriched a new rail-hub, Edmunston.

Entrapped in the spirit of things the shoreline "has beens" were not to be left out in the cold. Businessmen in Rimouski and Rivière-du-Loup proposed two undertakings in 1906 and 1907: The Matane and Gaspé Railway and the Saint-François Valley Railway (1). Both railways were supposed to latch onto the Transcontinental in the Pohénégamook area. Neither saw

(1) Louis Blanchette, "Les chemins de fer du littoral nord de la Gaspésie" in L'histoire au pays de Matane, vol. X, no. 2, juillet 1975, 48. P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 4 March, 1907.

the light of day and the Temiscouata steamed along on thin ice. The crash of 1929 paralyzed forestry activities. Railroad receipts fell precipitously. In the wake of widespread unemployment and plummeting demand the best laid plans of the bondholders went awry.

Up until 1900 the leadership in the Temiscouata Railway was assumed by the initial group of contractors: the MacDonald's, Boswell and Riordon. In light of the erratic course of receipts, bold executive rhetoric did not inspire the company's bondholding creditors, who were British for the most part. Le Saint-Laurent caught a whiff of dissatisfaction in the air when it reported rumours of the imminent sale of the Temiscouata to the Intercolonial in December of 1897. In fact the bondholders began improving their act in 1896 by delegating fideicommissary powers to a specialist: The Trustees, Executors and Securities Insurance Company Limited of London England. Apparently London intended to revamp the administrative head of the company: structure and personnel. Similar "purges" were carried out on the Québec-Lac-Saint-Jean, and Québec Central railroads. Frank Grundy, one-time general manager of the Québec Central, was installed as vice-president in 1899 and as commander in chief of the Temiscouata

Railway the following year. One cannot help feeling that Crockett and Riordon were part of the "grand ménage." Le Saint-Laurent argued plausibly that the British bondholders were attempting to integrate or pair off the Temiscouata with the Québec Central (1). Either course of action would secure foreign interests that were of similar or identical provenance.

The takeover drama climaxed in 1904 when the Temiscouata Railway Bondholders Committee Limited of London England remitted control of the railway to its Canadian persona: the Consolidated Mortgage Income Bonds Limited. With the same voting rights as the shareholders, the bondholders now had a 74% controlling interest in the company. They remained the governing party until the railway was bought out by the CNR in 1949.

Bankers and coupon-clippers were not the only ones to take their economic destiny into their own hands. At last the Temiscouata could make its contribution to the banal grocery list of urban North America and Great Britain. For the "cultivateur," a self-anointed graduate of the peasantry,

(1) Le Saint-Laurent: 19 Dec. 1900, 11 Jan. 1901. Apparently the idea was plucked from the columns of L'Evenement de Québec in the Fall of 1900.

the key to the future lay swishing in the bellies of his cows, or huddled in a thousand and one potato sacks.

b) The dairy industry, potatoes and other developments in agriculture

The upgrading of Québec's agriculture was an economic and a social phenomenon. The present generation has tended to ignore this most prophetic antecedent of the "Quiet Revolution." The transformation of the farming class was a protracted experience straddling the 19th and the 20th Centuries in the Témiscouata. A variety of organizations and initiatives helped foster the more militant or desperate cooperative movements that were to emerge in the 1920's '30's and '40's.

Local newspapers were full of information on how to better one's crops and livestock. Technical troubadors travelled the county circuits and advised the farmer on how to improve his lot. The county had a "Société d'Agriculture." Agricultural conferences and competitions were institutionalized to incite better breeds and yields. By 1899 nineteen "cercles agricoles" operated in rural communities throughout the county to help push for progress in agriculture. In relation to trends in the wealthier parts of the province the adaptation to dairy

farming was not uniform. As a cash crop the potato turned out to be just as effective for many farmers residing near the Saint Lawrence coastline.

At first the county was only indirectly associated with the dairy industry. The existence of three creameries in 1891 was probably connected with the transportation convenience provided by the Intercolonial. On the other hand the cheese business did not catch on. While the rest of the province, including Kamouraska County, capitalized on the British taste for cheddar, the Témiscouata became a producer of butter, and only partially at that. Saint-Alexandre exceptionally housed both butter and cheese establishments. Throughout the 20th Century the farmers of L'Isle-Verte consistently provided themselves with a relatively good supply of pasture (table IIA.3 in appendix). Farmers in agri-forestry areas such as Notre-Dame-du-Lac never equalled this performance. Not surprisingly the shift to dairying was most evident near the Saint Lawrence coastline on the western and eastern fringes of the county, in Saint-Alexandre and Trois-Pistoles.

Homemade techniques of butter production were effectively outclassed and eroded in the 1890's. Table A.14 suggests that as of 1911 dairy manufactures consumed an increasing proportion .

of the farmers' milk. As the curé of Notre-Dame-du-Lac put it in 1897: "il n'y a plus de paroisse si peu développée qu'elle soit où il n'y a pas une beurrerie ou fromagerie"(1).

The steady rise in pig husbandry was an encouraging side effect of increased butter manufacturing (2)(table IIA.8 in appendix). The county's tardy entrance into the dairy business foretold the latent but subsequent continental prospects of agriculture. Canadian markets for milk and butter via the Intercolonial stimulated endeavours that were not altogether successful in this peripheral region.

The dairy industry faced some imposing obstacles. Factories had to produce on a seasonal basis; in keeping with the restricted availability of pasture and the complete inadequacy of forage crops. François Gendron's three cheese factories in the county of Kamouraska thus functioned from April to November (3). The situation was similar next door. Many butter factories assembled small groups of farmers from

(1) Un portage, le détour Notre Dame du Lac, 109.

(2) Skim milk, a byproduct of butter (not cheese) production was used to feed pigs. See Normand Perron, "Genèse des activités laitières 1850-1960" in Normand Séguin, Agriculture et Colonisation au Québec, 118.

(3) Le Jour, 10 April, 1888.

a specific "rang." This was the case in L'Isle-Verte, Trois Pistoles, Cacouna and Dégelé. Others were built and operated by private entrepreneurs. A single entrepreneur, a veritable pillar of the local petty-bourgeoisie, could have interests in several dairy and lumber concerns at the same time. Ulderic Tremblay, for instance was involved with two butter factories in Cacouna and Saint-Epiphanie and a sawmill in Saint-Cyprien. One rich dairy farmer of Saint-Alexandre (a M. Bélanger) had as many as four factories operating at the same time in the early 20th Century. With so much competition most of the smaller "rang" societies closed down. The scope of the more recent cooperative movement in agriculture, and the observable tensions between producers and factory owners suggest an imperfect articulation during the industry's formative period in the Témiscouata (1890-1914).

Le Journal de Fraserville published reports that farmers were fed up with the inflated production costs of the Préfontaine Bros. butter factory in L'Isle-Verte (December 20, 1889). In such a predicament, astute pricing by extra-regional firms could wreak havoc on the local dairy manufacturers. Anxious to get a better price the farmers of Saint-Alexandre, in 1925,

shipped their production directly to Québec City. The local factories were left stranded with no milk. In solid or liquid form dairy commodities moved increasingly westwards upriver or by train to Québec and Montréal. On the other hand the shipping of dairy produce eastwards along the Intercolonial was the exception, not the rule. Whatever the destination the distances involved encouraged farmers to improve their performance in other fields.

During the 19th Century potato production and productivity followed the auto-consumption rhythm implicit in the extension of subsistence farming into the interior. In the following century the coastline farmers made a serious go at commercializing the crop. L'Isle-Verte producers in particular aimed at extra-territorial markets: "Les pommes de terre de L'Isle-Verte ayant une grand reputation sur tous les marchés du pays" (1). The scope of production was "massive" in what was becoming the richest farmland of the county: the corridor alongside the coast from Cacouna to Trois-Pistoles (see tables IIA.5 .6 and .7 in appendix).

(1) La Gaspésie: histoire, légendes, ressources, beautés, Québec ministre de la Voirie, Bureau Provincial du Tourisme, 1950, 35.

Productivity in these communities was well above levels recorded in regions more exclusively dependant on milk production such as the Saguenay and the Mauricie for example (1). Comparatively speaking, potato specialization was an original "choice." The combination of potato production and dairy farming alleviated the punishing circumstances of "modernization" in this part of the lower Saint Lawrence.

The indiscriminate social scientist will tend to obfuscate the significance and the diversity of changes that make themselves apparent over time. Such transformations, particularly in rural societies, have a habit of imposing themselves capriciously and selectively upon the situation. Consider the variegated evolution of agriculture in two sub-units of the lower Saint Lawrence: Témiscouata and Kamouraska.

By the 1920's truck-transportation and the proximity of urban markets (Québec City) converged on the western part of the lower Saint Lawrence. Blanchard observes that farmers from Bellechasse to Kamouraska enriched their dairy production by systematically introducing forage crops (2). In the eastern

(1) Normand Séguin, La conquête du sol au 19^e siècle, 166-168.
R. Hardy, N. Séguin, L. Verrault-Roy, L'agriculture en Mauricie, 174.

(2) R. Blanchard, L'est du Canada français, 161-175.

section from Rivière-du-Loup to Rimouski the dairy industry remained weaker. Did freight costs along the Intercolonial make cream and milk shipments to Québec City profitable and local transformation difficult? Did they discourage both? Certainly domestic fabric and artisan production withstood the integrative onslaught of the railroad era. In the 20th Century potatoes and dairy products constituted the commercial recipe of the more fortunate Témiscouata farmers. For the greater part of the citizenry in the agri-forestry areas south of the coastline, farming continued on its mediocre course.

c) Edmunston: capital of a pulp and paper region

The period from 1900 to 1920 left a profound imprint upon the Canadian economy. The inexorable progress of corporate consolidation and the influx of direct American investment recast the distribution of wealth and productivity, notably in the peripheral regions of the nation. The natural resources and hydro-electricity of the Mauricie, Abitibi, Saguenay-Lac Saint-Jean and the lower Saint Lawrence regions attracted pulp and paper, mining, energy and related investments. The resulting feeble structure of Québec's 20th

Century urban network contrasts with the superior size and wealth of its Ontario counterpart. Manufacturing not directly associated with this resource factor has tended to become hyper-concentrated in Montréal.

At first glance the lower Saint Lawrence would appear to have been deprived of a bona-fide regional metropolis despite the presence of the pulp and paper industry. Rivière-du-Loup and Rimouski have little in common with the industrial strength of Chicoutimi, Shawinigan, Grand-Mère and Sherbrooke. True, the emergence of such service centres as Trois-Pistoles epitomized the progress achieved in agriculture. However this was a commercial or tertiary development, not an industrial one. South of the coastline families still nourished themselves by balancing out the fruits of the soil with seasonal labour in the bush.

Imperceptibly the focus of forestry and society had shifted southeastwards. A new international region, the Madawaska, emerged on the banks of the Saint John and Madawaska rivers. Starting in the late 19th Century a current of French Canadian migration (Acadian and Québécois) swept into the milltowns and rural parishes of Maine (Van Buren, Caribou,

Grand-Isle, Fort Kent, Frenchville) and New Brunswick. Logging operations and railroad construction offered decent prospects of seasonal and temporary employment. The inquisitive historian will expect these communities, American in name only, to reproduce the geographically unstable or sensitive labour patterns of the "homeland." Family ties reinforced by the proximity of the "old country" (Québec or N.B.) may have accommodated a reverberating flow of labour back and forth across the border. In fact the Madawaska could be fruitfully compared to the international community on the Sainte-Croix river in southern New Brunswick and Maine (1).

Donald Fraser and his sons institutionalized this "bi-national" economy in the twin towns of Edmunston, N.B. and Madawaska, Me.. The appetite of his pulp and paper establishments dug into the forests of Lakes Témiscouata and Pohénégamook like a dagger in the heart of Fraserville's hinterland. The servants of the old lumbering economy were in a precarious position indeed. The "destabilization" of Rivière-du-Loup was prepared by the genesis of lumbering and railways along the upper Saint John between 1890 and 1914. Fraser's pulp

(1) Harold A. Davis, An International Community on the Sainte-Croix.

and paper industry simply finished the job and in a manner of speaking put Edmunston over the top. As is the case with the passing of any regime, the new ruler implemented certain changes that consolidated his position and then proceeded to re-enact the "status quo".

For newsprint producers the acquisition of enormous reserves of spruce and balsalm fir was a "sine qua non" of an optimum profit margin. The agri-forestry heritage paradoxically prescribed a continuity of employment patterns, while the initial instigator of settlement, the lumber industry, was snuffed out. In short the pulp and paper industry transformed the economic framework of the Témiscouata without overwhelming its social structure. Logging operations still kept subsistence farmers busy in the winter. The pulpwood demand of the Edmunston-Madawaska factories stimulated agri-forestry settlement in Squatteck, Trinité-des-Monts and Esprit-Saint during the 1930's. E. Soucy, a professional pulpwood contractor, employed one thousand men seasonally in the bush of eastern Kamouraska, also in the 1930's. The bleak agricultural countryside in the vicinity of Saint-Joseph and Saint-Athanase eloquently

bespeaks the success of his endeavours (1). Other competitors in the forestry industry were not so fortunate.

There were compelling reasons for keeping the lumber industry at arm's length. Monopolization of forest reserves compressed the price of wood and the cost of labour and thus the pulp and paper lords were able to keep the independent contractors and lumbermen in check. The latter had to scramble for their raw materials on both sides of the border. By the second third of the 20th Century sawmills in Québec were permitted to tap American forests for limited periods of time. In being so cooperative the newsprint companies of Maine exported an embarrassingly dependant sector. The appetite of the Canadian mills located near the border at Saint-Pamphile and Pohénégamook incidentally sustained the flow of cheap migrant labour into the U.S.. Perhaps the system worked in both directions? Fraser Companies and later, K.C. Irving obtained woodlots and cutting rights in Québec, New Brunswick and Maine (2). Obviously independent lumber merchants and producers were left with very little economic leverage.

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- (1) Société historique de Kamouraska, Saint-Alexandre-de-Kamouraska, Sainte-Anne-de-la-Pocatière, 1952, 222-226.
(2) William C. Osborn, The Paper Plantation, New York, Grossman publishers, Viking Press, 1974, 214.

Unfortunately the unequal nature of the relationship between these two sectors of the lower St. Lawrence forestry industry has gone unnoticed.

In studying the lower Saint Lawrence the "Bureau d'Aménagement de l'Est du Québec" has stressed the inherent isolationism of traditionally small "incompetent" French Canadian enterprise (1). Modest lumber-producing outfits are compared with the technically more advanced operations of large and "modern" corporations. The fatalistic conclusions of this dualistic approach are to be expected: 1) large Canadian and American corporations are and always have been articulated to the market at large; 2) French Canadian firms have behaved in a manner indifferent to the exigencies of the real market outside of their villages and small towns.

This dualistic characterization of the structure of the forestry sector is inadequate insofar as the Témiscouata is concerned. In the B.A.E.Q.'s approach, economic conduct is rather simplistically thrust on either side of the ethnic divide. The explanation tends to extricate the structure

(1) Plan de développement: région pilote Bas St-Laurent, Gaspésie et Iles de la Madeleine. Un projet ARDA, Ch. II: Objectif de modernisation des secteurs de base traditionnelle: Première Partie: le secteur de la forêt, B.A.E.Q., 30 juin 1966, 8.

and function of French-Canadian society on the lower Saint Lawrence from its North American and world context. The B.A.E.Q. has disregarded the integrative effect of forestry exports on the social structure of the region concerned. The "colon," it should be recognized, was fundamentally a labour commodity in a capitalist sector, not a retrograde cultural expression. The small scale of entrepreneurship is and was a consequence of corporate intervention. The discussion of weak indigenous entrepreneurship and the limited home market for locally-produced goods, earlier on in chapter two, bears out this point. The economy of an under-developed region is cut off not from capitalism, rather by capitalism.

Initially the corporate thrust in the Témiscouata concentrated on lumber activities and was boosted by the railroads. The new pulp and paper industry took over where the latter left off by consolidating its command of the natural resources and labour of the old system. The 20th Century duality of forestry is possibly an inter-sectoral one, opposing small lumbermen and huge newsprint producers. Therein lies the key to the continuing impoverishment and the present disintegration of rural society in the periphery of the Province of Québec.

d) Agri-forestry: dénouement and death of a system

The terminal phase in the underdevelopment of the lower Saint Lawrence is presently underway. Since the Second World War the symbiosis of farmer and lumberjack has come apart. As early as the 1930's, pulp companies began hiring a professional breed of lumberjack in the summer and fall as well as in the frigid season. Some companies dispensed with independent contractors altogether and supervised cutting operations themselves. New instruments were required to maximize cutting productivity. Fraser Companies introduced its first truck into the lake Témiscouata area in 1928. Six years later they brought in bulldozers to improve the logging roads. In the early age of petrol, forestry lost interest in the labour, crops, and horses of subsistence agriculture. The population accordingly changed its habits and its outlook on life.

The new premise of economic survival was clear. Farmers had to commercialize and rationalize crops and livestock or abandon their land altogether. Rural communities swelled with a non-agricultural work force. The stagnant level of industry in Rivière-du-Loup, Trois-Pistoles and Rimouski provided relatively few employment opportunities for rural expatriates.

Montréal's enormous labour market swallowed migrants from the lower Saint Lawrence in droves. N. Keyfitz's description of the climactic nature of the rural exodus during the 1950's, confirms the recent rupture of the agri-forestry system in the peripheral regions of Québec (1).

The roots, the growth and the rupture of the agri-forestry system - the backbone of economy and society in the lower St. Lawrence - have been outlined in the two preceeding chapters. As far as the rural citizens of the county were concerned the agri-forestry system provided an all-embracing framework of economic and social life. But what of the urban citizenry of the county and more particularly the people of Fraserville, the county's foremost agglomeration. How does one account for an urbanization process in the predominantly rural environment of the lower St. Lawrence? Did these two processes - colonization and urbanization - conflict? Or, subject as they were to common metropolitan forces, did they

(1) Nathan Keyfitz, "L'exode rural dans la province de Québec 1951-1967" in Recherches sociographiques, septembre-décembre 1962, 306-316. On the professionalization of lumberjacks see: G. Fortin, "La professionnalisation du travail en forêt", Recherches sociographiques, I, 1 (janvier - mars): 33-60. See also: Michel Verdon, Anthropologie de la colonisation au Québec, Montréal, Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1973, 204-211.

not complement each other? What factors contributed to Fraserville's abortive urbanization experience towards the end of the last century? An analysis, in detail, of the social, economic and political anatomy of the "railboom" in this boom-town will, perhaps, provide some of the answers to these questions.

Chapter Three: Fire and Rain: The Social
Economic and Political Anatomy
of a Railboom, Fraserville
From the 1870's to the Turn
of the Century

"L'industrie proprement dite, meubles, fonderie, pâte à papier, petites scieries, n'est qu'un appoint de 200 ouvriers à côté des 900 du chemin de fer et ainsi l'activité de Rivière-du-Loup est bien fondée sur l'existence d'un noeud de trafic.. L'aspect de la ville le prouve avec vigueur: des abords de l'estuaire, les maisons ont escaladé la crête entaillée de terrasses en marches d'escalier qui mène à la gare aux abords de laquelle se trouvent les quartiers les plus populeux, habitations et activités se sont déplacées vers l'organe du trafic." *

* Raoul Blanchard in: L'Est du Canada français
vol. 1, Montréal, Beauchemin, 1935, 178.

Thus far we have considered Fraserville solely in terms of its assimilation into a presumably dependant hinterland. The paper will presently focus on the town proper during its prime between 1875 and 1895. The specific social economic and political circumstances of the railboom in Fraserville will be related without however, losing sight of the surrounding countryside. Later on in the fourth and final chapter of this thesis we shall attempt to solve the riddle of the simultaneous emergence of the railtown and the agri-forestry frontier, two adjoining but respective fields of social and economic activity. The fundamental urban (transportation) and rural (forestry) duality of the county economy, it will be argued, was to a large extent responsible for the demise of this once efflorescent railroad community.

Before we proceed any further it will be necessary to clarify two concepts that figure prominently in this case study of urbanization on the lower St. Lawrence. For the purposes of this discussion a railboom will designate a sequence of events, essentially of short duration, which constitute the emergence of an urban formation in a particular spatio-temporal context. In Fraserville the boom was characterized by an 83% population increase between 1881 and 1891 and concomitant growth in the labour force; the rise

of an ambitious group of industrial and commercial entrepreneurs; and finally the triumph of railroad politics. The product of this singular if ephemeral urban-industrial experience, the railtown made a distinctive impression upon North America's late 19th Century urban landscape. The seat of important railroad repair facilities, the railtown was a rather more substantial agglomeration than the portable railway-construction town of the American Far West (1). At the same time ... it was something less than a first class urban centre or regional metropolis. In the manner of Stelter's company town the railtown remained ever "...subject to the vagaries of the international market in staples and vulnerable to outside government and corporate decisions..." (2).

1) The birth of the railtown

A central theme of this chapter is the interaction between exogeneous and endogeneous factors of urbanization in

(1) See John W. Reps, The Making of Urban America, a History of City Planning in the United States, Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1965, 397.

(2) Gilbert A. Stelter, "Introduction" in R.H.U./U.H.R., The Canadian City in the 19th Century, no. 1-75, 3.

a peripheral region. The evolving relationship between the railroad - the vanguard of an expanding "outside" metropolitan economy - and Fraserville's nascent business elite - itself a significant force within the county economy - aptly conveys the two dimensions of this process. Yet even at its height, sometime during the late 1880's, the railboom constituted a progressively exploitative conjunction of internal and external economic forces. In order to understand how the railroad ignited and in turn extinguished the domestically-fuelled fires of industrialism in Fraserville one must first consider the social context in which the iron horse made its grand entrance. More than anything else the railroad left its mark upon the people of Fraserville. It provided a typically urban framework of social and economic opportunity which enveloped the worker no less than the businessman. The commanding position of the railroad was clearly visible in "la station," the fastest-growing part of town.

a) The railroad factory

Set amidst the constant drone of whining horses, banging freight cars and whistling locomotives, the future parishes of St-Ludger and St-François-Xavier lay at the heart of Fraser-ville's emerging railroad district. The sights and sounds

of "La Station" as this area was called in 1889 contrasted sharply with the more tranquil and linear scenes of the surrounding lower St. Lawrence countryside. Fraserville's passenger and freight-handling facilities and railroad repair shops employed dozens of mechanics, brakemen and labourers; and attracted almost as many peddlars, carters, cabmen and interested by-standers. "La Station" was in short the noisiest, the busiest and generally-speaking the most important part of town.

By the end of the 1880's the Intercolonial Railway and the Témiscouata were equipped to provide a wide variety of services to their clients residing in or near Fraserville. Merchants depended on the railway for land shipments of foodstuffs and drygoods of all sorts especially during the winter. The affluence of freight persuaded the authorities of the Intercolonial to improve the town's warehousing facilities. Hangars were built for the burgeoning livestock-export trade (1). Facilities were also provided for the

(1) Le Jour (de Fraserville), 5 Nov., 1886.

storage of commodities such as coal and lumber. With the completion of the Intercolonial branchline to the Point in 1886 and the opening of the Temiscouata Railway three years later, the future of this trans-shipping center seemed secure. Coupled with the advent of railroad repair shops in 1879 and again in 1888-1889 these developments rounded out the dominant position of the transportation industry in Fraserville.

The Grand Trunk Railway left its lower St. Lawrence facilities and equipment to the authorities of the Intercolonial in a sorry state indeed. The engine and car repair shops had to be completely overhauled in 1879. Even the iron rails along the Lévis-Rivière-du-Loup branchline, which the government also acquired from the Grand Trunk in 1879, had to be replaced. The used rails were restored to their original proprietor (the Grand Trunk) free of charge, a charitable gesture (1). Meanwhile the Rivière-du-Loup station sector as a whole - which soon boasted a respectable passenger station of its own - was substantially enlarged by the construction of the brand new repair shops and the freight and

(1) Gaétan Gervais, L'Expansion du réseau..., 319. See also "Report of the Chief Engineer" appendix #10 in Annual Report of the Department of Railways and Canals, 1880-1881.

passenger facilities of the Temiscouata Railway in 1889. Although the Intercolonial was no longer the only railroad in town the government remained very much the master of the situation.

The authority of the Intercolonial in Fraserville was unrivalled. G. Gervais writes that the Temiscouata Railway was independant of the latter in name only (1). A brief comparism of the two companies in terms of resources and finances overwhēlmingly favours the Intercolonial. The operating costs of the crown railway, it should be remembered, were paid out of the consolidated revenue fund of the Dominion of Canada (2). The sound financial base subsidized the incorporation of smaller private lines especially after the 1890's. By the year 1920 the Canadian Government was responsible for over two thousand miles of track much of which had been acquired from companies in dire financial straits. The Intercolonial could afford plentiful and adequate materials and rolling stock. The Temiscouata Railway

(1) Ibid, 325.

(2) Leslie T. Fournier, Railway Nationalization in Canada, Toronto, MacMillan, 1935, 4-5.

on the other hand often had to make do with equipment that was obsolete or difficult to adapt (1). This relatively small and unsuccessful private concern was quite simply not in the big leagues. Small wonder that the "Témiscouata" was absorbed by the CNR, the Intercolonial's successor, in 1949.

The Intercolonial reinforced its commanding position in the railtown by building a brand new engine and-car-repair factory in 1908. These very same CN shops employed a majority of Rivière-du-Loup's nine hundred railroad workers later on in the 20th Century. That the establishment had become a "sine qua non" of the town's economic survival did not escape city hall. As the town's most active corporate citizen, the government railway was entitled to supplies of municipal water and electricity at a "reasonable" rate (2).

The Intercolonial conducted itself in Fraserville like any large corporation with its headquarters in one place and

(1) For example in 1889 the government purchased sixty brand new platform cars from James Harris and Company. The "Témiscouata" meanwhile was busy converting thirty of its platform cars into baggage cars. See Le Journal de Fraserville, 1 Feb., 1889.

(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 4 April, 7 Sept., 24 Oct., 1910; 22 July, 1914; 27 Dec., 1907.

its factory somewhere else. When the government saw fit to cut costs it shifted car-and-engine repair work to Moncton. Layoffs in the Fraserville shops affected eleven men in 1886, one hundred and fifty-eight in 1921 (1). Nor did employment of itself solve all the workers' problems. Those that managed to hold onto their jobs for example were still faced with the rigours of factory work and discipline.

As of the 1880's the repair shops provided Fraserville with its first real taste of that classic industrial institution, the factory. With all due respect to the technological innovation it represented, one should emphasize the job-creating impact of the railroad factory. For dozens of locomotive engineers, switchmen, navvies, brakemen, and mechanics, the railroad provided the social framework as well as the economic "raison d'être" of the community. Wages, working conditions and work discipline confirmed the authority and the priorities of the new industrial order. In the repair shops the wage gulf between skilled machinists and

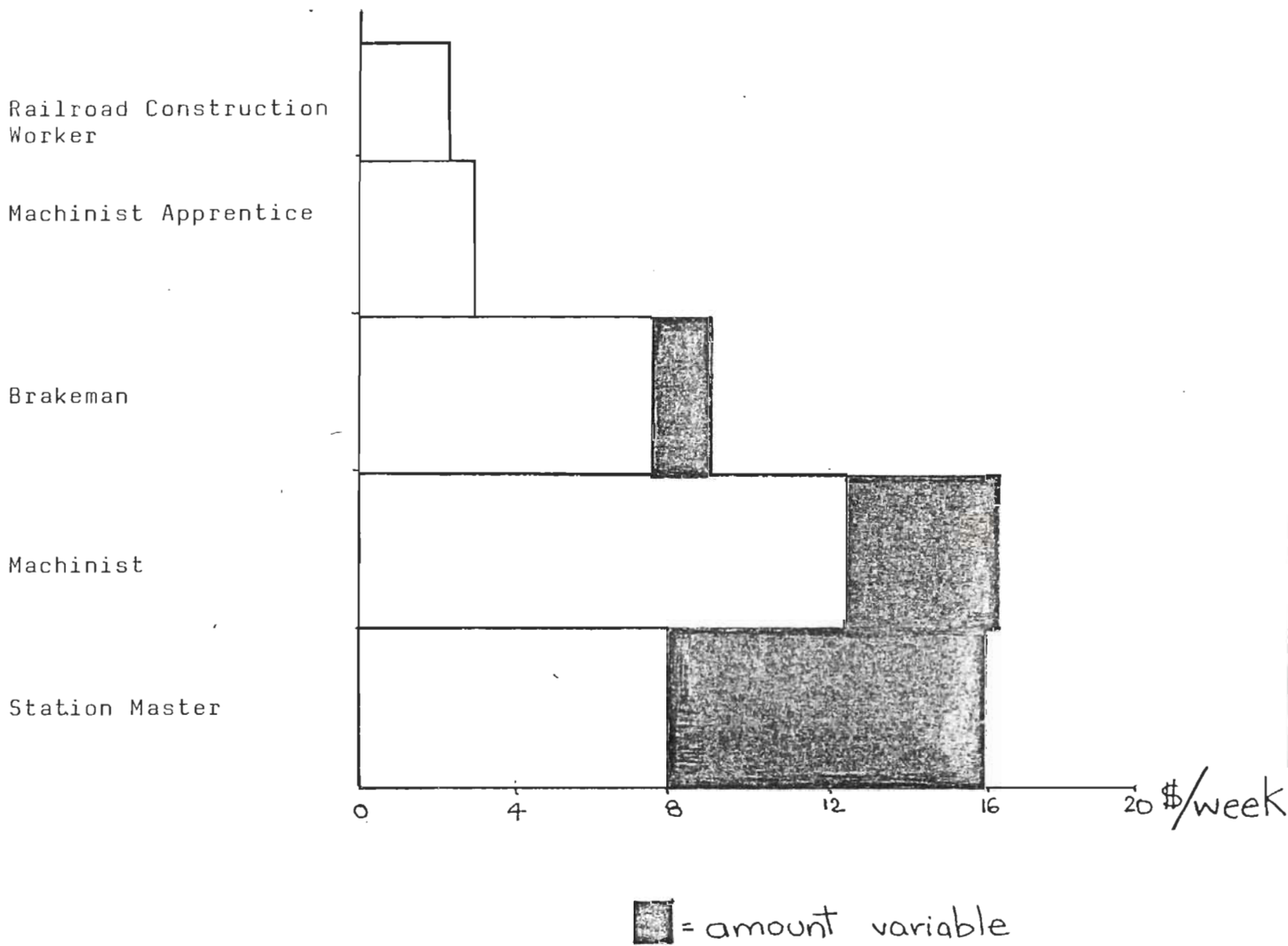
(1) Le Jour, 22 Jan., 1886. P.V.C.M. de la Cité de Rivière-de-Loup, 14 Nov. 1921.

labourers was substantial while, according to Le Progrès de Fraserville, monthly salary payments indisposed both workers and shopkeepers (see table III.1 in text) (1). Both railways required a pledge of sobriety and strict adherence to company rules. Recalcitrant employees and backsliders were to be punished or dismissed accordingly (2). Furthermore on certain bread and butter issues such as fire prevention and control of the men's health insurance fund, the shop-workers and their union representatives had considerable cause for concern (3). For these and for many other reasons

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- (1) Le Progrès de Fraserville, 5 Oct., 1888.
 - (2) See Temiscouata Railway of Canada, General Rules and Regulations... (1900). G.R. Stevens, Canadian National Railways 1836-1922, vol. 1, Toronto, Clarke Irwin and Company, 1960, 104. The Intercolonial rulebook was available in French as of 1890. Le Journal de Fraserville, 14 March, 1890. On the question of temperance the Hamilton authorities of the Grand Trunk Railway were similarly intractable. See Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict, Montréal, McGill, Queen's University Press, 1979, 80.
 - (3) In 1909 police chief Berthiaume was astonished at the Temiscouata Railway's complete disregard for fire prevention: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 27 March, 1909. The employees' health insurance fund was administered by the executive of the Intercolonial, not the union. The Grand Trunk used a similar insurance scheme in Montréal: see Jean de Bonville, Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit, Montréal, L'Aurore, 1975, 96 and Le Jour, 29 Oct., 1886. Unfortunately little is known of the Railway Brotherhoods (Conductors, Engineers, Firemen and Trainmen) which were active in Fraserville prior to the turn of the century. And we know even less about "les ouvriers fédérés des usines du chemin de fer du gouvernement canadien" which surfaced in 1919. An important dimension of the town's history has yet to be documented. See Le Jour, 18 Sept., 1885, and P.V.C.M. de la Cité de Rivière-du-Loup, 5 May, 1919.

Table III.1

Salaries of Railroad Employees in Fraserville ca. 1885-1887.



Source: Le Jour 24 April 1885,
24 Sept. 1886, 27 May 1887

the workers' adaptation to city life was not going to be easy.

Apart from the transportation industry itself the outstanding phenomenon in the birth of a railtown is the unprecedented growth of its population. Fraserville, however, never did become a rail city of the likes of Vancouver and Winnipeg. Fraserville was hard put to establish its authority and its attractiveness in a context of overwhelming demographic flux. Migration and emigration militated sometimes for, but more commonly against the establishment of cities on the lower St. Lawrence.

b) Immigrants and emigrants

During the second half of the 19th Century a considerable portion of Québec's population was kept constantly on its feet. A complex matrix of humanity swept up and down the St. Lawrence or away therefrom and into the forest or towards the United States of America. Migrants began seriously investing the Témiscouata interior during the 1850's. As was determined in chapter two, the combination of forestry and subsistence agriculture was responsible for the diffusion of rural society there and throughout the lower St. Lawrence. Fraserville

was apparently of little consequence in such a rural mass. The feeble character of the milltown in its regional setting was no more evident than in the county's demographic behaviour.

An apparently masculine stream of migration followed the lumberlords and the Grand Trunk Railway down the lower St. Lawrence river in the 1850's and 1860's. The quantitative predominance of working-aged eligible males was quite explicit during the 1860's (see table III.1 in appendix) By imbalancing sex ratios this sudden influx of males inflated the number of bachelors in the county disguised in the single and unmarried columns of the census. The number of males per 100 females in this category of the census reached the all-time high of 126 in 1861 only to drop down to more moderate levels (103-108) during the final two decades of the 20th Century. Women being more in demand in 1861 married at an earlier age (table III.3 in appendix). This mid-19th Century migratory current affected the composition, movement and intimate relations of the county population as a whole. It did not have a differential impact upon the county's rural population and that of its most promising urban constituency. For want of a greater selection of employment opportunities the mid-century milltown continued to grow at the same pace as the rest of the county (table III.2 in appendix). Indeed,

until the 1870's Fraserville hardly displayed a demographic temperament or pattern of its own.

The emergence of a more balanced sex ratio in Témiscouata County, during the 1860's, can be imputed to the departure of dozens, perhaps hundreds, of construction labourers following the completion of the Grand Trunk Railway. Twenty years later the sex ratio equilibrium consisted of a basic discrepancy within the county. The males predominated in the colonization districts such as Notre-Dame-du-Lac, particularly during the opening stages of settlement. This numerical superiority was not unlike the pioneering days of Rivière-du-Loup itself back in the 18th Century. Gradually, during the second half of the 19th Century, the females came to outnumber the males in the larger coastline agglomerations of the county (see tables III.1 in appendix). In Fraserville during the early years of the railboom (the late 1870's) the streets were no doubt strewn with male visitors looking for jobs, provisions and perhaps even a mate.

The population increase engendered by the railboom throughout the 1880's thrust the railtown into the regional and perhaps provincial limelight. By comparison Rimouski,

Matane and Mont-Joli registered slight gains if at all. While Trois-Rivières languished, due to a slump in the lumber business (1), Fraserville almost doubled its population pulling well ahead of Chicoutimi and even Lachine (table III.2 in text). The strength of the railboom was such that it restructured the town's population.

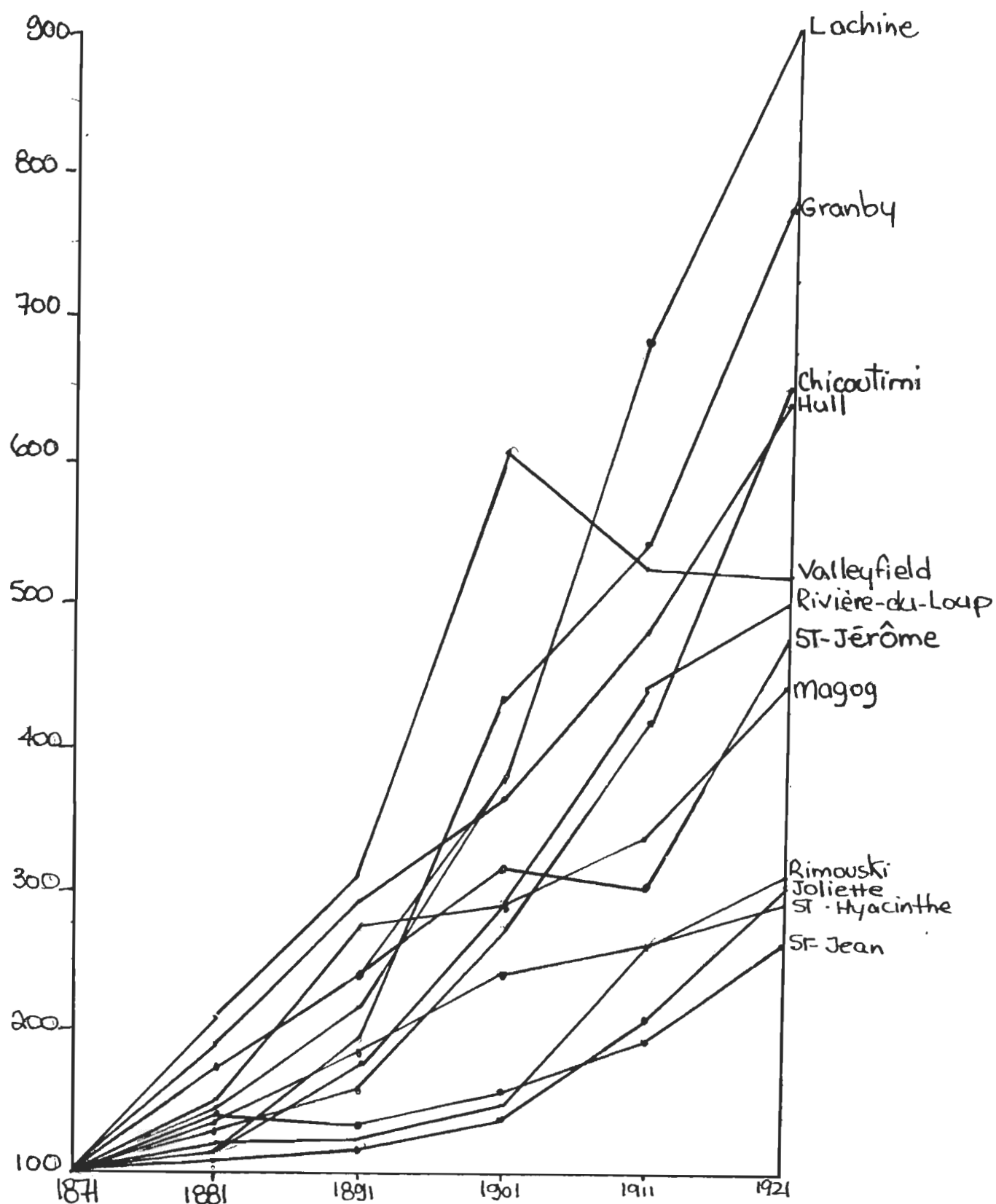
First of all, during the 1880's at least, the railboom upset the town's generally consistent female majority. Thus in 1891 there were as many as 104 males per 100 females in the single and unmarried category of the census. More importantly, however, the railboom and, in particular, railroad construction gave foreign labourers their first glimpse of the region (2). Eventually several dozen North American Indians and Jews, and one or two Greeks, Germans, Poles etc. took up residence in Fraserville. Between 1881 and 1911 the essentially British non-francophone community came to acquire a more diverse ethnic flavour. By the late 19th and early 20th Century period the town boasted three

(1) Linteau, Robert, Durocher, op. cit., 160. It is of course extremely difficult to pick up information on the floating or mobile section of a city's population from the published census reports. Such information could affect any and all figures cited in table III.2. See A.F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg, a Social History of Urban Growth 1874-1914, Montréal, McGill Queen's, 1975, 29.

(2) D. Pelletier and M. Dumas, La geste de Rivière-du-Loup, Publication du Centre de Recherche du Grand Portage, 1973, 39, 67. Le Courrier de Fraserville, 23 May, 20 June, 1888.

Table III.2

Population Growth of Urban Centres in the Province of Québec* in Relation to Their Respective Situation in 1871 (1871 = 100).



* Less than 4,000 in 1871

Source: Census of Canada

non-conforming places of worship, a "dissident" school and a Chinese laundry (1).

The relationship between the Francophone majority and the ethnic minorities in Fraserville is still something of a mystery. No doubt certain "in group" primary reflexes served to reinforce the distinctions. For instance, at brakeman Wilfred Soucy's funeral, in 1900, all present and accounted for were French-Canadian. The congregation at conductor William Cole's funeral also held in 1900 was predominately if not exclusively Anglophone (2). On the other hand membership in the Roman Catholic Church, the church of most ethnics in 1911, may have represented the first stage in a more protracted process of acculturation. As a cultural common denominator religion could have facilitated their absorption into French-Canadian society. Under the circumstances Fraserville's capacity to attract people of diverse

(1) In 1891 there were, residing in Fraserville, - 34 Anglicans, 39 Presbyterians and 37 Methodists, each, we presume, with their own church. After the boom years some of these churches were converted into private residences. See Census of Canada 1891; 1871, 1881, 1911.; L.P. Lizotte, La vieille Rivière du Loup..., 129.; B.R.R.I.: Livre de Renvoi: Fraserville (1884) and P.V.C.M. de Fraser-ville, 27 Jan., 1896.

(2) Le Bulletin Politique (de Fraserville), 1 June, 1900.

ethnic backgrounds and both sexes was a noteworthy achievement. Urbanization, however, did not offset the county's overwhelming trend of out-migration.

Since the second half of the 19th Century the Témiscouata has been faced with a recurring emigration problem. The phenomenon was particularly drastic in the 1870's when an estimated 6,700 men, women and children - some 30% . of the population in 1871- left the county. As was suggested in chapter two the phenomenon literally snowballed in the 1880's and 1890's. Males and females departed in equal proportions "en famille" or as single adults. The total number of families in the county actually declined by about 7% between 1881 and 1891 (table III.4 in appendix). Emigration did not strike Fraserville with the same force until the 1890's, when the railboom began to wind itself down.

With the turn of the century the population of Rivière-du-Loup entered into a phase of slow if not arrested development. This can be clarified by again relating the railtown to population developments elsewhere in the province of Québec. Rimouski decisively overtook Rivière-du-Loup in

the 1940's and became the new "capital" of the lower St. Lawrence. Meanwhile Rivière-du-Loup fell far behind the industrial satellites of the Montréal plain and the emerging resource-producing centres of the Mauricie and Lac St-Jean regions. With a population of almost 9,000 people in 1921 Chicoutimi began to move well ahead of Rivière-du-Loup. (table III.2 in text) Meanwhile Shawinigan surpassed them both, leading from oblivion to over ten thousand people in thirty years. In 1921 for the first time in its history, the majority of Québec's population resided in urban agglomerations. The Témiscouata was apparently headed in the opposite direction.

This brief survey of the population in Fraserville leaves far too many stones unturned. Of necessity two important developments have been brushed aside, namely: the negative impact of the 1929 depression upon the growth of the town's population and, secondly, the more contemporary increases associated with the rise of the post-war tertiary sector. This very elementary chronological perspective has, nevertheless, permitted us to underline the singular character of urbanization in Fraserville during the late 19th Century. Urbanization of this late 19th Century variety was in fact a

challenging process which transformed the village, landscape and society, beyond recognition. The new urban environment would reflect all-too-painfully the meagre rewards of day-to-day life in the railtown.

c) Urbanization: an impoverishing experience

The intensity of in-migration between 1880 and 1910 disrupted the physical and the social framework of the village. Like many cities in the early stages of industrialization Fraserville may have attracted far too many people in relation to the amount of employment that was available (1). The sheer force of numbers was largely responsible for the town's growth particularly in the southern extremity of the municipality. The break with Fraserville's semi-rural past was more than evident in the relative decline of the original bourg of St-Patrice situated along the King's Road. By 1925 the two up-town parishes of St-Ludger and St-François- Xavier accomodated, for better or for worse, the majority of the city's population.

(1) J.C. Robert, Montréal 1821-71, aspects de l'urbanisation, thèse de 3e cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Paris, 1977, 20. Ronald Rudin, St-Hyacinthe and the Development of a Regional Economy 1840-1893, Toronto, York University, Department of Geography, discussion paper no. 15, April, 1977, 12.

The historical data concerning the condition of the working class in Fraserville is neither abundant nor conclusive. An industrialist, S.C. Rioux proclaimed in 1919 that some children were better off in school than in the home. A local newspaper in 1889 is thankful for the mild January weather, "la classe pauvre ne souffre pas du froid." The progress of social pauperization to borrow an expression from E. Hobsbawm, was nevertheless undeniable (1). The railtown dissolved the established ways and means of the country in a peculiar fashion. Furthermore industrialization in this part of the province was not accompanied by the proliferation of small-scale artisan production; at least not to the same extent as say, early Victorian England (2).

