

Urbanization, Colonization and Underdevelopment in the Bas-Saint-Laurent : Fraserville and the Témiscouata in the Late Nineteenth Century

John Willis

Volume 28, numéro 73-74, 1984

URI : <https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/021652ar>

DOI : <https://doi.org/10.7202/021652ar>

[Aller au sommaire du numéro](#)

Éditeur(s)

Département de géographie de l'Université Laval

ISSN

0007-9766 (imprimé)

1708-8968 (numérique)

[Découvrir la revue](#)

Citer cet article

Willis, J. (1984). Urbanization, Colonization and Underdevelopment in the Bas-Saint-Laurent : Fraserville and the Témiscouata in the Late Nineteenth Century. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 28(73-74), 125–161.
<https://doi.org/10.7202/021652ar>

Résumé de l'article

Cet article est fondé sur l'hypothèse que la différenciation régionale est intrinsèque à la formation d'une société capitaliste contemporaine. Il s'appuie sur la problématique de la dépendance — le développement du sous-développement, le développement inégal, etc. Nous soutenons notamment que le système agro-forestier a appauvri l'agriculture dans le Témiscouata. Il en est résulté un espace économique fragmenté en deux secteurs : l'un rural et forestier, l'autre urbain et ferroviaire.

URBANIZATION, COLONIZATION AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN THE BAS-SAINT-LAURENT: FRASERVILLE AND THE TÉMISCOUATA IN THE LATE NINETEENTH CENTURY

by

John WILLIS

Parcs Canada, Québec

ABSTRACT

This paper is based on the premise that regional differentiation is intrinsic to the formation of contemporary capitalist society. Informed by current dependence theory, we discuss the applicability of the agri-forestry concept to the experience of one Bas-Saint-Laurent sub-region (the Témiscouata) during the late XIXth Century period. The agri-forestry system, it is argued, impoverished agriculture and fragmented the county economy between a rural forestry sector and an urban railroad one. It was, in short, the prime agency of underdevelopment in the Bas-Saint-Laurent.

KEY WORDS: Peripheral region, agri-forestry system, capitalists and "colons", railtown, boom and bust.

RÉSUMÉ

Urbanisation, colonisation et sous-développement dans le Bas-Saint-Laurent: le cas de Fraserville et du Témiscouata à la fin du XIX^e siècle

Cet article est fondé sur l'hypothèse que la différenciation régionale est intrinsèque à la formation d'une société capitaliste contemporaine. Il s'appuie sur la problématique de la dépendance — le développement du sous-développement, le développement inégal, etc. Nous soutenons notamment que le système agro-forestier a appauvri l'agriculture dans le Témiscouata. Il en est résulté un espace économique fragmenté en deux secteurs: l'un rural et forestier, l'autre urbain et ferroviaire.

MOTS-CLÉS: Région périphérique, système agro-forestier, capitalistes et colons, ville ferroviaire, boom et éclatement.

*

* * *

Until recently Canadian historians have been reluctant to enter the field of regional studies. In so doing they have overlooked an important dimension of social change in contemporary history. It is our belief that regional differentiation is intrinsic to the formation of capitalist society. Meanwhile as a popular conception regionalism

has fared little better. In the mind of the Canadian public, regionalism is equated with provincialism. This outlook masks more than it suggests. Important differences exist within most if not all the provinces of Canada, between north and south, urban and rural, the bush and the city. At the same time certain regional formations cut across provincial and even national boundaries as in the case of the great clay belt region in the north, the St. John valley in the east and the Great Lakes — St. Lawrence industrial heartland. Historians and social scientists are entitled to disagree in their definition of what constitutes a region. Is it exclusively a social product, a creature of geography or the result of a long term geo-historical interaction? But, in the absence of a consensus the least we can do is set aside the territorial fixation and call attention to the social, the human perspective where the real problems lie.

This paper is concerned with regionalism and social change in the Bas-Saint-Laurent. We will endeavour to resume the principal conclusions of a much larger county monography (Willis, 1981). We are dealing with a backwaters or, to say it in a different way, a peripheral part of the province of Québec which has been impoverished by the very forces that sought to develop it economically, i.e. forestry capitalism and the railroad industry. The three focal points of the article are: 1) the emergence of the Bas-Saint-Laurent as a peripheral region; 2) the impact of forestry capitalism in the Témiscouata; and finally 3) the significance of the railroad industry, particularly in Fraserville (Rivière-du-Loup). Hopefully this case study will provoke further debate and reflection on the regional question both in Québec and in "English" Canada.

THE BAS-SAINT-LAURENT A PERIPHERAL REGION

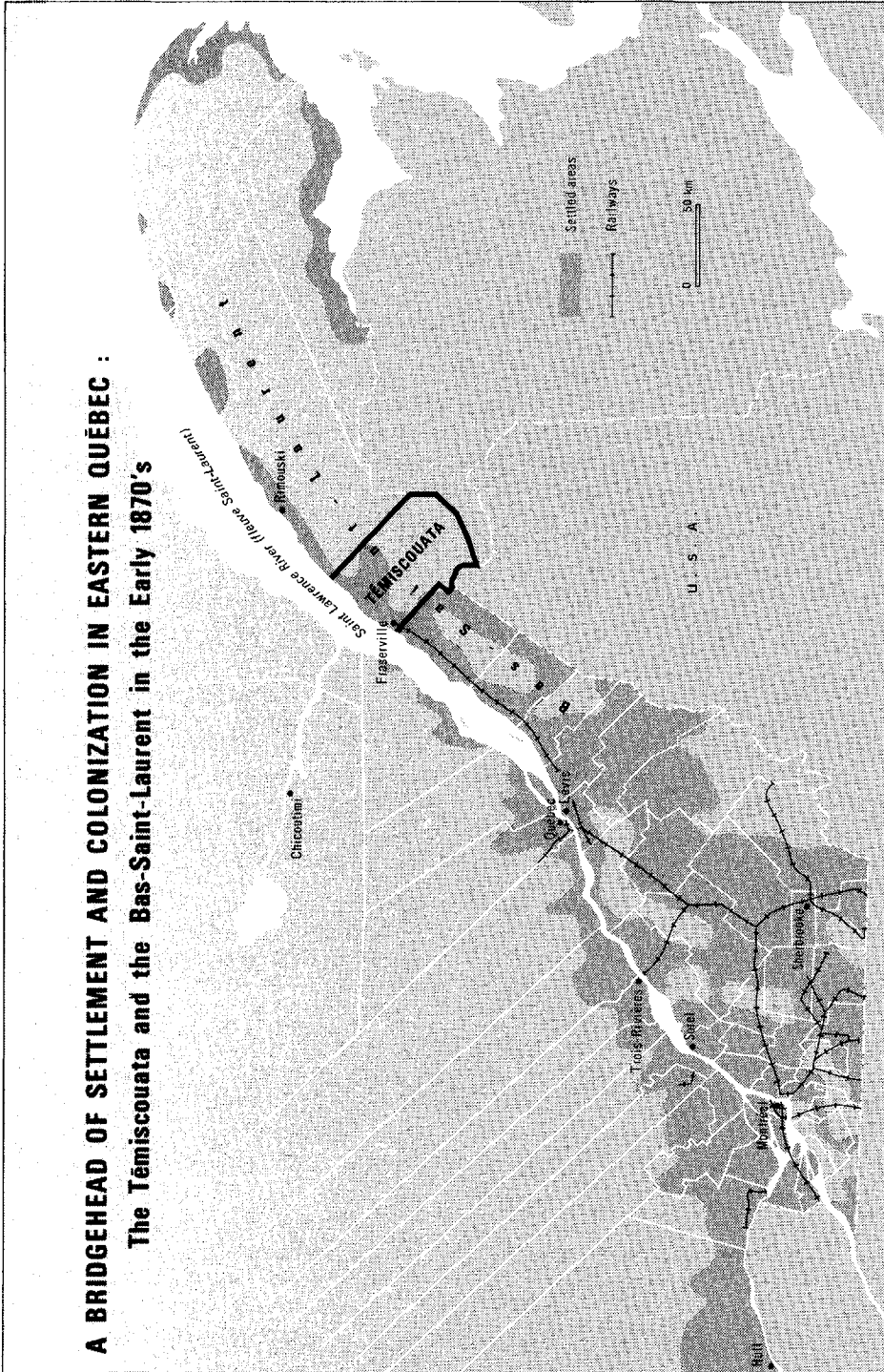
The tourist heading east along the shore road below Québec City today might feel he is entering another world. Indeed the alignment of old houses, manors, churches and fields has a certain "ancien régime" look about it. The centuries old "village-rue" pattern of farm settlement forms one of the defining characteristics of the Bas-Saint-Laurent region. At the same time it sets the entire area between the counties of Bellechasse and Rimouski apart from the neighbouring peninsular region of Gaspé.