Disposing of painfully little labor-intensive industry, the railtown was not able to retain its pauperized peasants

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- (1) Eric J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire, London, Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1968, 74. S.C. Rioux (président de la Commission Scolaire de Fraserville): "La fréquentation scolaire" in Réponse de M.C.J. Magnan..., Québec Imprimerie L'Action Sociale Ltée., 1919, 61. Le Journal de Fraser-ville, 11 Jan., 1889.
- (2) See Raphael Samuel, "The Workshop of the World: Steam-Power and Hand Technology in Mid-Victorian Britain" in History Workshop Journal, issue 3, Spring 1977, 6-72.

and artisans (1). Consider for example the case of the carters and draymen for whom the best years of the railboom signalled the beginning of the end. Barely a generation separated the high tide of wagoneering, the 1860's, from the lean 1880's, when the carters began petitioning the council to lower if not abolish municipal licence fees. Loss of independence in their case was attributable to one or more of the following four factors: one, a sagging delivery business between station and harbour due to the completion of the Intercolonial branchline to the point in 1886; two, loss of the long distance overland hauling business to the railways; three, competition from specialized delivery companies; fourth and finally, the tendency for merchants and entrepreneurs to equip themselves with their own wagons. Did not Thomas Jones, the merchant, amass a fleet of 19 wagons and 28 horses before his death in 1853 (2)? The labour market was one of many

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- (1) This contrasts with the textile industry of the eastern townships which maintained a firmer grip on its population. See Marcel Bellavance, Un village en mutation, Compton de 1880 à 1920, travail inédit no. 279, Parcs Canada, Min. des Affaires Indiennes et du Nord, 1977, 13-15.
- (2) L.P. Lizotte, La vieille Rivière-du-Loup..., 143. On the carters in Fraserville see: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 31 Aug., 1860; 6 July, 1874; 25 July, 1887; 19 Dec. 1904. For a comparative perspective see: M. Heap, "La grève des charretiers de Montréal, 1864" in Fernand Harvey, Le mouvement ouvrier au Québec, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1980, 49-67. J. Hamelin and Y. Roby, op. cit., 153.

problems bedevilling the town's labouring population. The less than satisfactory quality of the urban environment was another.

To its credit a railtown does not produce billowing smoke and spectacular environmental damage in the manner of a first class pulp and paper town. However, like any late 19th Century urban-industrial complex, its environmental record is far from perfect. The Rivière du Loup for example was evidently destined to become the town gutter even before the turn of the century. The task of securing enough drinking water was rather more complicated than necessary for a community that was sitting right on top of its supply. Water-pollution also sealed the fate of "cabanë" - ice-fishing on the lower part of the Rivière du Loup, a once practical means of supplementing the family diet (1). Convenience as opposed to cleanliness bespoke the short-term visions of the day.

The common people averaging upwards of six to a family, dwelled in two-story wooden buildings of expedient design

(1) Le Jour, 26 Dec., 1884.

and cost. Fire was a constant danger, particularly in the more cramped quarters of St-Ludger and St-François-Xavier. In 1926 a single conflagration not far from the station destroyed as many as sixty-seven buildings. One could explore the environmental dimension of daily life in Fraserville even further. But ideally at least, the student of such a pauperization experience must come to terms with the people he is in fact studying. Analysis of the working class family as an institution itself and in relation to larger happenings in Fraserville might reveal instances or patterns of injurious social change perceived and experienced as such by migrants and workers (1). Here is a worthwhile object of further research.

Trapped in a lifestyle that was everything but predictable and secure, Fraserville's working class developed

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- (1) T. Hareven's research on the French-Canadian family in New England suggests we reassess Falardeau and Lamontagne's conception of the "traditional" i.e. rural life cycle in urban French Canada. See Tamara Hareven, "Family Time and Historical Time" in Daudalus, The Family, Spring 1977, 57-70, and M. Lamontagne and J.-C. Falardeau, "The Life Cycle of French Canadian Urban Families" in CJEPS XIII, May 1947, 233-247. See also Bettina Bradbury, "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City, Montreal in the 1870's" in C.H.S.H.C./H.P.C.H.A., 1979, 71-96.

a taste for "entertainment and vicarious comfort" (1). In such a county town the taverns and the "Salle Pouliot" (a music hall and theatre) were a pretty paltry substitute for the crystal palaces and lavish exhibitions of the western world's great cities. In the latter's place came the itinerant and the seasonal: wild west shows, circuses, horse-racing and of course the fanfare.

The larger gatherings were inevitably supervised by peace-keeping officials. The town regularly hired on extra constables for the St-Jean-Baptiste day festivities. Similarly the clash between the common people and the forces of virtue could be felt on city council when the shopworkers of the Intercolonial voiced their opposition "en bloc" to the prohibition by-law in 1919 (2). Of all the social groups inhabiting the railtown the working class was without a doubt the most sensitive vis-à-vis the exacting discomforts of city-living. The product of a specific and sometimes impoverishing class experience, the value-system of the have nots was

(1) See Eric J. Hobsbawm, Industry and Empire..., 132.

(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 31 March, 1919. The prohibition by-law was effective March 26th 1913.

bound to contradict the dominant bourgeois outlook of the haves on more points than one (1).

Dichotomy was a fact of life in the emerging urban society. The elegant homes of the bourgeoisie in the northern part of town bore little resemblance to the economical "little boxes" located on either side of the railroad station. Notables and "nouveaux-riches" collectively drew away from the living quarters and habits of the common people. The railboom placed distinctive expectations well within their means. It catapulted the petty-bourgeois and the ambitious entrepreneur into the heat of new commercial and industrial endeavours.

d) Gentlemen of distinction and ambition

Just as the railboom stimulated the growth of the labor market, so did it encourage the emergence of a business elite in Fraserville to manage this economy of rapidly inflated dimensions. The boom solicited various types and intensities of commitment to the capitalist economy among the

(1) For an interesting discussion of conflicting cultures in Hamilton, Ont., see: Byron Palmer's A Culture in Conflict..., particularly chapters two, three and four.

entrepreneurs of Fraserville. The following is intended as a tentative, not a definitive attempt to examine the patterns which these variegated entrepreneurial experiences suggest.

The formation of the boom-town business elite was characterized by the simultaneous development of entrepreneurship on three distinct levels. The most common and straightforward type of development was registered by the swelling ranks of the petty-bourgeoisie. With the help of his family or perhaps one or two hired hands the shopkeeper, the professional and the small businessman provided the expanding population of the railtown with all sorts of services. A second more spectacular type or level of entrepreneurial advancement hinged on the knowledge and experience of the skilled worker in a particular branch of industry, which made it possible for him to become an industrialist and as such, a capitalist entrepreneur. Certainly the creative environment of the railboom was not without its petty-industrialists of auspicious beginnings, but in the final analysis, it allowed for the existence of the artisan-cum-entrepreneur only in a very limited sense. The railtown's third group of entrepreneurs was, in contrast, much more successful.

The upper crust of the business elite in Fraserville was conspicuous for its involvement in industrial capitalism. Composed of a very small but powerful group of landowners, merchants and professionals, the "upper crust" was the very pith and substance of indigenous economic development in the railtown. Our examination of the Pelletier family fortune touches somewhat briefly upon the origins of these capitalist-entrepreneurs. The "upper crust" group as a whole will be studied in much greater detail in the second part of this chapter. For the moment the thesis will concentrate on the lower strata of the business elite in Fraserville, dealing with the petty-bourgeoisie and the artisans-cum-entrepreneurs in that order.

The numerical strength of the petty-bourgeoisie in Fraserville can be attributed to the growth of already established sectors of activity and the emergence of new ones. The completion of the county courthouse in 1883 for example, undoubtedly increased the number of legal firms practising in Fraserville. Similarly the increasing numbers of doctors, notaries and the like represented the quasi-automatic adjustment of the individual professions to the requirements of a growing urban clientèle. The growing clientèle itself

directed the interests of established and experienced businessmen towards other relatively undeveloped sectors of activity. The hotellery business is an interesting case in point.

Boarding houses, mealrooms, hotels and even taverns perform an important but temporary service in any boom-town, troubled by inadequate housing facilities. During the late 19th Century the women of Fraserville contributed significantly to the growth of this business by organizing accommodations and such related services as laundries and dress-making. Yet here some of the males, as might be expected, were ahead by several lengths. During the late 1880's four of the town's most successful hotels were operated by businessmen worth upwards of \$3,000. each (1). At least two of them

(1) In May and June, 1888 Le Progrès de Fraserville (later Le Journal de Fraserville) published a series of articles on the history of the town's various business establishments. See for instance 1 June and 8 June, 1888 editions. The following discussion of entrepreneurship in Fraserville is also based on data obtained in a series of late 19th and early 20th Century commercial reports and "ratings" of Fraserville businessmen. See Bradstreet's Reports of the Dominion of Canada, New York, The Bradstreet Company, July, 1888. Ibid., Bradstreet for 1892. (The latter edition was not precisely dated. Our estimate is based on data from other sources.) R.G. Dun and Company, The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key for the Dominion of Canada, Montréal, 1897, and ibid., R. G. Dun and Co., January 1917 edition.

came well prepared for the growing trade in itinerant workers, tourists and businessmen. Former postmaster Joseph Deslauriers tried his hand in some line of business before he built the Hotel Fraserville in 1878. Similarly Nazaire Lemieux was a ship's captain before he built Rivière-du-Loup House a year later. One of the many original by-products of the railboom, the food-beverage-and-bed service industry was not immediately popular with the less-fortuned members of the business elite. Many small investors were perhaps scared off by the relatively substantial overhead costs of entering the business in the first place. They seemed to be much more attracted to the retailing business which proceeded to grow by leaps and bounds (see table III.4 in appendix).

An interesting and rather widespread characteristic of the retailing business in many 19th Century North American cities, was the symmetry between shopkeeping and immigration during the early phases of urbanization. If an immigrant was dissatisfied with or locked out of the labor market he was inclined to go into business for himself and open up a store (1).

(1) See P.-A. Linteau, J.-C. Robert and R. Durocher, op. cit., 467 and Samuel P. Hays, "The Changing Political Structure of the City in Industrial America" in Journal of Urban History, vol. 1, no. 1, November 1974, 12-13.

Not surprisingly the general store was the favorite option of aspiring shopkeepers in Fraserville. The idea was plucked quite naturally out of the in-migrant's life experience. In villages and hamlets across the province of Québec, where many of them originated in the first place, the general store was looked upon as a veritable institution, the epitome and perhaps the standard of affluence.

Throughout the late 19th Century period the formation of Fraserville's petty-bourgeoisie as a whole was sustained by a more or less constant influx of clerks, tradesmen and small businessmen of all sorts. The situation in the retailing business was of course no different. Moreover this phenomenon was consistent with the prevailing trends of continuous town-to-town and country-to-town migration in the eastern part of the continent. For the former group of businessmen, migrating from town-to-town, Fraserville was merely one of a series of sites to be "tested." Théophile Rioux, for instance, had been a storeowner, then a builder in Québec City, next a flour miller in Ste-Luce-de-Rimouski and finally a merchant in the town of Rimouski proper before he came to

Fraserville as a shoemaker in 1887 (1). Surely Rioux's experience was typical of that of many small businessmen in Fraserville. The older and more populous coastline half of the county was an equally important source of the railtown's growing contingent of shopkeepers. Indeed for many of these country-born store-merchants the railtown offered a satisfying step up in the world.

A cautious grade of businessmen settled into the middle and lower echelons of the commercial pecking order in Fraser-ville. More often than not these shopkeepers began as clerks and artisans in their respective rural communities before moving to Fraserville. J.F. Saindon for example started out as a clerk in nearby St-Georges-de-Cacouna, but decided to open up a general store in 1876. Twelve years later the business in "La Station" was worth anywhere between \$5,000. and \$10,000.. A member of the town council for five consecutive years (1885-1889), Saindon himself was the picture of

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville, 8 June, 1888. The geographical mobility of skilled craftsmen and small businessmen is an important theme in recent historiography. See Michael H. Frisch, "The Community Elite and the Emergence of Urban Politics: Springfield, Mass. 1840-1860" in S. Thernstrom and R. Sennett (eds.), 19th Century Cities, Essays in the New Urban History, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1969, 279.

respectability and a credit to the town's emerging shopocracy.

Napoléon Dion, tinsmith, plumber and M.L.A. (1900-1912) was a colleague of Saindon's at city hall. Born in Trois-Pistoles (1849) and educated at "Collège" in Rimouski, Dion began selling stoves in Fraserville sometime during the late 1870's. In this case Dion's craft skill, not his storekeeping experience, became the basis of a retail business. Other craftsmen including M. Kirouac-dit-Breton, the tinsmith-cum-hardware dealer, and former painter-carpenter B. Desjardins, proprietor of a funeral parlour during the 1880's, attempted to enter the retailing-services business in a similar manner. Remarkably few survived (1). Nor were the artisans, as a group, any more successful in the field of industrial enterprise.

The artisan-cum-entrepreneur, along with the larger group of petty-industrial entrepreneurs to which he belonged

(1) On Dion see: Repertoire des parlementaires..., 173. On the others, ~~including Saindon, see~~ Le Progrès de Fraserville, 4 May, 11 May, 25 May, 8 June, 1888.

typifies the sometimes creative but usually risky entrepreneurial environment of the boom town. If the railboom constituted an unexpected opportunity for the inventive and the skilled workingman, it was just as likely to dash his hopes of staying in business for any considerable length of time. Edmond Bouchard, a former cabinet-maker in Fraserville opened a planing mill in 1888. Donat Bondeau, a once bankrupt but persistent shopkeeper, ran a small steam-powered box and barrel factory the same year. Neither business managed to survive the turn of the century. Other small "industrial" establishments to emerge in the railtown of the late 1880's included a butter factory and an iron foundry. While both the dairy industry and the foundry works came to be firmly entrenched in Fraserville's economy neither actually survived with much "éclat." This was particularly the case with respect to the latter.

In Prudent Proulx, co-owner of the Proulx and Waterson Foundry in Fraserville, we have an interesting example of what Fernand Harvey might call social promotion through association (1). Beginning as a foreman in the Smyth Foundry,

(1) Fernand Harvey, Révolution industrielle et travailleurs, Montréal, Boréal Express, 1978, 131. On Proulx see Le Progrès de Fraserville, 11 May, 1888.

Proulx contrived to replace his employer in 1882 with the help of his future associate (Waterson) who presumably put up the cash. Yet Proulx himself was a far cry from a much more successful breed of 19th Century artisan-cum-entrepreneur who thrived on heavy industry, be it along the banks of the Lachine canal near Montréal or in the locomotive, iron and machinery shops of Patterson, New Jersey (1). The Foundry business, which was little more than an extension of the Intercolonial's repair shops in Fraserville, levelled off during the 1890's. Such was the discouraging lot of many a small proprietor both in industry and commerce.

For the mass of shopkeepers, artisans and petty-entrepreneurs in Fraserville, the struggle to make ends meet and thus stay in business was challenging enough. Success was simply not in the cards for the rather heterogeneous group of businessmen and proprietors mentioned in the Dun and

(1) See G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation 1837-1853, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1977, 210-214, and Herbert G. Gutman, "The Reality of the Rags to Riches Myth, the Case of the Patterson, New Jersey Locomotive, Iron and Machinery Manufacturers 1830-1880" in S. Thernstrom and R. Sennet, op. cit., 98-124.

Bradstreet Reports, the majority of whom were worth less than \$3,000.(see table III.5 in appendix). Conversely the circumstances of the railboom seemed to favour the upper crust of the business elite. On this "upper" level the flow of surplus investment from such established sectors of the economy as commerce to other less-developed industrial ones was relatively unhindered and intense. Indeed this achievement, this flexibility, set the superior grade of entrepreneur in Fraserville apart from the rest of the business elite. The case of Narcisse G. Pelletier is, in this regard, most instructive.

e) The prime of Narcisse G. Pelletier

The transition from commercial to industrial priorities was central to the well-being of capitalist entrepreneurs in and around Fraserville. One could point to significant transfers from commerce to industry in the case of F.C. Dubé, lumber dealer and pulp manufacturer in Fraserville; C.-Alfred Roy-dit-Desjardins, general store-owner and manufacturer in St-André de Kamouraska; and of course Charles Bertrand of L'Isle-Verte. Narcisse-G. Pelletier's eventful career effectively underscores the ambiguity of entrepreneurial success in the late 19th Century railtown. The

element of continuity would appear to contradict and perhaps dissimulate the element of change in the conduct of family affairs. As far as contemporary Canadian historiography is concerned this type of paradox is far from resolved (1).

The Pelletier family business was originally established as a commercial concern (2). In fact the transition to industrial priorities was accomplished by the second generation of Pelletiers and not by the first. In 1848 Georges Pelletier, a native of St-Roch-des-Aulnaies, built his first general store on the banks of the Rivière du Loup. With a web of trade and credit that encompassed both the milltown and the surrounding Témiscouata countryside, the business progressed splendidly. Upon his death in 1874 Pelletier

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- (1) On the controversey concerning the relationship between the early 19th Century commercial origins of the Canadian bourgeoisie and the industrialization process see: P.A. Linteau, J.C. Robert, R. Durocher, op. cit., 524 and Larry Macdonald, "Merchants Against Industry, an idea and its Origins" in C.H.R., LVI, 3, September, 1975, 263-281. For a well-known example of a self-transforming family enterprise see A. Dubuc, "William Molson" in Dictionnaire biographique du Canada tome X 1871 à 1880, Québec, Presses de l'Université Laval, 1977, 567-576.
- (2) On the Pelletier's see: Le Progrès de Fraserville, 1 June, 1888 and B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi, Fraserville 1884 B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no 17283. Strangely enough the family's industrial investments are not mentioned in the Bradstreet Reports of 1888 and 1890-92.

bequeathed a substantial landed and commercial estate to his widow and family. Son Narcisse-G. Pelletier, who succeeded his father five years later, thus began his career with a good deal of capital and a solid business at his disposal.

Substantive changes were in the offing for "Pelletier et Fils" as the firm came to be called. By 1882 a steam-powered sawmill and a carding-mill had been added to the general store nucleus. Next door the "quai Pelletier" attracted a constant stream of schooners. The plant facilities were later altered to permit the production of a whole line of wooden items. At the same time the business at the general store picked up steadily, notably between 1888 and 1892. No doubt the expanding market in town and country for dry-goods, heating wood and construction materials contributed to the firm's commercial and industrial prosperity.

Determined to broaden his industrial base, Narcisse effected a series of investments - some timely, some risky, during the 1880's. The contracting and construction business was a logical sequel to his lumber investments. The town's first telephone system, which boasted thirty customers in 1887, was entirely his creation. Alone or in association with others Pelletier was actively involved in the promotion of new industries, although some of these projects never actually saw the light of day. Given the fluid context of promotion

towards the end of the last century, this was perhaps par for the course (1). Narcisse-G. Pelletier was at the pinnacle of his career when he became the town's chief magistrate in 1888. When the bottom fell out nine years later and Pelletier declared bankruptcy a piece of Fraserville, indeed a whole era, went out the door.

The above portrait is in fact a brief introduction to a whole generation of entrepreneurs in this late 19th Century railtown. These gentlemen-merchants, professionals and to a lesser extent artisans- had been successful in establishing the primitive commercial hinterland of the railtown prior to the onset of the railboom during the late 1870's. Experience and affluence placed them at the core of Fraserville's economy before and especially during the opening stages of the railboom. Their achievement endured so long as the returns

(1) For a discussion of industrial promotion at the turn of the century see Gabriel Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism, London, Collier MacMillan, 1963, 17-26. One of these unsuccessful projects, an electrical company, never got beyond the planning stages. The other, a shoe-manufacturing concern, was a much more conspicuous failure. See Part Two of this chapter and Le Jour, 23 April, 1886.

on settlement and commerce in the country were sufficient to finance the urban and industrial growth of the railtown. As the course of events by the turn of the century was to prove, the gap was bridged with great difficulty. It was however to the credit of her men of property and industry that Fraserville could even aspire to master both the county and the lower St. Lawrence beyond.

2) Men of the région, men of industry.

The preceeding section of this thesis constituted an attempt to interpret the social consequences of a railboom in a late 19th Century railtown. Clearly the advent of railroad transportation had a great impact upon the growth of business and labour in Fraserville. As our discussion of pauperization in the railtown has shown these social consequences were not all positive. For the businessman, on the other hand, urbanization provided a rapidly expanding and convenient commercial market and much, much more. In fact the process, as was pointed out in the case of Narcisse Pelletier, tended to transform the very substance of entrepreneurship in Fraserville. The novel demands of the economy surpassed the productive and financial capacity of most small and medium-sized businesses. As a result political

and economic leadership accrued to a very small but influential group of capitalist entrepreneurs. It is our intention to document the dominion of this group in time and space.

Central to the prosperity of Fraserville's leading citizens was their ability to connect the investment returns from the expanding frontier of colonization to the investment opportunities of the booming railtown. In a basically rural county this potent stratum of Fraserville's business elite was one of a kind. As businessmen and as politicians they diligently set themselves to the task of building their town. Their manufacturing and investment position would have been untenable but for the steady flow of revenues from the countryside. In fact a more compact but nonetheless rewarding hinterland enabled this group to flourish collectively even prior to the 1880's. Their ascent can be traced to the inglorious and unpolished atmosphere of the mid-century milltown.

a) Men of the region

i.) First come first serve

When Jean-Baptiste Pouliot opened his notarial "étude"

in 1840 an agglomeration was just beginning to take shape in the southern part of St-Patrice-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup. Time passed and the leading citizens of the parish were anxious to obtain a village rather than a parochial form of municipal government. A dynamic generation of notables, many of them freshly arrived on the scene steered the newborn village through the unchartered waters of what was a relatively new form of local municipal power. The incorporation of Fraserville in 1850 was due in no small part to the efforts and interests of professionals like Pouliot himself, Jean-Baptiste Chamberland (another notary) and J.-E. Hudon, a doctor; merchants - Georges Pelletier and Thomas Jones for instance - ; and other energetic personalities such as Jacques Cottin-dit-Dugal, the tanner, and André Laughlin Fraser, a relative of the seigniorial family. The experiment in municipal government helped transform an apparently heterogeneous group of mixed ethnic and geographic origins into a cohesive and self-conscious business elite.

Fraserville was little more than an outpost of several upriver absentee investors and migrant entrepreneurs when it was founded during the second quarter of the 19th Century. Initially active in the Québec City area, Sir John H. Caldwell

operated Fraserville's original sawmill during the 1820's. The town's first iron foundry was built and financed in 1853 by Joseph-Octave-Beaubien, a doctor and a plough manufacturer from Montmagny. The operation in Fraserville was apparently of secondary importance, for Beaubien chose to remain in Montmagny and tend to his factory, his wife's family and his budding political career (1). The Fraser-ville foundry was later acquired by William Smyth, an English-speaking entrepreneur. Caldwell for his part abandoned the Rivière-du-Loup mill sometime prior to the 1850's.

All told as many as half a dozen, perhaps a dozen English-speaking entrepreneurs were active in the milltown by the middle of the century. Apart from the Anglican church of St. Bartholemiew - established in 1841 - this group left remarkably few tell-tale signs. Only the Smyths, the Jarvises, the Joneses and of course the Frasers managed to leave a lasting impression of respectability and affluence.

(1) Beaubien's foundry in Fraserville apparently escaped the attention of the compilers of the Répertoire des parlementaires, 23. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 16 April, 1860, 12 March, 1869. Smyth leased the establishment from Beaubien for eight years (1861-1869) until he acquired it outright in 1869.

The diluted character of the Anglophone community was patent in 1858 when the municipality confidently informed Governor Head that the publication of notices in French-only would inconvenience no one. It seems that on the lower St. Lawrence the "English" possessed neither the influence nor the resilience of their "vis-à-vis" in the Eastern Townships. With the possible exception of John Caldwell himself Fraserville was born and Fraserville remained the projection of a French-speaking mercantile community.

Fraserville belonged to a generation of British-American timber and lumber producing centres - including Bytown (Ottawa), L'Industrie (Joliette) and Chatham, N.B. - which emerged sometime during the first half of the 19th Century. With close to one thousand inhabitants in 1851, this lower St. Lawrence milltown was a particularly attractive place for young commercial businessmen and professionals frustrated by the cramped economic environment of their native upriver parishes. The agglomeration conveniently lay at the junction of the King's Road and the Témiscouata Road. This advantage was not lost on Fraserville's nascent petty-bourgeoisie of shopkeepers and professionals who were as a rule, more than anxious to secure the best possible access to the settled

parts of the Témiscouata (1). Eventually they managed to compete with their "vis-à-vis," in Trois-Pistoles and L'Isle-Verte, in an attempt to control the flow of goods and services to and from the county. By the second half of the 19th Century the exclusively industrial mould of the milltown was slowly giving way before the rapid growth of commercial pursuits.

The institution and policy thrust of municipal government in Fraserville was a reflection of the community's growing mercantile interests. In addition to such basic responsibilities as the assessment of property and road and bridge maintenance, legislation was enacted to ensure that artisans and servants kept their "social stations." Municipal by-laws were designed to uphold the economic "status quo" in a number of ways. Licence fees for example were instituted to protect merchants and shopkeepers from the competition of wandering

(1) In his recent History of the County of Ontario, Leo Johnson noted that small town merchants of the 19th Century were well aware of the importance of good road connections with inland markets. See Leo Johnson, History of the County of Ontario 1615-1875, Whitby, Ontario, The Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973, 144-148.

peddlars and auctioneers (1). The butchers and carters were particularly mindful of the enroachments of farmers and vagabonds (2). They and their fellow artisans attempted to erect a stable if not dependable relationship to the embryonic urban market. The squelching irony of history came down upon the craftsmen with full force. The scope of the "local" economy and the criteria for success were to be county-wide. Far from ignoring the countryside Fraserville's most affluent entrepreneurs literally thrived on it. Twenty to twenty-five years later this town-country economic rapport was still very much intact.

The rise of Jean-Baptiste Pouliot (1816-1888) is a most cogent statement of the railtown's financial and political involvement with the county. His leadership on local issues - the location of the Grand Trunk Railway terminus and the construction of the Témiscouata Road, for example - was highly regarded. Mayor, county prefect and M.P. ("rouge") in the Legislature of Canada and the succeeding House of Commons (1874-1878), he was a notary with an eye for good property investments.

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- (1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 16 April, 1860; 10 June, 1862; 7 March, 1864; 19 April, 1870.
(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 18 March, 1889; 8 Oct., 1906. Le Journal de Fraserville, 22 March, 1889.

Pouliot's specialty was real estate, both in the railtown and in the rural interior. He amassed a fortune by trafficking in modest and medium-sized plots of land. In this respect the lower St. Lawrence was not unique. Historians have uncovered comparable phenomena elsewhere in Canada (1). Much of the wealth and experience was acquired in Pouliot's forty-year association with the Frasers (1843-1883), the seigniorial family in Rivière-du-Loup. Eventually he and William Fraser came to share property in St-Antonin (9 lots), St-Arsène (11 lots), and no doubt elsewhere as well. Usually, however, Pouliot operated on his own.

In the hinterland the sphere of speculation shifted constantly from one parish or locality to the next - a moveable feast as it were. The railroad and especially the route it eventually took may or may not have influenced Pouliot's location strategy. After all, the completion of the Temiscouata Railway did not come until the end of his life. Investment

(1) See Brian Osbourne, "The Settlement of Kingston's Hinterland" in G.J.J. Tulchinsky, To Preserve and Defend Essays on Kingston in the 19th Century, Montréal and London, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1976, 67, and Normand Séguin, La conquête du sol..., 233-250.

did tend to follow or anticipate the settler. The colonization and the backroads' junction constituted viable contexts for land speculation. In 1882 for example three of his five lots in Notre-Dame-du-Lac abutted on the Témiscouata Road. One of them was purchased for \$52. in 1882. A year later it went for \$600. (1). This pattern of piecemeal acquisition and exchange did not match the more extensive domains of W. W. Thomas, the Témiscouata seignior and Donald Fraser, the lumberlord. Nevertheless the policy did have its rewards as Pouliot's brilliant and energetic successor was to discover.

Charles-Eugène Pouliot (1856-1897), the son of Jean-Baptiste, was determined to maintain his inherited financial and political attachment to the county. Lawyer, Liberal politician and for all intents and purposes an industrial entrepreneur of some stature, C.E. Pouliot equalled and perhaps surpassed his father's performance in the field of business

(1) B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi: Notre-Dame-du-Lac (1882);
Index aux Immeubles: Notre-Dame-du-Lac. Due to the volume of material in the B.R.R.T. we have adopted a selective approach rather than a systematic one. Our data on Pouliot is therefore indicative and not conclusive.

and politics (1). In the hinterland Pouliot easily accommodated himself to the most recent developments in railroad transportation and forestry. In keeping with the new set of priorities, lots were bought and sold in the immediate vicinity of the Temiscouata Railway. Moreover Pouliot was anxious to woo the lumberman as well as the settler. Five thousand acres of choice forested real estate were purchased for this purpose in the Témiscouata Seigniory (2). Had Pouliot survived the 1890's, he might have become Fraserville's most important landowner in the rural parts of the county. As it turned out his untimely death robbed the town's business elite of a most articulate and energetic personality.

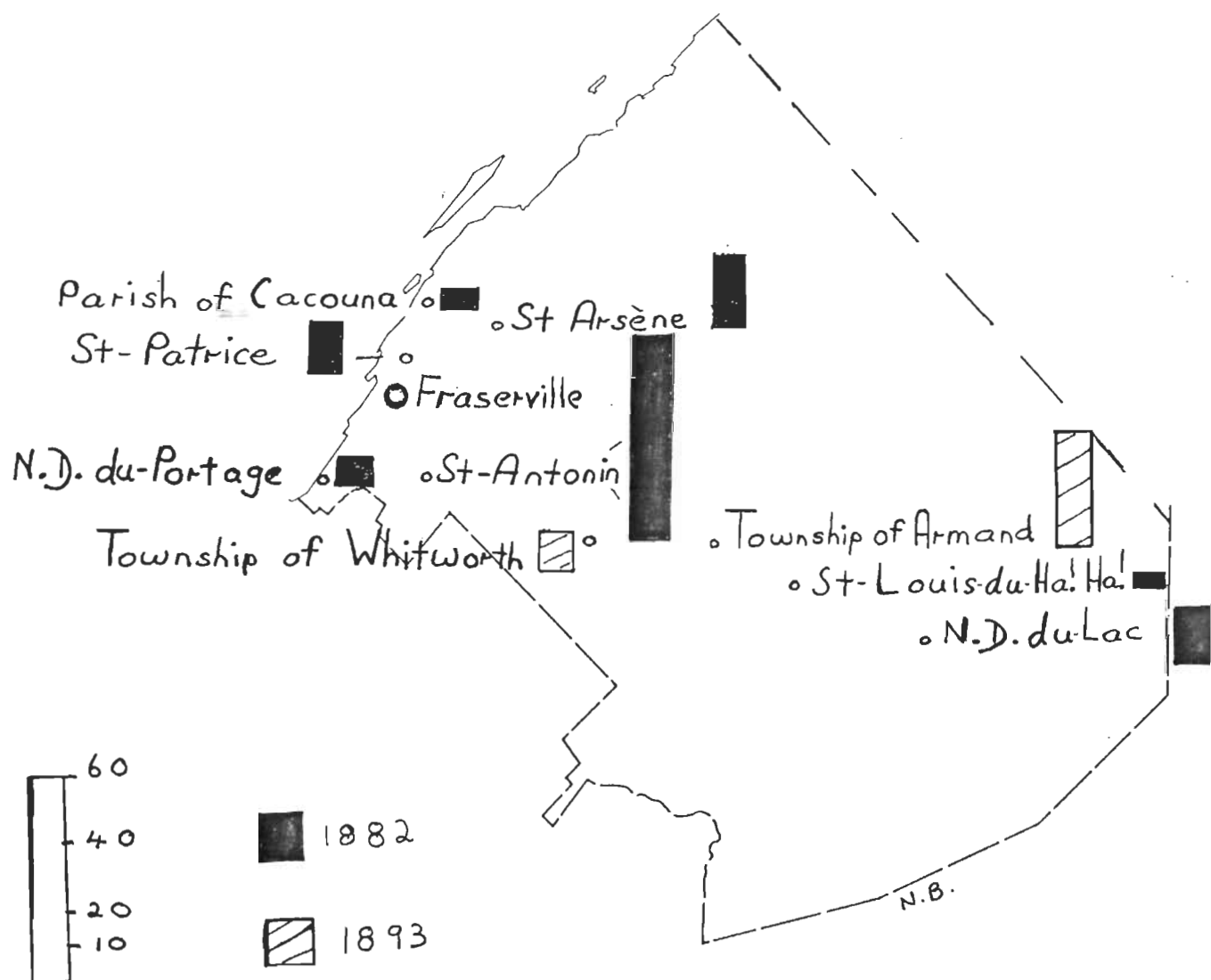
-
- (1) One is reminded of a better-known lawyer, politician and businessman, John A. MacDonald: See J.K. Johnson, "John A. MacDonald and the Kingston Business Community" in G.J.J. Tulchinsky, To Preserve and Defend..., 141-155.
- (2) The forested real estate was purchased sometime between 1893 and 1897. See B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no. 30943 (1898). In 1893 Pouliot owned five lots in the immediate vicinity of the Témiscouata Railway in the Townships of Armand and Whitworth. See B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi: Armand (1893); Canton Whitworth (1893).

Along with the Pelletiers and the Frasers of Rivière-du-Loup, the Pouliots belonged to a compact group of powerful families in this late 19th Century railtown. Their social ascendancy was clearly visible during the 1880's. In 1887, a year before his father's death, Charles-Eugène Pouliot was wedded to Stella Bertrand, the niece of Charles Bertrand. The match was appropriate, for Bertrand was one of the county's most successful businessmen. The respective position of the two families, however, was not identical. Unlike the industrial magnate from L'Isle-Verte, the Pouliots stood with, rather than above their society.

ii) Fraserville's financial and commercial implication in the hinterland

The accumulation of landed wealth was just one of several dimensions in the overall relationship between the railtown and its hinterland (see Map III.1). Certainly in financial terms the prosperity of the former was far from indifferent to the growth and diffusion of the latter. As the agri-forestry "frontier" moved inland the demand for liquid capital in modest quantities increased. In this primitive era of Canadian banking the small-town bourgeoisie constituted a convenient reservoir of credit for farmers and shopkeepers. The

Map III.1 Lots Belonging to Fraserville Businessmen in Various Municipalities and Townships of the County 1882, 1893.



Source: B.R.R.T. Livre de Renvoi (for each municipality or township).

Senechal brothers, for example, prospered during the 1890's not as butchers, their avowed profession, but as money lenders (table II.4 in appendix). Similarly, according to one source, Louis Dugal the tanner-turned-money-lender was the town's second most wealthy individual during the early 1890's. However, he was probably more dependant on local customers and the town council in particular, than some of his fortunated colleagues (1).

Many of Fraserville's most prominent lawyers, doctors, and merchants were active in the settlement boom of Notre-Dame-du-Lac during the late 19th Century (table II.4 in appendix). Money was borrowed from them to acquire a home-
stead or establish a business. Goods were purchased from them more often than not on credit. The strength of this group was evident in the downfall of Philéas Dubé, a general store merchant in Notre-Dame-du-Lac (see infra, ch. 2). In

(1) Louis Dugal was the son of Jacques Cottin-dit-Dugal, who established his Fraserville tanning leatherworks in 1845. See Le Progrès de Fraserville, 4 May, 1888, and P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 26 Nov., 1888; 23 April, 1889; 28 March, 1892 and B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no. 27525.

1890 the whole Dubé operation - premises and inventory - was taken over by one of its creditors, Onesime Girard of "Talbot et Girard," a commercial firm based in Fraserville (1). Commerce was becoming a compelling and profitable medium of domination.

The driving force behind commercial penetration was the railroad. Wholesaling and other such intricate activities of exchange developed albeit somewhat slowly (in Fraserville) after the arrival of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1860. They became much more extensive and comprehensive during the 1870's and 1880's, in other words in the era of the Intercolonial and the Temiscouata Railway. The commerce of these two decades was engulfed in the emerging local market of urban and rural proportions. The railroad opened up markets for wholesalers in the working class precincts of "La Station" and in the colonizing districts of the Témiscouata interior. By enlarging the consuming market in their hinterland, the merchants

(1) B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Notre-Dame-du-Lac; Le Progrès de Fraserville, 8 June, 1888. Evariste Talbot was also involved in L. Therriault's ill-fated Lake Témiscouata Steamboat Company. Le Jour, 9 March, 1888.

of Fraserville were acting under pressure. As a distributive front for larger manufacturing economies they had little choice in the matter. In the boundless energy of these merchants one detects a desperate as well as a superlative feeling of vitality. Town and county relations now entered an all-important climactic phase.

In his increasingly complex and profitable relationship with the farmer, the merchant sought to draw the former closer to him as a consumer of goods and as a perhaps unwitting supplier of resources, both agricultural and natural (1). The commercialization of these resources was essential if the shopkeeper wanted to pay his creditors and remain in business. For some commercialization was a matter of expediency, a unique opportunity to make a quick speculative killing. In June of 1888 for example, "Pelletier et Fils" shipped a "goélette"-load of hay to La Malbaie where the going price was reputedly

(1) On the relationship between the petty-bourgeoisie and the farmers see: N. Séguin, "Problèmes théoriques et orientations de recherches" in N. Séguin, Agriculture et colonisation..., especially 182-189, entitled "Autour de la petite exploitation agricole"; see also Leo Johnson, op. cit., 87-89 and Gaëtan Gervais, "Le commerce de détail au Canada 1870-1880".

higher. For others commercialization made an acceptable and a stable contribution to the business. "Talbot et Girard," "N.Gauvin et Cie," and Michel Chenard all traded with the county's farming population on a full-time basis. Meat and perhaps all kinds of produce may have passed through their hands for export. It remains to be seen whether the trade in agricultural commodities was concentrated in the richer dairy and crop-producing districts of the coastline. Then again, even the most depressed parts of the county could be of service to the growing railtown.

For industrial entrepreneurs the commitment to the countryside was quite simply a matter of necessity. In Fraserville the transportation and building boom (1870's-1890's) exerted singular pressures upon the forest resources of the county. Wood was at once the fuel and the staple of industry and daily life. Consequently the town's suppliers and producers redoubled their activities in the heavily forested areas of the county, especially in the townships of Armand and Whitworth (see Map III.1). In so doing they proceeded deliberately along a well-beaten track.

The quest for natural resources demonstrated the remarkable continuity of Fraserville's bourgeoisie in terms of its economic strategy and its social composition. A host of simultaneous and antecedent commercial, financial and real estate endeavours had in fact nourished their industrial designs. The student of this small town is obliged to consider and not downplay these industrial ambitions. The policy of channelling part of the county's financial surplus into industrial enterprise appeared at least feasible during the climax of the railboom, 1875-1895. The 1880's, years of high tides and green grass, were stamped with an "unshakeable conviction of optimism" (1).

b) Men of industry

At first glance the disposition of loyalties in a county town such as Fraserville might appear equivocal. On the one hand the hinterland attracted and enriched some of Fraser-ville's most prominent businessmen. However the railtown,

(1) Quoted in A.F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg, a Social History of Urban Growth, 12.

not the county, became the focal point of their power and influence. The wealth and resources earned throughout the county were used to seize upon those unprecedented opportunities generated by the railboom in its finest hour. This identity of interests between businessman and railtown culminated in a phase of pronounced industrial growth during the 1880's. A number of entrepreneurial avenues were explored in what constituted a tempered departure from the lumber-exporting "tradition" of the lower St. Lawrence. The following discussion explores the various achievements and the ultimate failure of industrial capitalism in Fraserville. First, however, it will be necessary to deal with the social origins of these 'men of industry.'

The railroad industry provided a veritable framework of economic growth in Fraserville. The town's various industries emerged either as a direct outgrowth of the railroad-repair shops, or in response to the pressing need for residential and commercial facilities initially set in motion by the railroad industry itself. The bolstering effect of the railroad repair shops upon the local economy is effectively borne out by the following statistics. During the 1880's, according to the Census of Canada, the railtown more than doubled its

share of production value in the county from 16% in 1881 to 34% ten years later. Again, according to the same source, the average production value per industrial establishment actually declined over the same period of time (see table II.8 in appendix). Small as they were, the investment requirements of industrial development, at this point in time, were clearly within the range of the local business elite.

The prime force of indigenously-fuelled industrial growth in Fraserville was the capitalist entrepreneur of mercantile or professional origins, and not the petty-entrepreneur or the artisan-cum-entrepreneur. The latter was ever dependent on the wealthier members of the community in order to build, purchase or improve his particular establishment (1). The capitalist entrepreneur, on the other hand, had at his disposal an expanding county-wide credit market. Composed of a variety of commercial, real estate and mortgage-lending

(1) Loans from important commercial firms and wealthy professionals to small businessmen of all sorts abound in the Fraserville, Index aux Immeubles, (B.R.R.T.). Of course one shouldn't be surprised to see the money lenders of the county bourgeoisie operating in their own back yard.

strategies in town and country, this investment surplus provided the business elite with the material capacity to engage successfully in industry. This capacity was concurrently reinforced by the propensity of these entrepreneurs to associate, to come together in a single collective enterprise.

i) Industrial capitalism: the first steps

As individuals, promoters and politicians in Fraserville were perhaps apprehensive about the massive investment requirements of industry. Joint-stock companies were organized in order to share the costs and hopefully the dividends. To quote D. Sutherland, the more complex corporate structure was specifically "designed to exploit the changing character of the economy" (1). The Fraserville Manufacturing Company was, locally-speaking, one of the first collective ventures. The superintendant of the Intercolonial, A.R. MacDonald, the widow of Georges Pelletier, Dame Rosalie Virginie Moreau, a Montréal businessman, George A. Kittson and finally the federal M.P. for

(1) David Sutherland, "Halifax 1815-1914: Colony to Colony" in R.H.U./U.H.R.; no. 1 - 75, 9.

Témiscouata, Dr. Paul-Etienne Grandbois, figured among its founding members. Other companies planned or organized during the 1880's, included an electrical concern - involving N.G. Pelletier, J.A. Jarvis, Charles-F. Bouchard, Alfred Fortin and J.A. Pratte - and of course the Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company (1). As serious business proposals, electricity and shoe manufacturing dominated the second half of the decade. Prior to 1885 the pulp industry occupied the centre of the stage.

The officers and supporters of the Fraserville Manufacturing Company wasted little time in setting themselves to the task of building and boosting their enterprise. The site of the mill beside the Rivière du Loup was acquired from William Fraser in 1881. Also in 1881 the company was awarded a twenty-year exemption from municipal taxes (see table III.6 in appendix). A year later some semblance of

(1) Le Jour, 23 April, 1886. While the electrical company never went beyond the planning stages, Pelletier appears to have remained in the telephone and cable business well into the 1890's. See : P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 17 June, 1895; 10 July, 1899. On the Manufacturing Company see: D. Pelletier and M. Dumas, La Geste..., 53. Grandbois was the son-in-law of Dame-Veuve Pelletier.

a wood reserve was purchased thirty miles away in the heart of the Témiscouata Seigniory (1). Evidently the future of the pulp industry in Fraserville was tied to the eventuality of railroad connections with the more heavily forested parts of the county. Two of the company's charter members, Paul-E. Grandbois and A.R. MacDonald were active as promoters in the St. Lawrence and Temiscouata Railway, the predecessor of the Temiscouata Railway. The beneficial inter-dependance between rail and pulp was no doubt stressed with feeling before the visiting delegates of the Ontario and Québec press delegations in the summer of 1883 (2). The next two years of hard-luck and frustration would sap the confidence and the patience of the company executives considerably.

Originally the talk of the town, the inactive pulp mill became something of an embarrassment. In August, 1885, management probably out of desperation, announced its decision to

(1) George Alexander Kittson bought 594 arpents in the Témiscouata Seigniory from G.W. Coffin in 1882. B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no.: 18029 (1882). Wm. Fraser was the mayor of Fraserville at the time the tax exemption was granted.

(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 3 July, 1883.

convert the premises into a sash-door and blind factory. Four months later, with more and more debts and still no Temiscouata Railway in sight, the business was sold to F.C. Dubé. The new owner was not too concerned with the state of the plant facilities. However, he was pleased with the location of the factory, which gave him convenient access to the Rivière du Loup.

Dubé's strategy was two-fold. In the first place he had to get the pulp factory working. This was effectively accomplished by 1888. With thirty workers Dubé was now one of the town's largest employers. Wood supplies were no problem either. According to one local newspaper, Dubé dealt directly with farmers in the Fraserville area. This direct method of supply probably typified the province's entire pulp and paper industry (1). Another characteristic of the industry was its dependence on hydro-electric power in the confection of pulp.

(1) See Guy Gaudreau, "Le rapport agriculture-forêt au Québec: note historiographique" in R.H.A.F., vol. 33, no.: 1, juin 1979, 76-77. On Dubé's pulp business see: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 8 June, 1884; Le Journal de Fraserville, 28 Dec., 1888; 1 March, 1889; B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no.: 362a

The production and distribution of hydro-electric power constituted the second ingredient in F.C. Dubé's industrial strategy. The pulp manufacturer came before the Town Council in 1887 with a proposal to illuminate the streets of Fraser-ville. The council eventually accepted his idea. In addition to the customary industrial property tax-exemption, Dubé would receive \$1,000. per year for the service (1). What with the growing number of commercial, residential and industrial establishments, the market for electricity appeared quite promising.

Cécime Dubé shared a sense of accomplishment with the town's leading businessmen and politicians. Since he had taken over the pulp factory three years earlier, they too had been busy building, plotting and investing. As the Temiscouata Railway neared completion in 1888 the dark years of the decade seemed to fade into the distance. East of the Chemin du Sault (later Lafontaine) in a sparsely settled section of the town stood a tangible symbol of their achievement, the shoe factory.

(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 3 Oct., 1887; 17 Sept. , 12 Dec., 1888. Le Journal de Fraserville, 26 Oct., 1888.

ii) A "flash in the pan" The Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company

The Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company succeeded the Fraser-ville Manufacturing Company as a catalyst of entrepreneurship in the railtown. Although local investors continued to avoid the pulp business for several years - excepting Dubé of course - they did not shun industry altogether. Developments on council and in the rumoured vicinity of the future shoe factory provided ample evidence that the town's business class was bouncing back.

The potential for power development, hydraulic or hydro-electric, together with the proximity of Fraserville's labouring population made the west bank of the Rivière du Loup an ideal location for manufacturers. A large unoccupied tract of land, the west bank provided a convenient setting for industrial growth between the cramped station quarters and the more exclusive properties beside the church of St-Patrice. Narcisse-G. Pelletier acquired a piece of this lot from the seignior, William Fraser in 1885. Within two years he was followed by A.P. Lebel, a lumber merchant, A.R. MacDonald, railroad promoter and administrator, Narcisse Gauvin, a successful merchant and liquor importer, and finally one Edwin

Jones of Québec City. What stirred most of them was the council's decision to grant a \$5,000. bonus to any shoe factory that established itself in Fraserville (see table III.6 in appendix). At least a year elapsed before these privileges were claimed by a local syndicate in 1887. Meanwhile a competing plethora of municipal tax exemptions, wage subsidies and cash grants kept prospective and experienced manufacturers busy in the southern and central parts of the province (1). The shoe industry in Fraserville would simply have to stand on its own feet.

The shoe company's board of directors was a forum of some of the best and brightest businessmen in Fraserville. In Charles-Eugène Pouliot and Evariste Talbot the upper stratum of the business community had two accomplished representatives. Also on the board of directors were A.E. Talbot, up and coming owner

(1) Tom Naylor, The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914 vol. II Industrial Development, Toronto, James Lorimer and Company, 1975, 140-143. B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no.: 362. The Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company (1887-89) should not be confused with the Fraserville Shoe Company, which operated a plant in Rivière-du-Loup from 1912-1923. P.V.C.M. de Fraserville: 30 March, 1910; 26 June, 1911; 19 Nov., 1923.

of the Hotel Larochelle and enterprising doctor Damase Rossignol who at the same time sat on the board of directors of the Temiscouata Railway. In addition to his participation in these two companies the doctor had investments - generally in the form of mortgage loans - in Notre-Dame-du-Lac, as well as Fraser-ville (see tables II.4 and III.7 in appendix). Other members of the board with sizeable business contacts throughout the county included Alfred Fortin of the wholesaling firm "Fortin et Dubé" and Narcisse Gauvin. The same Gauvin was reportedly engaged in commodity exchanges with farmers on a large scale (1). But for the paucity of industrialists the executive was fairly representative of the local middle class community. Whether in a positive or a negative sense, their impact on the company was decisive.

The members of the board contributed unevenly to the direction and execution of the undertaking. A. E. Talbot and Dr. Rossignol remained rather discreet. Much more visible was Evariste Talbot, the "spokesman" for the company on the town

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville, 18 May, 3 Aug., 1888. Le Journal de Fraserville, 2 March, 1890.

council (1888-1893). In administrative matters the authority of A. Fortin, the president, N. Gauvin and C.E. Pouliot was apparently decisive. Although they were not experienced contractors, Fortin and Gauvin generously awarded themselves with the contract for building the factory. Gauvin borrowed \$6,500., in 1887, which he may have used to buy tools and materials for the job (1). The factory was completed in 1888 at a total cost of \$13,000.. Unfortunately the company was in no position to foot the bill. Its financial debility was, in the final analysis, fatal.

The physical and financial scope of the endeavour was, for the town the size of Fraserville, impressive. Although it employed almost one hundred workers the shoe factory was singularly incapable of arousing the interest of the share-buying public. With a \$5,000. subscription the town council was probably the largest shareholder! To be perfectly fair it should be acknowledged that during the 19th Century new industrial concerns were often troubled by a cautious and

(1) B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes: nos.: 21561, 22397

cynical public (1). Charles-Eugène Pouliot, an "avocat-brasseur d'affaires" par excellence, unsuccessfully attempted to salvage the company in the fall of 1888 with a \$5,000. loan. Apparently the company's Montréal creditors were not kept informed of this mortgage and another series of loans to the company from its executives and directors totalling \$5,000. (2). With more obligations than capital, the company declared bankruptcy in the spring of 1889. For the next ten or so years the doors of the shoe factory swung in the breeze. Finally in 1900 the premises were converted into a furniture factory. Thus the town's second major foray into industrial capitalism ended on a rather sour and discouraging note.

The accumulation and utilization of investment capital was perhaps the most challenging aspect of industrial capitalism as far as Fraserville's business elite was concerned. In

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- (1) See G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons..., 152. Claude Fohlen, Qu'est-ce-que la révolution industrielle, Paris, Editions Robert Laffont, 1971, 257. The total share capital of the shoe company was \$20,000. See Le Jour, 4 Oct., 1887. B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no.: 362.
- (2) Le Journal de Fraserville, 16 Aug., 1889; B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no.: 362. P.V.C.M. de Fraser-ville: 25 June, 1888; 25 May, 1889. On the "avocat-brasseurs d'affaires" see Jean-Claude Robert, "Les notables de Montréal au 19e siècle" in H.S/S.H., vol. VIII (15) May, 1975, 69-70.

town and county some semblance of an investment surplus had been successfully generated. In the final analysis, however, the financial capacity of the business elite did not match its industrial "appetite." The presence of a locally-controlled investment intermediary - i.e. a bank - may or may not have solved this problem. Certainly where a sort of intermediate institution (the town hall) did exist, in the field of urban development for example, industrial enterprise tended to be more stable and resilient.

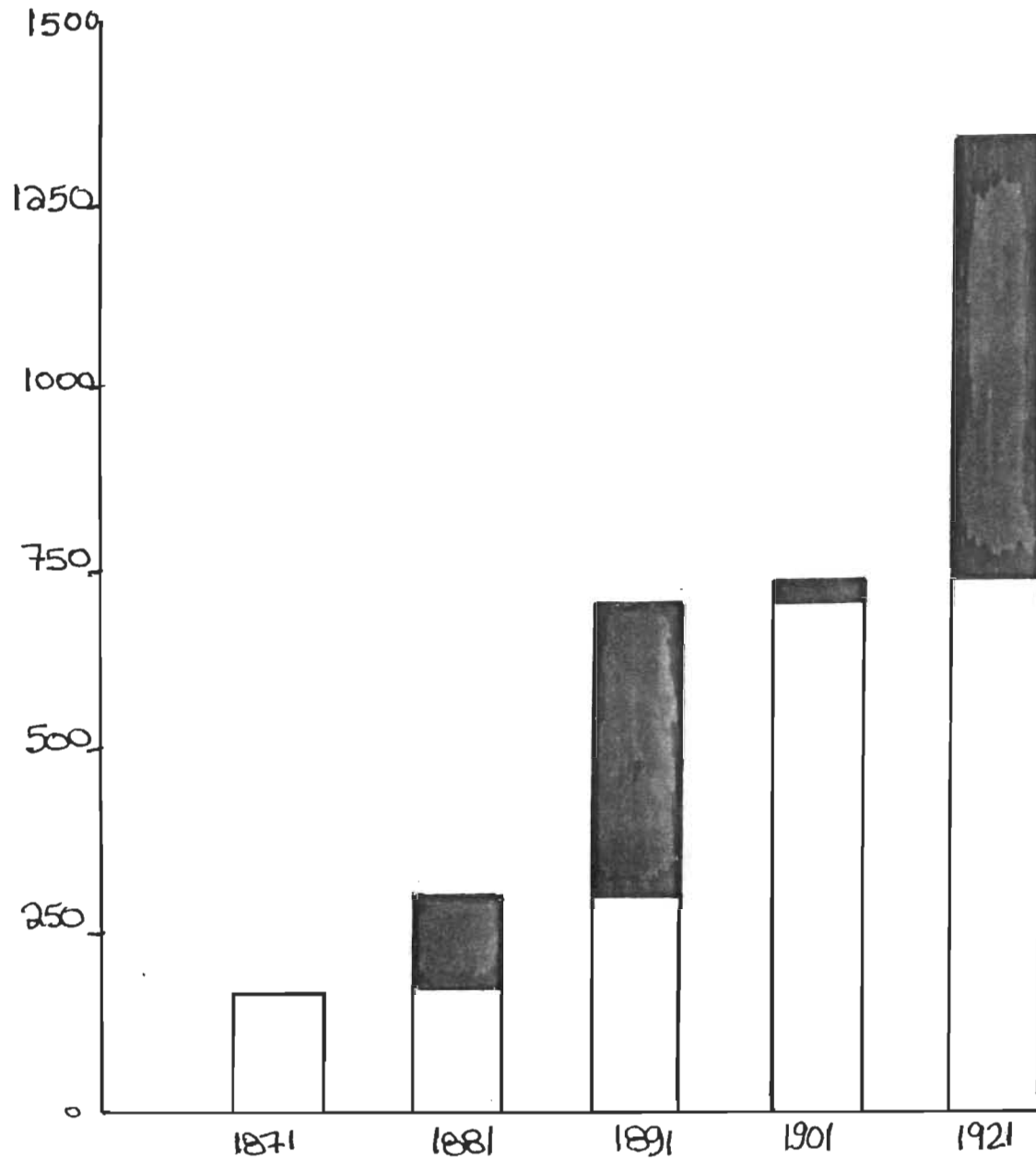
iii) The lumber manufacturers and the construction industry

The transportation industry was the foundation of economic and social development in Fraserville. Railroad construction and car and engine repair work associated with the Intercolonial transformed a milltown into a bustling agglomeration of workers and shopkeepers. The railway was also responsible for the growth and persistence of the secondary lumber wood products industry in Fraserville. Lumber production developed in response to the sudden local demand for transportation, commercial and residential facilities, especially during the 1880's (see table III.3 in text). In this

Table III.3

Houses in Fraserville 1871-1921.

(■ - houses built in excess of figure
ten years before)



Source: Census of Canada

manner the initial stimulus to urbanization was reinforced by the progress of interrelated ancillary activities such as lumber production and construction.

The lumber producer and contractor was one of the first benefactors of this "transport building boom" (1). Building contracts of all types effectively helped him to bridge the gap between sawmill and market. The reasoning was remarkably different from the early mid-century export strategy of Sir J. Caldwell and others like him. A new generation of entrepreneurs embodied the different set of circumstances. The integration of lumber production and construction may or may not have been standard procedure in other late-19th Century boom-towns. It is clear however that in Fraserville it was a veritable criterion of success.

When François Lachance opened his sawmill in 1872, work on the Intercolonial Railway east of the Rivière du Loup was

(1) See: W. Isard, "A Neglected Cycle: the Transport Building Cycle"; The Review of Economic Statistics, XXIV, 4 (November, 1942): 149-158.

still underway. The demand for railroad ties and construction wood along the line may have prodded this carpenter into the business in the first place. However, the market in Fraserville became the cornerstone for Lachancé's success. By 1885 a solid block of half a dozen or so contiguous lots buttressed the original premises that had been leased from the seigniors since 1872 (1). The establishment was now equipped to produce construction accessories such as sash-door and window frames, as well as lumber. "Lachance et Fils" was perhaps best known in Fraserville as a contracting firm. Here again the railroad provided the initial spark.

The Intercolonial Railway conceivably gave François Lachance his first big opportunity to combine production and construction. As a subcontractor and as a lumber supplier he may well have participated in the numerous repairs and improvements administered to the station property and facilities of the crown railway between 1879 and 1881. The subsequent prosperity of the firm was symptomatic of the widening

(1) B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no. 370, 371, 371a, 202-8. Le Progrès de Fraserville, 18 May, 1888.

scope of the construction industry in the railtown. Fraserville's growing population and economy required certain institutions, certain collective facilities. For contractors these requirements meant good business.

A considerable number of buildings were put up during the 1880's, including the church of St-Patrice (1883), the Hotel Fraserville (1883), the Témiscouata Railway station and repair shops (1887-88), and finally the post office (1887). The courthouse for instance was one of François Lachance's major contracts. It was completed in 1883. Six years later his son William Lachance built the hospital. The building boom, of course, brought other entrepreneurs into the picture. Having deserted the pulp business in 1890, F.C. Dubé became the owner of a sandstone quarry, presumably to supply building materials (portland cement?) to the railtown. G.H. Deschênes (1841-1892) lumber merchant and politician, together with L. Therriault, Fraserville town councillor (1882-1884) and New Brunswick politician and industrial promoter, did some of the contracting work on the Intercolonial branchline in 1884. The same year Deschênes offered to build the municipal

aqueduct (1). The project, however, was delayed for over a decade. Contractors would have to make their money above ground. The real market for lumber and building services lay in the vicinity of the train station. It provided Lachance with his most formidable competitor, Narcisse-G. Pelletier.

Pelletier's "début" in the lumber industry was a bold one. In one swift stroke the man of commerce became a man of industry and a builder. This "rebirth" was inspired by the changing circumstances of the railboom. A steampowered sawmill began production in 1881 scarcely two years after the arrival of the Intercolonial in force. "Pelletier et Fils" went on to become the town's most prestigious

(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 2 Aug., 1884; 20 Dec., 1891. According to the Répertoire des parlementaires québécois... (167), Deschênes became a lumber merchant in or after 1891, i.e., after his "séjour" in the legislature. The evidence suggests otherwise. Deschênes lost over 100 chords of wood in a fire in 1888 (see Le Progrès de Fraserville, 3 Aug., 1888). In January, 1889, Deschênes was reportedly visiting his "chantiers" (see Le Journal de Fraserville, 18 Jan., 1889). Deschênes and Therriault were of course well acquainted with each other. Both sat on the board of directors of the Temiscouata Railway in its early form.

producer-contractor. Pelletier's men built a convent, a "collège," a planing mill, and a variety of commercial and residential establishments. Eighteen eighty-eight was an important year for construction. The firm employed forty workers, more than twice the number of "Lachance et Fils," its closest rival. The gap between the two was qualitative as well as quantitative. With a larger staff, Pelletier could handle up to ten building contracts in a single year. The firm was also in the retailing business, the profits of which were used to sustain its industrial activities. Financially secure, Pelletier could afford to invest in more or less related fields such as tourism.

iv) Tourism and the "desired haven"

During the late 1880's and 1890's the tourist trade became an ongoing concern of businessmen and politicians in Fraserville. Each year the steamships of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company and the passenger trains of the Intercolonial brought an increasing number of tourists. Hotels and other facilities were needed to ravish Cacouna's select clientèle of "overheated and business-worried Montréalers

and Torontonians" (1). It seemed that Rivière-du-Loup Point, along with Métis, Pointe-au-Pic, and Tadoussac, was destined to become the summer stomping ground of high society. The politicians and promoters of the railtown appreciated the opportunity of attracting and serving this "business-worried" elite.

In 1887 the Town of Fraserville felt that the environs of the point were not perfectly "suitable" for tourism and would therefore require some attention. They began by fencing in the land adjacent to the "chemin de la pointe." Three years later a slice of property was leased from J.C. Dansereau for the purpose of establishing a public square in the same vicinity. Other improvements were made in 1895, including a gas lamp, sidewalks and finally a ten-year tax exemption for the race track situated beside Joseph D'Amours' hotel (2). The municipality's house-cleaning policy was reinforced by investments in hotels and cottages from the private sector.

(1) From the Canadian Illustrated News, 1872, quoted in Mary Fallis Jones, The Confederation Generation, Toronto, The Royal Ontario Museum, 67.

(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 7 Feb., 25 July, 1887; 21 April, 11 May, 1891; 16 June, 29 July, 30 Sept., 1895.

A number of prominent citizens distinguished themselves in the resort industry. By the early 1890's J. A. Fontaine, former owner of the Hotel Victoria, was back in business, this time with a summer hotel. In 1888 J. C. Dansereau, a Montréal notary with substantial property holdings in the northern part of the town, J. E. Mercier the publisher and Dr. D. Rossignol, announced their intention to build a hotel somewhere on the point. Their plans fell through, although the Dansereau family succeeded in opening a luxury hostel some years later. By the turn of the century Rivière-du-Loup Point boasted three hotels in the grand summer style, as well as a number of small facilities. Though less elegant, these cottages or cabins were relatively inexpensive. Narcisse Pelletier realized this and in 1889 he built several of them. A year later he petitioned the council to extend the point road (rue Hayward) up to his brand new summer hamlet (1). In this particular case municipal policy and real estate development quaintly overlapped in the person of mayor N. Pelletier.

(1) Le Journal de Fraserville, 21 June, 1889; 16 Aug., 1889; 16 May, 1890. On the resort industry see also: Le Progrès de Fraserville, 1 June, 1888. D. Pelletier and M. Dumas, La Geste..., 67. P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 31 Dec., 1894.

The interaction of property and politics, so central to urban development, was even more visible and potent in the middle and southern sections of the railtown.

3) Men of property, men of politics

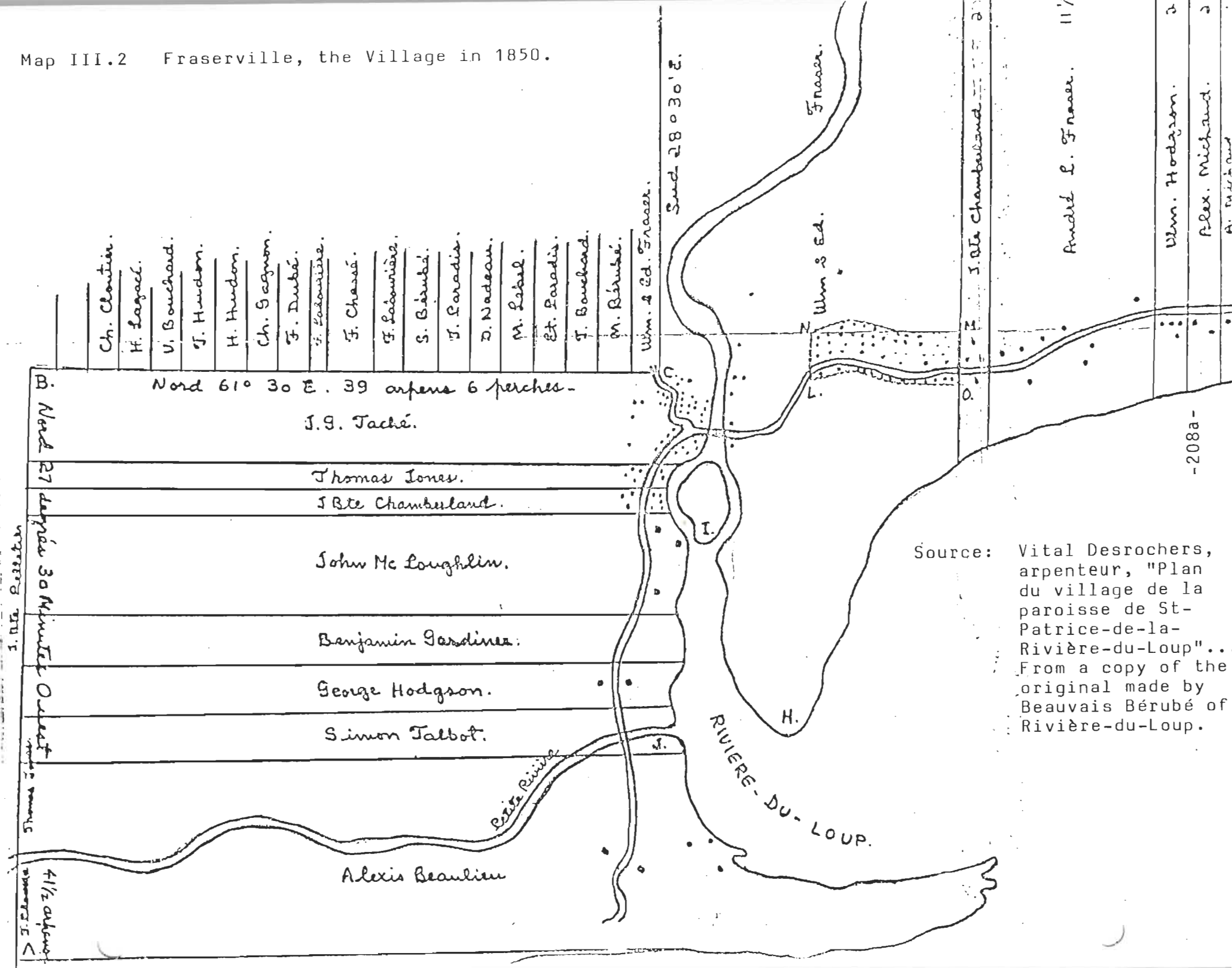
Property and politics; for the student of a booming late 19th Century railtown they are both inseparable and essential, particularly if we are to understand Fraser-ville's urban morphology. Composed of streets, buildings and public places, this physique was perhaps the most enduring achievement of Fraserville's boom-time business elite and should be of comparative interest to the urban historian. Having outlined the spatial contours of this achievement, we shall in turn deal more directly with "city hall," the chief instrument of urban growth in Fraserville. The variety of roles which the municipal government was called upon to play, it is argued, was ultimately determined by the particular circumstances of the railboom and the response of the town's powerful men of property thereto.

a) The spatial context of urban growth in the railtown

In terms of its spatial growth the case of Fraserville, despite the small size of the community, is an interesting one. The spinal pattern of development, running perpendicular to a major body of water (the St. Lawrence River) provided a striking comparison with other river and lake-side towns in Ontario and Québec. Closer to home the contrasts were equally marked. For example during the 19th and 20th Centuries Trois-Pistoles and Rimouski spread themselves out along or parallel to the King's Road. Fraserville on the other hand ran counter to the linear village street norm of the lower St. Lawrence coastline (see map IV.2). The agglomeration made its way up the Rivière du Loup irregularly, almost spasmodically, during the latter part of the 19th Century. Like Ottawa, the urban core of Fraser-ville would evolve centripetally from two or more dispersed points (1).

(1) John Taylor, "Ottawa the City as Conglomerate" in R.H.U./U.H.R., no. 1-75, June-juin 1975.

Map III.2 Fraserville, the Village in 1850.



Source: Vital Desrochers, arpenteur, "Plan du village de la paroisse de St-Patrice-de-la-Rivière-du-Loup"... From a copy of the original made by Beauvais Bérubé of Rivière-du-Loup.

Fraserville's original nucleus anticipated the incorporation of the village by several years. It actually consisted of two subcomponents. One was situated at the juncture of Taché and Jones Streets, in between the banal flour mill and the harbour. The other lay approximately one kilometer to the west squarely within the seigniorial domain (see map III.2). The efforts of wealthy property owners and local officials fell decisively on the latter location.

The seigniors were from the outset associated with the development of the gently sloping terrain situated on either side of the "rue" Fraser. In 1856 for example William and Edward Fraser donated a small plot of land on Lafontaine Street for the purpose of relocating the church of St-Patrice. This veritable act of "fixation" together with the policy of land subdivision and speculation in the same general area was heartily supported by the village's nascent group of businessmen and professionals (1).

(1) L.P. Lizotte, op. cit., 109, 124. For a comparative view see W. Randy Smith, "The Early Development of Three Upper Canadian Towns..." 43.

Two members of this group, Jean-Baptiste Pouliot and Georges Pelletier eventually became wealthy landowners themselves (see table III.4 in text). The result was a definitive network of six or seven streets running between the town's two vital arteries, "rue" Fraser and Lafontaine Street. Prior to the 1870's Fraserville expanded almost exclusively in this vicinity.

The advent of the Grand Trunk in 1860 and particularly the Intercolonial during the following decade disrupted Fraserville's uncomplicated spatial framework. During the 1870's the demand for manpower and attendant commercial services set off a corresponding speculation boom in the vicinity of the railroad repair shops. The town proceeded to spillover into the future territory of St-François-Xavier and St-Ludger. Here the speculator - who in other towns usually preceeded the railway - joined hands with the real estate developer-contractor to create a functional milieu of shops and dwelling places. The rectangular or gridiron street pattern reflected the allotment strategy of the speculator and the construction requirements of the builder. Yet another type of investor watched over and supervised the whole process. In Fraserville for example

the real "maître d'oeuvre du sol" was the seignior who exploited his landholdings in a thoroughly capitalistic manner (1). William Fraser was not only Fraserville's largest property holder, he was also its foremost landed capitalist.

b) The "seigneur" and the mayor: the rise of
William Fraser

William Fraser's career in business and in public life spanned the second half of the 19th Century. It encompassed perhaps the most interesting period in Fraserville's history. Seignior of Rivière-du-Loup (1850's - 1908), justice of the peace, and president of the county agricultural society, Fraser was an active force in the railtown at each stage of its growth. The town council was not far off the mark

(1) On the relationship between speculation and urban growth see P.A. Linteau, Histoire de la ville de Maisonneuve 1883-1918, Université de Montréal, thèse de PHD, février 1975, 169-206; J. Reps, op. cit., 294; Leo Johnson, op. cit., 313-316; J.M.S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West" in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, op. cit., 129.

in describing him as "le personnage le plus important de tout le district" (1).

In the railtown Fraser's prestige was unique. He seems to have maintained all the trappings of a gentleman farmer: an elegant manor, built in 1888 which still stands today; a farm in St-Ludger in operation as late as 1905; and generally-speaking acre upon acre of fields, gardens and orchards spread here and there throughout the town. However, one should not let elements of style becloud the substance of the man. According to Beckles Wilson, the manorial stables and adjacent farm buildings no longer contained cattle in 1910 (2). They may have been inactive ever since the closing decades of the 19th Century. Landed property in the stead of mill power and farming was the basis of his fortune.

(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 22 June, 1908.

(2) Beckles Wilson quoted in Edwin P. Conklin, "Regional Québec: Québec Channel Region" in vol. I of William Wood (ed.), The Storied Province of Québec, The Toronto Dominion Publishing Company, 1931, 301.

As a landed capitalist the seignior bore little resemblance to Athanase Tallard, H. McLennan's rather helpless seignior of St-Marc in the novel Two Solitudes (1). On the contrary, in the tradition of Joseph Masson (1791-1847), Montréal merchant and seignior of Terrebonne, and B. Joliette (1789-1850), lumber entrepreneur and "de facto" seignior of Lavaltrie (1822-1850), Fraser was representative of a transformed and dynamic bourgeois gentry (2). More specifically in the context of the late 19th Century railtown, he personified the interpenetration of property and politics that was essential to the formulation of municipal policy.

William Fraser's political apprenticeship commenced in 1854. At the early age of twenty-five, he became the village's third mayor. Apparently the young seignior's performance on

(1) Hugh MacLennan, Two Solitudes, Toronto, MacMillan, 1957, 370 p.

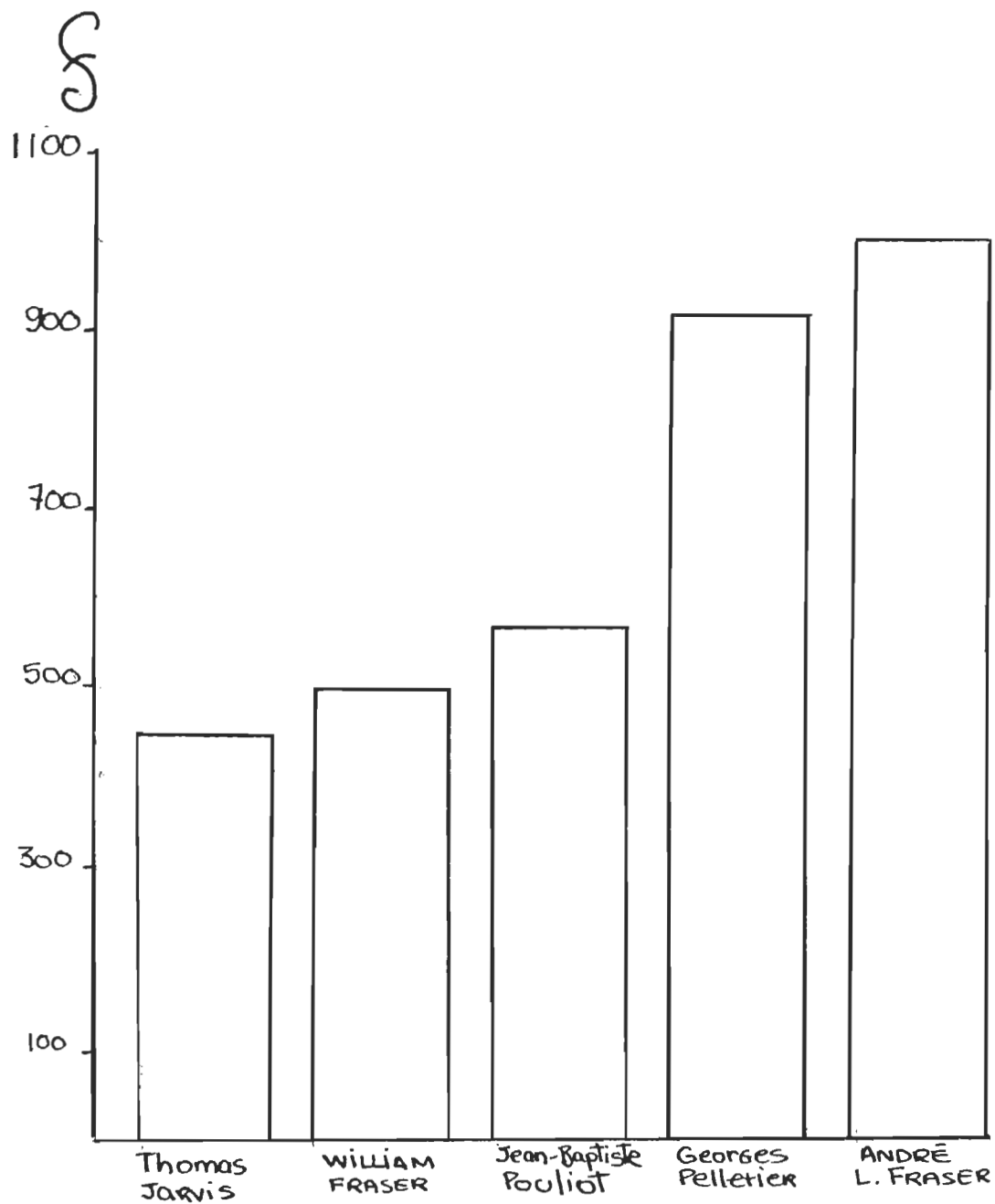
(2) See J.-C. Robert, "Un seigneur-entrepreneur, Barthélemy Joliette...", 375-395. On Joseph Masson see G.J.J. Tulchinsky, op. cit., 16, and Gérard Parizeau, "Joseph Masson ou le sens de la durée" in G. Parizeau, La Société Canadienne française au XIXe siècle essais sur le milieu, Montréal, Fides, 1975.

council was not impressive. He was replaced the following year. In private life William and his younger brother Edward - with whom he shared the seigniority until 1874 - was eclipsed by a protective and ambitious entourage. Cousin John Fraser, a notary and a merchant from the Montréal region, controlled much of their seigniorial estate during the 1850's. Years later the estate came under the watchful eye of another notary, Jean-Baptiste Pouliot (1). The authority of the young seigniors was further diluted by competition from a more elderly member of the clan. André Laughlin Fraser, Québec City merchant and staunch supporter of the movement to incorporate the village in 1849, owned a substantial amount of property in the western part of the municipality (see table III.4 in text and map III.2). Formerly in possession of the seigniority of L'Islet du Portage (St-André-de-Kamouraska), the Laughlin Fraser branch may have held more sway in the nascent village than the two seigniors themselves (2). This impression or posture of seigniorial

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- (1) Notarial trusteeship in the case of seigniorial successions may have been common practise in Canada East. See J.C. Robert, "Un seigneur entrepreneur...", 376.
- (2) See Jean-Baptiste Pouliot, La Rivière du Loup (en bas) notes historiques, 1882, photocopy, 2. According to the Québec Directory, a André L. Fraser resided continuously in Québec City from 1850-1870. Unfortunately the Directory makes no mention of his professional capacity. See the Québec Directory and City Commercial Register for these years.

Table III.4

Value of Important Properties in the Seigniory of Rivière-du-Loup in 1858.



Source: Cadastre abrégé seigneurie de Rivière-du-Loup 1858

impotence was effectively dissipated by the turn of events in the 1870's.

With the death of Edward in 1874 William became the sole proprietor of the seigniory. The following year he was elected once again to the town council where he would serve for the next ten years of his life. As councillor (1875-1877) and as mayor (1878-1885) an older and wiser William Fraser presided diligently over the interests of town and seigniory. Under his administration Fraserville began its "great leap forward."

c) Municipal government in Fraserville: its character
its reform

The Town of Fraserville was incorporated in 1874, the year before William Fraser re-entered municipal politics (1). In spite of its new status Fraserville continued to grow at a snail's pace (see table III.2 in text). Admittedly the construction of the Intercolonial east of the town was having certain beneficial side effects. However this was no firm

(1) See "Acte pour incorporer la ville de Fraserville" ,
L'Acte 37, Victoria Cap. XLVII, 28 Jan., 1874, Québec.

basis on which to build a lasting community. At the same time the financial crisis of 1873 left the parent economies of Europe and North America in a floundering state for several years. Given the above context and the absence of significant social and economic developments in the milltown itself, the unchanging structure and composition of the municipal establishment is not so surprising.

The act of incorporation, it bears mentioning, affected the status, not the structure of local government in Fraser-ville. While the bond between town and county council was formally severed, the political framework of the municipal corporation remained virtually intact. The territorial limits of the municipality, for example weren't even changed. In terms of "democracy" the act appeared to adopt a carrot and stick approach. Articles three and eight removed the power to elect the mayor from the councillors to the voting population. On the other hand the municipality continued to operate as a "narrow functionally limited, private oriented deferential

taxpayers' association" (1). In keeping with the spirit of provincial legislation since the 1849-1850 Municipal Act, property qualifications restricted the right to vote and hold public office (2). This propertied bias was and has remained an inviolate principle of local government in Canada and in Fraserville ever since.

The town charter was barely six years old when the rail-boom began to manifest itself tangibly in Fraserville. During the late 1870's and 1880's a building boom followed the establishment of the Intercolonial repair shops in the vicinity of "La Station" (see table III.3 in text). The quickening pace of business activity on the local scene was not unrelated to the more general but mitigated trend of expansion in the nation's economy. In 1880, 1881 and 1882 lumbermen and farmers along the lower St. Lawrence - as in the rest of the province -

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- (1) M.H. Frisch, "The Community Elite and the Emergence...", 283. See also Linteau, Robert, Durocher, op. cit., 257-258, and G. Betts, "Municipal Government and Politics, 1800-1850" in G.J.J. Tulchinsky, To Preserve and Defend..., 223-244.
- (2) The property qualifications stipulated by the act were as follows: mayor or councilman \$400, evaluator \$600, auditor \$400, elector: (male, "franc tenancier," 21 years of age or over) property worth \$4 a year or a tenant paying at least \$18 rent per year. See "Acte pour incorporer...", 1874, articles 4,5,21,25.

were no doubt encouraged by the growth of dairy and lumber exports to Britain (1). Obviously the increasing flow of commodities to and from the lower St. Lawrence and Atlantic Canada could do nothing but good for a rail-commercial entrepot such as Fraserville. Here the municipal administration was determined to adapt itself to the requirements and the opportunities of the situation. Accordingly certain measures were taken in order to tackle the more challenging aspects of urban growth.

What with Fraserville's expanding economy and population it was no longer possible to deal with each and every matter brought before the council in an "ad hoc" fashion. The old more intimate sense of community was swept away in the onrush of new pressures and responsibilities. The inauguration of the committee system in 1882 was intended to rationalize this increasingly heavy workload. Henceforth a councillor was assigned to one or more of half a dozen standing committees responsible for justice, finance, roads and streets, public

(1) See Majella Quinn, "Les capitaux Français et le Québec 1885-1900" in R.H.A.F., vol. 24, no.: 4, 535.

buildings, police and fire protection. The new system also brought some order to the codification of municipal legislation within each one of these jurisdictions. The bylaws were finally integrated into a single register several years later in 1888. The scope of these and other more substantial changes was directly responsible for the amendment of the 1874 charter in 1883.

Theoretically the amendments to the charter touched on almost every aspect of government in Fraserville. However, the reform was rather more far reaching on paper than in reality. Surprisingly little was done to improve fire protection until 1896 when the first voluntary fire brigade was organized amongst the shopworkers of the Intercolonial. Meanwhile the town constable was expected to perform his responsibilities in the manner of a "jack-of-all-trades." A municipal "concierge" of sorts, he carried out bylaws, regulated the price of bread, inspected farmland, the communal paddock and other corporation property. Finally, he was charged with the

maintenance of law and order in Fraserville (1). Although it moved timidly if at all in so many directions, the Town of Fraserville acted much more decisively on the issue of territorial aggrandizement. The organization and development of property particularly in and around the newly annexed parts of town became the basis, indeed for some time the ends and the means, of municipal policy.

d) Landed capitalists and municipal politicians

Municipal politics in late 19th Century Canada have been portrayed as the privileged preserve of "boosters," promoters and the "dominant commercial elite." This type of appraisal is effectively underscored in P.A. Linteau's study of Maisonneuve, a suburb on the island of Montréal, during the late 19th and early 20th Century period (2). In Linteau's Maisonneuve, city hall is viewed as nothing less than the instrument of landed

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- (1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 10 March, 1881. Paddock - small field, plot of land especially near a stable - is our translation for the French "enclos." See also P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, May 1882. See also M. Frisch, "The Community Elite...", 294. "Refonte de l'acte d'incorporation," 30 March, 1883, L'Acte 46, Victoria Cap. LXXX.
- (2) P.A. Linteau, Histoire de la Ville..., especially 170-316. "Les facteurs d'urbanisation". See also John C. Weaver, "'Tomorrow's Metropolis', Revisited: a Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada 1890-1920" in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City..., 393-418; and A.F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg, A Social History..., Ch. 2, "The Dominance of the Commercial Elite".

capital. Street construction, land allotment and subsidies to industry, the very substance of municipal policy at the time, were part of a larger politico-economic strategy by which landed capitalists sought to organize, administer and control urban space, thereby enhancing the value of their properties (1). In Fraserville as in Maisonneuve, the encouragement of urbanization and industrial growth were key elements in this strategy.

Mayor of Fraserville since 1878, William Fraser was in a remarkably good position to make the spatial requirements for urbanization and the redefinition of municipal territory coincide with his extensive property holdings. For instance, the completely revised municipal cadaster of 1884 embraced sizeable chunks of new territory in the vicinity of "La Station" on both sides of the Rivière du Loup (2).

(1) A more concise version of the landed capital hypothesis is available in P.-A. Linteau and J.-C. Robert, "Land Ownership and Society in Montreal: an Hypothesis" in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, The Canadian City..., 17-36. A similar view can be found in A.F.J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities" in A.F.J. Artibise (ed.), Town and City..., 219.

(2) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 22 May, 4 Dec., 1882; and article 5 in "Refonte de l'acte d'incorporation", March... 1883.

The inclusion of territory east of the Rivière du Loup, barely a stone's throw from the railroad factory, was central to Fraser's strategy. Whereas he possessed little real estate in the future parish of St-François-Xavier (the left bank) he was by far the most important landowner on the other side of the river. No doubt the seignior was convinced that the extension of the municipality in this direction would encourage the further subdivision of and settlement upon his properties.

In his attempt to annex and urbanize the right bank the seignior was seconded by some of the town's most influential propertyowners and businessmen. Notary Jean-Baptiste Chamberland owned fifteen lots on the "Chemin Témiscouata" in 1884. Secretary-treasurer of the municipality from 1850 to 1857 and councillor from 1858 to 1866, Chamberland was wedded to William Fraser's niece in 1843. His son-in-law, Georges-Arthur Binet, was one of the town's leading general merchants. Chamberland was a member of the seignior's intimate circle and it comes as no surprise that the former's petition to widen the "Chemin Témiscouata" in 1883, was accepted by Fraser's municipal administration (1).

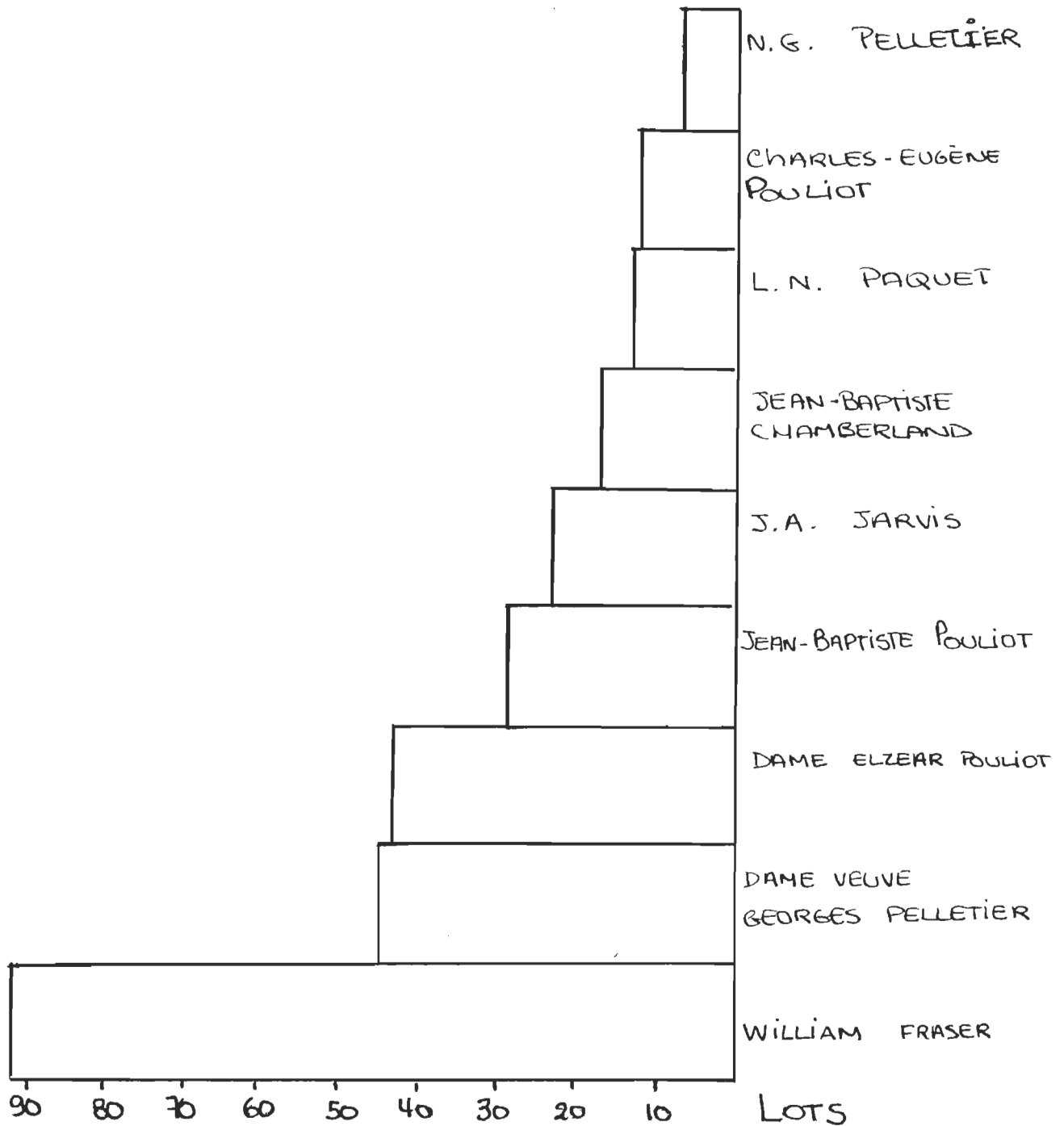
(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 26 November, 1883; l'Abbé Joseph A. Richard, St-Ludger de Rivière-du-Loup 1905-1955, 26; B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi, Fraserville, 1884.