The advance of French-Canadian settlement down the shoreline of the Bas-Saint-Laurent began late in the XVIIth Century. Many of the colonists originated in the oldest part of New France, the "plat pays" before Québec City. Settlement beyond this point was accomplished informally by migrating habitants and their families and was hardly disturbed by the arrival of Wolfe's troops in 1759. The expansion of this agrarian frontier was irresistible, given the synthesis of subsistence agriculture and high fertility in the family farm unit.

The means by which the habitant tilled his soil and exploited the flora and fauna of his coastline environment suggest that the Bas-Saint-Laurent was an extension of a pre-industrial economy; distinct in time and space but not in character from the upriver counties in the Québec City "cradle" area (Hamelin and Provencher, 1967). The contrast with the Gaspé region is striking. Here the exigencies of European capital and markets established a society of fishermen for whom agriculture was at best a secondary pursuit.¹ The Bas-Saint-Laurent might also be conceived as a zone of transition acquiring a more pronounced maritime character on its eastern fringe (Rimouski, Matane) and a progressively more agrarian one, west of Pointe-au-Père.

In lieu of the resources and transport convenience it afforded the river constituted the principal axis of development in the Bas-Saint-Laurent for some time. The

Figure 1



Sources - Letarte, Jacques "Atlas d'histoire économique et sociale du Québec, 1851-1901"
"Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, 1875."

XIXth Century, however, witnessed the emergence of a second axis of settlement and development focused primarily on the forestry industry (figure 1). The contours of settlement thus altered, economy and society became more emphatically landlocked and continental in orientation. By the second half of the XIXth Century the Bas-Saint-Laurent had become an agri-forestry region. This raises two important questions. In the first place, what is intended by the agri-forestry concept? Secondly, how can the mechanics of the agri-forestry synthesis be linked to the emergence of the Bas-Saint-Laurent as a peripheral, dependent region? An answer to each of these questions will enable us to outline the process of colonization and urbanization in one sub-region of the Bas-Saint-Laurent, the Témiscouata County.

The interpenetration of agriculture and forestry in many of Québec's outlying regions aroused the interest and especially the condemnation of Raoul Blanchard (1935, 1947, 1953-1954) in his masterful geographical survey of the province. More recently the agri-forestry ("agro-forestier") concept has been reformulated and systemized by A. Dubuc (1973) and N. Séguin (1980). According to Séguin (1980, pp. 159-160) the agri-forestry economy is characterized by the co-existence of an agricultural sector and a forestry sector "unis dans un même espace par des liens de complémentarité". The notion of "complémentarité" was evident in Blanchard's work decades ago. Séguin and Dubuc break new ground, however, by suggesting we consider the habitant as a victim of the agri-forestry synthesis rather than its prime instigator. Their interpretation is intended as a counterargument to the cultural inferiority thesis, propounded by the liberal school of history, which views the weakness of agriculture, and just about everything else, in XIXth Century Québec as self-inflicted.²

For the habitant and his family the fusion of agriculture and forestry implied he would spend his summer months on the farm and the rest of the season in the bush. Seasonal labour in the logging camps of lumberlords and pulpwood entrepreneurs provided him with cash to purchase farm necessities and often enough land itself. In the final analysis the habitant's dependence upon such employment worked to the detriment of his farming responsibilities. Locked into a market-poor local economy this type of peasant agriculture tended to stagnate at subsistence levels of technology and production. The system dissuaded the "colon" from commercializing his produce. The subsistence orientation of agriculture was thus imprinted onto the rural frontier by the forestry sector.

The impoverishment of agriculture was both a social and an economic phenomenon. Methodologically-speaking, the agri-forestry explanation represents an attempt to view the XIXth Century rural Québec society, not as a classless preserve of yeoman farmers, but as a heterogeneous entity, composed mainly of peasant labourers and forestry capitalists, functioning within a complex scheme or framework of social relations. In this context the "mariage de raison" between the growing surplus of rural labour and industrial capitalism did not always effect a concentration of the population in urban places (Séguin, 1977, p. 35). Instead forestry capitalism during the late XIXth and XXth Centuries channelled part of the labour surplus outside of the Saint-Laurent valley towards the four or five nascent peripheral regions of the province: the Témiscamingue — Outaouais — Gatineau crescent, the Bas-Saint-Laurent, the Mauricie and finally the Saguenay — Lac-Saint-Jean. The forestry industry is thus viewed as the ultimate explanation of the colonization movement which led to the occupation of these regions.

Based on the work of Séguin and Dubuc the preceding paragraph makes two assumptions. The first is that the articulation of forestry and subsistence agriculture

was intrinsic to the structure of French-Canadian society even prior to the emergence of peripheral regions. There were no new frontiers, there were simply old ones extended in space (Séguin, 1977 et 1980). Second, in the case of the opening up of these peripheral regions, the agri-forestry system is viewed as the foundation, the "process of social production" (Hobsbawn, 1972, 12) upon or around which the rest of the social edifice was built. The latter assumption has been, in our opinion, rigorously borne out by Séguin's work (1977) on the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean parish of Hébertville. Other scholars have made similar observations on the symmetry of colonization and forestry particularly in the backcountry counties of Eastern Ontario and in the lumber-producing regions of New Brunswick and Maine (Gaffield, 1982; Osborne, 1976; Lower, 1936; Wood, 1971; Wynn, 1981).

With respect to the Bas-Saint-Laurent the forestry industry infiltrated and adjusted itself to an agrarian society before becoming its dominant feature. In short we are dealing with the transformation of a local collectivity, once part of the central core of society, into a peripheral, dependent sub-unit of that society. Along with transiency and urbanization the phenomenon of regional differentiation was indicative of the forces of change at work in the social structure of XIXth Century Québec.

Central to the interpretation of regional differentiation presented above is the center-periphery methodology borrowed from the theory of the development of underdevelopment and the theory of uneven development (Frank, 1969 and 1972; Amin, 1973). Séguin leans perhaps more explicitly upon the latter theory. However the former blue-print of the metropolis-satellite contradiction is of equal relevance, for our purposes. Gunder Frank (1969, pp. 8-12), for example, argues that the hierarchial chain of local, regional, national and "imperial" urban centers is a prime agency in the development of underdevelopment. The notion of the small urban satellite absorbing the economic surplus of its immediate hinterland only to remit much of it forthwith to the parent regional (Québec City) or national (Montréal) metropolis will inform our discussion of one late XIXth Century county town (Fraserville).

The second agency at work in the "peripheralization" of the Bas-Saint-Laurent is evoked by Amin's concept (1973, pp. 203-208) of disarticulation ("désarticulation"). The satellite's production is so completely adjusted to the needs of the metropolitan economy that the scope of internal trade is insignificant. The various components of the economy in the periphery are fragmented and unrelated to the point where it becomes difficult to speak of a coherent local economy. Everything is focused upon the export sector consisting often enough in a single commodity, i.e. timber, sugar...

With its specialization in forest, farm and fish exports, the Bas-Saint-Laurent was unquestionably emmeshed in one such disarticulation process during the XIXth Century. Indeed this might explain the feeble degree of interrelationship between the region's various sub-units³. The fragmenting of economy and society will be highlighted in our discussion of Témiscouata County, a sub-region of the Bas-Saint-Laurent. A word of caution is in order. The quandary of the peripheral *region* should not be confused with that of the third world peripheral *nation* where the scope of exploitation is beyond comparison. The mechanisms, as Amin recognizes, are quite similar but the circumstances in which the capitalist mode of production takes root are far from identical (Amin, 1973, p. 318; Savaria, 1975, pp. 118 and 125-126).