A justice of the peace with almost ten years of continuous service upon the town council, John Alpheus Jarvis was perhaps the second-most prominent member of the Fraser administration. The landed fortune of this successful wholesale merchant and insurance agent lay almost entirely in the future parish of St-Ludger (see table III.5 in text). Here Jarvis owned eighteen lots, all of which were located along the street that bore his family name. On council Jarvis was no doubt a fervent supporter of administrative reform and territorial expansion. As a means of inflating property values and attracting home builders east of the Rivière du Loup, annexation was unquestionably in his interest. The same remark could be made with respect to Chamberland and of course William Fraser himself. The authority of this group was reflected in the contents of the revised charter (1883). Article six for example gave property holders in the newly annexed districts a year's exemption from municipal taxes (1). The measure was destined to benefit Fraserville's powerful and tight-knit group of landed capitalists who were almost invariably associated with the seignior's family by accident of

(1) See "Refonte de l'acte d'incorporation..." 1883. On J.A. Jarvis see Le Progrès de Fraserville, 18 May, 1888; and B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi, Fraserville 1884.

Table III.5

Important Property Owners by Number of Lots in Fraserville, 1884.



Source: B.R.R.T. Livre de Renvoi,
Fraserville 1884.

birth, marriage, or business.

The events in St-Ludger were of course part of Fraser-ville's overall land-boom which commenced just prior to the arrival of the Intercolonial in 1879. André L. Fraser - the seignior's cousin and owner of hundreds of acres west of the Rivière du Loup - had been one of the first to become attracted to the south-eastern outskirts of the town. Laughlin-Fraser concluded several real estate deals in the area during the 1870's, several years before it was annexed by the Town of Fraserville. Yet by the 1880's his successors - Dame J.-Elzéar Pouliot and Dame Jean-Baptiste Delage - could afford to lose interest in the right bank. The family's farm property - which ran between Fraser Street and "Chemin" Fraser-ville - lay directly in line with Fraserville's burgeoning southwest quarter (1).

Along with the Laughlin- Frasers and descendants the Pouliots were the most important landowners west of "La Station" in 1884. Here they initiated a number of speculation and urban development schemes. The pattern of real estate

(1) See Jos: A. Richard, St-Ludger..., 35, and B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi, Fraserville 1884.

investment in the railtown bore some resemblance to the family's flexible and timely policy of acquisition in the nearby rural hinterland. Anticipating the property requirements of the Temiscouata Railway perhaps by several years, Charles-Eugène Pouliot purchased lots in the immediate vicinity of the train station during the 1880's. A second cluster of lots belonging for the most part to his father Jean-Baptiste was located astride the "Chemin Fraserville," an area with definite residential potential in 1884. The Hotel Vendôme, which was also located in this sector, eventually fell into the hands of Jean-Baptiste's second son, Joseph-Camille (1). On the whole, this real estate strategy was a remarkably well-informed one. While Jean-Baptiste, the notary, minded the estates of the town's biggest landowner (William Fraser), Charles-Eugène, "avocat-de-la-ville" kept an eye on things at city hall.

(1) B.R.R.T.: Livre de Renvoi Fraserville, 1884; Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot no.: 396. Jean-Baptiste Pouliot was active elsewhere in Fraserville. In 1884 for example, his holdings completely surrounded the lumber factory of "Pelletier et Fils," which was located in the northern part of the municipality.

The authority of this seigniorial group, especially at city hall, evokes the interdependence and interpenetration of economic and political power that typified other 19th Century communities (1). A veritable network of friends, relatives and associates revolved around the seignior of Rivière-du-Loup. With access to most of the town's commerciable property, they were the uncontested leaders of Fraserville during the initial phases of the railboom. The success of this predominantly landed faction of the local business elite was inextricably tied to the landboom set off by the advent of the Intercolonial repair shops and workers in 1879.

The political resiliency of the Fraser-Jarvis-Pouliot-Chamberland combination was quite impressive. Participation in the deliberations of the town council was relayed almost perfectly over the thirty-year period that preceded the defeat of the Fraser "team" in 1885 (see table III. 8 in appendix). Yet the course of urbanization was bound to set in

(1) On Montréal see: J.C. Robert, "Les notables de Montréal au 19^e siècle...", 76.

motion competing socio-political alignments which would in turn challenge the seignior and his associates. This became abundantly clear in the wake of the municipal election of 1885.

The aqueduct ostensibly constituted the key issue in the municipal campaign of 1885. Controversy focused on the advisability of building and financing such an aqueduct. The project, which promised to encourage the upward spiral of property values, was looked upon approvingly by landed capitalists such as the outgoing mayor himself, William Fraser. Mayoral candidate Dr. H. Hudon opposed both the measure and of course the seignior's reelection. The challenger received strong support from C.E. Pouliot and J.A. Jarvis (formerly of the seigniorial camp) and A.R. MacDonald, railroad tycoon and industrialist. Hudon no doubt appealed to the spendthrift instincts of small businessmen and particularly the shopkeepers who were probably the most numerous group of property owners and voters in the municipality (1). The doctor's

(1) On the spendthrift instincts of the "shopocracy" see A. Briggs, Victorian Cities..., 168, 208-209. On the 1885 election see Le Jour, 9 Jan., 16 Jan., 1885.

victory was a crushing one, for William Fraser had lost the support of two important allies, Pouliot and Jarvis. Moreover in terms of economic and political leadership, the victory was decisive. The balance of power presently shifted in the direction of the local elite's aspiring industrial faction. In this manner, Fraserville firmly and formally entered the era of industrial promotion and railroad politics.

4) Railroad politics and politicians

As a politically contentious issue the flame of railroad development burnt never more brilliantly in the province of Québec than during the 1880's. Generally-speaking the decade was tailor-made for spoilsmen and point-blank, even alarming cynicism. The pursuit of political goals was literally dwarfed by the process of economic change (1). The malleability of legislators in the young Canadian Dominion was particularly evident in the struggle to establish north shore railroad links between Québec City, Montréal and Ottawa. Politicians at all levels - federal, provincial and local- emerged

(1) Richard Hofstadter, The American Political Tradition, New York, Vintage Books, 1974, 211.

as frontmen for one or more of the nation's competing business groups. In the province of Québec the mechanics of railroad promotion accentuated the "rapprochement" between businessmen and politicians. To paraphrase a well-worn but appropriate expression: railroads became the "politics" of government, politics the "business" of railroads (1). This was equally true of the booming railtown in the 1880's where the advocates of railroad promotion and development constituted the most potent political force. While they were remarkably successful in the field of electoral politics, their leadership, as we shall see in the second half of this section did not go uncontested.

a) The advocates of railroad development

In Fraserville the management of political affairs and the substance of political conflict was very much the prerogative of businessmen and competing groups of local notables.

(1) Sir Alan MacNab as paraphrased by H.V. Nelles in "Introduction" in H.V. Nelles (ed.), Philosophy of Railroads and Other Essays by T.C. Keffer, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1972, XLV. See also Bryan Young, Promoters and Politicians: The Northshore Railways in the History of Québec 1854-1885. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, 29-31, 39.

Within a relatively short space of time the optimistic jargon of railroad promoters and industrial advocates came to permeate the community's political atmosphere. The railboom, however, did not rupture the fundamentally bourgeois and petty-bourgeois quality of the town's political establishment. On the contrary, it reinforced the position of Fraserville's two leading economic factions, one after the other. Notwithstanding the municipal campaign of 1885, the similarities between the seigniorial group and the Pelletier-Tory faction were as significant as their differences. It is important to note that while William Fraser was defeated by the forces of austerity (in 1885), he was replaced by a "generation" of municipal politicians that had even higher expectations.

In contrast to the seignior's landed capital faction of the local business elite, the Hudon administration, which took office in 1885, represented a bourgeois constituency which was directly involved in industrial enterprise and especially in railroad promotion. The significance of this change and the concomitant pull of the Pelletier-Tory faction was most evident in the support Hudon could count on behind the scenes, not in the composition of the council "per se." At the other end of the political scales the group was

ably represented by a director of the Témiscouata Railway (1885-1889), Dr. P.-E. Grandbois, local M.P. since 1878. His worship H. Hudon himself was present at the celebration which followed Grandbois' victory in the March elections of 1887. Also present were P.-V. Taché, Fraserville lawyer and legal counsel for the Temiscouata Railway in the province of Québec, and Narcisse-G. Pelletier, the "député's" brother-in-law and one of Fraserville's leading industrialists.

Alderman from 1882-1886, Pelletier was destined to succeed mayor Hudon in 1888. Comfortably esconced in Ottawa, Québec City (at least until 1886-87) and finally at city hall, the Tories could well afford to pursue a policy of supporting industry in general and the Temiscouata Railway in particular (see table III.9 a,b in appendix).

The community of interests that existed between the Tories and the railway was at the time, common knowledge and will be examined shortly in the chapter (1). At the heart of this

(1) In an attempt to cash in on this association during the 1887 federal election, the Conservatives openly congratulated themselves for the Temiscouata Railway's half-million dollar subsidy. See Le Jour, 4 Feb., 1887.

reciprocal relationship was the longstanding association between Grandbois the M.P. and A.R. MacDonald, superintendent of the Intercolonial's western division. The partnership had its roots in a pulp concern (the Fraserville Manufacturing Company) where the two collaborated in the company of Dame R.-Virginie Moreau, Grandbois' mother-in-law and widow of Georges Pelletier, a successful merchant. Gradually the Temiscouata Railway came to occupy their full and undivided attention. Grandbois, a director of the railway since 1885, was the Temiscouata's political spokesman in Ottawa. MacDonald, the president of the Railway from 1887-1889 "minded the company store" and supplied the Conservatives with bouncers and booze, essential lubricants in any late 19th Century political contest (1).

- b) The \$25,000. bonus controversy, or an introduction to politics in the railtown

The institution and practise of bonusing was a veritable

(1) For a comparative perspective of 19th Century politics, see Bryan Young, "The Defeat of George -Etienne Cartier in Montreal East in 1872", C.H.R., vol. LI, no.: 4, December 1970, 389, 394-396; and Bryan D. Palmer, A Culture in Conflict..., 148-149.

pillar of municipal economic "policy" in late 19th and early 20th Century Canada. An essential tool of railroad financing at the time, bonusing was very much the product of an earlier age; one which spawned a plethora of railroad projects, the Municipal Loan Act (1852) and finally Confederation itself (1867) (1). While the policy of municipal incentives spread to virtually every sector of industrial activity, cash subsidies and tax exemptions continued to sustain the growth of Québec's railroad infrastructure during the post-Confederation period. Indeed for many north and south shore communities in this province, the experience of railroad promotion was a formative one, for it brought them face to face with the values and the realities of an emerging urban-industrial civilization.

The implementation of the Temiscouata Railway bonus was a memorable experience for the citizens of Fraserville on

(1) Among other things, Confederation represented a solution to the credit problems of a debt-ridden province of Canada which had invested quite heavily in the great railroad boom of the 1850's. See Stanley B. Ryerson, Unequal Union..., 244-257 and J.M.S. Careless, The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1857. Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1967, 139-145.

several counts. First of all the measure was remarkable if only for the generosity of its terms. These included a \$25,000. cash award in municipal bonds and debentures and a twenty-year exemption from municipal taxes (1). Other companies were offered as much in the way of tax exemptions during the two following decades, but never anything in the vicinity of \$25,000.(see table III.6 in appendix). For this and for other reasons, the measure had a divisive impact upon the relatively placid course of civic affairs in Fraserville.

The bonus controversy then, began as a municipal issue. It became the excuse, nay the cause, for a bitter feud between two of Fraserville's strongest politico-economic groups: namely the predominantly Tory Pelletiers and the more Liberally-inclined Pouliots. In a manner of speaking the Pouliots had taken the place of the seignior who was no longer an active political figure in Fraserville. As a matter of course the dispute was simultaneously conducted in the county arena of federal and provincial politics where the two groups had been

(1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 5 July, 1886; 1 April, 1889. The bylaw itself was drawn up by C.E. Pouliot. P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 14 June, 1886.

battling each other for some time. The partisan atmosphere of the debate does not, however, convey its true significance. Industrialism had conquered both points of view. To encourage it was clearly in the economic interest of both factions. This pro-industrial framework of argument was unquestionably the most enduring legacy of the bonus conflict. The fundamental consensus underlying this dispute is reminiscent of Trollope's description of Conservatives and Liberals in mid-Victorian Britain:

The men are so near to each other in all their convictions and theories of life that nothing is left to them but personal competition for the doing of the thing that is to be done. (1)

i) The proposal

The process of "talking up" the railroad got underway in the summer of 1886. Before an assembly of interested citizens and property owners, His Worship Dr. Hudon pledged

(1) Quoted in Asa Briggs, Victorian People, Harmondsworth, Middlesex, England, Penguin Books, 1955 (reprinted by Pelican 1980), 122.

\$25,000. in support of the newly reorganized Temiscouata Railway (1). The mayor could not have chosen a better moment to make his case. The buoyant state of Fraserville's economy - the railboom was on in earnest - precluded any and all serious opposition to the measure, at least in the foreseeable future.

The mayor was actively supported on this issue by P.E. Grandbois, distinguished citizen and doctor of Fraserville, and Conservative M.P. for Témiscouata in Ottawa. Both politicians were convinced that the local electorate expected nothing less than complete and utter dedication from its elected representatives on the subject of the Temiscouata Railway. The ease with which the bonus bylaw was passed in Fraserville, several weeks later, seemed to confirm their suspicions. On the local scene at least, the Tories and the Temiscouata Railway formed a seemingly unbeatable combination. Nothing short of some freak sequence of political turbulence could prevent them from getting on with the business of lining track and building bridges. As it turned out, the political

(1) Le Jour, 25 June, 1886. The actual vote took place on July 27th, see P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 4 March, 1889.

complications did come, but in stages.

The following year (1887) was an unfortunate one for the Temiscouata Railway and its host of Tory supporters. The change of government in Québec City created a number of problems, particularly with regard to the provincial subsidy (1). The railway became bogged down in a quagmire of legal manoeuvres and electoral battles. The year 1888, on the other hand, commenced on a much more satisfying note with the election of Fraserville's 14th mayor. Narcisse-Georges Pelletier, H. Hudon's successor, was a most capable and energetic personality. By virtue of his family's marital connections and his executive responsibilities - the mayor of Fraserville was "ex officio" a director of the company - Pelletier was expected to be more than sympathetic to the needs of the Temiscouata Railway. The mayor would have ample occasion to demonstrate his fidelity in the coming years.

The course of events in the field of railroad construction

(1) See G  t  n Gervais, l'Expansion du r  seau ferroviaire qu  bécois..., 350-354.

was equally encouraging. Work both on the mainline and on the repair-shops and freight-passenger station facilities in Fraserville progressed rapidly enough for the company to demand the implementation of its 1886 bonus agreement with the municipality (1). Towards the end of the construction season in 1888, Council received the first of many written requests to that effect from the president of the Temiscouata Railway, A.R. MacDonald. Much to his dismay, A.R. discovered that the matter was far from settled. A small but potentially formidable group of individuals was determined to place itself between the railway and the \$25,000..

ii) The economic background of the dispute

Council's hesitant response to A.R. MacDonald's request

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- (1) P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 23 Oct., 29 Oct., 1888. According to the 1886 by-law the railway had to fulfill the following conditions in order to qualify for the bonus:
- 1) running between Fraserville and Edmunston, the line must join up with the Intercolonial within the city limits of Fraserville;
 - 2) construction must start within a year and be completed by 1891 (five years hence);
 - 3) the terminus station and railroad repair facilities, if they are to be built within the province of Québec, must be built in Fraserville. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 5 July, 1886.

late in 1888 reflected the fluid state of public opinion in Fraserville on the question of railroad promotion. A rising tide of opposition and apprehension was dissolving the buoyant and confident mood of 1886. Some of the most scathing criticism was reserved for the municipality itself. Many skeptics were convinced that Fraserville had been selected as the site of the Railway's Québec terminus even before the bonus "stimulus" was introduced in 1886. In their view the bonus was a superfluous and indeed costly measure (1). The municipality, they argued, had no choice but to renege on its commitment to the railway. The exponents of this point of view included such prominent citizens as C.E. Pouliot, A.E. Talbot, Evariste Talbot, and later on Jean-Baptiste Chamberland the notary, lawyer J. Elzéar Pouliot and finally Polycarpe Nadeau, a general-store merchant. The elementary task of organizing the "no" campaign fell to the original group of opponents - Fortin, C.E. Pouliot, and the two Talbots - all of whom sat on the board of directors of the Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company. The very heart and soul of the opposition movement, this "brain trust", was

(1) See Le Journal de Fraserville, 2 Nov., 30 Nov., 1888. Le Courrier de Fraserville, 22 Nov., 6 Dec., 1888. The CPR received its \$200,000. bonus from the City of Winnipeg (in 1881) under similar circumstances. See A.F.J. Artibise, Winnipeg A Social History..., 73.

remarkable for its effectiveness and its unity of purpose.

For this handful of directors and shareholders the core of the problem was money or the Boot and Shoe Company's lack thereof. The financial headaches of the firm were at the time acute and eventually fatal (see part two of this chapter). The municipality's \$5,000. bonus subscription was a temporary solution at best. Moreover, the Temiscouata Railway, a healthy and indeed a going concern, had been offered five times as much (\$25,000.). Under the circumstances, the town council's sense of priorities was, to say the least, provocative.

The decision to sponsor the railway instead of the shoe industry was particularly disturbing for William Fraser and Jean-Baptiste Chamberland, two of Fraserville's foremost landed capitalists. The shoe factory was meant to be an integral part of their attempt to develop the railtown's largely unoccupied middle plateau (1). The ensuing uneasiness of this landed

(1) For a comparative perspective on the collaboration between landed and industrial capital, see P.-A. Linteau, Histoire de la ville de Maisonneuve, 9-10, 237. The divvying up of Chamberland's enormous mid-town lot (#202) demonstrates that the development of this area was well underway by 1888. By 1891 part of the lot had been sliced up into as many as 37 pieces. See B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville, lot #202.

capital interest further fuelled the fires of debate.

A fiercely contested issue, this \$25,000. municipal controversy also marked a turning point in Fraserville's political history. Clearly the controversy accentuated the polarization of the railtown's principal business groups into two competing political formations. Each political formation or party embodied a specific strategy of economic growth and development. For instance on one side of the bonus issue, there stood the advocates of railroad development in this part of the lower St. Lawrence. They were represented by the mayor of Fraser-ville and several other prominent local Tories. This governing coalition of politicians and businessmen, it should be remembered, functioned under the guidance of British capital and Canadian entrepreneurship (1). They were opposed by a modified version of the Pouliot-Fraser alignment, a local group of

(1) Our emphasis upon the significance of metropolitan interests in the elaboration of Fraserville's economic strategy contrasts with M. Foran's portrait of late 19th Century Calgary as a catalyst or platform of regional economic and political aspirations. See Max Foran, "Urban Calgary 1884-1895" in H.S./S.H., vol. 5, 1972, 61-76.

businessmen and opposition candidates that revolved essentially around the Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company. For want of a more convenient political platform, these anti-bonus forces, headed by C.E. Pouliot, fell onto the Liberal side of the fence.

iii) The political background of the dispute

The bonus controversy was good news for the Témiscouata's fledgling Liberal organization. Recently defeated in three successive elections -a provincial election in 1886, a provincial by-election in 1887, and a federal elction also in 1887 - the spirits of the party faithful were understandably low. Not a single Liberal member had been returned to the House of Commons or the provincial Legislature since respectively 1874 and 1875. The party seemed to be locked in Thomas Keefer's timeless opposition trap where challengers "can only oppose principle to interest, agitation to consideration" (1)(see tables III.9 a,b and .10 in appendix).

(1) T.C. Keefer quoted in H.V. Nelles, "Introduction" The Philosophy of Railroads... XLIV.

The foundation of Tory supremacy in the county was the seemingly indissoluble connection between the Conservative organization and the Témiscouata Railway. If the Liberals were to be at all successful in this part of the lower St. Lawrence, they would have to discredit that connection. The eruption of the bonus controversy gave them a glorious opportunity to hack away at the provincial incumbent, the weakest link in the Témiscouata's governing Tory coalition.

The railtown's political phenomenon par excellence in the 1880's, the osmosis of "bleu" organization and local railway interests, was not easily dismembered. In the provincial election of 1886 the Tory candidate G.D.H. Deschênes, a lumber merchant and a director of the Témiscouata Railway, handily defeated his "National" opponent L.P. Pelletier, a native of Trois-Pistoles, with extensive contacts in the Québec City business world. Deschênes' reelection in 1886 - no mean accomplishment, considering the scope of Mercier's victory in the lower St. Lawrence (see table III.9b in appendix) - was not without ominous consequences. Within a year the incumbent preferred to resign his seat rather than face allegations of bribery and other fraudulent election practices. Deschênes' resignation added another nail to the coffin of the province's

ailing Conservative Party (1).

The ensuing provincial by-election was held sometime in the fall of 1887. The Liberals were, understandably, not pleased with the results. The Tory organization's rough and tumble tactics had worked again. Tory bully-boys and crowd-swampers were brought in from Pointe-Levy. The Conservatives' chief organizer himself, A.R. MacDonald, made all sorts of threats and promises depending upon the location and the political affiliation of his audience (2). Defeated for a second

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- (1) On the province's late 19th Century political context see H. Blair Neatby, Laurier and a Liberal Québec, Toronto, McLelland and Stewart, 1973; B. Young, Promoters and Politicians..., 79, 125-126, 139-142; and Linteau, Robert, Durocher, op. cit., 269-295. A Québec City lawyer at the time, Pelletier's business connections included, the Canadian Electrical Light Company, The Chaudière Falls Pulp Co. and the Québec Railway Light-Heat and Power Co.. See Répertoire des parlementaires québécois..., 448-449.
- (2) Apparently MacDonald made reassuring promises to virtually every parish in the county concerning the route of the Temiscouata Railway. See G. Gervais, l'Expansion du réseau ferroviaire québécois..., 353. His threat to fire Intercolonial employees in the event of a Liberal victory carried weight, for MacDonald was also superintendant of the Intercolonial's western division. See Le Jour, 7 Dec., 1887.

time in a row, L.P. Pelletier could not make good his resolution "de ne pas se laisser imposer par les gros bonnets de la Rivière-du-Loup" (1). The Liberals were reminded once again that with almost twice the number of voters, Fraserville, not Trois-Pistoles, was the key to political success in the county. In order to carry on its broadsides with the "bleu"-Railway coalition and win votes in Fraserville all at the same time, the Liberals would have to field a candidate with much stronger roots in the railtown.

For L.P. Pelletier the struggle against the combined forces of the Tories and the Temiscouata Railway had been a frustrating one. The timing of the Mercier government's enquiry into the affairs of the railway - instituted in the fall of 1887 at Pelletier's request - had been good, but not, apparently, good

(1) L.P. Pelletier quoted in Le Jour, 19 Aug., 1887. There is some confusion as to the precise date of this by-election. G. Gervais suggests the month of February, 1887. However, according to a local source, Deschênes tendered his resignation in August of that year. The campaign conceivably took place in September, October, or November. Unfortunately the by-election is not mentioned in the Répertoire des parlementaires québécois.... See Le Jour, 24 Dec., 1886; 29 July, 5 Aug., 2 Sept.: 1887; and G. Gervais, l'Expansion du réseau ferroviaire québécois..., 353.

enough (1). In search of greener political pastures, Pelletier deserted his native county for the provincial riding of Dorchester, where he was elected in January, 1888. Charles-Eugène Pouliot, noted Fraserville lawyer, industrialist and real estate investor, presently became the ranking member in the county's Liberal organization.

Experienced as an election organizer and as a candidate - he was defeated by P.-E. Grandbois in the federal election of March 1887 - Charles-Eugène Pouliot doggedly began campaigning within a year of L.-P. Pelletier's defeat. A leading organizer of the anti-bonus movement, he was determined to "take the bull by the horns" and attack the Tories in Fraserville, their very own "château fort." The fact that Pouliot had drawn up the bonus legislation in the first place seems to have had little bearing upon the course of debate (2).

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- (1) On the enquiry - ironically headed by Mercier himself - and the alleged scandal, see G. Gervais, l'Expansion du réseau ferroviaire québécois..., 350-354 and Le Jour: 18 Nov., 2 Dec.: 1887; Le Progrès de Fraserville, 7 Dec., 1887.
- (2) He was, at the time, the town's legal adviser. P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 14 June, 1886.

iv) The climax of the anti-bonus campaign

The first publicized meeting of the anti-bonus movement took place in November, 1888 at the residence of one of C.E. Pouliot's close business associates, Alfred Fortin. Fortin, the president of the Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company, along with several other irate citizens, decided that a show of force was necessary to bring the Town of Fraserville to its senses. Accordingly the "no" forces held a public assembly within the month. A petition was subsequently drawn up by lawyer C.E. Pouliot, Fortin's colleague in the Boot and Shoe Company. The municipality, the petition suggested, should take the matter to court and find out whether or not it was legally obligated to pay the bonus (1). Mayor Pelletier, himself a firm supporter of the bonus and the Temiscouata Railway, was emphatically opposed to such a course of action. He was prepared however, to journey to Québec City and discuss the matter with a firm of legal experts. Not surprisingly the anti-bonus forces staged a "coup" during his absence.

(1) See Le Journal de Fraserville, 1889, 2 Nov., 1888; and Le Courrier de Fraserville, 22 Nov., 1888.

The town council was sharply divided on the question of whether or not it should accord the railway its bonus. The ayes and the nays were represented in equal numbers. As a rule the deadlock was broken by the preponderant voice of the mayor, who was of course in favour of the measure. However at the January 28th, 1888 meeting the "yes" forces found themselves in the minority. The mayor was in Québec City. Councillor Felix Saindon had just recently resigned. Taking the initiative, the "no" trio of Evariste Talbot, Napoléon Dion and Maxime Nadeau ruled in favour of Pouliot's petition. The town would withhold the bonus "jusqu'à ce qu'il en soit contraint par les cours de justice" (1). This decision was overturned early in March following the return of the mayor and the election of a councillor who was sympathetic to the railway's cause.

The "no" forces were not dismayed, still less unprepared, by this turn of events. Within a matter of days Alfred Fortin

(1) Quoted in Le Courrier de Fraserville, 7 Feb., 1889. The details of this dispute can be found in the minutes of the town council 1888-1889 and in the local newspapers Le Jour - Le Journal de Fraserville - Le Progrès de Fraserville and Le Courrier de Fraserville.

and Polycarpe Nadeau were before the Superior Court in the hopes of obtaining an injunction that would nullify the counter-resolution of March 4th. Mayor Pelletier responded promptly and in kind by petitioning the same court for the right to issue the debentures immediately. The ensuing procedural battle was waged simultaneously in the courts, on council and in the local press for the better part of a year.

The popularity of the Temiscouata Railway in Fraserville and "per force" that of the mayor's position was buttressed by the steady support of Le Journal de Fraserville (formerly Le Jour and Le Progrès de Fraserville), the town's independant Conservative weekly (1). "Il n'y a aucun doute," the paper argued just weeks prior to the March 1887 federal elections, "que quand ce chemin de fer sera définitivement ouvert au trafic, il fera prospérer (cette) partie du pays sur lequel il passe" (2). Later on that year the editor chastised the Liberal candidate (L.P. Pelletier) for his role in instigating the provincial enquiry into the Temiscouata Railway. The

(1) See for example Le Journal de Fraserville, 8 March, 29 March 1889.

(2) Le Jour, 28 Jan., 1887.

political wrongdoings of the railway, it was felt, were simply not bad enough to "compromettre le succès d'une entreprise aussi sérieuse" (1). Le Courrier de Fraserville too had kind words for the Temiscouata. Later in November, 1888, with the anti-bonus campaign still in its infancy, the paper convincingly pointed out the advantages of the railway in terms of the heating wood it procured (2).

In addition to this "media pressure," the railway company began to lobby the town council more directly with shareholders' resolutions and letters of support from federal and provincial regulatory bodies (3). The Liberals it seems were prepared for this too. The county courthouse provided a suitably theatrical backdrop for what was to be the most sweeping and successful political indictment of the campaign.

(1) Le Progrès de Fraserville, 7 Dec., 1887.

(2) Le Courrier de Fraserville, 22 Nov., 1888.

(3) The two bodies were the federal "secrétaire du comité des chemins de fer" and the provincial "comité exécutif des chemins de fer." P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 1 April, 1889.

On the face of it P. Bélanger's legal proceedings against the Town of Fraserville, initiated in the spring of 1889, constituted a straightforward attempt to prevent the municipal corporation from granting the debentures to the railway company. The courtroom quite unexpectedly became the scene of a series of wild accusations directed against the president of the Temiscouata Railway, A.R. MacDonald and the federal (Conservative) "député," P.E. Grandbois. MacDonald was alleged to have bribed H. Hudon, the mayor of Fraserville, in 1886, in order to secure his support for the bonus proposal. Secondly, and this would prove to be quite fatal, A.R. had apparently acted without the consent of his colleagues in the company (1). Indeed, according to Bélanger, he had every intention of pocketing the bonus

(1) Le Journal de Fraserville, 25 April, 1890. The likes of this and other well-placed blows suggest that Bélanger was a front man for the Pouliot-Liberal tandem. Having acted for the contracting firm of Gibson and Cunningham in its proceedings against the Témiscouata Contracting Company in 1888, C.E. Pouliot was no doubt well-informed of the doings of the latter. The hypothesis is tempting but warrants further research. Le Progrès de Fraserville, 17 Aug., 1888. Grandbois must have been named as an accomplice of sorts for, according to Le Courrier, he was willing to take Bélanger to court. MacDonald of course emphatically denied the charges and initiated a damages suit of his own. See Le Courrier de Fraserville, 9 May, 1889; Le Journal de Fraserville, 25 April, 1890; P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 23 April, 1889.

himself. The accuracy of these charges is, at least for the moment, of little concern to the historian. The point is they effectively shortcircuited MacDonald's heretofore successful involvement in business and politics.

Following these sensational "disclosures," A.R. MacDonald's days as an important political organizer and railway executive in the region were understandably numbered. His company's long hard struggle for the \$25,000. bonus did end on a victorious note late in 1889 (1). However, the battle itself had been waged at great expense to the railway's credibility and that of its original mentor and tycoon. The victim of a contractors' putsch within the year, MacDonald's demise also signalled the decline of the Conservative Party in the county. A dramatically weakened coalition of Tories and

(1) As of June, 1889, J.J. MacDonald and E.D. Boswell, A.R. MacDonald's partners and future successors, took charge of the bonus campaign. In December they offered to stop all court proceedings against the Town upon receipt of the bonus or a binding promise to that effect. The Railway was formally presented with its bonus on February 26th, 1890. See: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 10 June, 16 Dec. 1889; 10 March, 1890. Le Courrier de Fraserville, 7 June, 1889, Le Journal de Fraserville, 20 Dec., 1889.

Railwaymen would be no match for C.E. Pouliot's robust and invigorated Liberal organization in the forthcoming provincial election.

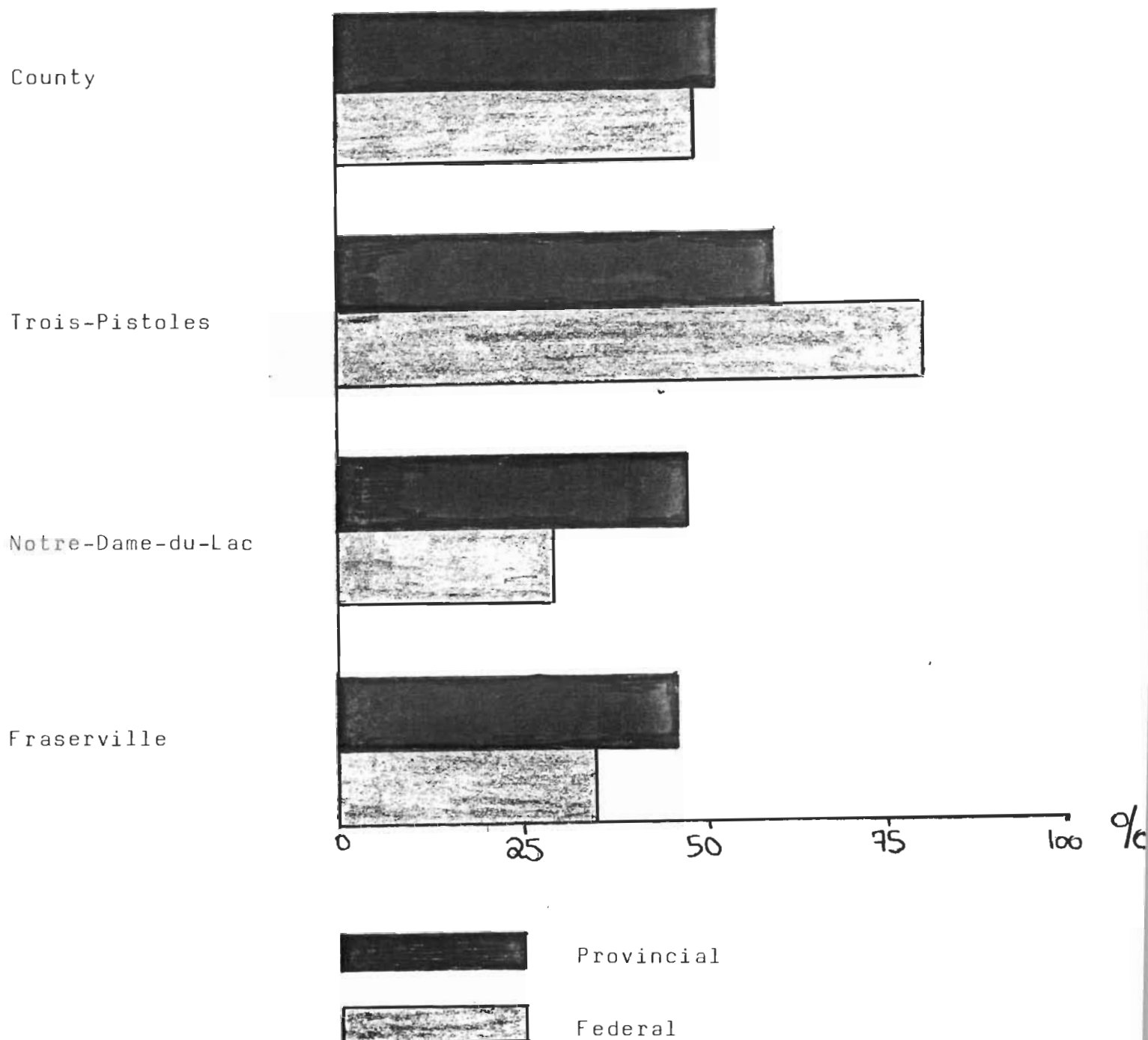
v) On to Liberal victory, 1890 and 1896

Despite the paucity of available political source material, it may be assumed that the bonus conflict loomed dangerously over the head of Charles-Eugène Pouliot's opponent in the provincial election of 1890 (1). The figures speak for themselves. The Liberals made significant inroads into such Conservative bastions as Fraserville and Notre-Dame-du-Lac. At the same time they managed to maintain their position in the eastern part of the county, particularly in Trois-Pistoles (see table III.6 in text). For a number of reasons they were remarkably well

(1) The Conservative candidate in this election was Napoléon Rioux (1837-1899), a merchant-seignior-"cultivateur" and a native of Trois-Pistoles. See Répertoire des parlementaires québécois, 490-491. Pamphlets of the type - pertaining to Rimouski in this case - published in the R.H.B.ST-L. would be most helpful: See A. Lechasseur, "Débats politiques et mœurs électorales dans le comté de Rimouski en 1891" in Revue d'histoire du Bas St-Laurent, mai 1977, vol. IV, no.: 1, 23-26.

Table III.6

Liberal Percentage of Popular Vote in Selected Subdistricts
of Témiscouata County: 1887 Federal Election; 1890 Provincial
Election.



Source: Le Jour 11 mars 1887
Le Journal de Fraserville 27 juin 1890

prepared for this election. The party machine, its image as well as that of its candidate and finally its mastery of the issues (three essential ingredients in any political campaign) coalesced perfectly and enduringly in 1890. The falling out between a large body of notables in the railtown and local "bleu" organizers, which produced the controversy in the first place, was perhaps the single most important factor of Conservative weakness and Pouliot's strength. The victory which followed this dispute provided the Liberal Party in the Témiscouata with a splendid foundation upon which to build for the future.

Pouliot's reincarnation as a successful federal Liberal candidate in 1896 obviously coincided with the rise of Sir Wilfred Laurier on the national scene. A victim of the province's anti-Mercier Conservative landslide in 1892, this was Pouliot's second electoral victory and it was something of a personal accomplishment. Ever indefatigable and resourceful, he even went to the trouble of establishing his very own political

mouthpiece (le St-Laurent) in 1895 (1). The victory was further sweetened by the defeat of Pouliot's longtime Tory rival, Dr. P.-E. Grandbois. Confident and on the ruling side of the House for the second time in his life, the forty-year-old lawyer-cum politician, or more accurately his party, could look forward to aeons of uninterrupted political rule in Ottawa and Québec City.

On the local scene, the county's incorporation into "Laurier's Liberal Québec" brought it one step closer to the age of telephones and whistle-stop campaigns. The observer of the railtown at the turn of the century sees the dust gently settling on Leacock's proverbial political buggy once and for all (2). At the same time, on a more general level, the new century signalled the passing of the railboom in Fraserville and the deterioration of the town's once ascendent position in the county.

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- (1) A. Beaulieu, Les journaux du Québec, 233. The St-Laurent was financed by Pouliot. Further research on Pouliot's career as a Liberal organizer in the lower St. Lawrence might reveal that he was something of a cross between Swainson's "fix-it man" and the petty-bourgeois political professional of Lindeau, Robert, Durocher. See D. Swainson, "Kingstonians in the Second Parliament: Portrait of an Elite Group" in G.J.J. Tulchinsky, To Preserve and Defend, 261-277 and Lindeau, Robert, Durocher, op. cit., 554.
- (2) For a caricature-portrait of Canadian politics late in the 19th Century, see Stephen Leacock, Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, Toronto and Montréal, McClelland and Stewart, 124-147.

Chapter Four: The Economy of the Railtown at
the Turn of the Century, Contraction
and New Forms of Dependence

"...la construction de cette branche (i.e. the Connors branchline of the Temiscouata Railway) n'a pas eu tous les heureux résultats qu'on en attendait pour notre ville; elle a eu du moins pour effet d'enlever à St-Jean, N.B., le commerce avec notre ville; pour le transférer à la province de Québec. Nos marchands y trouvent ainsi plus de profit et de facilités en négociant avec les marchands de Québec et de Montréal, et la province de Québec, en général, y trouve plus d'avantages." *

* Le Journal de Fraserville, 7 Nov., 1890

In the preceding chapter of this thesis we attempted to document the salient social, economic and political features of a railboom in a lower St. Lawrence town. The formative social and economic character of the railtown, it has been argued, was ultimately determined by developments in railway transportation, a crucial sector of the late 19th Century economy. Having outlined the various achievements of the railboom, we should like ever-so-briefly to consider its limitations.

The central weakness of the railtown was economic, as evidenced in the slackened pace of industrial growth during the 1890's and later on in the 20th Century (see table II.6 in appendix). Indeed, Rivière-du-Loup's economy evolved remarkably little during the first half of this century. No doubt the introduction of pulp and hydro-electric concerns consolidated and perhaps accentuated this phenomenon. Yet part of the explanation lies within the deficient mechanics of the growth process itself which did not enable the railtown to conserve its county hinterland. Here then is the primary root of economic stagnation or contraction and dependence in Fraserville.

1) The county bourgeoisie: its strengths, its weaknesses

If Fraserville was first and foremost a railtown, it was by no means an island unto itself. During the last quarter of the 19th Century, the railtown became in every sense of the word a county centre. The extent of this ascendancy can be measured in political, social and economic terms.

A willingness to speak out on behalf of the county seems to have been the trademark of Fraserville's influential elite of businessmen and professionals. More often than not, the "deputé," the registrar, and the president of the district agricultural society belonged to this select group. The "social utility" of the county bourgeoisie was no doubt buttressed by the emergence in Fraserville of a host of institutions - hospital, convent, schools - and organizations - clubs, "chambre de commerce" and the like - towards the end of this century (1). Whether the railtown functioned as an integrative or an exclusive pool of county leadership is still not clear. Certainly

(1) On the social utility concept, see Michael S. Cross, "The Age of Gentility: the Formation of an Aristocracy in the Ottawa Valley" in C.H.S.H.C./H.P.C.H.A., 1967, 105-117.

a more detailed look at the relationship between the business elite in Fraserville and the petty-bourgeoisie residing elsewhere in the Témiscouata could shed some light on the subject (1). One might be tempted then to carry this socio-political line of enquiry a step further. We have chosen not to do so, preferring instead to emphasize the economic foundation of town-country relations. For the class of indigenous capitalist entrepreneurs in this part of the lower St. Lawrence the county "market" was the ultimate instrument of leverage .

The county scope of Fraserville's energetic business elite was not foreign to the "convulsion of prosperity" that enveloped the town during the 1880's. The county, it could be realistically argued, was the single greatest asset of this group. The level of interaction between the two was quite intense. The railboom, it seems, was accompanied by a colonization boom of considerable proportions in the not-too-distant Témiscouata interior. Much like a prairie "gateway city," Fraserville provided vital transportation, commercial

(1) A complete study of marital alliances involving the county's prominent families would be most informative in this regard.

and financial services throughout its trading and investment hinterland (1). The scene of a burgeoning traffic in farm lots, the county town resembled nothing so much as the proverbial "frontier town" of the Canadian and American west which spearheaded and oftentimes preceded settlement (2). Initially the child of the "urban frontier," the rural frontier invariably becomes its complement.

The nature of town-country relations was of particular significance for the industrial well-being of the nodal point in the county economy. In a word the county market indirectly subsidized the industrial designs of Frasersville's increasingly affluent group of wholesalers, merchants and business-minded professionals (3). Oddly enough, these self-improvised

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- (1) On the gateway city concept see A.F. Burghardt, "An Hypothesis About Gateway Cities" in Annals American Association of Geographers, vol. 61, 1971, 269-285.
 - (2) See Peirce Lewis, "The Urban Idea on America's Western Frontier, Review Article" in Journal of Historical Geography, vol. 7, no.: 1, January, 1981, 95-100.
 - (3) Frasersville was not particularly unique in this respect. Consider the following comment on the origins of industry in early 19th Century Pittsburg: "Money accumulated in commerce was invested in new industrial enterprises" in R.C. Wade, The Urban Frontier: the Rise of Western Cities 1790-1830, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1959, 45. Michael Frisch, in his study of Springfield, Mass., found no "consistent patterns of division between old and new wealth...between the clean money from trade and finance and the grimmer profits of the mills, factories and railroads." See M. Frisch, "The Community Elite and the Emergence...", 280.

industrial capitalists confined their efforts to the railtown. While the net result of this industrial strategy was something less than inspiring, it did tend to reinforce the town's singular position in the county. The strength of this position was more apparent than real. In the final analysis the railtown's ascendancy rested on a very partial command of forestry and transportation, the true foundation of economic and social dominion in the hinterland.

The strategy of Fraserville's county bourgeoisie - industry in the railtown, commerce, speculation and mortgage lending elsewhere in the county - came as a response to changing economic circumstances that were not of its own making. The group, for instance, reaped sizeable dividends from its county-wide commercial and financial operations without becoming directly involved in the lumber-export industry, the "raison d'être" of the agri-forestry frontier in the first place. Similarly the derivative character of Fraserville's indigenous industrial strategy took advantage of the railtown's growing market of workers and consumers (1). The railboom made contractors and

(1) We just do not know to what extent if at all the rural inhabitants of the county constituted a market for goods produced in the railtown.

and builders of merchants, and industrialists and developers of professionals. Remarkably few if any railroad tycoons were forged from the ranks of the local bourgeoisie. With the railroad went Fraserville's only chance of mounting some sort of metropolitan thrust in the lower St. Lawrence (1). The servant of foreign entrepreneurship and investment capital, the railtown was in no position to systematically exploit, much less expand its own hinterland.

The centre of politics, commerce and transportation Fraser-ville was; the seat of the county's important resource-extra-active industry it was not. Fraserville remained the prisoner of the agri-forestry system which drove a wedge between the

(1) The railroad was an essential instrument of metropolitanism in the 19th Century. See G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons..., 232. There is of course an exception to the above assertion regarding the participation of the local bourgeoisie in railroad enterprise. J.-Camille Pouliot, Napoléon Dion, Alfred Fortin, Georges St-Pierre and J.A. Pratte - all of Fraserville - were involved in the promotion of the Matane and Gaspé Railway in 1902. See "Loi constituant en corporation la Compagnie de Chemin de Fer de Matane et Gaspé, bill privé, législature du Québec, février 1902" in Revue d'histoire de la Gaspésie, vol. V, #4, octobre-décembre 1967, 190-191.

transportation function of the railtown and the forestry function of the rural "frontier." The centrifugal pattern of the forestry industry seriously undermined the authority of the late 19th Century county town here and perhaps elsewhere in the lower St. Lawrence. The absence of competition and interpenetration between Rivière-du-Loup and Rimouski entrepreneurs was probably a reflection of the fragmented nature of their respective sub-economies (1). Indeed, with relatively few exceptions, such limited regional stature has been a characteristic of home-grown entrepreneurship on the lower St. Lawrence ever since. The poverty of interaction within and particularly between these sub-regions is highly reminiscent of Amin's underdeveloped economy: "... constitué d'atomes relativement juxtaposés, non-intégrés, la densité des flux des échanges externe de ces atomes étant beaucoup plus forte et celle du flux des échanges internes beaucoup

(1) Our information on this point is perhaps significantly scanty. For example, the board of directors of the "Compagnie d'Assurance de Rimouski, Témiscouata, Kamouraska" was entirely composed of businessmen residing in the Rimouski-Bic area. See Le Journal de Fraserville, 3 Oct., 1890. The Pouliot family was exceptionally active outside of the county. Charles Eugène Pouliot was a shareholder in the Compagnie des Eaux de Chicoutimi (see Répertoire des parlementaires québécois..., 467). His father Jean-Baptiste Pouliot owned shares in the "Banque d'Hochelaga" (Montréal), and the "Banque Nationale" (Québec City). See B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, no.: 28680.

plus faible" (1). Composed of seemingly unrelated units, the lumber-exporting economy was responsible for the highly stratified character of economic and social authority in the lower St. Lawrence.