The following discussion will focus on the experience of Témiscouata County during the second half of the XIXth Century. We intend to test the main premises of the agri-forestry concept and the theory of dependence it implies. To recapitulate, the four essential characteristics of the agri-forestry economy are: 1) the symmetry in time

and space of colonization and forestry activities; 2) the subsistence orientation of agriculture; 3) the development of a social structure around the base of the forestry industry; 4) the fragmentation of the economy on a local and on a regional basis. That each and every facet of this improvised agri-forestry model can be found in the Témiscouata will be an important conclusion of our study. First of all, it will be necessary to describe briefly the population and the territory in question.

The County of Témiscouata

The old county of Témiscouata to which we will refer below is a 1 841 square mile tract of land in Eastern Québec, which has recently been divided into two separate counties (Rivière-du-Loup and Témiscouata). The territory runs back or south from the Saint-Laurent to the shores of Lake Témiscouata and finally to the banks of the Madawaska River. The Squatteck lakes and the Lake Pohénégamook — Saint-François River system delimit respectively the eastern and western boundaries of the county. With the exception of the Matapédia valley in the Gaspé region, the Témiscouata is the only occupied area east of the Beauce to run perpendicular to the Saint-Laurent coastline over such a prolonged distance. In a manner of speaking the county constitutes a link between the economies of Central and Atlantic Canada. (figure 2). Each of the two rivals competing for urban economic "supremacy" in the area has very deep roots in one or the other economy: Rivière-du-Loup with Central Canada and Edmunston, N.B. with the Maritimes.

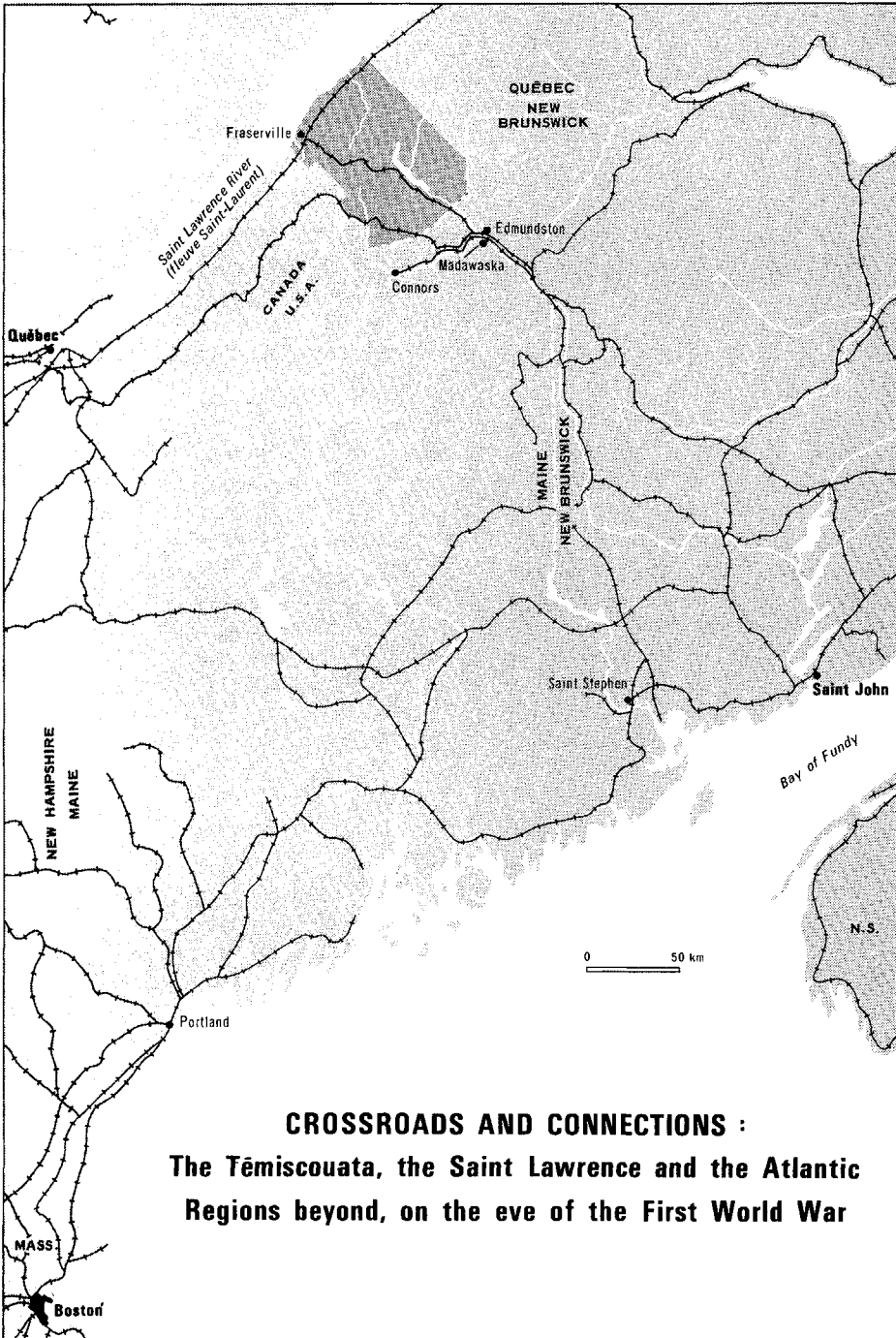
There were, towards the end of the last century, three agglomerations of note in the county: Fraserville, L'Île-Verte and Trois-Pistoles.⁴ Of the three, only Fraserville (as Rivière-du-Loup was called until 1919) achieved *bona fide* "urban" status. The balance of the population resided in five networks of villages and rural neighbourhoods.

The Fraserville network, the oldest of the five, included half a dozen communities running from Cacouna to Saint-Modeste, Saint-Antonin and Notre-Dame-du-Portage in the shape of an arc. The Trois-Pistoles network — Saint-Jean-de-Dieu, Saint-Clément, Saint-Éloi, Saint-Paul-de-la-Croix, Saint-Cyprien, etc. — was located almost entirely in the basin of the Trois-Pistoles — Boisbousache River system. Situated west of Lake Témiscouata the third network was composed of several villages stretching out in snake-like fashion along the route of the Témiscouata Railway: Saint-Honoré, Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha!, Cabano, Notre-Dame-du-Lac and Dégelis. The network on the opposing side of the lake was much smaller. The colonization of this zone — Saint-Pierre-de-Lamy, Sainte-Rita, Squatteck and the J.A.L.⁵ began at a much later date. The fifth and final network, Pohénégamook consisted mainly of Rivière-Bleue, Sully, Estcourt and Lac-Long. It was located in the south-west corner of the county. Despite their differences these networks had a good deal in common with each other. Each community owed its existence in whole or in part to the forestry industry.

THE AGRI-FORESTRY SYSTEM IN THE TÉMISCOUATA

In a fundamental sense the articulation of subsistence agriculture and the forestry industry in the Témiscouata was no different from developments on the Saguenay frontier. Yet the relationship between capitalists and "colons" particularly in the vicinity of Témiscouata Lake assumed certain rather unique characteristics which set

Figure 2



Source : Canada, Department of the Interior. "Railway map of the Dominion of Canada, 1914."

it apart from the late XIXth Century Saguenay experience (figure 3). These characteristics will be explored later on in this section. First we shall outline the contours of the Témiscouata's agri-forestry cycle and thus establish the diffusion of subsistence agriculture throughout the county.

The agri-forestry cycle during the late XIXth Century

The Témiscouata interior was, for the most part, settled during the heyday of the lumber industry in eastern Canada; roughly speaking from 1879 to 1929. This interior half of the county where, incidentally, the lumberlords were most active, increased its percentage of the total population in the county right up until 1941. In essence the forestry industry acted as a regulator of the coastline's demographic surplus (figures 4 and 5).