The pecking order of social authority and business entrepreneurship in a late 19th Century agri-forestry economy can be schematically reduced to three levels or entrepreneurial stereotypes. At the bottom of the pyramid one finds the more or less traditional group of village notables, composed of millers, shopkeepers, a notary or two and of course the village "curé." The authority of the petty-bourgeoisie rarely extended beyond the limits of the "paroisse" and its immediately adjacent "rangs." Invariably the most vocal advocates of colonization, these rural notables brought organization and sometimes capital, in a word order to each and every colonization undertaking

(1) Samir Amin, Le développement inégal, Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1973, 206. See also F. Harvey, "La question régionale au Québec" in Le Devoir, 5 Dec., 1979, 5.

or settlement in the county (1). Yet as an integrative social force - i.e. an agent of social reproduction - in the lower St. Lawrence, the rural petty-bourgeoisie was easily matched if not surpassed by its more powerful and prestigious counterpart in Fraserville.

The next highest "intermediate" level of entrepreneurship in the hierarchy included some of the county's most respected and influential citizens. These wholesalers, industrialists and business-minded professionals resided for the most part in Fraserville, the county's booming railtown. The members of this "county bourgeoisie" - the case of the Pouliot family immediately comes to mind - exerted a good deal of authority and leadership in the uppermost political, social, and economic spheres of the county. Their ascendancy, if limited in space,

(1) For this reason M. Cross' concept of "social disorganization" does not suit the 19th Century frontier experience of colonization in this province. See Michael S. Cross, "Introduction", 5, and "The Lumber Community of Upper Canada" 100-103 in Michael S. Cross, The Frontier Thesis and the Canadas: the Debate on the Impact of the Canadian Environment (Issues in Canadian History), Toronto, The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1970. See also N. Séguin, La conquête du sol au 19e siècle..., 57.

was nevertheless the central feature of town-country relations in the Témiscouata. Indeed it is our contention that the integrative framework of the county town was an indispensable factor of social organization and reproduction in the agri-forestry economy; more important in fact than the colonization society, the instrument par excellence of the rural petty-bourgeoisie. Regrettably, students of economic and social history have tended to overlook or underestimate the county town as a viable agent or force of social reproduction in Eastern Canada and this province in particular (1). While the "lapsus" is not justifiable, it is perhaps understandable given the overwhelming strength of big business and corporate capitalism in these regions.

(1) The urban fact is conspicuously absent from D. Gagan's work on Peel County. See David Gagan, "Land Population and Social Change: the "Critical Years" in Canada West" in C.H.R. vol. LIX, no.: 3, 1978, 293-318. Michael Cross' three-tiered explanation for the sequence of development on the Canadian commercial frontier - business, the state, the settler - apparently ignores the urban frontier. See M.S. Cross, "Introduction" in op. cit., 4. R.C. Wade's work on the urban frontier of the American Mid-West - Cincinnati, Pittsburg, St-Louis - is in this sense highly suggestive. See Wade, op. cit.

The large business corporation, R. Hofstadter has argued, was the dominant factor of American development in the gilded age (1). Certainly towards the end of the last century the position of this third entrepreneurial group or type in the lower St. Lawrence was unrivalled. Railroad tycoons in some cases - i.e. A.R. and J.R. MacDonald - and lumberlords in others, the corporate magnates of the Témiscouata did not confine themselves to the somewhat diminutive horizons of the county market. Donald Fraser for example was a leading lumber manufacturer in New Brunswick as well as the province of Québec. William W. Thomas the landlord-cum-timber magnate of the Témiscouata seigniory, was also active further south in New Stockholm and in Portland, Maine, his hometown. Culminating as it did in the birth of a second rail-forestry centre (Edmunston, N.B.), the net effect of this Atlantic-based forestry thrust was in fact prejudicial to the continued ascendancy of the railtown in the county market. At the same time the thrust of

(1) Richard Hofstadter, "The Frontier Thesis Under Attack (Turner and the Frontier Myth)" in Michael S. Cross (ed.), op. cit., 25. In this article Turner's frontier thesis is taken to task on no less than ten counts.

corporate capitalism gave birth to a second channel of metropolitan authority in the lower St. Lawrence. Railroad connections in particular tended to reinforce the county's dependant relationship with Québec City, the easternmost point on Canada's central urban axis.

·2) Québec City and Montréal in the county market

During the late 19th early twentieth Century period the Canadian metropolis disposed of essentially two forms of leverage within its dependant hinterland or region. The large industrial corporation, as was explained above, provided one vital tool of metropolitan growth and expansion. The commercial-financial structure of inter-city economic relations - what Simmons has termed the urban "interdependancy matrix" - constituted another (1). Unfortunately the study of the latter more conventional type of metropolitanism in Lower Canada and the

(1) See James W. Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System" in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise, The Usable Urban Past Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City (Carleton Library # 19), Toronto, MacMillan, 9-33.

Province of Québec has been almost exclusively concerned with Montréal and its English-speaking bourgeoisie. The significance of Montréal's western commercial frontier has been justifiably stressed (1). However, remarkably few scholars have attempted to dwell on the city's eastern French-Canadian "frontier" (2). Thankfully the writing of history in and of this province has begun to move with the times.

In his recent study of Montréal's bourgeoisie during the crucial mid-19th Century period, G. Tulchinsky looked forward to the day when scholars could identify the presumably considerable role of the Francophone bourgeoisie in the economic history of this province. "The involvement of French-Canadians," he claimed, "was part of the expansion of bourgeois economic opportunity during the (eighteen) forties in Montreal at the heart of the St. Lawrence commercial system" (3). "Studies of

(1) J.C. Robert, op. cit., 259, 263, 291, 292 and D.C. Creighton, The Empire of the St. Lawrence, Toronto, MacMillan, 1956.

(2) With the possible exception of Raoul Blanchard and Albert Faucher (see bibliography).

(3) G.J.J. Tulchinsky, The River Barons..., 233.

credit, capital formation and investment zones," it was felt, were particularly necessary in order to determine the role of French-Canadian businessmen with some precision (1). Tulchinsky himself uncovered one such investment zone or pocket of French-Canadian entrepreneurship in the middle St. Lawrence-Richelieu River area (2). On the strength of the sources consulted in the office of the county registrar (B.R.R.I.), it may be submitted that the lower St. Lawrence itself was initially an investment zone in which French-Canadian capitalists based in Québec City rather than Montréal, played a leading role.

Encompassing much of eastern Québec by the turn of the century, Québec City's hinterland stretched for hundreds of miles in three directions: north towards the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean region, downstream (east) towards the lowermost reaches of the St. Lawrence River, and finally south towards the American border on either side of the Chaudière valley. Québec City was a regional metropolis in every sense of the word directing, much like the city of Victoria, B.C. during the same

(1) ibid., 234.

(2) See his article "Une entreprise maritime canadienne-française la Compagnie du Richelieu 1845-1854" in R.H.A.F. vol. 26, no.: 4, March, 1973, 559-582.

era "the inflow of manufactured products and services to the hinterland economy and the outflow of natural products some in semi-processed form to world markets" (1). The substance of its ascendancy in eastern Québec was essentially three-fold: commerce, finance and above all transportation. The integrative pull of railroad transportation in eastern Québec cannot be overemphasized. The Intercolonial and after it the Temiscouata Railway - in which some Québec-based entrepreneurs may have been quite active - laid the foundation for Québec City's extensive involvement in the lower St. Lawrence.

Québec City capital began entering the Fraserville-Témiscouata area during the 1870's and particularly the 1880's. The "invasion" came as a response to developments in the county's growing dairy industry, in Fraserville itself, and finally on the agri-forestry frontier. The simultaneous expansion or boom in each of these sectors during the 1880's for example,

(1) Quotation from Robert A.J. MacDonald, "Victoria Vancouver and the Evolution of British Columbia's Economic System 1886-1914" in A.F.J. Artibise, Town and City..., 35. For a very brief discussion of Québec City metropolitanism see P.A. Linteau, "Quelques reflexions autour de la bourgeoisie Québécoise 1850-1914" in R.H.A.F., vol. 30, no.: 1, June 1976, 62.

created a demand for investment capital which probably exceeded the lending capacity of the county bourgeoisie. This excessive margin of investment demand gave various loaning institutions in Québec City their first foot in the door of the county market. In short the invasion of Québec City capital actually seconded the eastward thrust of the railroad which sired the dairy industry, the expanded forestry frontier and of course the railtown in the first place (1).

The suddenly inflated population of the booming railtown constituted a lucrative field of investment for Québec City's construction investment and loan societies. Three of them - the "Société de Construction Permanente de Lévis," the "Société de Prêts et de Placements de la Province de Québec," and the "Société de Construction Permanente de Québec" - invested substantial amounts in Fraserville's building boom, particularly during the 1880's and the early 1890's (2). Whether by "droit de rachat," subrogation or some other technique, these societies

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- (1) The forestry industry was one sector of the lower St. Lawrence economy in which the city was conspicuously absent or weak. Apparently Québec City industrialists were much more active in the Saguenay-Lac St-Jean region. See N. Séguin, La conquête du sol..., 57-60.
- (2) The total capital invested during the second half of the 19th Century probably exceeded \$70,000.. This discussion is based on an analysis of approximately one hundred mortgage contracts recorded in the "Registres des Actes" of the B.R.R.T.

came to control important and/or strategically placed blocks of urban real estate. In other words, via its specialized land investment societies, an extra-territorial metropolis late in the 19th Century was capable of exerting a good deal of pressure upon the course of urban development in a relatively distant but dependant small town (1). The measure of Québec City's financial sophistication and maturity was such that it could operate with equal force in town and country.

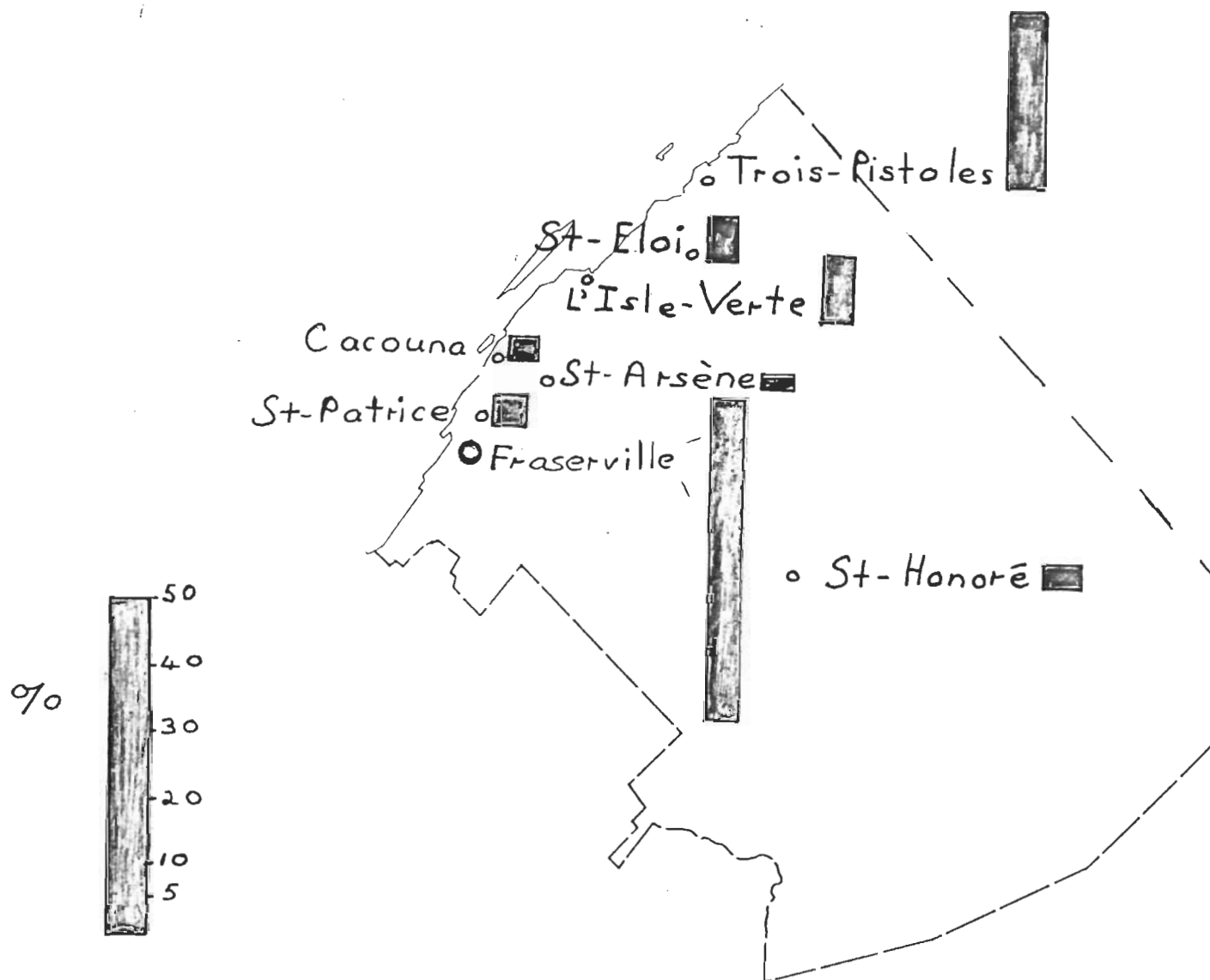
Prior to the turn of the century the "Crédit Foncier Franco-Canadien" was probably the single most important credit source for the county's farming population (2). The brainchild of two

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- (1) This is exactly what the London-financed British American Land Company was doing in Sherbrooke at about the same time. See R. Rudin, "Landownership and Urban Growth the Experience of Two Québec Towns 1840 - 1914" in R.H.U./U.H.R., vol. XVIII, no.: 2, October, 1979, 28-37. Subrogation as defined in the Concise Oxford (1149): "substitution of one party for another as creditor, with transfer rights and duties." The "droit de rachat" is a procedure whereby the borrower, having obtained title to the land, then sells it to his (or her) creditor with the right to buy it back. An interest of 5 to 6% is generally charged on the total sale price. The "droit de rachat" then, functioned in much the same manner as a loan.
- (2) In this field the "Crédit Foncier" was a direct competition with the money-lenders of the county bourgeoisie.

European banks and several prominent French-Canadian businessmen-politicians, the "Crédit Foncier" specialized in four types of credit-investment operations: short term urban loans, loans to the provincial government, loans to municipal corporations, and finally long term loans to farmers (1). Of the four, the latter prevailed at least in our section of the lower St. Lawrence. The "Crédit Foncier's" Québec City bureau was particularly active in Trois-Pistoles and L'Isle-Verte. Working through notables who were familiar with the local real estate market, the firm helped finance the area's conversion to commercial dairying and potato production. Indeed, until the company began to remove itself from the Témiscouata during the 1890's, the "Crédit Foncier" invested almost exclusively in the eastern half of the county.

The "Crédit Foncier" did remarkably little business in the agri-forestry interior of the county (see map IV.1). Perhaps

(1) On the "Crédit Foncier Franco-Canadien" see Magella Quinn, "Les capitaux français et le Québec 1855-1900" in R.H.A.F., vol. 24, no.: 4, March, 1971, 527-566 and Robert Sweeny, A Guide to the History and Records of Selected Montreal Businesses Before 1947, Montréal, Montréal Business History Project 1978, 83-91. By "long term" we mean, as far as the Témiscouata is concerned, mortgages of 25-30 years.



Source: B.R.R.T. Registre des Actes

the task of improving agriculture in these less-well-off parts was perceived as not feasible. In any event the flexible structure of metropolitan penetration permitted Québec City to work through indirect commercial channels as well as the more direct financial ones. Here the county bourgeoisie constituted the vital link in the chain.

The county market was obviously the key to the success of Fraserville's energetic colony of commercial wholesalers and retailers. Highly ranked on the county scene, this group was almost always the servant of big-city commercial houses and brokerage firms. This general rule of indebtedness is further underscored by the everyday routine of the commercial entrepreneurs; a routine punctuated by regular and no doubt enervating visits to suppliers and creditors in Québec City. In point of fact the local merchant was enveloped by metropolitan commercial and financial interests from beginning to end. The checkered history of one grocer firm in Fraserville, "Damiens et Frères," constitutes an excellent case in point.

Attracted to Fraserville during the early years of the rail-boom, the Damiens brothers, originally of Ste-Croix-de-Lotbinière,

decided to refurbish their store from top to bottom in 1887. They borrowed upwards of \$3,000. from the "Société de Prêts et de Placements de la Province de Québec" in 1887 and 1888 for this purpose. At the same time the firm's level of indebtedness to its Québec City suppliers must have been considerable. Within twelve months "Damiens et Frères" went into receivership at the request of A. Joseph and Son of Québec City. The store reopened once again several months later, only to close down for good in 1896 (1). Most bankrupt establishments, it goes without saying, did not get a second chance. The leftover inventory was quickly gobbled up by one's competitors, while the parent creditors and suppliers pocketed the proceeds from the adjudication sales. The trade in leftover stocks from bankrupt commercial concerns also worked to the advantage of wholesalers and brokers, because it afforded them an opportunity of securing new clients. In the spring of 1889 for example, the Québec City wholesaling firm of Leclerc and Letellier was offering one such inventory

(1) At the purchasing and receiving end of \$2,400. in adjudication sales, the "Société de Prêts et de Placements..." may have been the instigator of Damien's second bankruptcy. See B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, nos.: 21981, 22424, 28936. On "Damiens" see Le Progrès de Fraserville, 11 May, 1888, Le Journal de Fraserville, 11 Jan., 18 April, 1889.

for the price of \$1,653.. Here, claimed the company in its advertisement, was an excellent means of starting in business. Here also, one might add, was an effective method of striking up an enduring if not fatal relationship with a big city commercial house (1).

Québec City's command of the lower St. Lawrence began to ease up during the first two decades of the 20th Century. The most important factor in this decline was the emergence of Montréal as a viable and omnipotent force in the commercial and financial affairs of eastern Québec. This distinctive intra-provincial thrust was accompanied by significant developments in the region's forestry industry. In essence the "new" pulp and paper economy resembled nothing so much as the old lumber-exporting one it purported to replace. On the other hand, the changes wrought by Montréal-based finance capital were crucial for Fraserville's indigenous but remarkably vulnerable group of entrepreneurs. Already faced with a considerable drain of profits towards Québec City, the county bourgeoisie

(1) Advertisement in Le Journal de Fraserville, 18 April, 1889.

was in no shape to withstand further assaults upon its financial reservoir; least of all from the banks.

The increasingly centralized structure of the Canadian chartered banking system at the turn of the century lay at the heart of the new metropolitan framework which encompassed both Fraserville and its county market. Two of these institutions - the Molson's Bank and the Bank of Montreal - were firmly rooted in Montréal's English-speaking business environment (see table IV.1 in appendix). This albeit unexplored body of evidence tends to infirm the hypothesis, at least as far as the lower St. Lawrence is concerned, that Canada's foremost metropolis was effectively isolated from the Québécois countryside. The "Banque Provinciale"(formerly the "Banque Jacques Cartier") and the "Banque Nationale" also maintained branches in Fraserville, although it is not yet clear whether they complemented or competed with their English-speaking counterparts. Whatever its origins, this banking offensive eroded the railtown's once respectable position in the local credit investment business.

A similar analogy can be drawn with respect to the commercial state of affairs in the county. Towards the end of

the century Montréal was busily circumventing both Fraserville and Québec City, its principal rival in the lower St. Lawrence. The credit obligations of one bankrupt commercial firm in Fraserville suggest that Montréal was in the process of supplanting Québec City as early as the late 1880's (see table IV.2 in appendix). The popularity of the travelling salesman and the department-store catalogue provide further evidence that the new commercial regime was on its way. Finally the advent of automobile transportation may have precipitated these developments by making Fraserville a sort of retailing "prima inter pares" (1).

The early 20th Century railtown-county town presents the student with a baffling paradox. On the one hand the territorial scope of Fraserville's commercial hinterland was drastically reduced by the emergence of new service centers -

(1) Magella Quinn, "Le magasin général 1910-1930", Québec, Parcs Canada, 1980, unpublished manuscript, 21. The commercial house of Seymour and Company (Montréal) had a travelling sales-representative in the lower St. Lawrence as early as the 1880's. See Le Jour, 26 March, 1886. The district (Rimouski) president of the "Association Canadienne de Jeunes Catholiques" remarked in 1922 that "Le livre presque unique et certainement le plus populaire dans nos campagnes c'est...la catalogue illustrée la Maison Eaton". Quoted in Y. Roby, Les Québécois et les investissements américains 1918-1929, Québec, Presses de l'Université de Laval, 1976, 129.

Edmunston, N.B. and Trois-Pistoles for example - under strict metropolitan control of course. On the other hand, the automobile together with the new structure of commerce conspired to maximize the retailing-tertiary function of the county town; a function which it performs to this day. We are in any case a long way off from the "golden days" of the railboom when the county bourgeoisie - via its intermediary position in the commercial credit chain - could reap substantial profits from the county market and reinvest them in various industrial concerns.

3) New industries, new masters

The period 1895-1905 witnessed the dissolution of the county bourgeoisie's industrial strategy in Fraserville. This occurred despite the city's substantial population increase early in the 20th Century(1). Deprived of their traditional commercial-financial revenue source in town and county, local entrepreneurs began to retire from the scene of industrial activity. "Pelletier et Fils" for example was dismembered

(1) This increase was due almost entirely to the enlargement of the Intercolonial repair shops and provoked surprisingly little economic growth.

beginning in 1897. Although two new local firms were established by the turn of the century, neither constituted a significant departure from the secondary wood products sector, a sector with inherently limited growth potential. The sense of continuity is evident in the fact that both the Fraserville Chair Company and the St. Lawrence Furniture Factory chose to set up shop on the premises of bankrupt concerns (1). Under the circumstances, the initiative really belonged to a limited number of large, foreign-controlled (i.e. non-local) corporations (see table II.7 in appendix). They and they alone would heretofore fashion the course of urban and industrial growth in Fraserville.

The rise of the pulp and paper industry at the turn of the century inaugurated a new era in the history of Fraserville or Rivière-du-Loup as it came to be called in 1919. Taking its place alongside the repair shops of the Intercolonial and the

(1) The Fraserville Chair Company thus replaced "Pelletier et Fils" in 1897 (B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, 30269). Three years later the St. Lawrence Furniture Co. established itself in the old shoe factory which had been inactive since 1888. See B.R.R.T.: Index aux Immeubles Fraserville, lot # 362.

city's two major local wood products concerns, the industry injected a certain amount of vitality onto the otherwise taciturn scene of the city's economy. Nowhere was this dynamism more evident than in the emergence of the Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Company (1).

In 1901 the Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Company of Ontario was a firm with its head office in Toronto, the resource metropolis of the nation. Barely two years had elapsed since Georges St-Pierre first approached the Council with the intention of building a sawmill somewhere inside the town limits. His project, as befitted the age of promoters and boosters, grew by leaps and bounds (2). St-Pierre, a local entrepreneur, was joined by his

(1) Notwithstanding the forthcoming argument, it should be remembered that during the first half of this century, Rivière-du-Loup, unlike Edmunston, N.B., did not become a pulp town. The former remained very much within the grip of the Intercolonial or the CNR as it was later called.

(2) See: G. Kolko, The Triumph of Conservatism..., 17-267 and A.F.J. Artibise, "Boosterism and the Development of Prairie Cities" in op. cit., 209-235. See also P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 1,8 May, 1899.

associate in the wholesale-retail grocer business, Jean-Elzéar Pineau; S.C. Rioux, lawyer and president-to-be of the Fraserville Chair Company; and three outsiders, John W. Hutt, a merchant from Liverpool, Nova Scotia, J. Curry and W.C. Trotter. The group, now calling itself the Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Company of Québec, proceeded to secure the necessary timber-cutting licences and municipal franchises, privileges and exemptions (1). For some unknown reason, the firm decided to sell out in 1901 to a Toronto-based syndicate, thus repeating a pattern of devolution in the industry which had been set by F.C. Dubé ten years earlier (2). The question of ownership behind them, the new proprietors were still faced with a problem of considerable technical magnitude: How to secure a dependable supply of hydro-electric power at the cheapest possible cost?

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- (1) These included: 1) 60 square miles of cutting rights in Pohénégamook and Parke Townships; 2) the right to install, equip and operate an electric light plant in Fraserville; 3) the right to install, equip, and operate electric tramways in Fraserville; 4) and finally a complete exemption from municipal taxes. See B.R.R.T.: Registre des Actes, Nos.: 33811, 33810, 33809, 33804, 33803.
- (2) Dubé sold out to the Canada Paper Company - later the Canada Power and Paper Company - in 1890. The mill was operated strictly as a pulp factory. The semi-finished product was then shipped by rail car to the Canada Company's paper plant in Windsor Mills, P.Q. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 17 Feb., 1890, Le Journal de Fraserville, 21 Feb., 28 March, 1890.

The problem of securing adequate power supplies was complicated by the rudimentary and competitive state of the electric industry in Fraserville at the turn of the century. Technically-speaking, the industry had changed very little since the 1880's and the pioneering days of F.C. Dubé. The production and distribution of electricity in Fraserville was still the exclusive preserve of local entrepreneurs (1). Two companies in particular vied with each other for the favour of the municipality - itself a major consumer of electricity - and thereby a preeminent position on the local market (2). Neither, however, was in any sort of position to realize the considerable hydro-electric potential of the great falls. For this reason the Town of Fraserville, with a little prompting, decided to enter the utility business on its own.

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- (1) Certain businesses owned and operated their own turbines on the Rivière-du-Loup. The "Compagnie de Téléphone Kamouraska" was one such company. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 25 Oct., 1915. These arrangements, of course, were subject to the consent of the seignior, which generally took the form of a lease. On the history of the hydro-electric industry in the province of Québec, see J.H. Dales, Hydro-electricity and Industrial Development, Québec 1898-1940, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1957.
- (2) The two companies were competing for the town's relatively lucrative street-lighting contract.

The service provided by the Fraserville Electrical Company -the town's principal supplier since 1896 - became increasingly unpopular and, we presume, inadequate during the first years of the century. Kamouraska-Témiscouata Littoral Electric, an offshoot of a locally-owned telephone concern, was not a little responsible for the company's unpopularity(1). In an effort to dislodge the incumbent supplier and subsequently take its place, "Kamouraska-Témiscouata" organized a public campaign against "Fraserville Electric" during the first years of this century. At the same time, the promoters of "Kamouraska-Témiscouata" were careful enough to feather their own nest. In 1902 for example, they obtained the right to set up both a tramway and an electric lighting system in Fraserville. Having succeeded the faltering Fraserville Electrical Co., this telephone-electricity concern would then be in a position to reactivate F.C. Dubé's old pulpmill. This was a form of competition which the Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Company was not prepared

(1) The data which forms the basis of this paragraph has been gleaned from the minutes of the town council. See: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 21 Sept., 23 Sept., 5 Oct., 1896; 15 April, 1901; 13 Oct., 1902, 23 Sept., 1903, 22 Feb., 1904. On the Fraserville Electrical Company see M. Dumas and D. Pelletier, op. cit., 55. On the "Compagnie de Téléphone de Kamouraska," the parent company of Kamouraska-Témiscouata Littoral, see ibid., 49-51, and Tricentenaire de Rivière-du-Loup. Rivière-du-Loup 1673-1973, Rivière-du-Loup, 1973, 48.

to accept.

A number of factors contributed to the municipalization and the subsequent enlargement of Fraserville's hydro-electric facilities during the first two decades of this century. Landed capitalists such as William Fraser and Malcolm Fraser, his son and successor, probably supported public ownership as a means of engendering a self-rewarding process of industrial growth and urban development (1). The Intercolonial too was most certainly, if discreetly, behind the scheme. The brand new repair shops of the crown railway would require a good deal of electricity (2). However, in our opinion, the business organization most concerned with the municipal ownership and rationalization of hydro-electric resources on the Rivière du Loup, was the Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Company. In the person of manager

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- (1) The mayor of Fraserville in 1910, Malcolm Fraser, was more than willing to depart with the great falls for a fee of \$20,000.. His co-inheritors meanwhile were not easily convinced. They kept the city in court for several years. The issue was finally settled in 1917 for \$50,000.. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 23 May, 20 June, 6 Sept, 27 Sept., 10 Oct., 1910; 17 Nov., 1913; 28 May, 1917.
- (2) By 1909 the new shops were equipped with three 280 h.p. boilers and three large electric travelling cranes. See "Chief Engineer's Report" in annex of Department of Railways and Canals Annual Report for 1908-1909.

L.K. Warren, the company associated itself rather openly with the city's plans to increase the waterflow and thus the productive capacity of the great falls. The city supplied the cash for the project, engineer Warren the technical and administrative expertise. The connection between the two proved both all-embracing and abiding (1).

The municipalization of hydro-electric resources in Fraserville constitutes an informative example of cooperation between private enterprise and local government in a peripheral region of the province of Québec. In the age of Québec's giant power monopolies, this form of "cooperation" between the public and the private sector was, to say the least, an original achievement (2). The process by which the city of Rivière-du-Loup was

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- (1) In 1906 Warren informed the council rather bluntly that his company would shut down the pulp factory unless the volume of water in the Rivière du Loup was increased dramatically. The city reacted quickly and the following year passed a by-law which proposed to harness the following lakes and rivers to the Rivière du Loup: Lakes: Morin, Rocheux, Huard, Loutre, Long;; Rivers: Verte and Fourchue. See P.V.C.M. de Fraserville, 20 Dec., 1906; 25 Nov., 7 Dec., 1907.
- (2) On the increasing interconnection between big business and government in the 20th Century see: G. Kolko, op. cit., 3-4 and H.V. Nelles, The Politics of Development, Toronto, MacMillan of Canada, 1974, 489-491.

to respond to the needs of big business was straightforward enough. Yet the extra-territorial provenance of the corporate forces which fashioned those needs introduces a subtle regional dimension to the interaction between local government and big business in the lower St. Lawrence. Viewed in this light, the city electrical authority and perforce city hall itself becomes a projection of a social force - i.e. big business - which is for the most part absent from the scene. Here again we are faced with the central recurring pattern of underdeveloped regions: a pattern in which the institutions of the periphery invariably become channels of metropolitan authority.

Map IV.2
Rivière-du-Loup
in the early
1970's.

Source: Ministère
des Terres et Forêts
du Québec: Rivière-
du-Loup: 21N 13-200-
0102. Scale: 1:20000

Map IV.2
Rivière-du-Loup
in the early
1970's.

Pointe de
Rivière du Loup

PETITE
RIVIERE

RIVIERE DU LOUP

Source: Ministère
des Terres et Forêts
du Québec: Rivière-
du-Loup: 21N 13-200-
0102. Scale: 1:20000

CONCLUSION

The foregoing thesis has focused primarily on the evolution of one peripheral region and its place in the flow of contemporary Québec history. To write history essentially in rural and regional terms may seem a little out place, given the prevailing metropolitan perspective of Quebecers. But for many of them the village, the "rang" and the county town are only a stone's throw in the past. Like the homesick patrons of Leacock's Mausoleum Club, "there isn't one of them that doesn't sometimes dream in the dull quiet of the long evening... that someday he will go back and see the place" (1). It is all very well and good for the novelist to evoke the nostalgia and remorse of the rural ex-patriate. The historian, however, must conduct a more penetrating analysis of the underdevelopment process which can lead to the impoverishment and subsequent depopulation of an entire region.

The history of underdevelopment in a peripheral region can be approached from two angles. First and foremost, as far as the lower St. Lawrence is concerned, there is the rural

(1) Quoted in Stephen Leacock, Sunshine Sketches of a Little Town, Toronto, Montréal, McClelland and Stewart, 1970, 149.

perspective. The continuity and diffusion of subsistence agriculture has been a central concern of this thesis. And yet the late 19th Century colonization movement introduced an element of discontinuity onto the social landscape of rural Québec. The exigencies of the agri-forestry system, it has been argued, were far different from those of the old agri-maritime equilibrium. The change was reflected in the orientation of settlement which, in the Témiscouata at least, contradicted the old coastline axis.

The new agri-forestry system was the result of an articulation process which harnessed the habitant's "ancien régime" - represented thus as a simplified version of the French family-centred economy - to the emerging capitalist economy, represented in this case by the forestry industry (1). It is the pendulum of causation that swung so decisively from the former to the latter, which has escaped historians, many of whom would exclude the better part of the province of Québec, during the 19th Century, from the range of the expanding capitalist mode of production. This exclusion, of course, is not consistent with the

(1) R. Cole Harris, "The Extension of France into Rural Canada" in J.R. Gibson (ed.), European Settlement and Development in North America, Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1978, 27-45.

penetration of forestry in the Témiscouata (chapter 2) and the advent of the railboom in Fraserville (chapter 3). The points of connection between old and new, town and country, metropolis and satellite, began to multiply, not decrease, during the second half of the last century.

By its very nature the railboom was an important channel of economic integration and metropolitan domination. It was also, lest we forget, a catalyst of significant social, economic and political changes within the confines of the railtown itself. Yet, one might ask, how was it possible for a metropolitan, central force in the economy to induce a colonization process and an urbanization process at the same time and in the same approximate place?

It might be hypothesized that the late 19th Century phase of Montréal-based metropolitanism provided the urban satellites of the hinterland with a relatively considerable degree of latitude. Within this "egressive" phase of metropolitanism it was possible for the business elite at various nodal points in the system to profit, in varying degrees, from the buoyant context of integration. In Fraserville for example, the county bourgeoisie played a prominent commercial role throughout its Témiscouata hinterland. However, the capacity of this group to compete with Québec City, Montréal and Atlantic-based corporate

capitalism, in the field of transportation and forestry, was remarkably limited. The turn of events in the following century further restricted their autonomy (1).

The early 20th Century "ingressive" phase of metropolitanism signalled the termination of the railboom in Fraserville and the advent of the pulp and paper industry to the region at large. This stage of metropolitan development was characterized by a deliberate policy of enroachments in the commercial and financial hinterland of the satellite region. The resulting dilemma of hypertrophic urban-industrial growth in Montréal and Québec City, and unemployment-impoverishment-depopulation in Eastern Québec is still very much with us.

The regional question, then, is not to be denied. It is at heart a problem of balance, at once ecological and social. Faced with a vulnerable but available population and a finite resource base our urban-industrial civilization, long ago,

(1) For another perspective on this theme see: E.J. Noble, "Entrepreneurship and Nineteenth Century Urban Growth: a Case Study of Orillia, Ontario, 1867-1898" in R.H.U./U.H.R., IX, June, 1980, 64-89.

decided to take as much as it could irrespective of the consequences. Nowhere has the bankruptcy of this policy been more apparent than on the south shore of the lower St. Lawrence valley.

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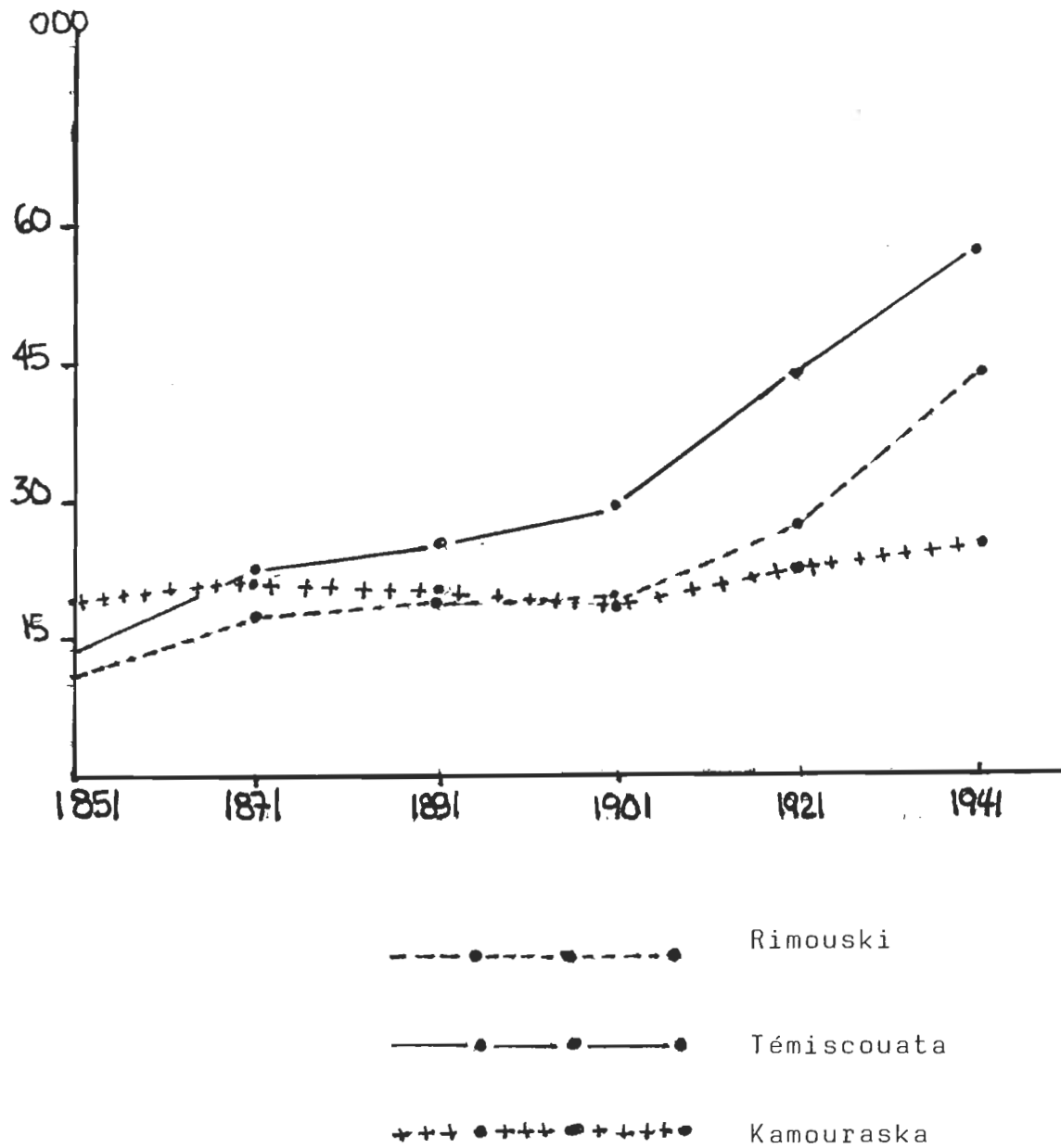
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APPENDIX

TABLES FOR CHAPTER ONE

Table 1.1

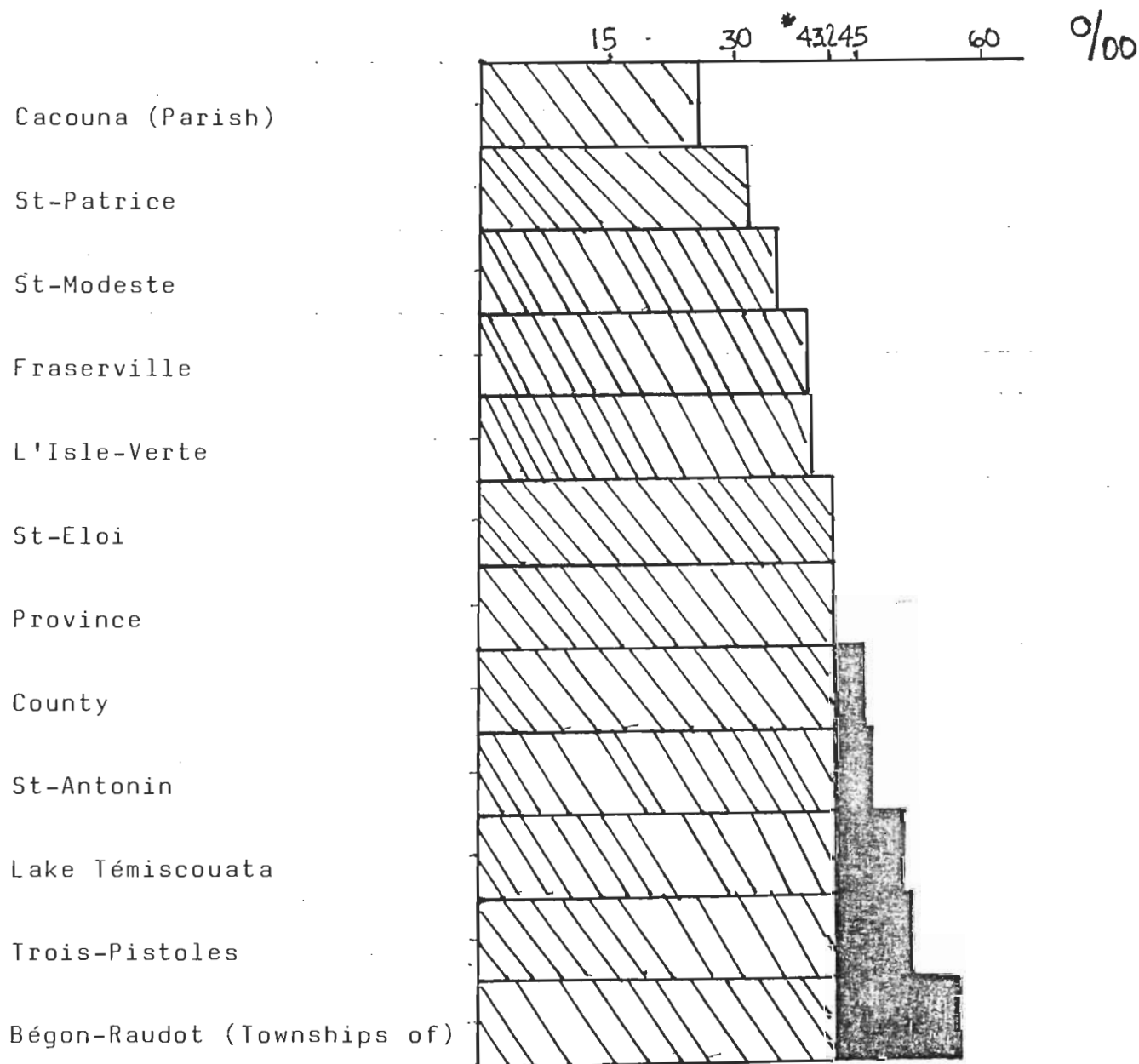
Evolution of the Population in the Counties of Témiscouata,
Kamouraska and Rimouski.



Source: Yves Martin, op. cit.

Table I.2

Births per Thousand People in Province of Québec,
Témiscouata County and Selected Districts in 1871.

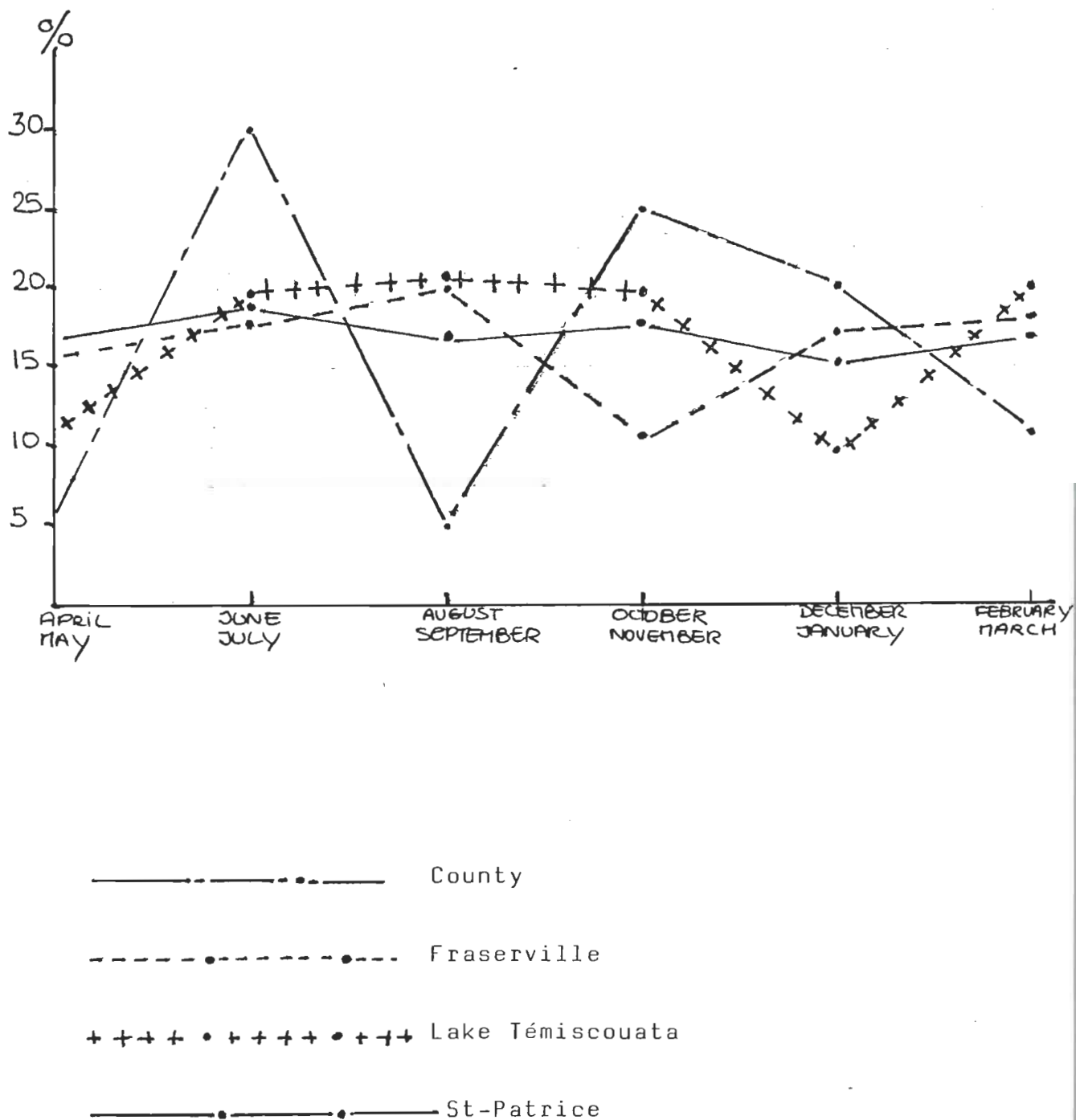


* Provincial Average 1866 - 1876.

Source: Census of Canada

Table 1.3

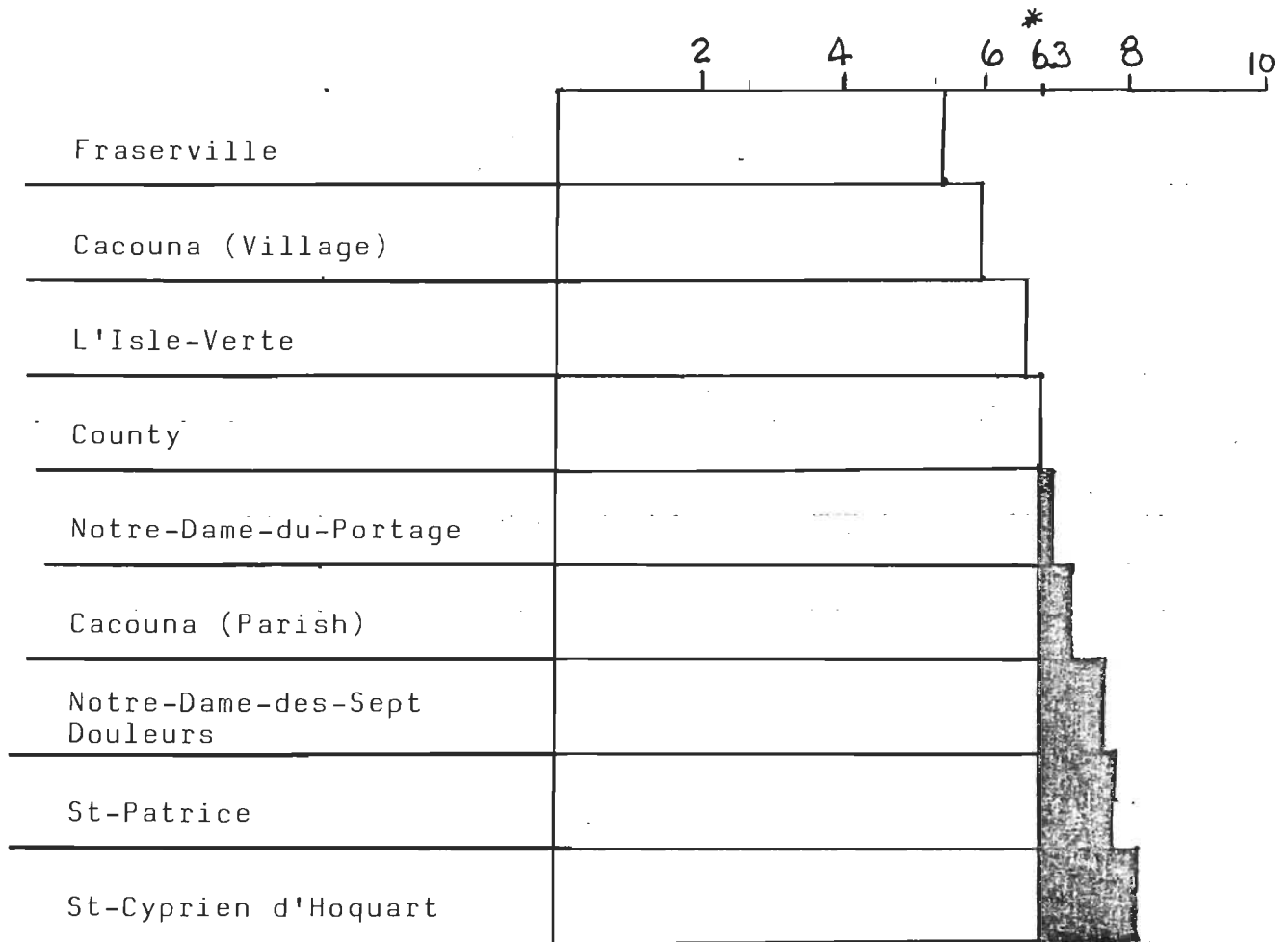
Percentage of Total Conceptions by Season in Témiscouata County and Selected Subdistricts for 1871.



Source: Census of Canada

Table I.4

Average Size of Families in County and Selected Subdistricts
for 1891.

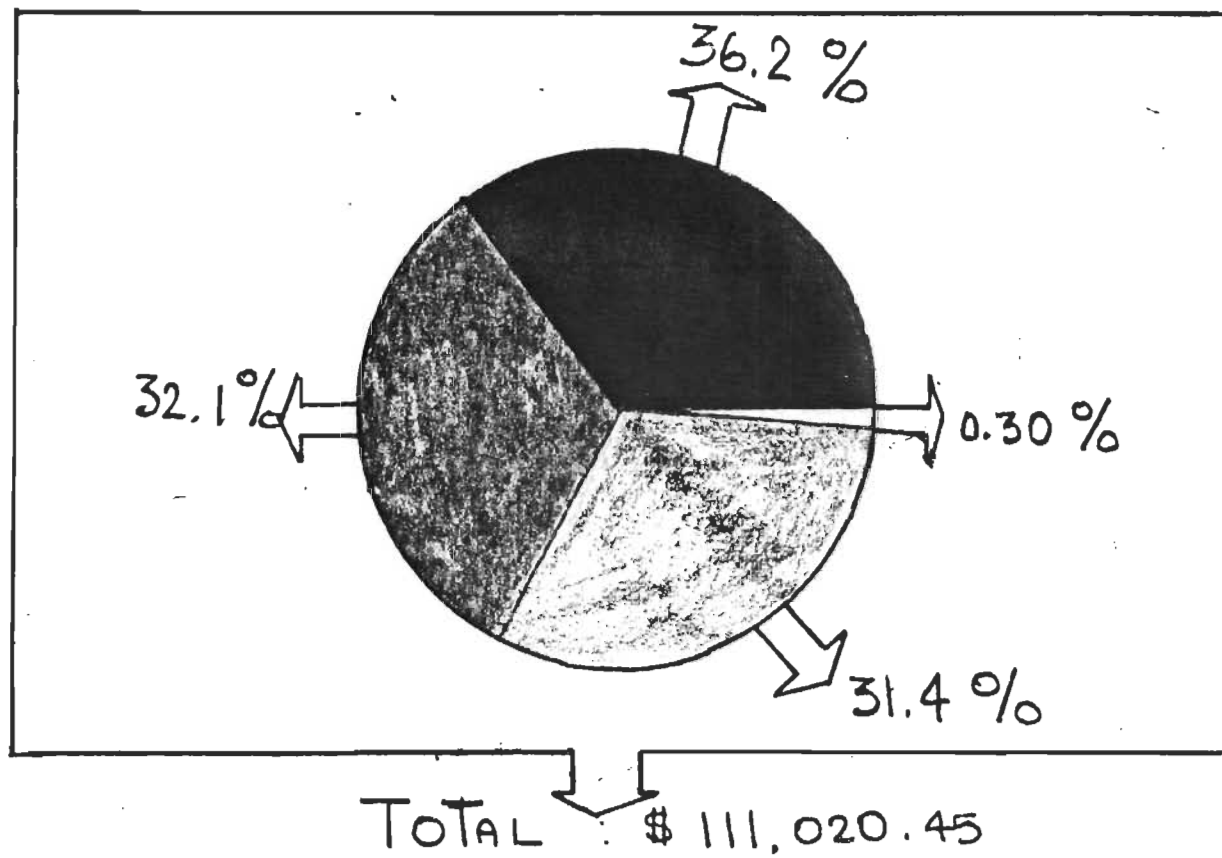


* County Average.

Source: Census of Canada, 1891

Table I.5 (a)

Holdings of William and Edward Fraser in Four Seigniories,
a Quantitative Comparison.



Rivière-du-Loup



Le Parc-Villerooy



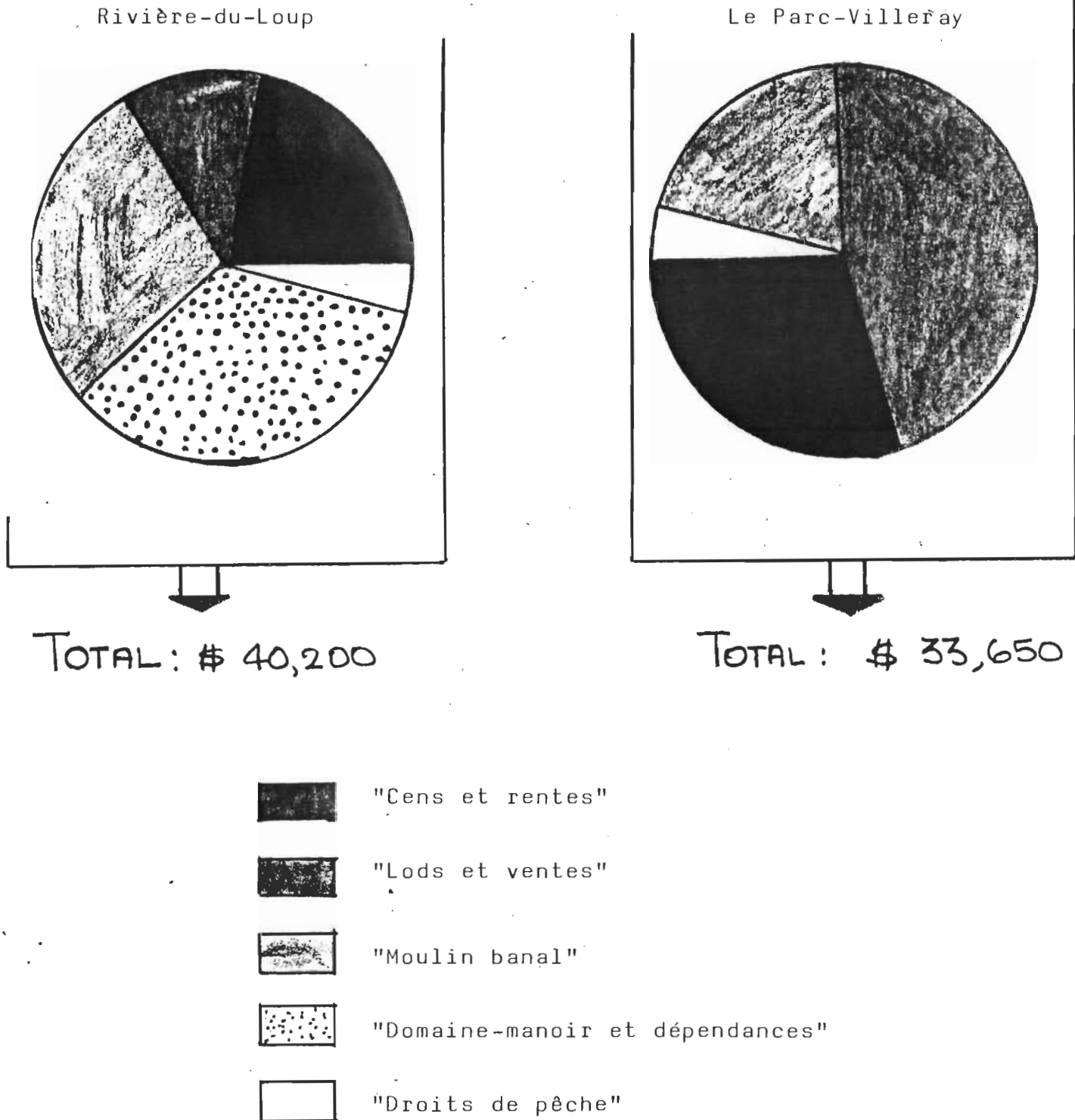
Vert Bois



L'Isle-Verte

Table I.5 (b)

Composition of Holdings Belonging to William and Edward Fraser
in Two Seigniories, a Comparison.



Source: Cadastrés abrégés: Seigneuries
Rivière-du-Loup, Vertbois, Le Parc-Villieray

Table 1.6

Various Owners of the Témiscouata-Madawaska Seigniory and/or
Parts Thereof.

Western side (63,000 arpents)	Rest of seigniory (100,000-200,000 arpents)
1835 François Languedoc	1835 Nathan Cummings
1835 Albert Smith Philander Cockburn	1858 Témiscouata Pineland Company (121,760 arpents)
	1860's -C.B. Clark and Company -William M. McGillis -King, Davidson, McCullough
1864 Philander Cockburn	
1876 William W. Thomas	1872 George Winthrop Coffin James Murchie (143,670 arpents)
	1877 Sheriff of Témiscouata County
	1877 George W. Coffin (250,000 arpents)
	1881 William W. Thomas (50,000 arpents from Coffin)
	1881 James Murchie (94,000 arpents from Coffin)
	1897 William W. Thomas (20,000 arpents from Coffin)
	1900 William W. Thomas (40,000 arpents from Coffin)
	1911 Fraser LTD. (90,000 arpents from Murchie)
	1930 Fraser Realities (176,000 arpents from estate of W. Thomas)

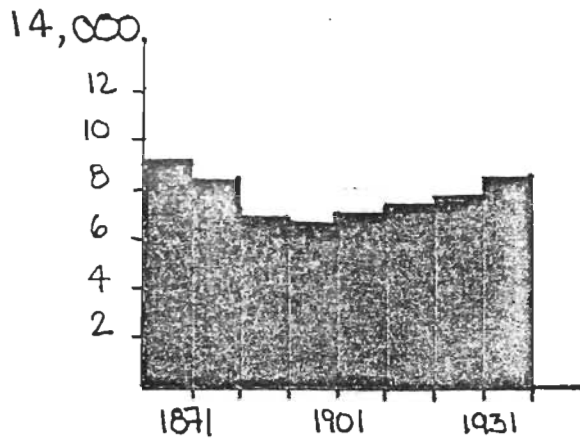
Source: B.R.R.T. Registre des Actes.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER TWO

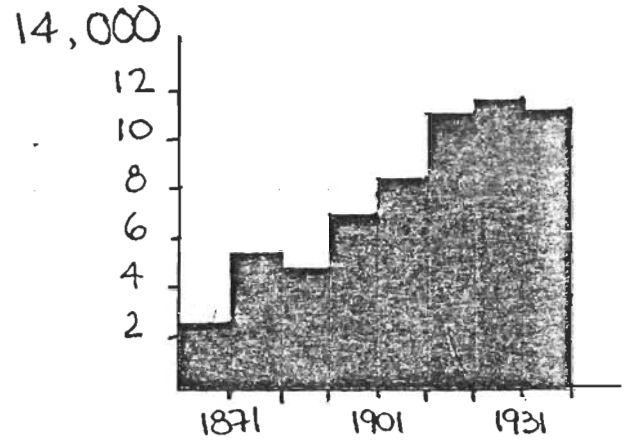
Table II.1

Population Growth in the 5 Village Networks of Témiscouata County
1871 - 1941.

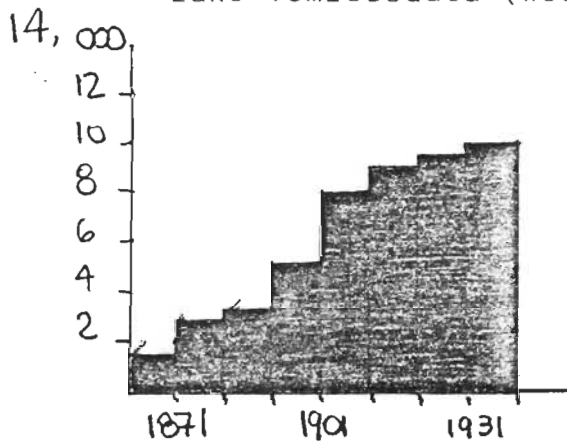
Fraserville Network



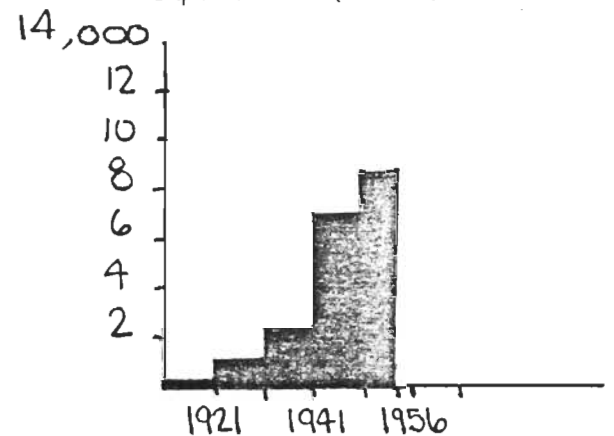
Trois-Pistoles Network



Lake Témiscouata (west)



Squatteck (L. Témiscouata east)



Pohénégamook

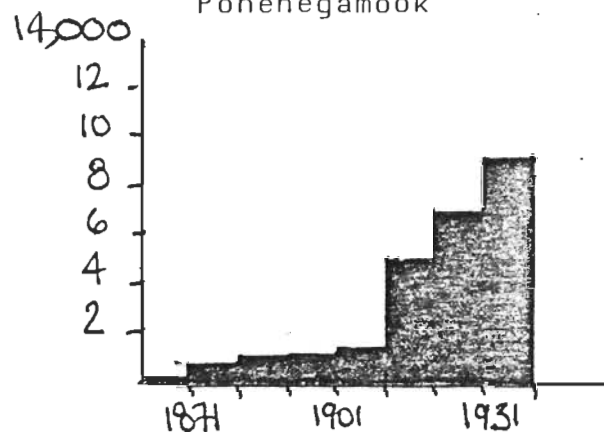


Table II.2

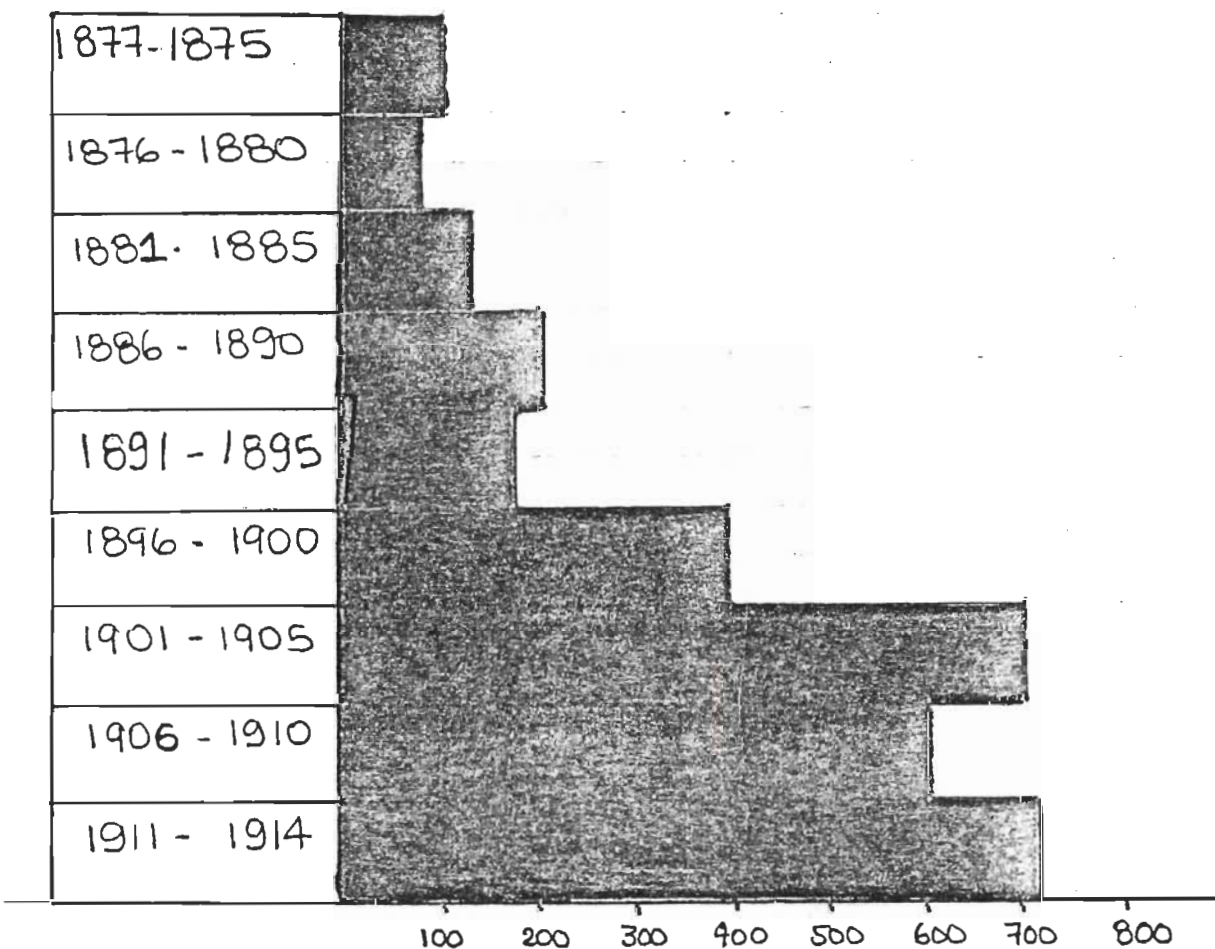
The Forestry Harvest in Témiscouata County During the Late 19th Century.

	Timber (cu. ft.)	Logs (no.)	Firewood (cords)
1871	394,874	66,207	57,368
1881	155,411	136,079	62,695
1891	234,320	1,785,686	72,445
1901	91,537	—	70,855

Source: Census of Canada

Table II.3

Growth of Crownland Revenues on Timber Licences, Ground Rents, etc. in Grandville Agency.*



* 1871-1875 = 100
(original figures in current values)

Source: Annuaire statistique de la province de Québec, Québec, E.-E. Cinq-Mars, Imprimeur de sa Majesté, 1915, 406.

Table II.4

Example of Loans From Prominent Fraserville Businessmen
to Citizens of Notre-Dame-Du-Lac 1862-1906.

Name	Number of Loans	Total \$ Loaned
Pelletier et Lebel	12	\$2110.62
Georges Pelletier	4	480
Dame Veuve Georges Pelletier	5	1001.67
Narcisse-Georges Pelletier	3	403.50
Dame H. J. Minguy	3	112.8
Antoine-Godefroi Côté	1	132
John Alpheus Jarvis	2	120.34
Sénéchal et Frères	2	380
Eusèbe Sénéchal	1	207
Charles Sénéchal	5	550
Elzéar Pelletier	1	209.36
Charles-Eugène Pouliot	3	397.30

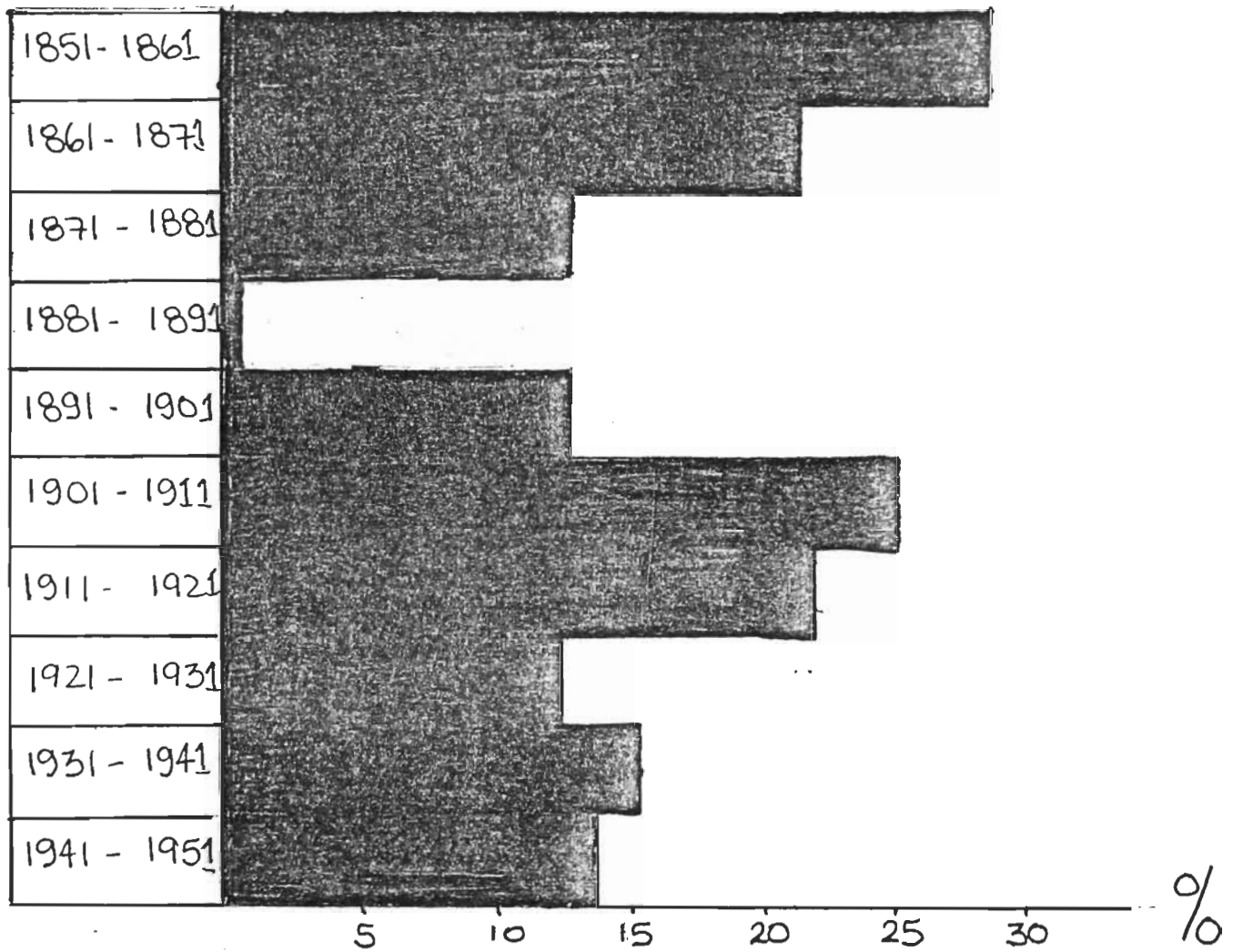
Table II.4 (continued)

Name	Number of Loans	Total \$ Loaned
Jean-Baptiste Pouliot	1	150
J.-Camille Pouliot	1	300
William Fraser	6	1500
Eugène Nadeau	1	50
Dame Sarah Hayward	1	387.75
Docteur Paul-Etienne Grandbois	2	717.25
Dame P.-E. Grandbois	1	2600
Docteur Damase Rossignol	1	500
J.-Anthyme Roy	1	156.10

Source: B.R.R.T. Index aux Immeubles
Notre-Dame-du-Lac.

Table II.5

Population Growth in Témiscouata County.



Sources: -Yves Martin, op. cit.
 -Census of Canada

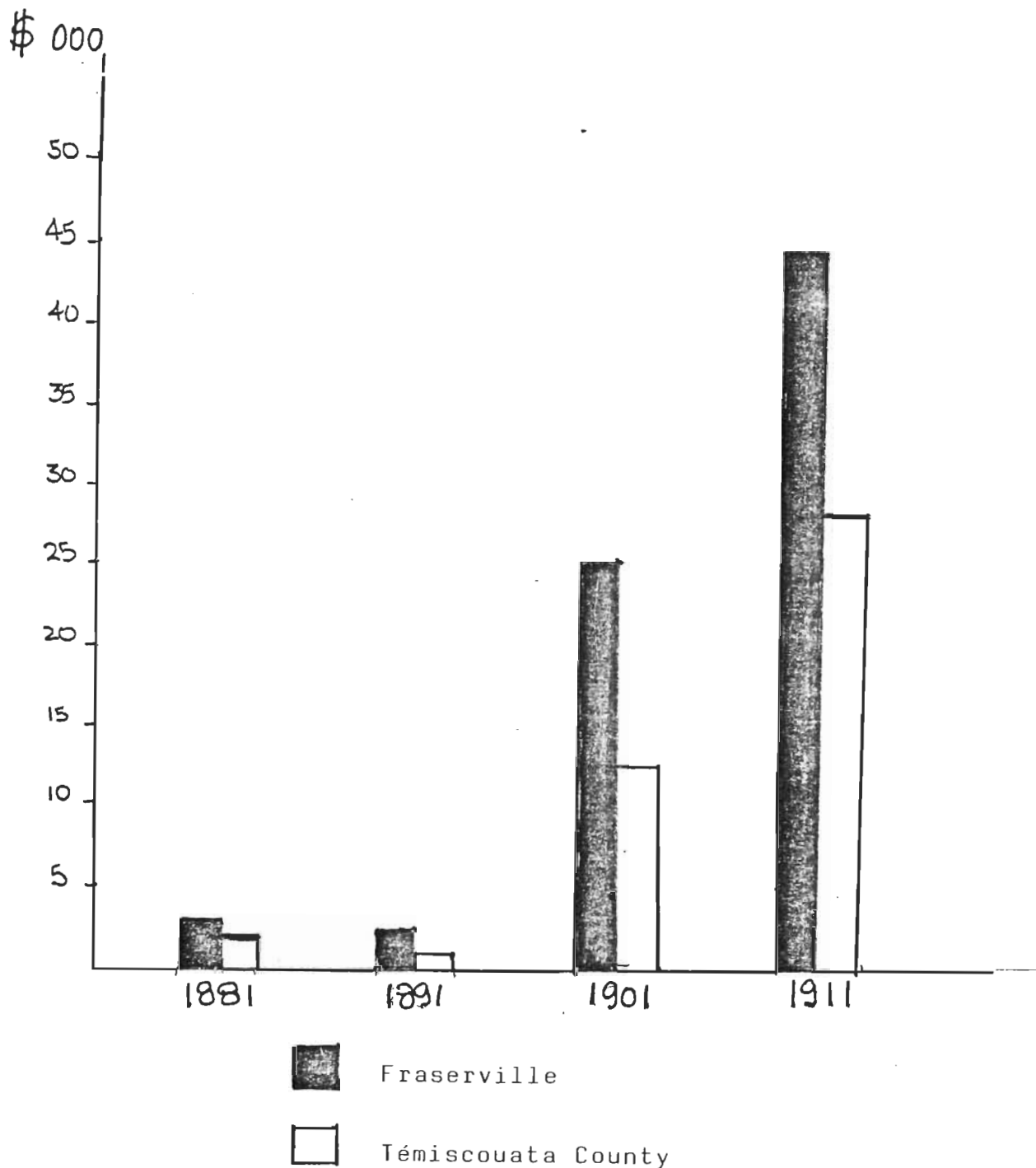
Table II.6

Comparative and General Survey of Industry in Témiscouata
County (C) and Fraserville (F).

	Total Establishments		Total Employees		Employees per Establishment		Total Value of Products	
	C	F	C	F	C	F	C	F
1871	289	*	594	*	2	*	\$ 521,470	*
1881	244	33	453	80	1.80	2.4	511,794	83,596
1891	478	92	817	206	1.7	2.2	613,193	209,870
1901	53	6	944	266	17.8	44	640,559	146,945
1911	50	7	1041	261	20.8	37	1,364,210	310,694

Table II.7

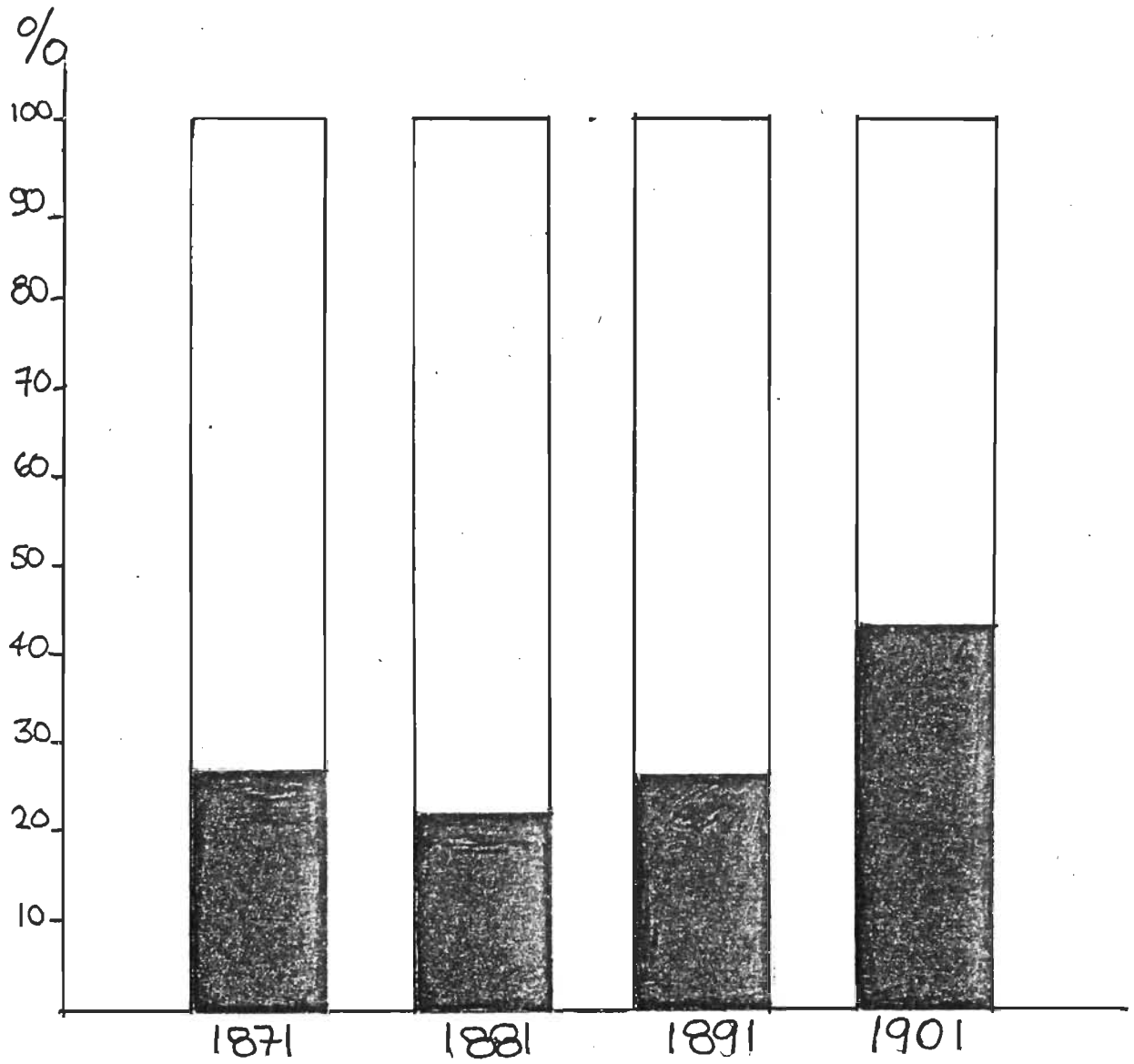
Value of Products per Industrial Establishment
in Témiscouata County and Fraserville.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II.8

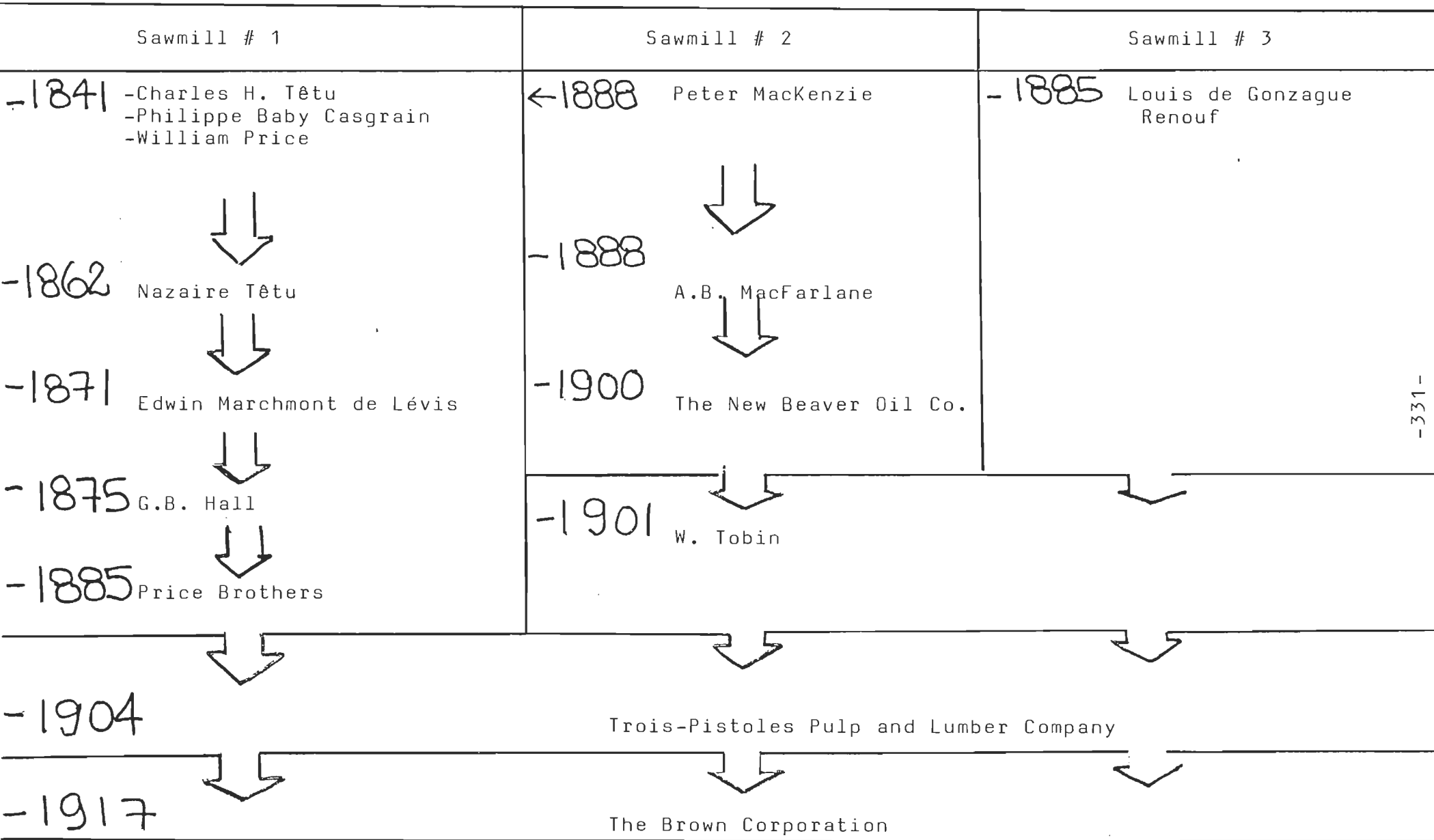
Wood Products Sector in Relation to Total Value
of Industrial Production in Témiscouata County.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II.9

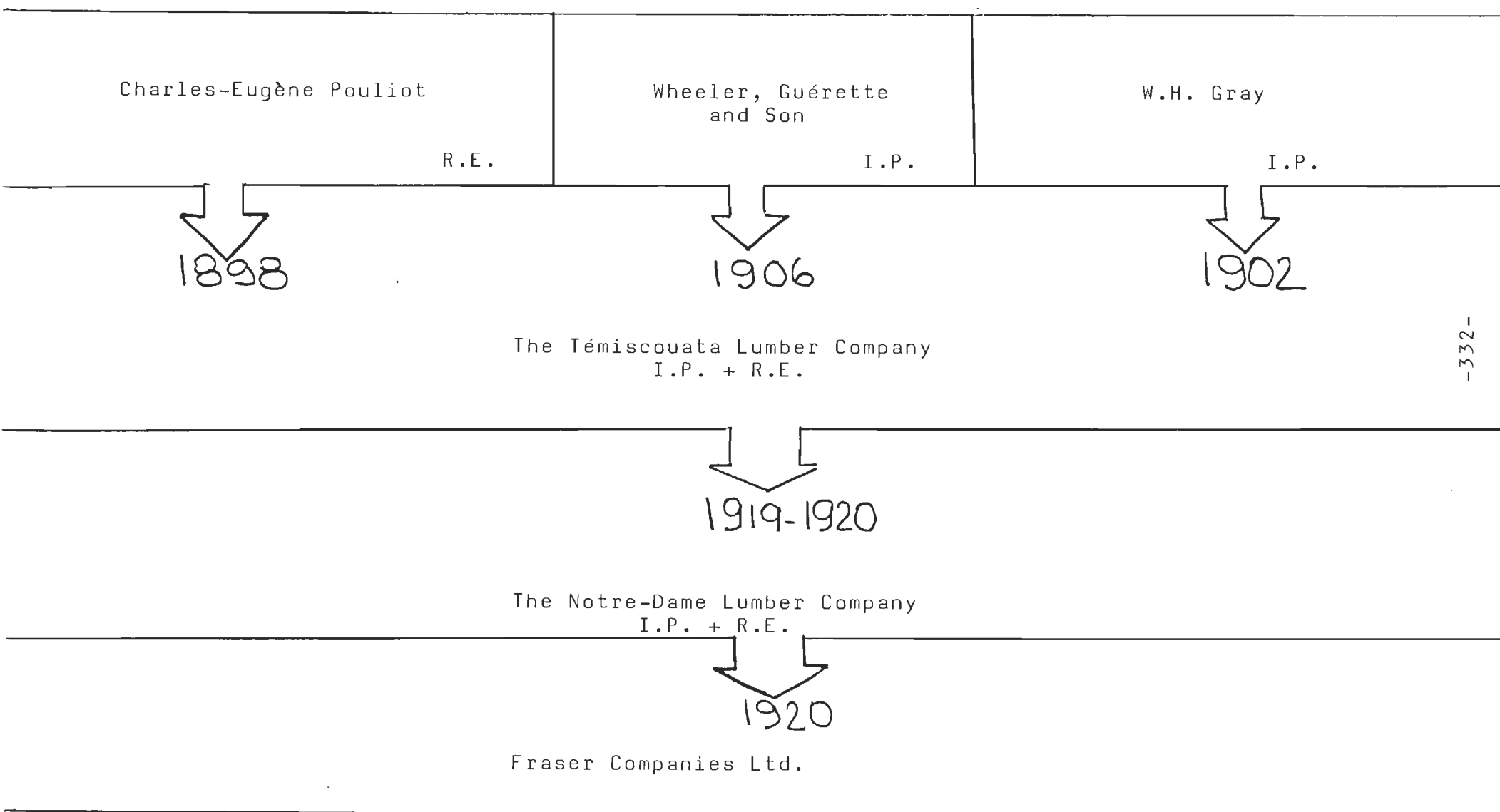
Consolidation of Lumber Enterprise in Trois-Pistoles 1841-1917.



Source: C.A. Gauvreau and Mathias d'Amours, Les Trois-Pistoles
vol. II, Trois-Pistoles, 1946, 170-180.

Table II.10

Consolidation of Assets Belonging to Lumber Enterprises in Notre-Dame-du-Lac 1898-1920.