The correlation between migration and the expansion of forestry operations can also be observed on a micro-level in the majority of the county's village networks. For example, the western slopes of Lake Témiscouata received their first substantial contingents of settlers during the 1860's. This primitive occupation phase coincided with the completion of the brand new Témiscouata Road. Irrespective of the employment and travelling convenience it undoubtedly provided, the road itself did not generate settlement. Of central importance to the prospective settler was the availability of seasonal employment in the logging camps of the Témiscouata — Madawaska valley. The advent of the Témiscouata Railway in 1889 further encouraged cutting operations and introduced sawmills west of the lake. At the same time the essential focus of this rail-forestry thrust lay forty to fifty kilometres to the south on the banks of the Upper St. John. The relative stagnation of the lakeside village network after the turn of the century indicated that the volume of woodcutting in the immediate area had peaked, at least temporarily. Certainly the early XXth Century intensification of settlement and forestry in the neighbouring Squateck area would suggest as much.

The emergence of three other village networks in the county interior similarly attests to the migration-forestry correlation. The townships situated east of Témiscouata Lake developed in response to the growing needs of the Fraser mill in Cabano during the first two decades of the XIXth Century. Similarly the villages located on the upper reaches of the Trois-Pistoles River grew hand in hand with the forestry operations of such lumber magnates as the Price Brothers during the late XIXth Century period. The Pohénégamook — Estcourt network was the product of an early XXth Century rail-forestry boom in the south-eastern corner of the county. Here the Transcontinental Railway was the catalyst of agri-forestry growth. The symmetry between colonization and forestry was clearly the trademark of settlement throughout the Témiscouata interior.⁶ A brief look at some trends in the agricultural sector will reveal the extent of the settlers' dependence upon the forestry industry.

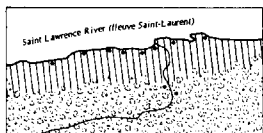
Subsistence agriculture was the key to survival for the majority of people residing on the Témiscouata's agri-forestry frontier (figure 6). Crop priorities remained pretty much the same from one district to the next between 1871 and 1911. While buckwheat, for instance, was commonly sown in newly settled districts the better part of the farmer's efforts usually fell on the production of hay, oats and potatoes. These were the staples of an agriculture for which the local lumber camp constituted the only outlet in the event of a production surplus.

**The Bas-Saint-Laurent Experience :
First the River, Then the Forest**

A

1760-1800

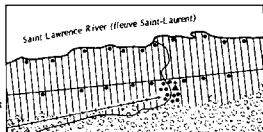
1. Occupation of coastline
2. "Village-rue" and "rang"
3. Agri-maritime equilibrium



B

1800-1860

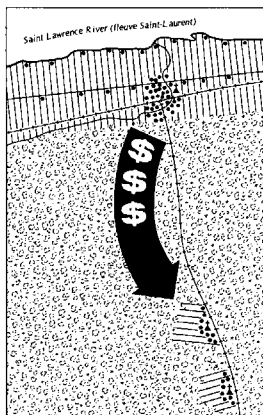
1. Continued settlement
2. Emergence of village agglomerations
3. Forestry/agriculture articulation



C

1860-1950

1. Colonization of interior
2. Dispersed settlement pattern
3. Agri-forestry system



**THE IMPLANTING OF THE AGRI-FORESTRY SYSTEM IN THE
BAS-SAINT-LAURENT AND SAGUENAY-LAC-SAINT-JEAN
REGIONS : SCHEMATIC COMPARISON**

The Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean Experience : Endless Forest

C

1860-1950

1. Colonization from outside source
2. Dispersed settlement pattern
3. Agri-forestry system

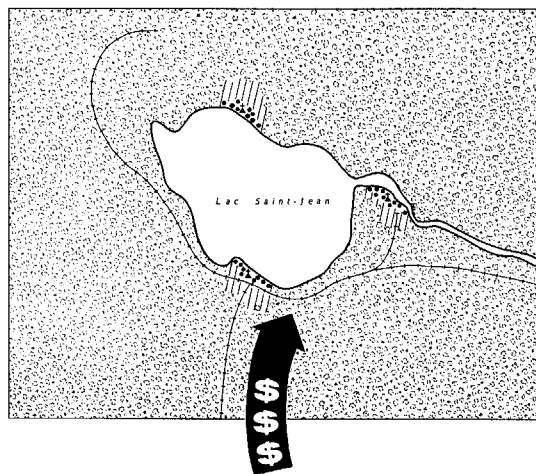
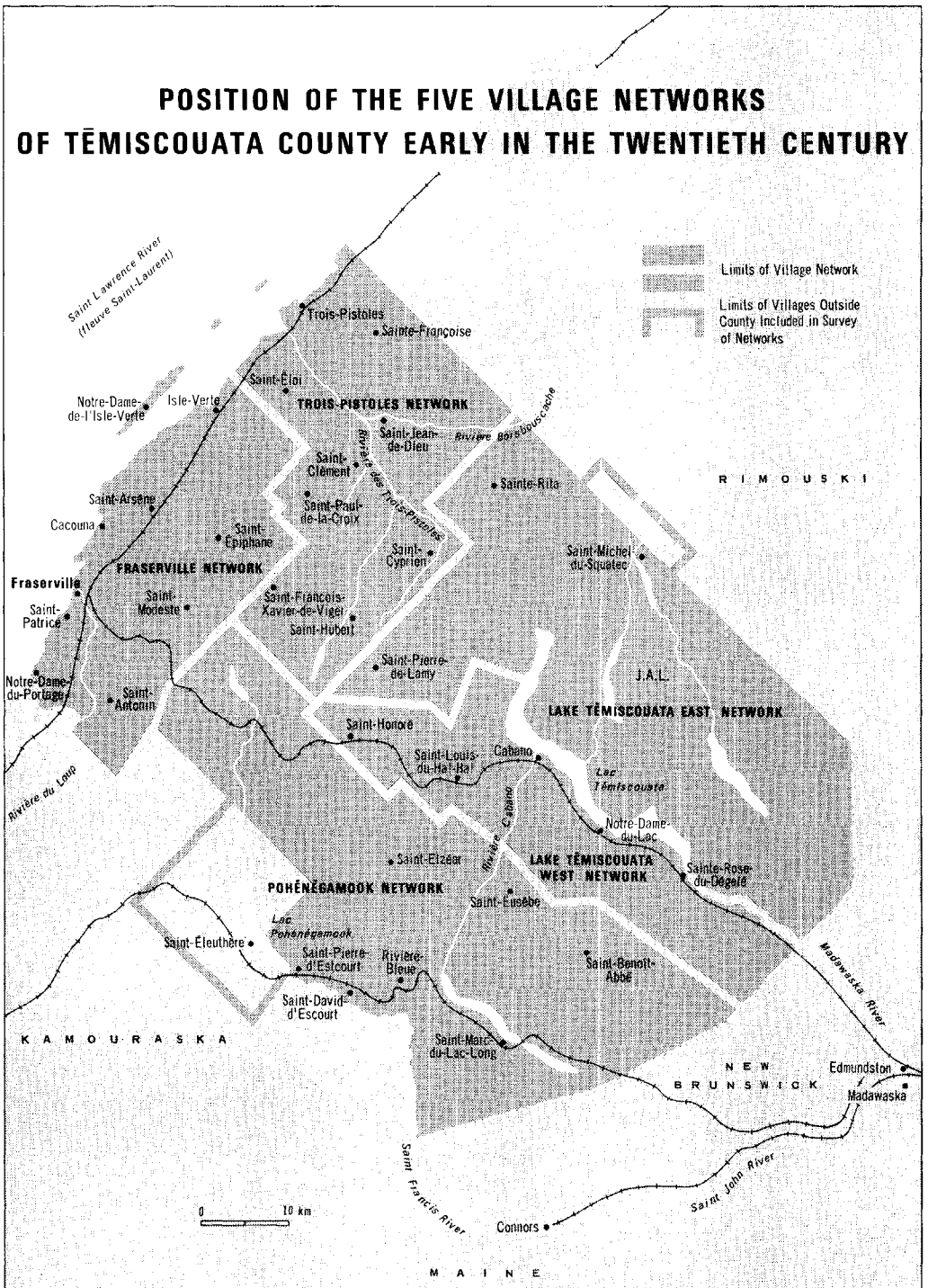


Figure 3

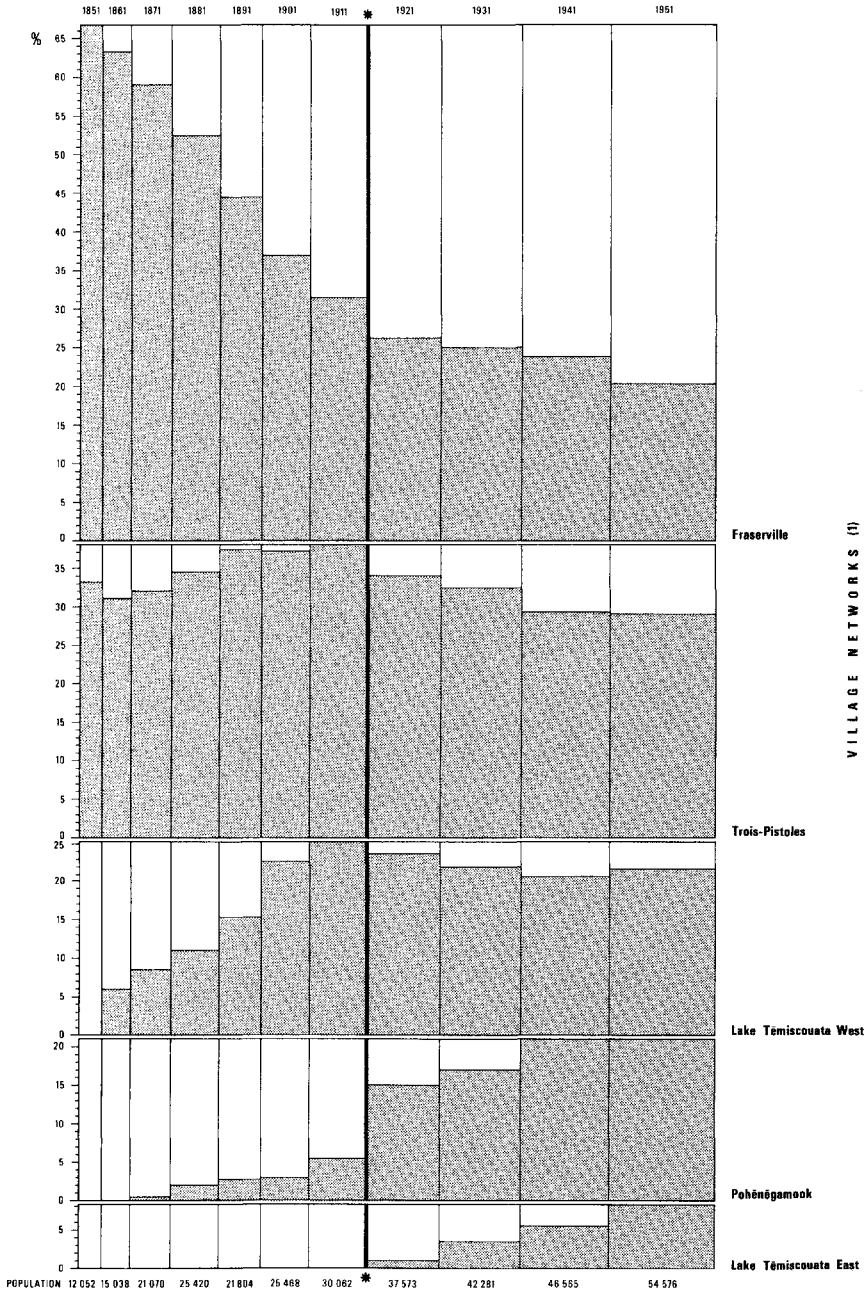
Figure 4



Source : Electoral Atlas of the Dominion of Canada, 1915.

Figure 5

**INLAND FROM THE SHORE : EMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION
IN THE FIVE VILLAGE NETWORKS OF TĒMISCOUATA COUNTY, 1851-1951.**
Expressed in Terms of the Relative Importance of Each Network



* ACCELERATION OF GROWTH IN TĒMISCOUATA WEST AND EAST AND IN POHĒNĒGAMOOK AS OF 1921.
(1) PART OF SQUATTEK AND SAINT-ELEUTHÈRE IN ITS ENTIRETY LIE OUTSIDE OF THE COUNTY LIMITS. THEY HAVE NONETHELESS BEEN INCLUDED IN ORDER TO PROVIDE A MORE COMPLETE PERSPECTIVE OF THEIR RESPECTIVE VILLAGE NETWORKS. I.e. TĒMISCOUATA EAST AND POHĒNĒGAMOOK. THE TOWN OF FRASERVILLE AND ALL UNORGANIZED DISTRICTS HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED FROM THIS COMPILATION


Figure 6

**THE STATE OF AGRICULTURE IN 1861 AND 1921 :
A Comparaison of Selected Statistics per Occupant**

1861		VILLAGE NETWORKS							VILLAGE NETWORKS					1921	
		Fraserville	Trois-Pistoles	Lake Témiscouata West	Lake Témiscouata East	Potémégamook			Fraserville	Trois-Pistoles	Lake Témiscouata West	Lake Témiscouata East	Potémégamook		
AVERAGE															AVERAGE
39.14	Agricultural machinery in dollars	43.66	32.68	27.22			(1)	491.05	569.60	473.74	260.46	290.23	451.18		
52.48	Oats in bushels	62.32	38.45	20.66				190.33	196.27	177.97	87.98	82.57	170.64		
156.12	Potatoes in bushels	170.06	146.93	64.84				465.38	399.60	183.78	99.99	81.61	301.41		
4.54	Hay in tons	5.62	3.03	1.56				21.41	19.83	16.59	7.29	10.06	17.88		
40.50	Land improved in acres	42.96	38.61	25.68				65.97	77.94	56.41	25.75	33.94	62.04		
21.87	Pasture in acres	25.00	18.66	7.19				27.96	34.76	16.19	7.21	12.43	24.92		
2.43	Cows (2)	2.47	2.61	1.15				6.61	6.54	3.82	2.45	2.68	5.25		
1.73	Horses (2)	1.63	2.07	0.97				2.55	2.22	1.86	1.45	1.45	2.09		
68.86	Forest and wasteland in acres	56.87	75.77	152.37				102.53	79.05	91.75	94.31	114.83	94.70		
110.27	Land occupied in acres	99.83	118.12	173.79				134.21	156.56	149.16	120.06	149.16	146.27		
0.50	Buckwheat in bushels	0.13	0.05	5.94				6.28	6.24	33.14	11.61	9.73	12.29		

(1) From 1941 census. No corresponding figure for 1921, 1931.

(2) From 1931 census. No corresponding figure for 1921.

 Above average

Source : Census of Canada

Agricultural machinery such as threshing mills, reapers and mowers, were not popular in the county early on in the period (Blouin, 1980, pp. 93-111). The major technological asset of the farmer was his horse which had replaced the ox at the plow. Come winter in the lumber camps the "habitant-bûcheron" with a good team of workhorses at his disposal was likely to be better paid than his fellows who arrived empty-handed. The forestry industry thus bore heavily if subtly upon the techniques and priorities of the Témiscouata farmer.⁷ A closer inspection of settlement and subsistence agriculture in one specific area might serve to illustrate the fundamental weakness of the agricultural sector in an agri-forestry context.

Capitalist and "colons" of Lake Témiscouata

The "colons"

Nowhere was the impact of forestry upon the pursuit of agriculture and the conduct of agrarian relations more decisive than in the network of rural communities lying to the west of Lake Témiscouata. Given the self-sufficient orientation of family farms in this area, the persistence of hay, oats, potatoes and, on occasion, buckwheat production is not surprising. Next to the mediocre yields of agriculture itself, the most distinctive feature of rural society in the lake district was the weakly nucleated or dispersed pattern of settlement. The absence of an articulate community structure has been the hallmark of subsistence farm economies in North America since the colonial

era (Henretta, 1978; Conzen 1980; Lemon, 1978). In such a late XIXth Century context, however, the anti-urban system of population distribution was all the more remarkable for it seemed to contradict the more general progress of urbanization in Québec society.