-332-

I.P. = Industrial Property
R.E. = Real Estate

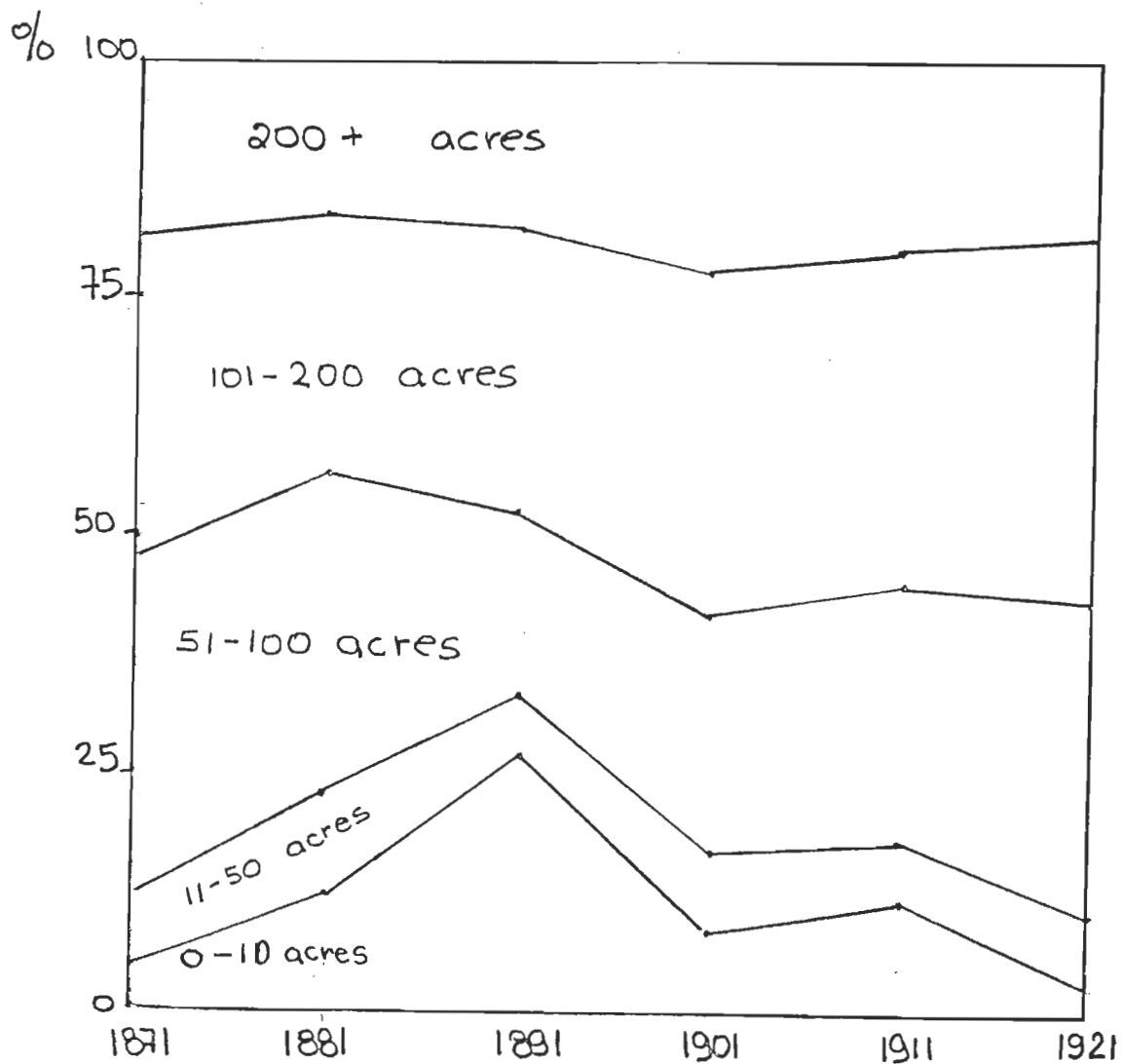
Source: B.R.R.T. Index aux Immeubles, Notre-Dame-du-Lac; Régistre des Actes

AGRICULTURAL SERIES

Table II A.1

Sizes of Farms in Témiscouata County by Principal Categories.*

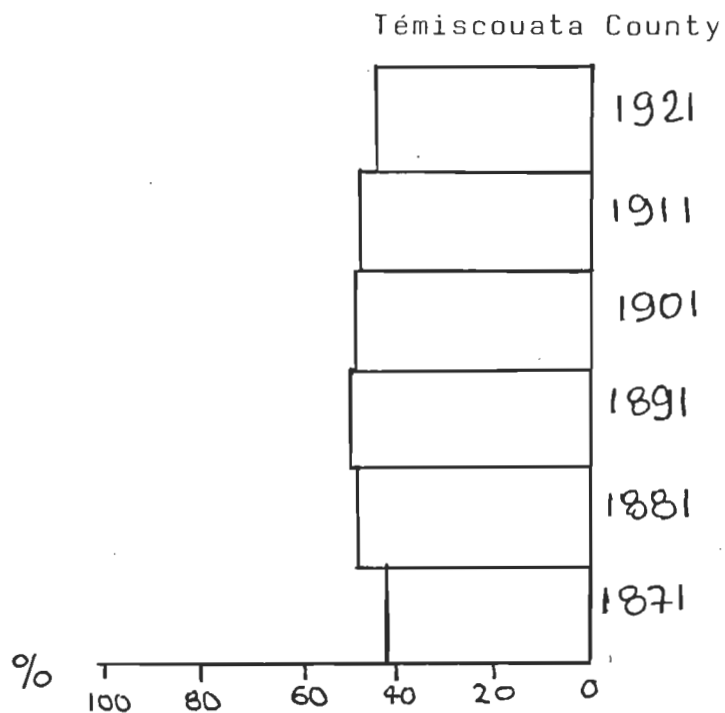
* Where possible figures for land surfaces, crop productivity and crop production have been corrected according to the specifications in: N. Séguin, R. Hardy and L. Verreault-Roy, l'Agriculture en Mauricie..., 26. Exceptionally in this table the figures for 1891 are slightly inaccurate, pending publication of the 1891 manuscript census.



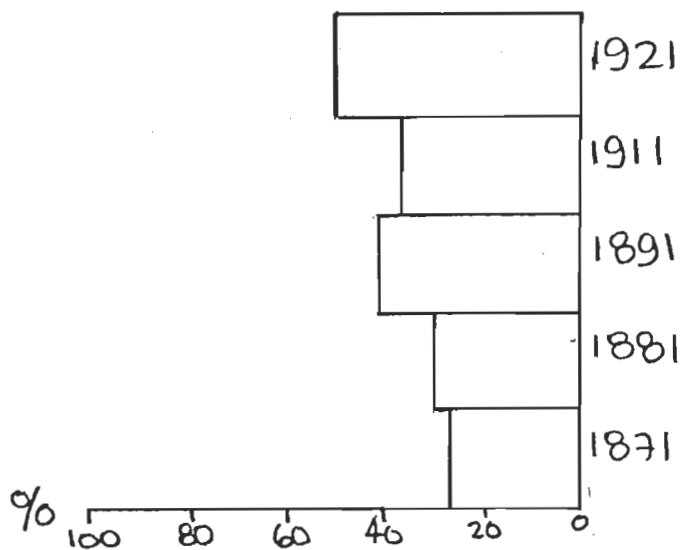
Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.2

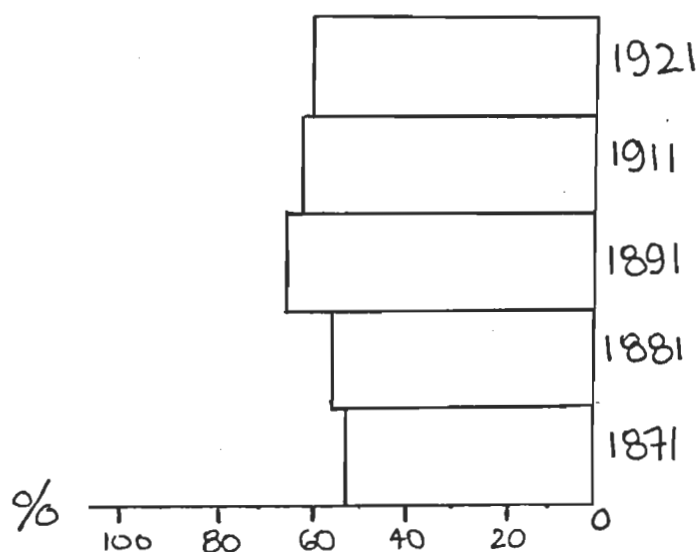
Improved Land as Percentage of Occupied Land in
Témiscouata County, Notre-Dame-du-Lac and l'Isle
Verte.



Notre-Dame-du-Lac



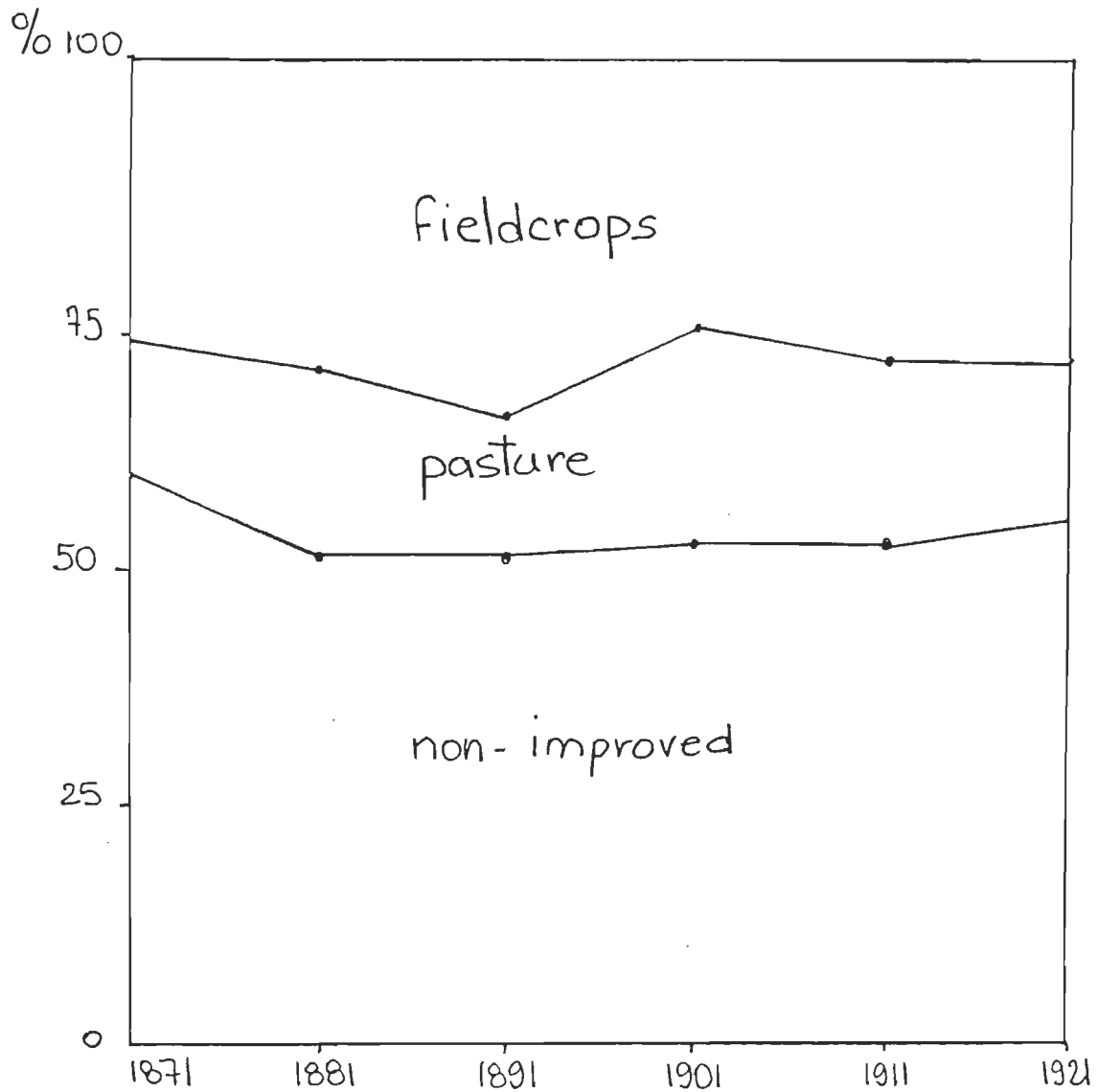
l'Isle-Verte



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.3 (a)

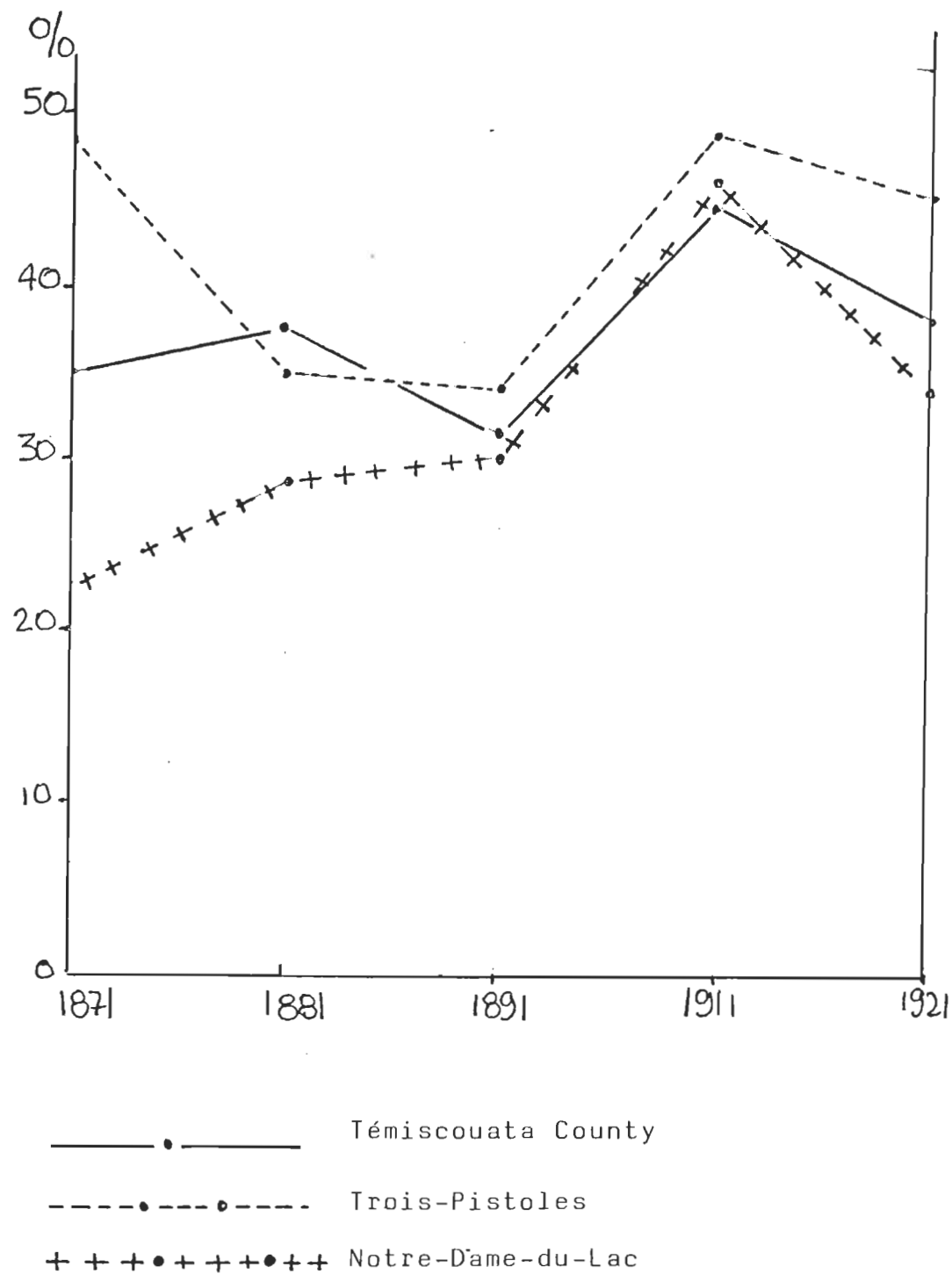
Field Crops, Pasture, Non-Improved Land as Percentage of Total Occupied Land in Témiscouata County.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.3 (b)

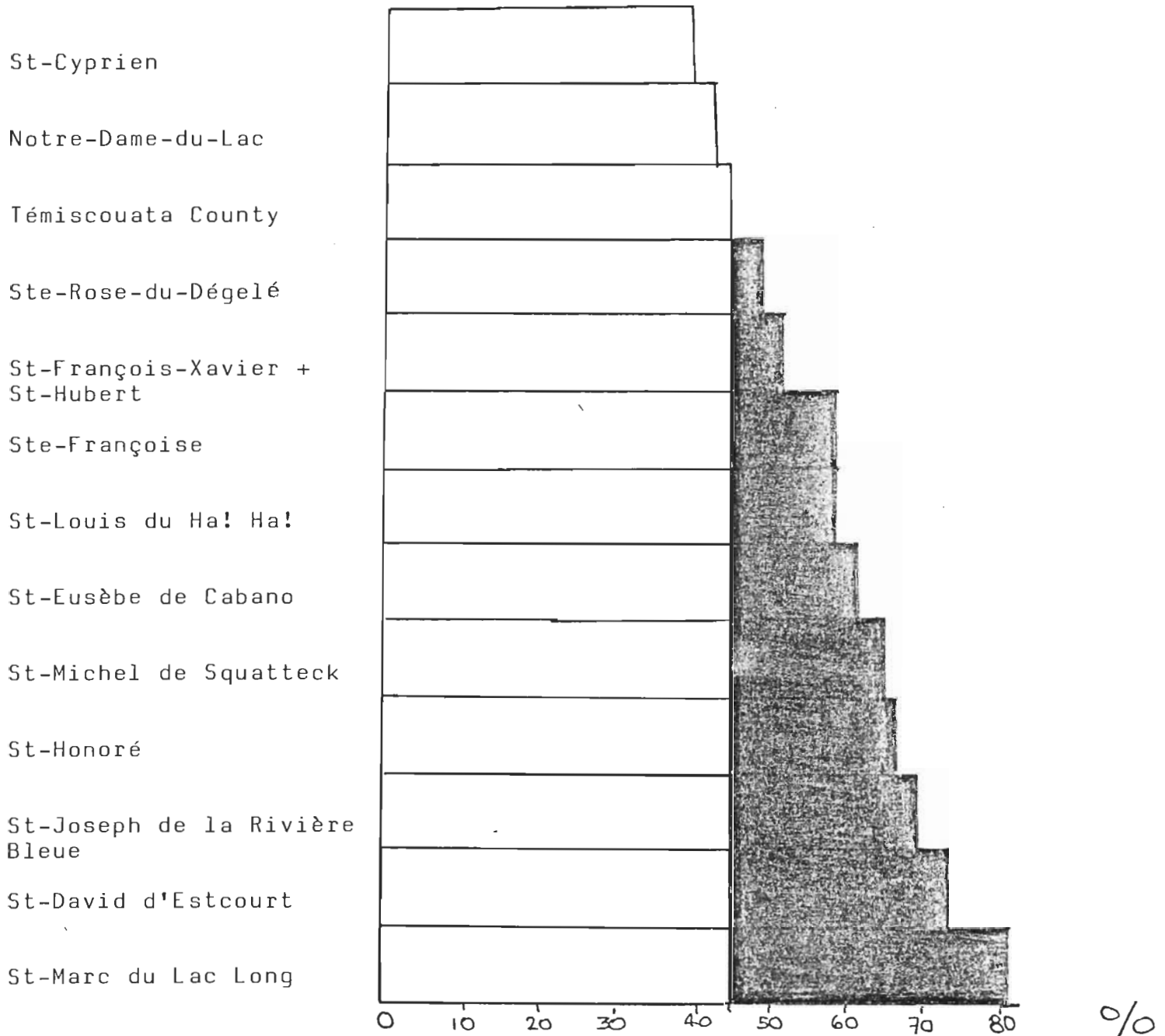
Land in Pasture as Percentage of Total Land Improved
in Témiscouata County, Notre-Dame-du-Lac and Trois-
Pistoles.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.4 (a)

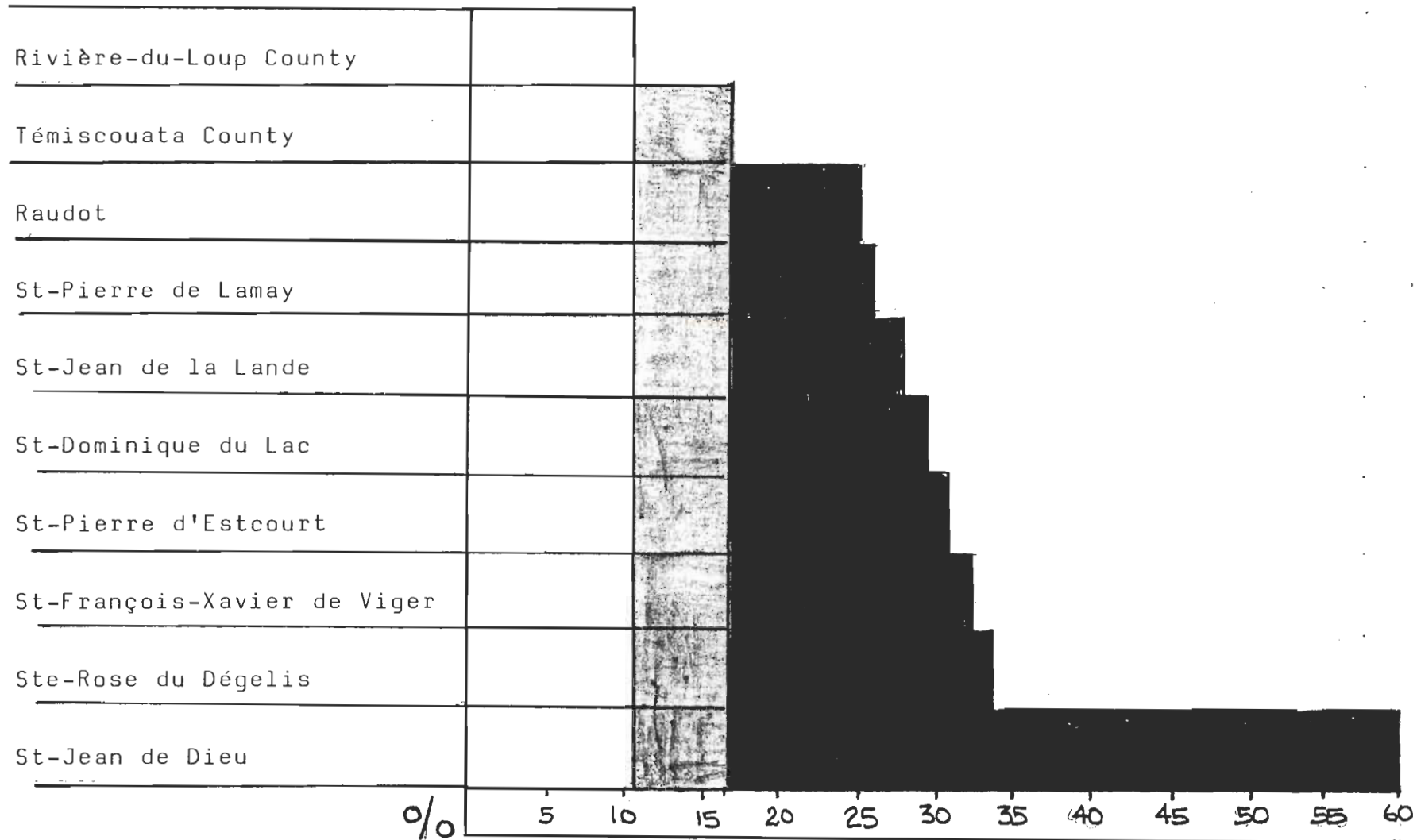
Lands in Forest as Percentage of Land Occupied in
Selected Subdistricts of Témiscouata County for 1921.



Source: Census of Canada, 1921

Table II A.4 (b)

Non-Arable Cleared Land as Percentage of Total Land Cleared in Selected Subdistricts of
Témiscouata and Rivière-du-Loup Counties in 1965.

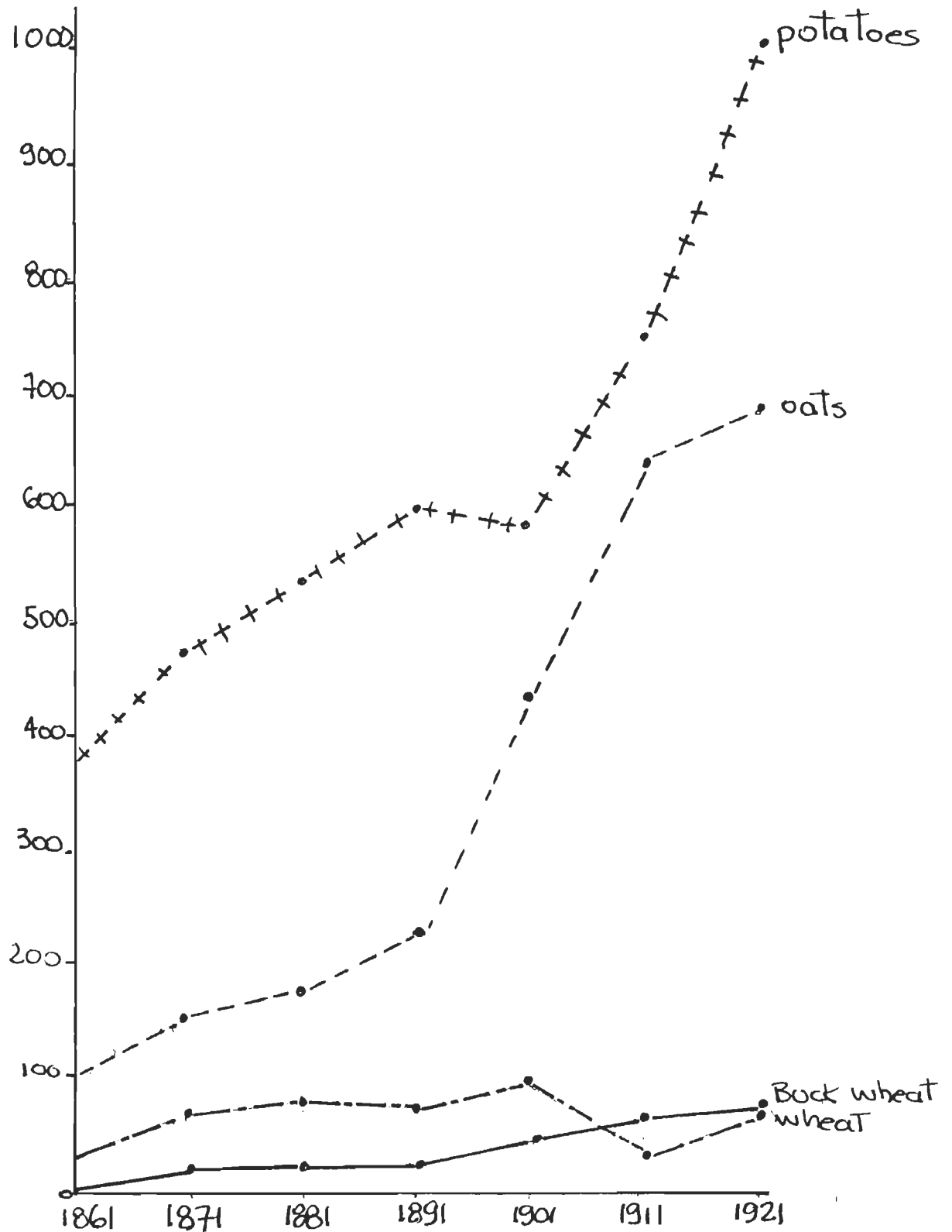


Source: B.A.E.Q. Objectif de modernisation des secteurs de base
traditionnels, deuxième partie, l'agriculture, B.A.E.Q.,
1966, 14-15, 23-24.

Table A.5 (a)

Production of Wheat, Oats, Potatoes in Témiscouata County.

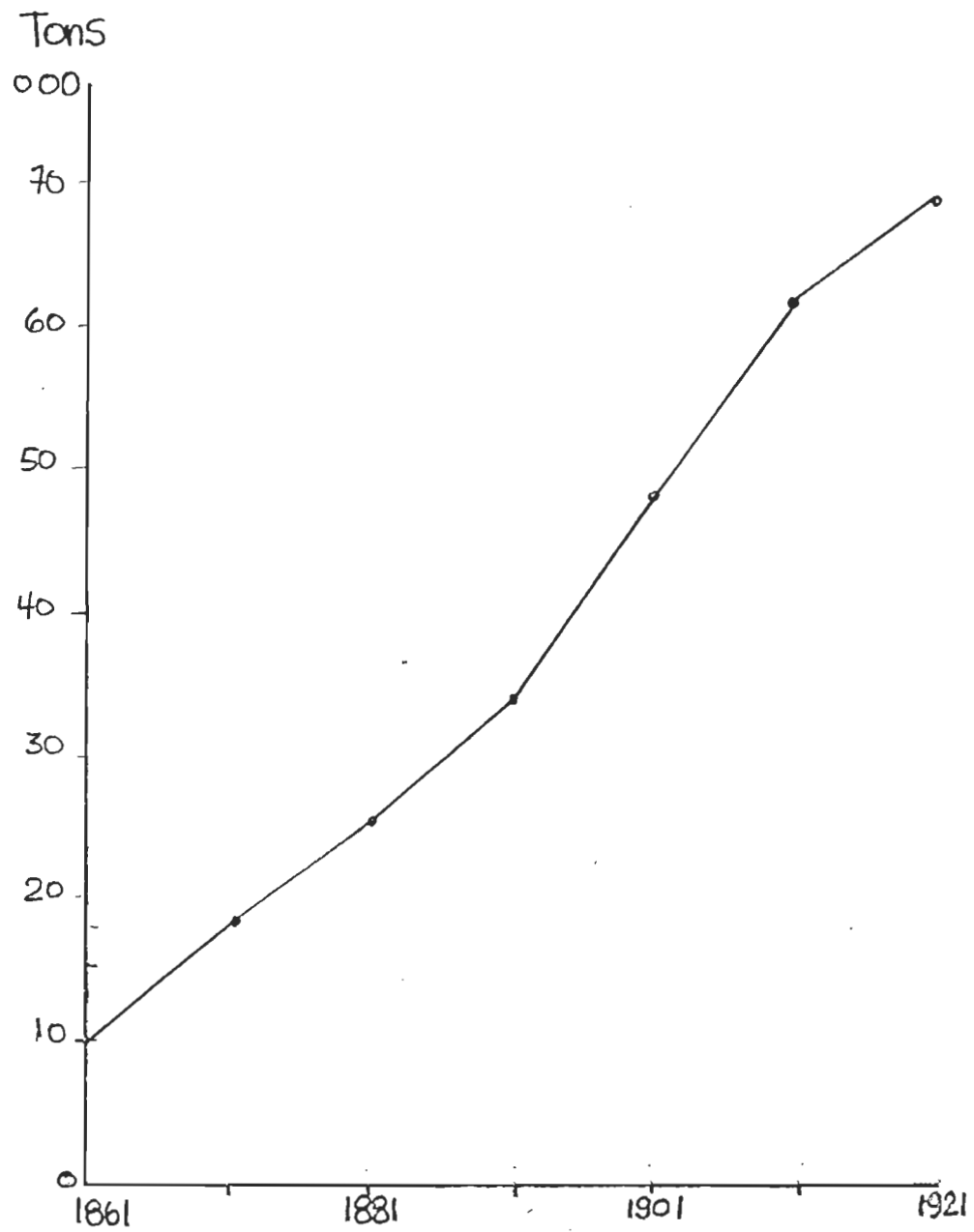
Bushels 000



Source: Census of Canada

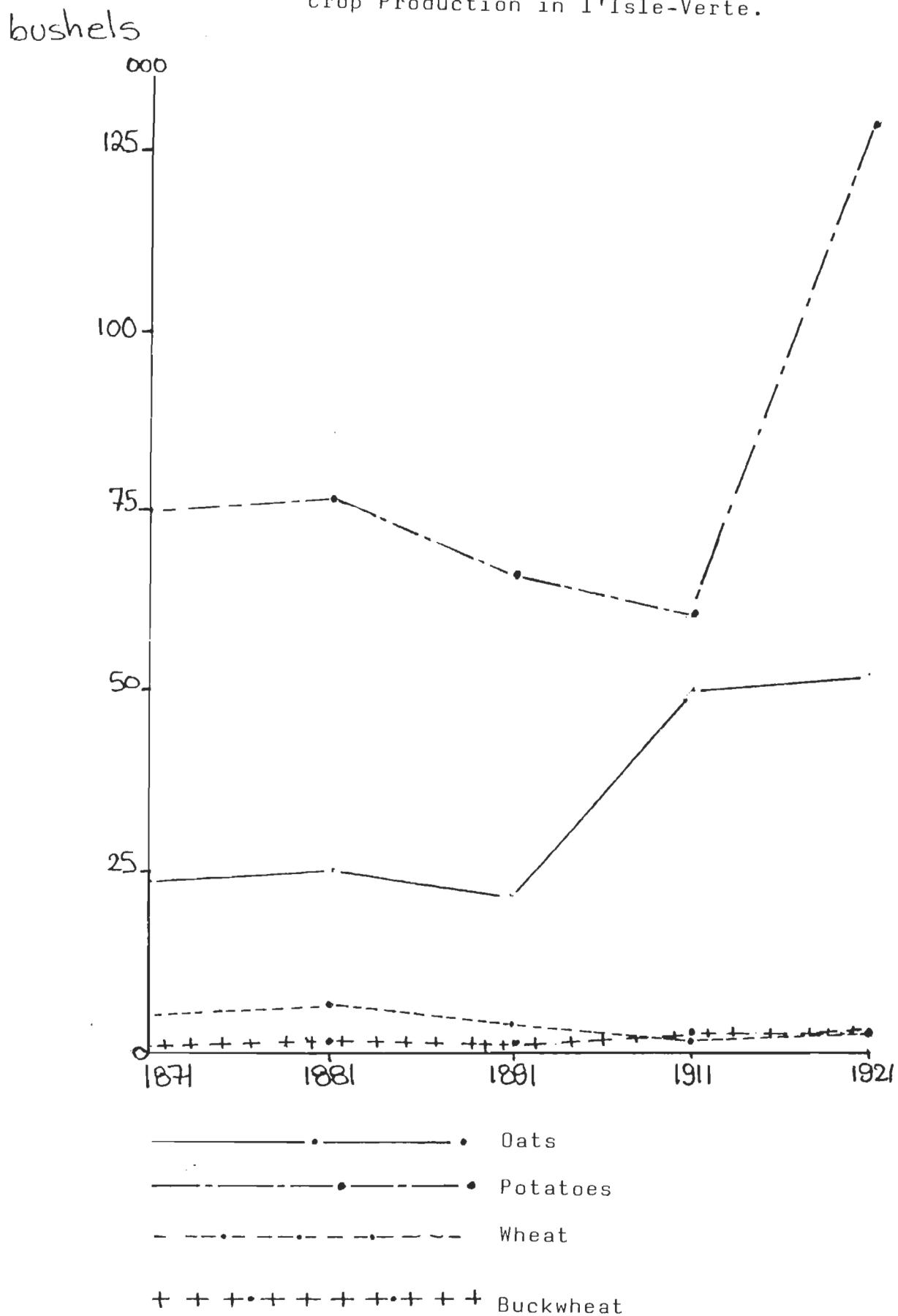
Table II A.5 (b)

Production of Hay in Témiscouata County.



Source: Census of Canada

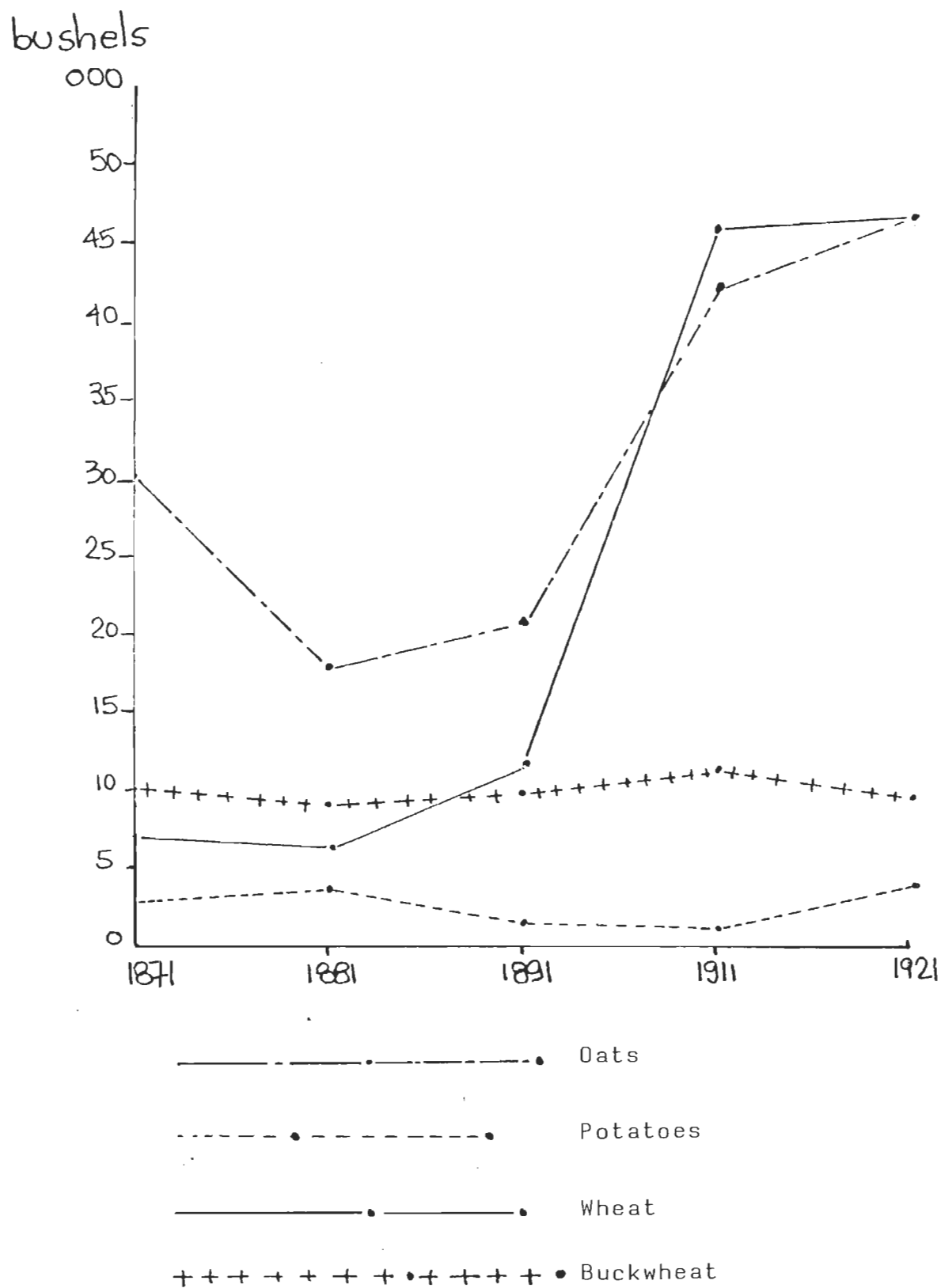
Table II A.6 (a)
Crop Production in l'Isle-Verte.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.6 (b)

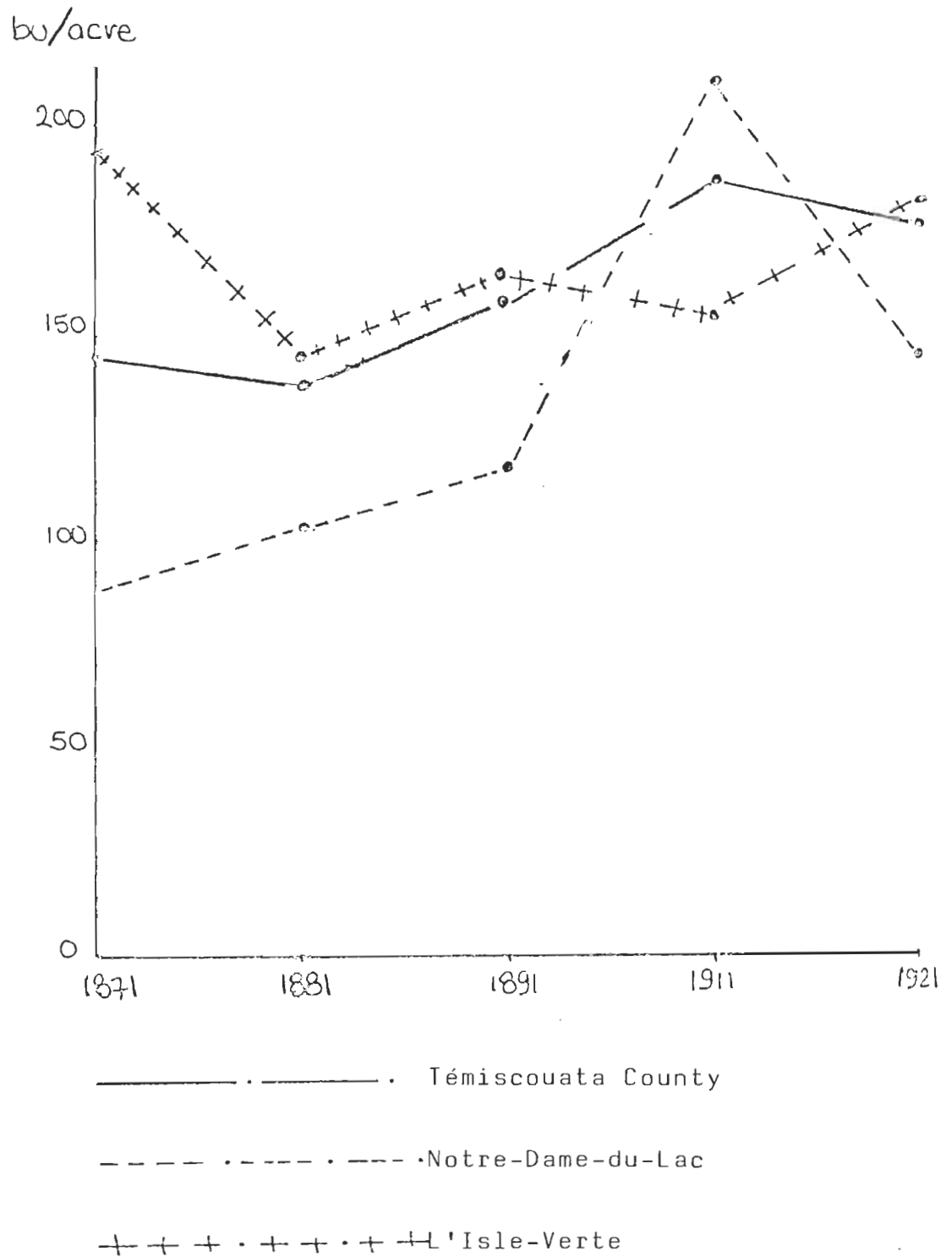
Crop Production in Notre-Dame-du-Lac.