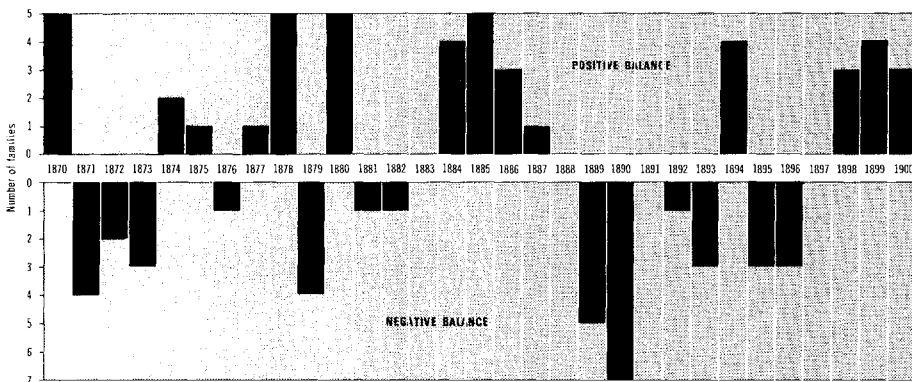
West of Témiscouata Lake, settlement tended to flow centrifugally from the core area (Notre-Dame-du-Lac) outwards in the direction of Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha! and Dégelis. Under the circumstances the emergence of the latter two subdistricts and the relative decline of the former was inevitable. The self-dispersing pattern of settlement was a function of the very basic needs of the farming community in terms of land, resources, hydrography and the like (Séguin, 1973, pp. 251-268). The resulting network of villages that serviced the subsistence frontier, displayed a limited pattern of population growth. This was equally true of the entire rural community, which every generation or so was forced to expel the better part of its demographic surplus in an effort to preserve the precarious balance between population and resources.

The data in the published census reports indicate that the population of Notre-Dame-du-Lac, Dégelis and Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha! peaked early in the twentieth Century (Census of Canada, 1881, 1891, 1911 and 1921). These figures suggest that the colonization boom in this area lasted not more than a generation (30 years). Indeed emigration, whether on a seasonal or permanent basis, was already a fact of life on the agri-forestry frontier. The population turnover in Notre-Dame-du-Lac for example, was particularly intense during the 1880's (figure 7). No doubt factors of proximity and travel convenience reinforced the flow of manpower to and from the Madawaska border region and the New England states in general.

The movement of colonization in this agri-forestry context was closely tied to developments in the North American labour market as well as the "local" forestry cycle itself. The self-reproducing subsistence frontier possessed a momentum of its own only in a very limited sense. Dégelis, Notre-Dame-du-Lac and Saint-Louis-du-Ha! Ha! were presumably producing a demographic surplus by the 1890's. Yet the neighbouring (Squatteck) district, east of Témiscouata Lake remained impervious to settlement well past the turn of the century. Here the expansive nature of the "colon's" subsistence frontier ran up against the forestry priorities of the capitalist.

Figure 7

IN AND OUT-MIGRATION OF FAMILIES IN THE PARISH OF NOTRE-DAME-DU-LAC, 1870-1900



Source : Le Comité du Centenaire, Notre-Dame-du-Lac, (1969), "Un portage, le défilé Notre-Dame-du-Lac," p. 72-75

W.W. Thomas, seigniorial proprietor and principal landlord on the opposing side of the Témiscouata valley.

William Widgery Thomas, lawyer, financier and diplomat from Portland, Me., obtained his first share of seigniorial real estate west of the lake in 1876. Through a series of timely acquisitions Thomas placed himself directly in line with the railroad-settlement boom engendered by the construction of the Témiscouata Railway in 1888-1889. Thomas gradually improved his position in the seignior early in the XXth Century. Eventually in 1912 he established a lumber firm of his own twenty to thirty kilometres to the west in Rivière-Bleue. Until such time, however, the seignior remained the central component of his local investment strategy.

Seignior Thomas enjoyed the best of two worlds, leasing cutting rights to professional loggers throughout his extensive timber holdings and cashing in on the various mortgage and rent payments in these areas of the seignior reserved for colonization. This was a deliberate colonization "politik" involving the protection of valuable forests north and east of the lake for the seignior's winter logging operations which, incidentally, may have employed more than a few Témiscouata "colons".¹⁰ In the Témiscouata valley and throughout the entire agri-forestry interior of the county the forestry capitalist was the uncontested master of the situation.

The nature of social relations in a XIXth Century agri-forestry context was of course more complex than suggested above. We have chosen to ignore the action of such groups as the clergy, the village notables and the county elite partly for reasons of space and partly for the sake of argument. In stating that the forestry, i.e. the export sector, was at the core of the local social structure we take exception to G. Bouchard's notion of self-determined collectivities (Bouchard, 1977).

As regards the forestry capitalists the instruments of economic and social domination were perhaps more sophisticated than implied above. Secondly the Atlantic provenance of the forestry entrepreneurs mentioned above, demonstrates the complex interaction of Canadian metropolitanism and Atlantic regionalism on the Bas-Saint-Laurent. In a manner of speaking the former pushed the latter into the forestry (primary) sector and hence into the Témiscouata. Certainly the point worth stressing in this case, is the subversion of the seigniorial system by the forestry capitalists. Some would balk at this interpretation of seigneurialism as an agency of capitalist domination. But if pursued the hypothesis could lead to a better understanding of XIXth Century agrarian history in Québec.

The fourth element in the agri-forestry system is the fragmented structure of the local economy. In order to understand fragmentation we must first come to terms with the urban component in the county economy. Did the agri-forestry system, which was so pervasive throughout the colonization frontier, affect, if at all, the urbanization process in Fraserville? In other words were the destinies of colonization and urbanization in the Témiscouata shaped by a common force? The answer to this question will occupy the third and final section of the paper.

RAILTOWN, COUNTY-TOWN: BOOM AND BUST IN FRASERVILLE 1875-1900

In its late XIXth Century form Fraserville was essentially an outgrowth of railroad construction and expansion. Yet this had not always been the case. The first

recognizable agglomeration emerged a short distance from Caldwell's sawmill on the great falls of the rivière du Loup during the 1820's and 1830's. For years the unnamed bourg in the parish of Saint-Patrice lead a precarious existence, its fortunes presumably oscillating with those of the Caldwell family and the timber trade in general. Following incorporation in 1851 the village of Fraserville, named after the local seigniorial family, the Frasers, consisted of merely 995 souls assembled around the nucleus of mills and stores. The completion of the Témiscouata road and the advent of the Grand Trunk in 1860 breathed some commercial life into the village. But were it not for the railboom, beginning in the late 1870's the greater part of the local work force would have withdrawn with the forestry industry into the county interior. It is this rail-urban phase in Fraserville's history that we propose to explore.

The construction of the Intercolonial Railway east of the rivière du Loup (1873-76) followed by the advent of important railroad repair facilities in 1879 generated important social, economic and political changes in Fraserville. This trend was sustained during the following decade by the construction of the Témiscouata Railway which lead to the further growth of the car-engine repairs industry in Fraserville. The result was a distinctive type of rail-inspired urban agglomeration or railtown; a town rather more substantial than the portable railway-construction community of the American Far West; but of much less consequence than a late XIXth Century rail city of the likes of Winnipeg and Vancouver (Reps, 1965).

The nature of the railboom in Fraserville will be examined below in three respects. First of all we will outline the limits of the railboom as an urbanization process, with particular reference to population. Next we will discuss the urban-industrial achievements of the local business elite. Thirdly and finally we will inquire into the circumstances of the bust which followed the boom. In our opinion, the failure of the railboom in Fraserville demonstrates the central weakness of the county economy: its fragmented economic structure.

Urbanization: A rapidly spent force

The most significant feature of the railboom in Fraserville was its ephemerality. Population figures indicate that growth other than incremental took place only during two decades: 1881-1891, and 1901-1911 (figure 9). During the former period the boom was such that it tipped the sex ratio equilibrium in the opposite direction (table 1). The relative predominance of males by 1891 in conjunction with the

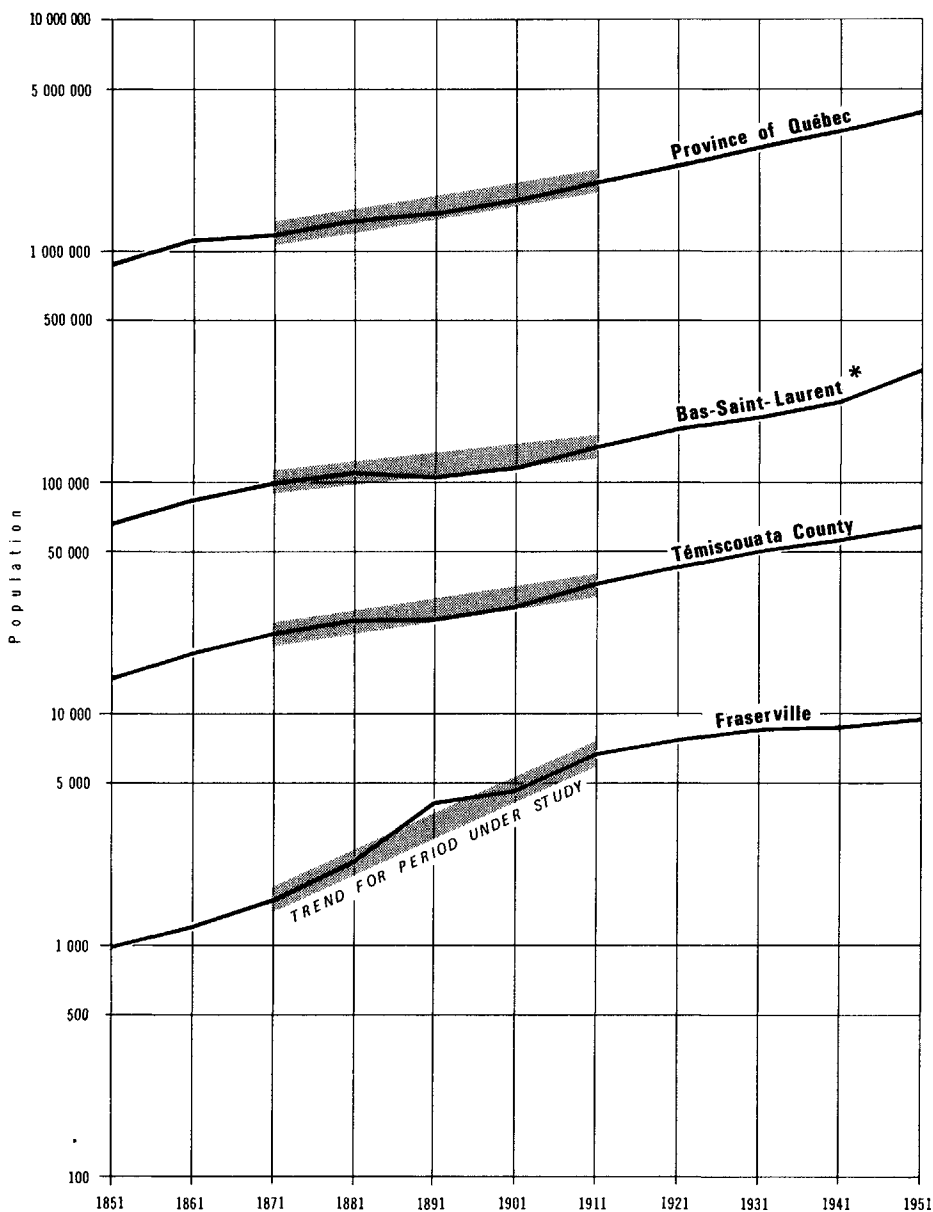
Table 1

Sex Ratios in Fraserville: Males per one hundred Females

<i>Date</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
1861	112
1871	98.7
1881	96
1891	100.6
1901	95
1911	97
1921	91.2
1931	89

Figure 9

FOUR DIMENSIONS OF POPULATION GROWTH, SECULAR TRENDS

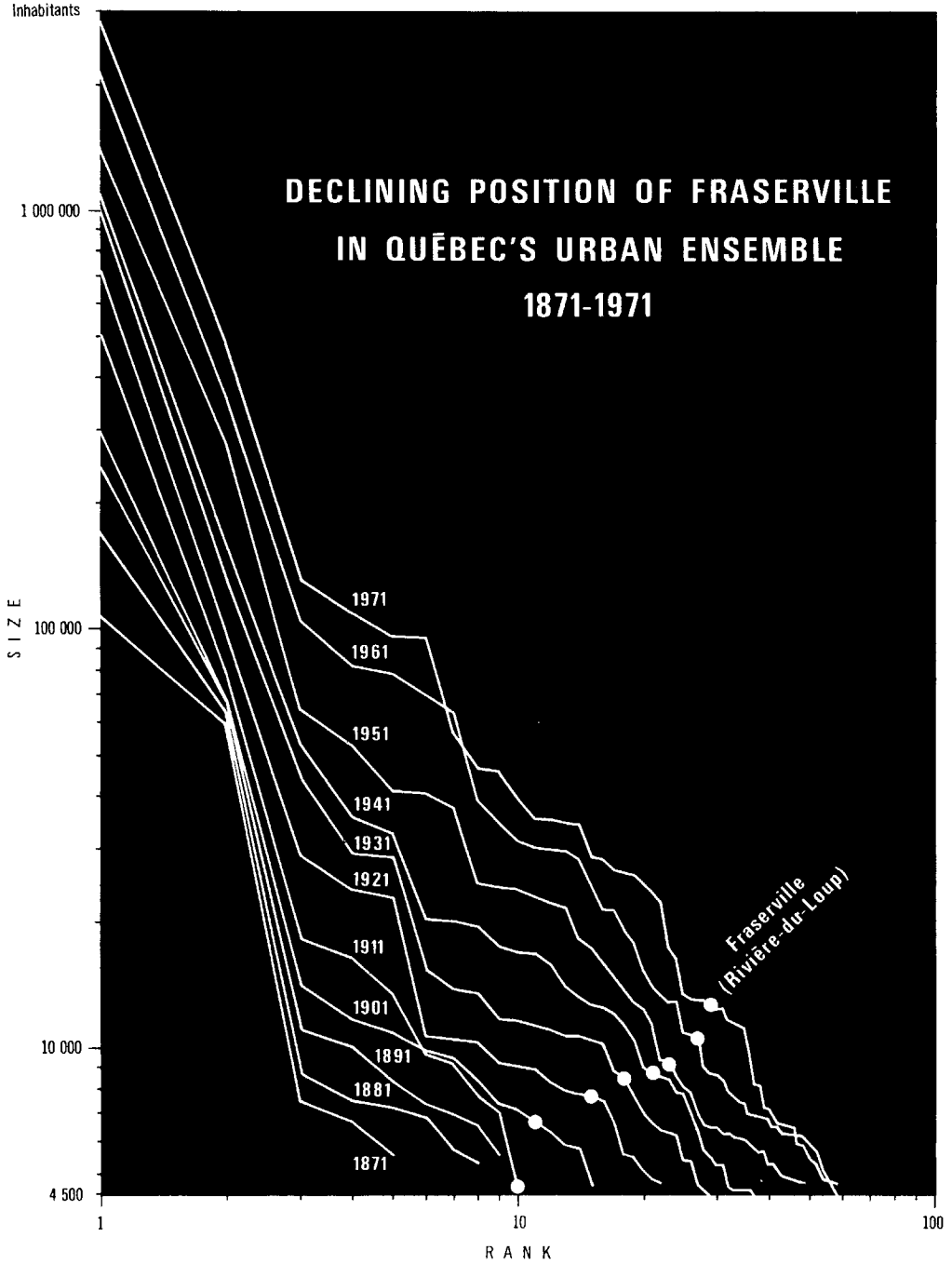


* 1851 : Includes Counties of l'Islet, Kamouraska and Rimouski.