Source: Census of Canada

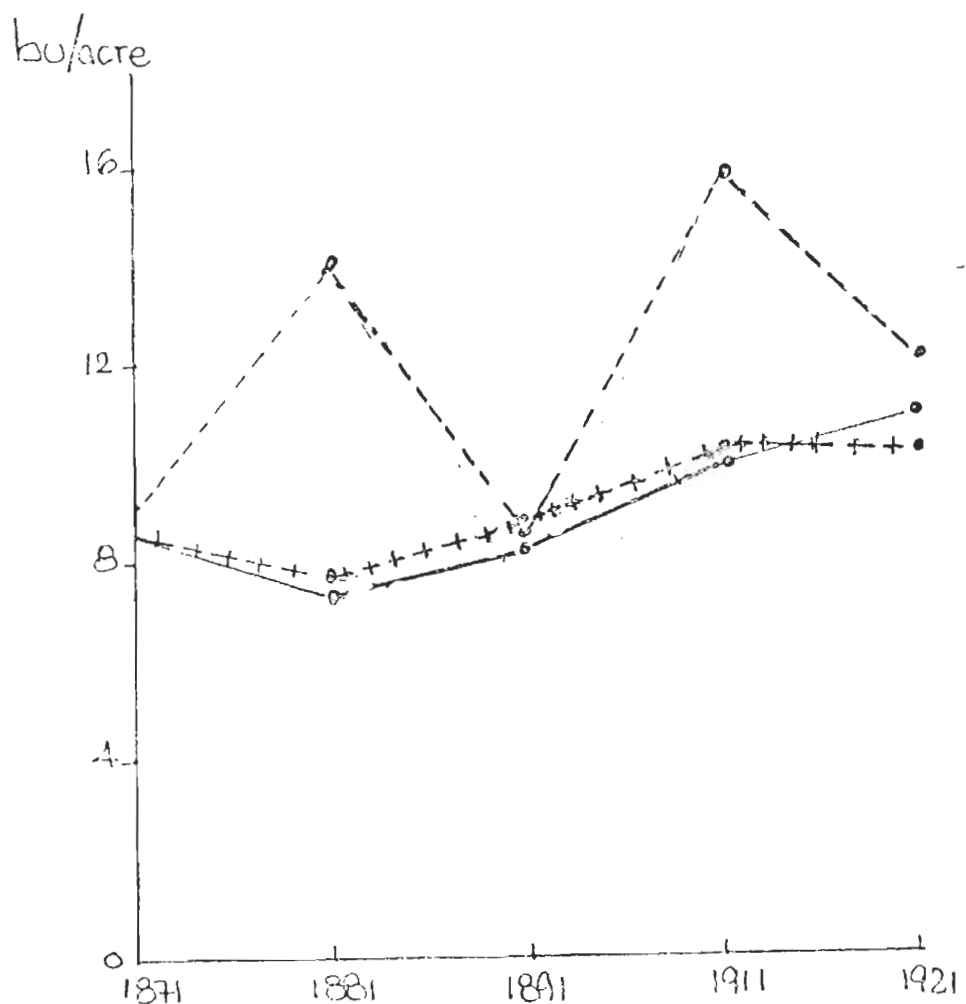
Table II A.7 Productivity

a) Potatoes 1871-1921, a Comparison



Source: Census of Canada

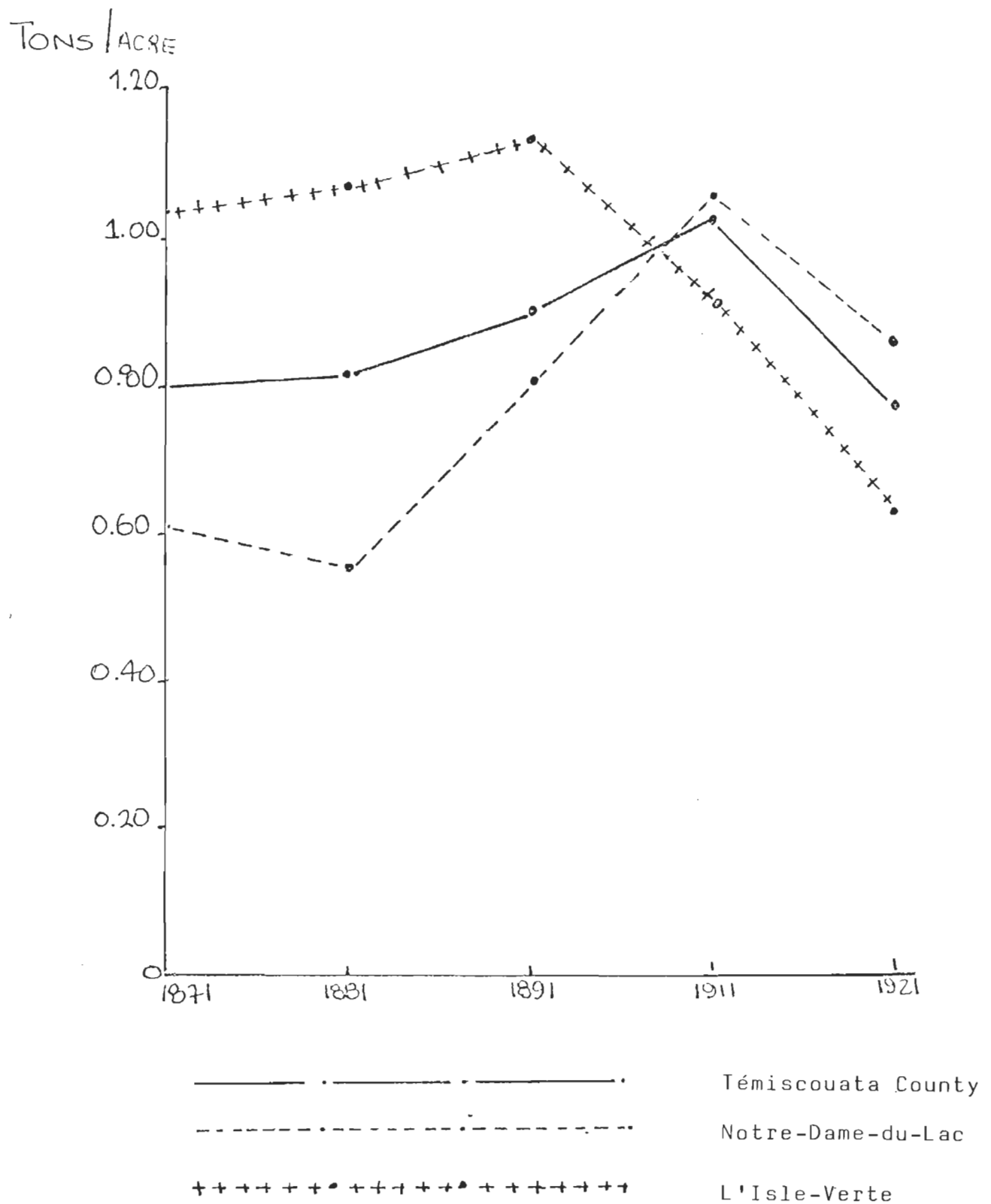
Table II A.7 Productivity
b) Wheat 1871-1921, a Comparison



————— Témiscouata County
 - - - - - Notre-Dame-du-Lac
 + + + + + L'Isle-Verte

Source: Census of Canada

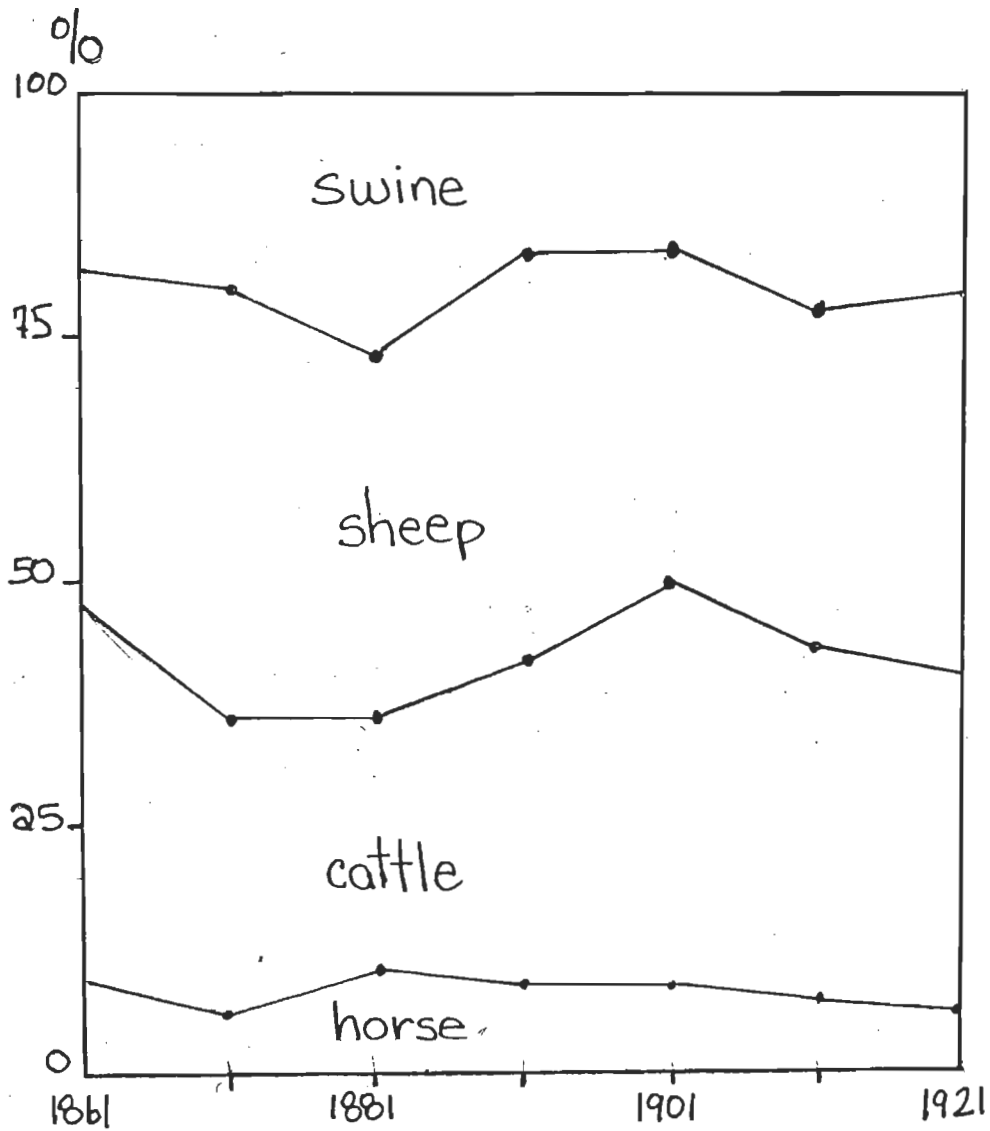
c) Hay 1871-1921, a Comparison



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.8

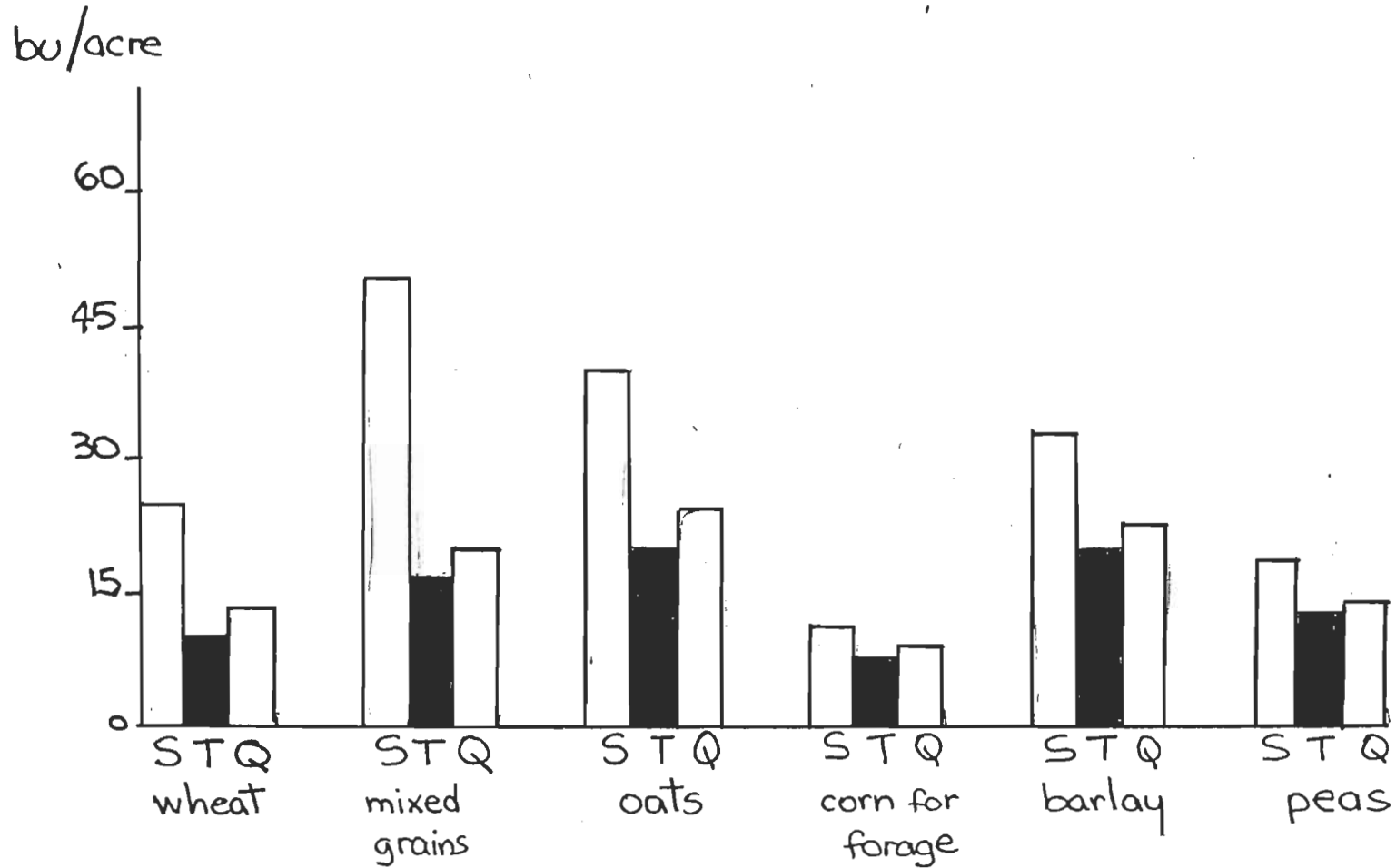
Livestock in Témiscouata County by Principal Category.



Source: Census of Canada

Table II A.9

Productivity: Selected Fieldcrops in Témiscouata County (T)
Stanstead County (S) and Province of Québec (Q) for 1911.

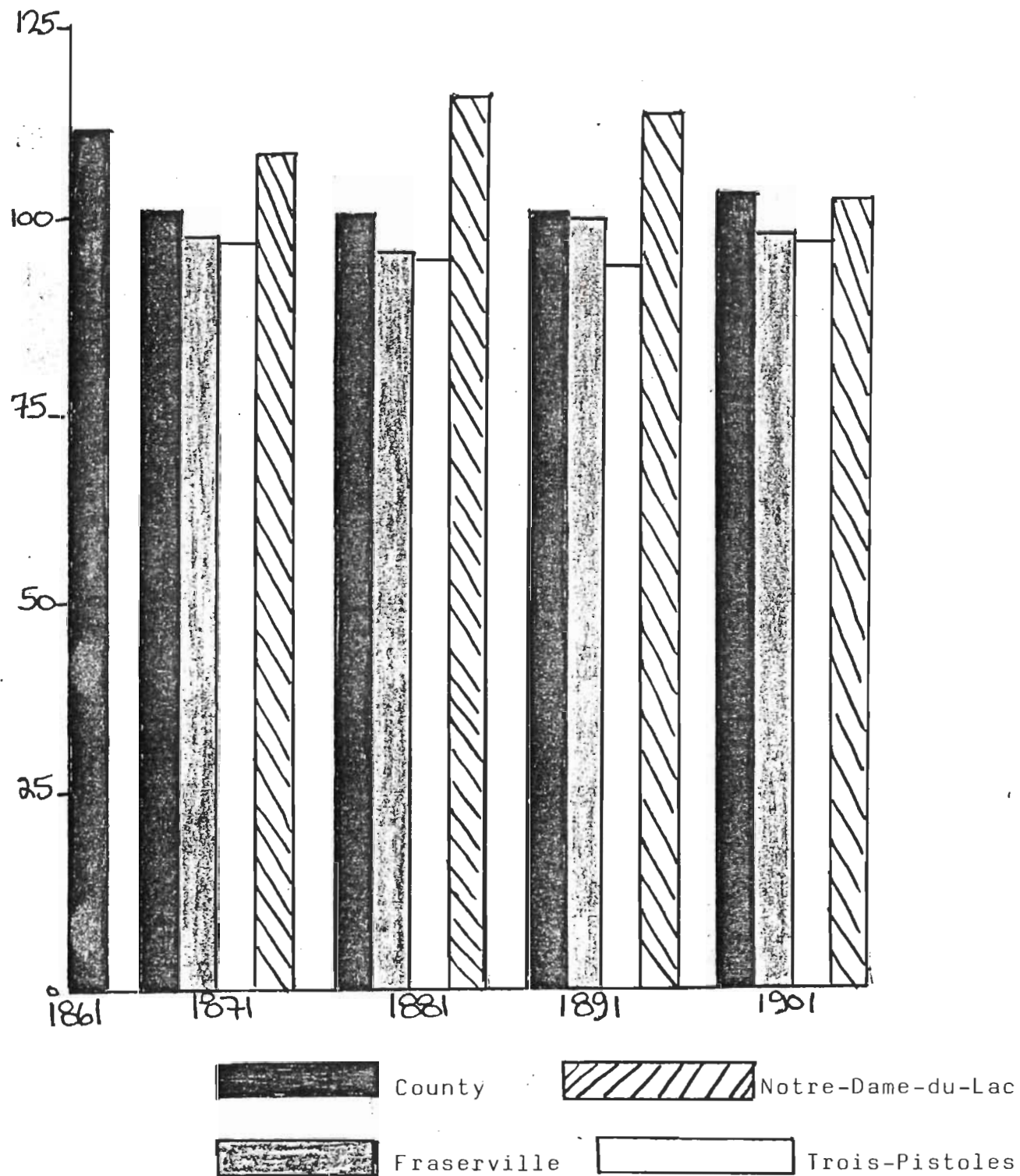


Source: Census of Canada, 1911

TABLES FOR CHAPTER THREE

Table III.1

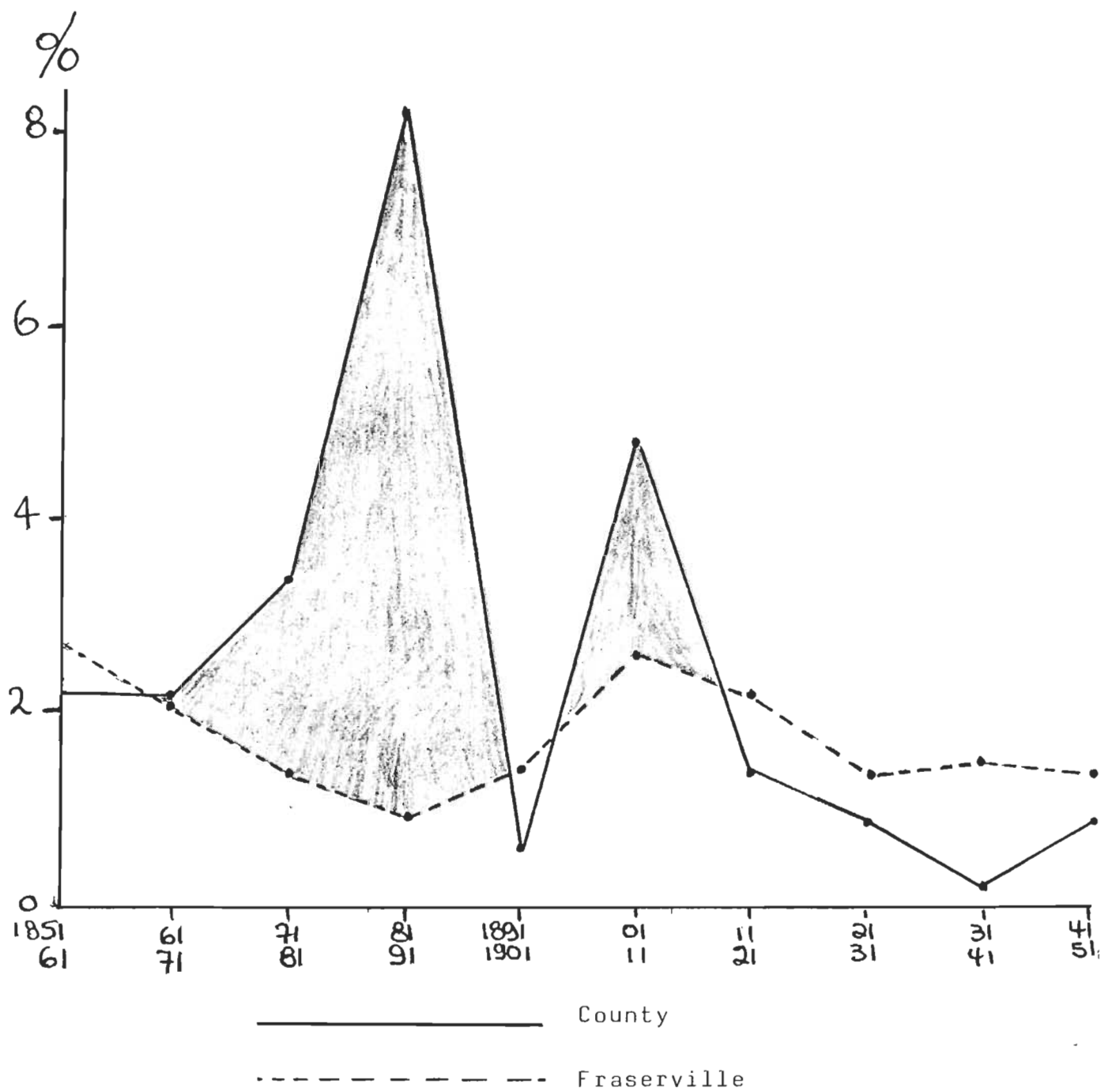
Males per Hundred Females in Selected Subdistricts
of Témiscouata County 1871-1911.



Source: Census of Canada

Table III.2

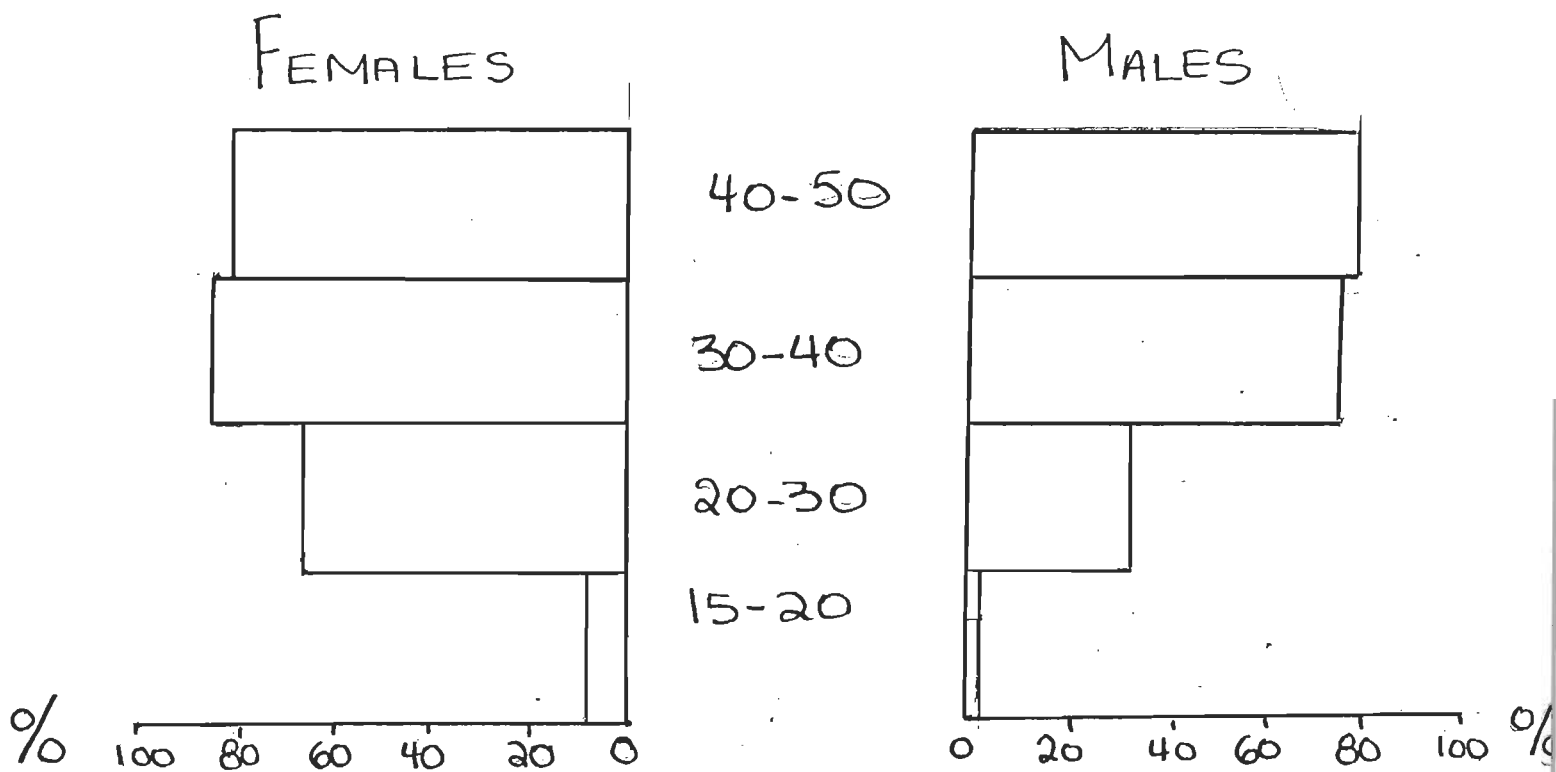
Annual Rate of Population Growth in Témiscouata County and in Fraserville.



Source: Yves Martin, op. cit.

Table III.3

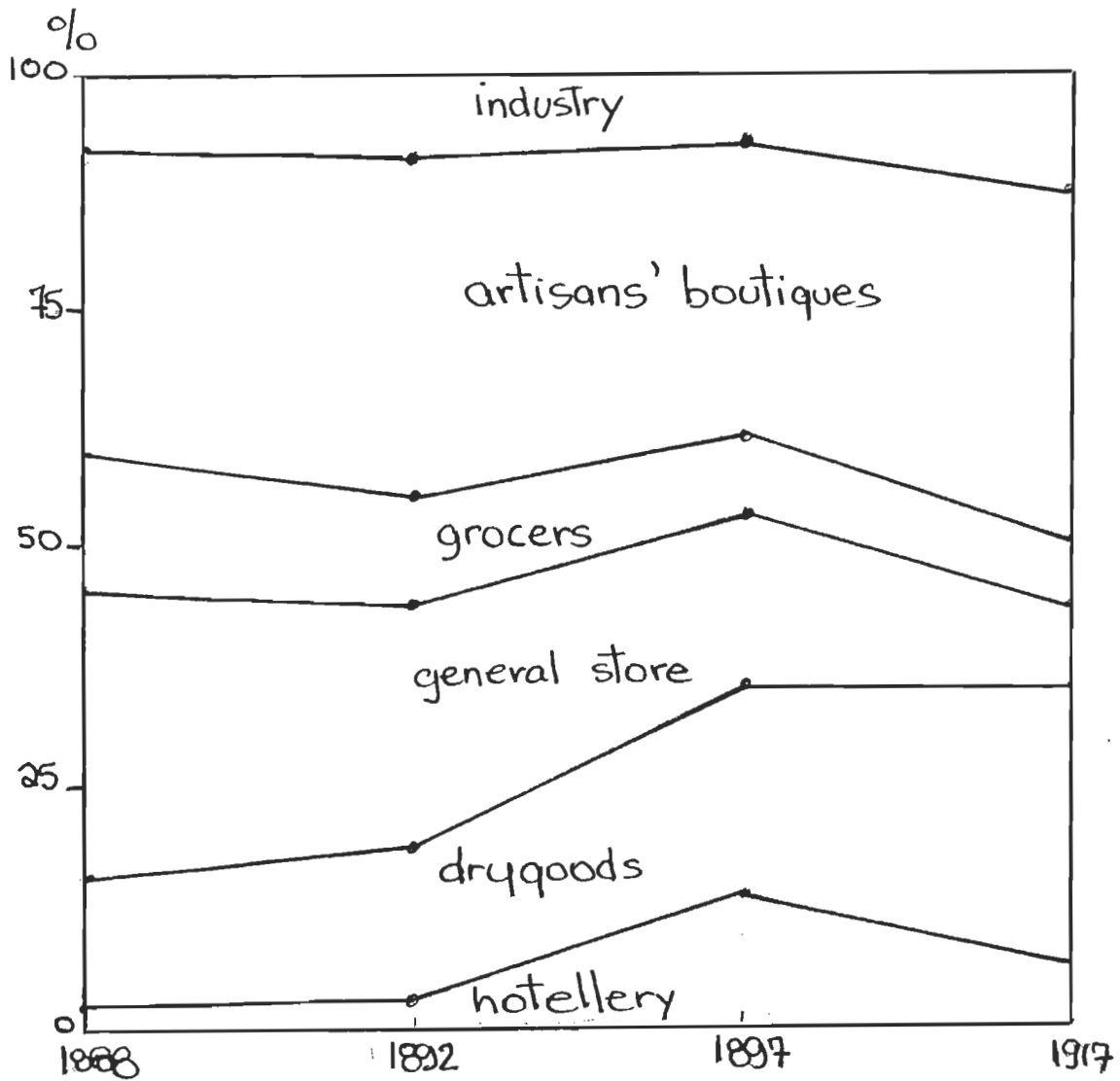
Percentage of Males/Females Married, Selected Age-Groups,
Témiscouata County, 1861.



Source: Census of Canada

Table III.4

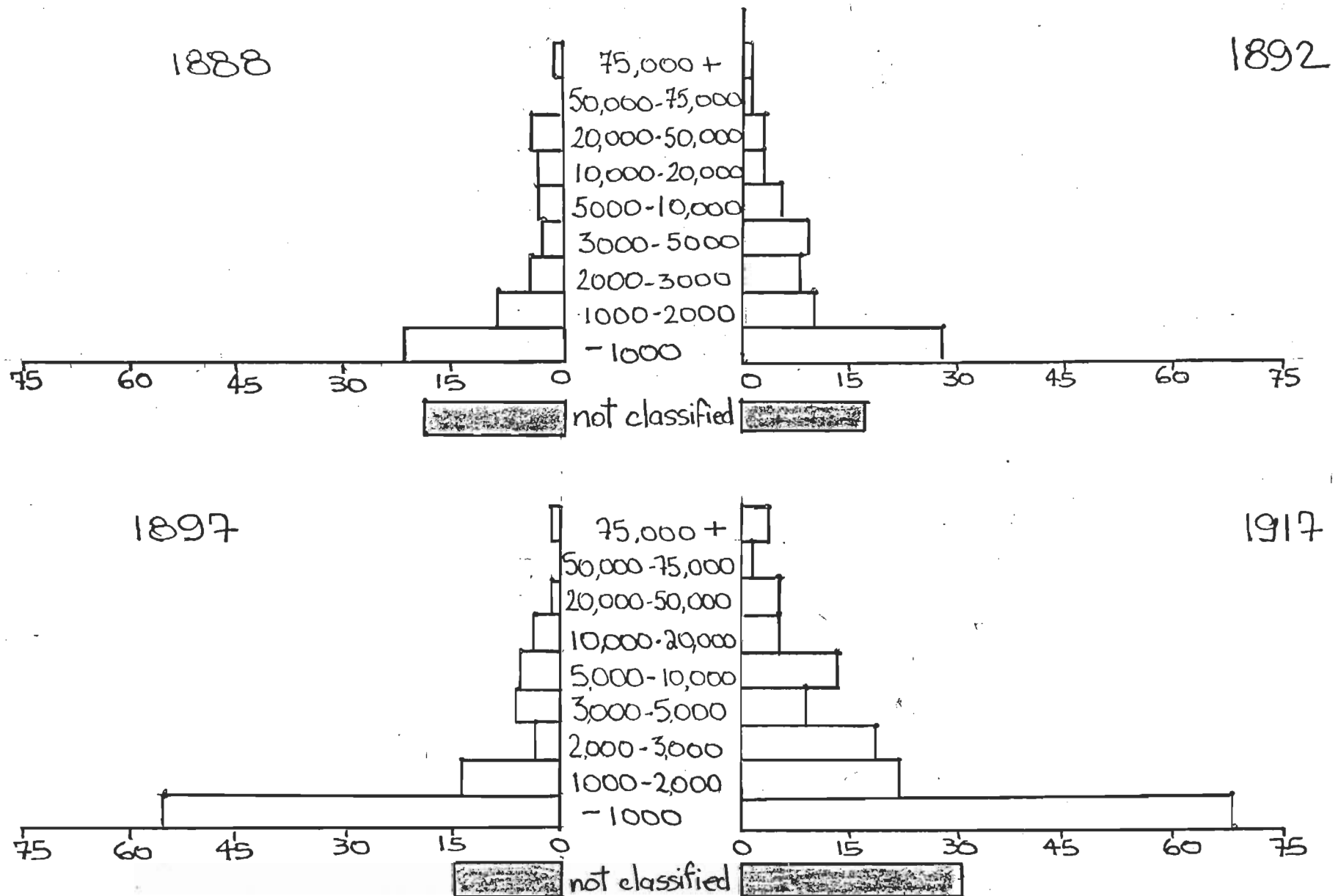
Relative Position of Businesses in Fraserville
by Principal Category.



Source: Dun and Bradstreet, op. cit.

Table III.5

Commercial and Industrial Business in Fraserville According to Size (1888-1917).



Source: Dun and Bradstreet, op. cit.

Table III.6

A Survey of Bonusing in Fraserville in the Late 19th and Early 20th Century.

Company or Entrepreneur	Proposed or Actual Line of Business	Amount Offered \$	Year
P.E. Grandbois	Pulp Factory	Tax Exemption	1881
The Fraserville Boot + Shoe Co.	Shoe Production	5000*	1886
Dame Donat Blondeau	Box and Barrel Factory	Tax Exemption	1887
The Temiscouata Railway Co.	Railroad Repair Shops	25,000*	1886
Fraserville Glass Workers Syndicate	Glass Production	Tax Exemption	1892
Thomas Meignor	Shoe Manufacturing	10,000	1893
Eugène Prosper Bender	Condensed Milk Production	Tax Exemption	1895
Haign and Lyons (of England)	Glass Production	Tax Exemption	1896
Carrier and Pelletier	—	15,000	1899
Donald Fraser and Sons	Clothing Factory	10,000	1900
John W. Hutt (eventually Rivière-du-Loup Pulp Co.)	Pulp Manufacturing	Tax Exemption *	1900
St-Laurence Furniture Factory	Furniture Production	5,000*	1901
Lemay and Bérubé	—	Tax Exemption	1906
Compagnie Trans Saint-Laurent	Navigation	5,000*	1909
Fraserville Chair Co.	Furniture Production	10,000*	1910
Fraserville Shoe Co.	Shoe Production	5,000*	1910
Adrian Lockwell	Underwear Co.	12,000	1911

* Denotes Granted and Received

Source: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville

Table III.7

Mortgage Loaning in Fraserville During the Late 19th Century.*

Creditors	Amount Loaned (\$)	Number of Loans
Georges Pelletier	(£) 400	1
Pelletier and Lebel	2250	1
Narcisse-G. Pelletier	2545	6
J.-Baptiste Pouliot	500	3
Dame J.-Baptiste Pouliot	4400	1
Charles-Eugène Pouliot	1295	4
J.-Camille Pouliot	3730	2
William Fraser	7300	2
John Alpheus Jarvis	1950	5
Louis Dugal	1600	2
F.-Cécime Dubé	962	2
Alfred Fortin	6600	7
Georges-Azaire Binet	2846	3
Charles-Eusèbe Sénéchal	1225	7
L.-Nil Paquet	1150	4
Dr. Damase Rossignol	2800	4
Edwin Jones	6850	12

* Partial Perspective

Source: Index aux Immeubles

Table III.8

Representation of the Pelletier-Tory Faction and the Seigniorial Group at City Hall.

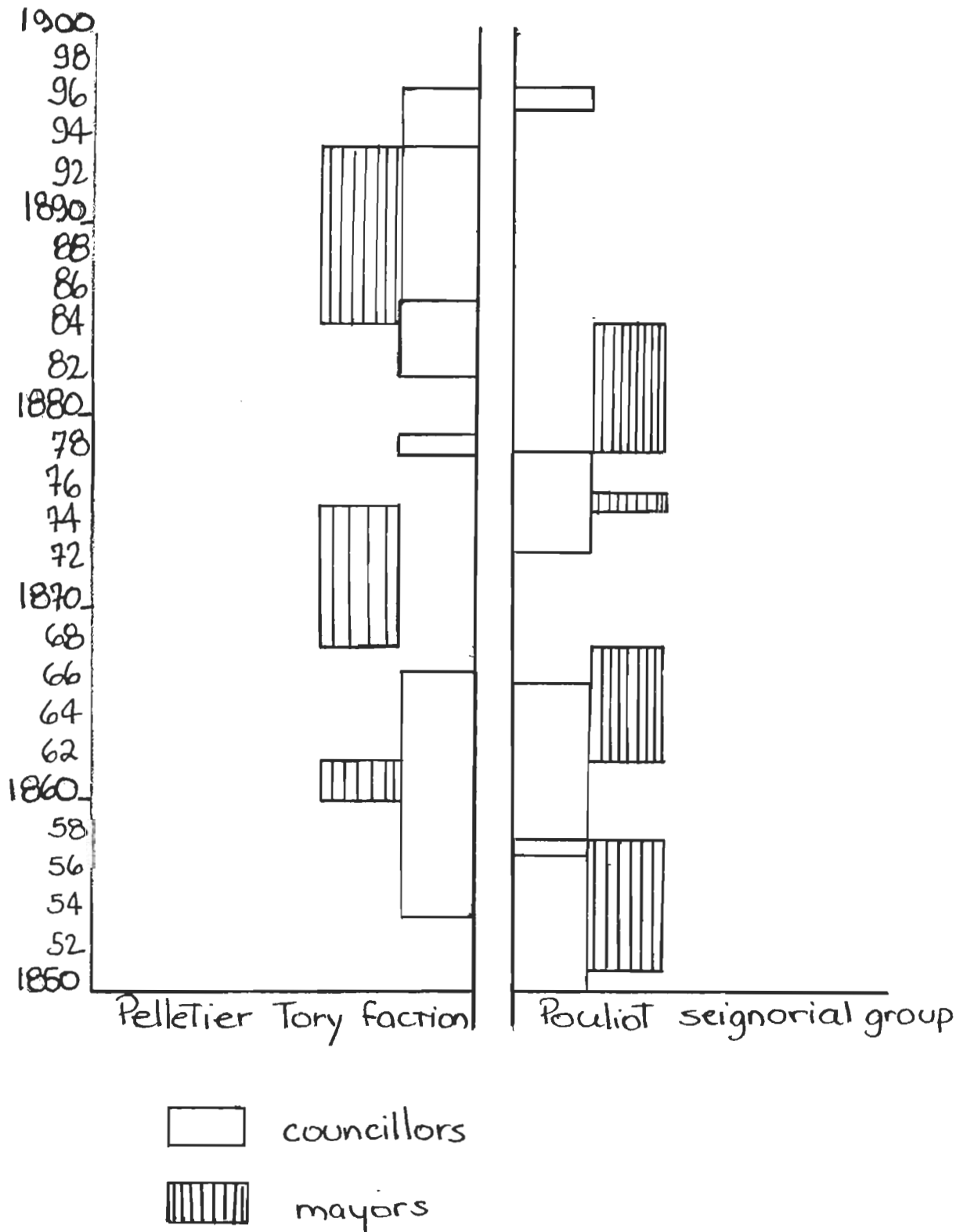


Table III.9 (a)

Party Affiliations of Federal M.P.'s
in Lower St. Lawrence Counties.

	1874	1878	1882	1887	1891	1896	1900	1904
Témiscouata	Liberal	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Rimouski	Liberal	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Kamouraska	Liberal	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Montmagny	Liberal	Conservative	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
L'Islet	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Conservative



Conservative



Liberal

Source: J. Keith Johnson (ed.), The Canadian Directory of Parliament, Ottawa, 1968.

Table III.9 (b)

Party Affiliation of Provincial M.P.'s in
Lower St. Lawrence.

	1875	1878	1881	1886	1890	1896	1907	1900	1904
Témiscouata	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Rimouski	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Kamouraska	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Conservative	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
Montmagny	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal
L'Islet	Conservative	Liberal	Conservative	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal	Liberal



Conservative

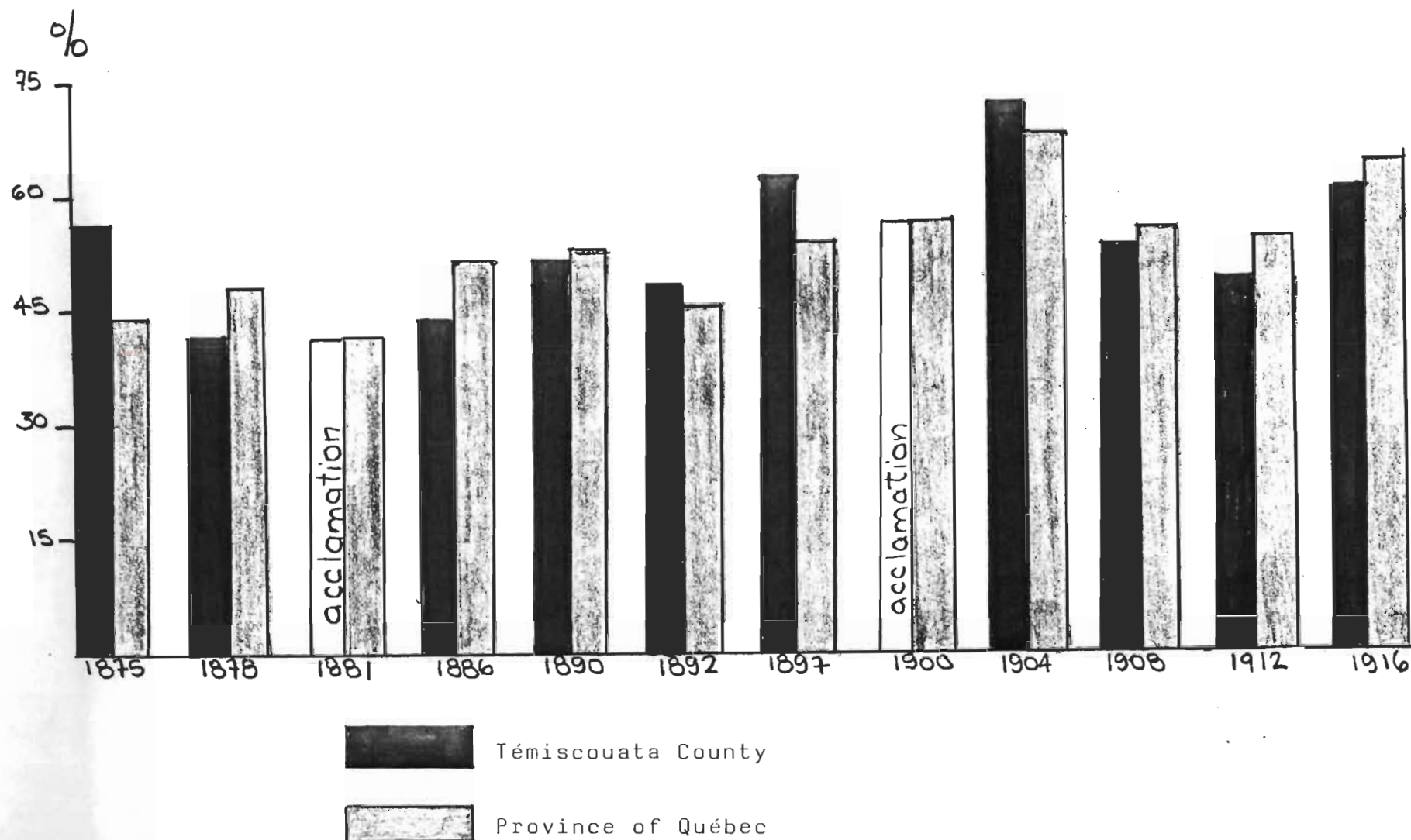


Liberal

Source: Répertoire des parlementaires, op. cit.

Table III.10

Liberal Percentage of the Popular Vote in Témiscouata County and the Province of Québec 1875-1916.



Source: Linteau-Robert-Durocher, *op. cit.*, 271, 525.
Répertoire des parlementaires, *op. cit.*, 778.

TABLES FOR CHAPTER FOUR

Table IV.1

Banks in Fraserville.

The Molson's Bank	1899-1934
The People's Bank of Halifax	1890-1905
The Bank of Montreal	1905
Banque Nationale Banque Canadienne Nationale	1880-1923 1923
Banque Jacques Cartier Banque Provinciale du Canada	1885-1899 1900
Caisse Populaire	1936

Source: P.V.C.M. de Fraserville
B.R.R.T. Index aux Immeubles, Fraserville

Table IV.2

Creditors of Fraserville General Storekeeper Horace A. Gagné,
Bankrupt, October 3, 1888.

Firm	Place of Business	Amount Due (\$)
Gauvreau et Pelletier	Québec	431.55
Langlois et Paradis	Québec	330.58
McCall, Shehyn et Co.	Québec	254.52
Jos. Amyot + Frère	Québec	224.84
Whitehead and Turner	Québec	222.22
A. B. Dupuis	Québec	57.00
George Tanguay	Québec	47.42
F. T. Thomas	Québec	34.68
L. N. Ménault	Québec	13.35
Renaud + Co.	Québec	12.45
Gagnon Frère + Cie	Québec	5.15
Total Québec: \$1633.76		
J. L. Pelletier	Montréal	314.55
Hudon + Pelletier	Montréal	276.04
John-Fisher + Co.	Montréal	260.07
F. + J. Leclerc + Cie	Montréal	216.83
Joseph Horsefall	Montréal	192.35
Mills + Hutchison	Montréal	182.13
Moses Vineberg	Montréal	174.00
Seybold Son + Co.	Montreal	77.00
Henry Holland + Co.	Montréal	72.06
Letang, Letang + Co.	Montréal	68.46
M. H. Brisset	Montréal	40.73
Davis + Lawrence + Co.	Montréal	40.15
L. O. Grothée	Montréal	33.75
Collin, McArthur + Co.	Montréal	26.20
Barré et Cie	Montréal	18.00
J. C. Wilson	Montréal	11.54
Total Montréal: \$2003.86		

Table IV.2 (Continued)

Firm	Place of Business	Amount Due (\$)
Chapleau + Bégin	St-Pascal	28.58
Veuve Nadeau	St-Pacôme	80.00
M. Pelletier	St-Alexandre	16.68
J.F. Saindon	Fraserville	50.00
J.A. Jarvis	Fraserville	14.00
F. Pellechat	St-Alexandre	16.68
Total Région:	\$206.94	
Jardine and Co.	St. John, N.B.	7.20

Source: Le Progrès de Fraserville
3 octobre 1888.