1861-1951 : All the above plus Témiscouata, Montmagny, Matane, Matapédia.

Source : Census of Canada

Figure 10



Source : BRUNET, Yves, DUPONT, Normand, GAUDREAU, Pierre, L'ARÉAU, Jacques, SÉGUIN, Anne-Marie, "La distribution des villes selon la taille de leur population. Le système urbain québécois 1861-1976", Notes et Documents no 78-01, Département de Géographie, Université de Montréal, 1978.

promising rate of population growth over the preceding ten-year period suggests that in-migration accounted for much of this increase. Furthermore the nature and variety of work skills in the railroad industry and in the boom town at large undoubtedly outstripped the furnishing capacity of the old mill-town population base. Thus in-migration was an essential feature of the railtown's burgeoning labour market. Whether or not the immigrants originated in the Témiscouata — Bas-Saint-Laurent area or in some other "action space" is at present an open question.

Population growth in Fraserville when compared to advances in communities of similar size in 1871 was never spectacular (figure 10). Some in-migration, as evidence of urban vitality, did take place but it was usually of short duration. The gains of the 1880's for instance were not repeated during the following decade. Population figures rose once again at the turn of the century only to taper off for good in 1911. Admittedly Rivière-du-Loup continued to grow but at a considerably slackened pace. The course and texture of social life lay undisturbed within its late XIXth Century shell, for more than half a century. Emigration, not immigration became the watchword of Fraserville citizens on the move.

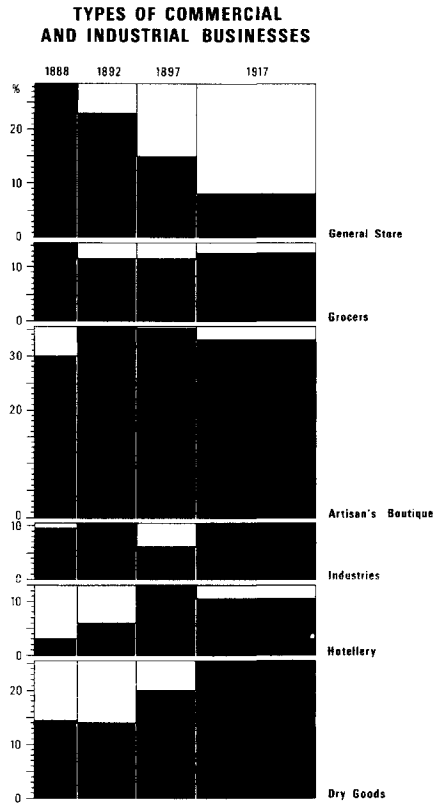
The importance of emigration in the history of Fraserville can be explained by the progressive narrowing of its employment base. At the peak of the railboom in the late 1880's the boot and shoe factory, the lumber mills, the pulp factory and the railroads together employed several workers.¹¹ To these relatively large establishments one could add an iron foundry, a dairy mill and a variety of building firms, each hiring a dozen or less employees. Finally one might mention the clerical staff of the various county town commercial, professional and business establishments. This was the nucleus of the labour market in Fraserville, but the railboom may have attracted more people than it could employ. That more labour intensive industry did not develop, as in the textile centers of the Eastern Townships for example, is indeed surprising given the prevailing availability of labour in the county (Bellavance, 1982, pp. 12-13). With approximately nine hundred workers by the 1920's the railroad remained far above the town's largest employer. The rest of the economy quite simply never got off the ground.

We are confronted here with a case of proletarianization "manquée". Significant numbers of workers barely have time enough to enter the local labour market before they are literally thrown out in the direction of some other urban-industrial frontier. Our primary concern is not with the effect of short shift proletarianization and emigration upon the working class experience.¹² Rather we would prefer to identify the obstacles to unsuccessful entrepreneurship and industrial growth in the boom/bust economy which produced the malaise in the first place.

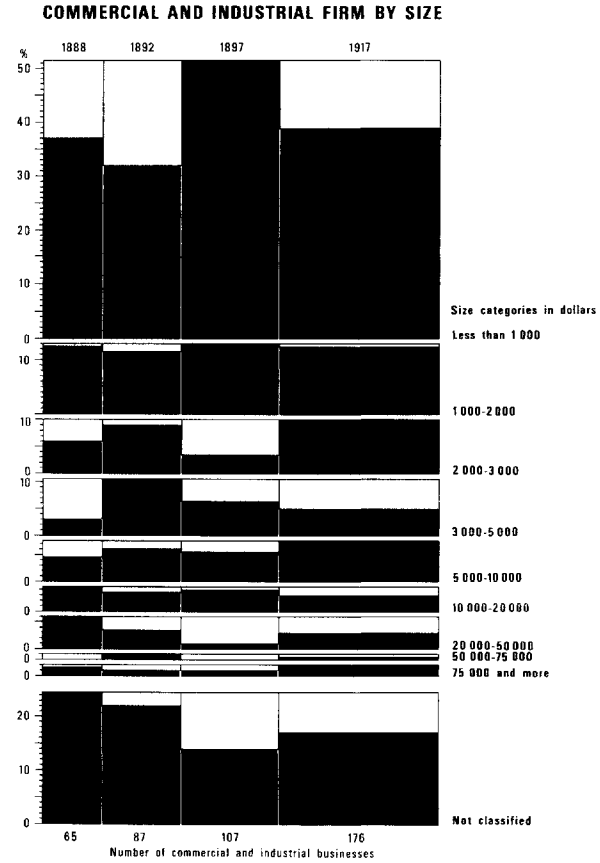
The businessmen: The elite in industry and politics

Just as the railboom stimulated the growth of the labour market, at least initially, so did it encourage the emergence of a business elite in Fraserville to manage the economy of rapidly inflated dimensions. The expanding labour market signified, locally-speaking, an appreciable rise in the consumption of various goods and services. It was as if at the outset of the boom the railtown's entire business community had sprung into action in order to satisfy this upsurge in the local market. Yet at the same time the fruits of the boom were distributed on something less than even terms. The existence of a highly stratified business community is suggested by the following figure based on the reports of the Dun and Bradstreet agencies (figure 11).

SMALL BUSINESS SMALL WORLD IN FRASERVILLE, 1888-1917



Source: "Bradstreet's Reports of the Dominion of Canada", 1888, 1892 & G. Dunn and Company: "The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key for the Dominion of Canada", 1897, 1917.
 Note: Excluded from compilation: professionals and white collars i.e. doctors, insurance agents.



Source: Dunn and Bradstreet

Figure 11

One can discern essentially three levels of entrepreneurship in late XIXth Century Fraserville. They include, from the bottom up, the smaller shopkeepers and the artisans-cum-entrepreneurs, the petty-bourgeoisie and the capitalist entrepreneurs. The first type occupied a sort of buffer position between the common people and the more successful members of the business community. The size of the group varied anywhere from fifty to a hundred individuals. The extent of fluctuation from one period to the next was a function of the high turnover rate at this level of business, the overall growth in population and the selective nature of the published Dun and Bradstreet reports.¹³

The second group, the petty-bourgeoisie was smaller than the first. The number of professionals, successful store merchants and small businessmen of all sorts totalled at most forty and probably less. This was a slightly more stable category of entrepreneurship than the first. Moreover the late XIXth Century small town was the favoured preserve of the petty-bourgeois. Some idea of the latter's importance is suggested by the enduring nostalgia for the self-employed businessman, reigning "supreme" in his small but peacable kingdom.

The capitalist entrepreneurs

The capitalist entrepreneurs formed the most dynamic and potent home-bred group in Fraserville's late XIXth Century business community.¹⁴ For this reason their experience shall be examined at length. Composed of a compact group of about ten or a dozen landowners, merchants and professionals, this business elite was the very pith and substance of indigenous economic development in the railtown. Undoubtedly the most distinguishing feature of this group was its involvement in industry and urban growth during the "golden years" of the railboom, i.e. the 1880's. It is our intention to offer an explanation for the extent and implied limits of their urban-industrial achievements.

The emergence of the powerful capitalist group or faction in Fraserville can be attributed to two factors. In the first place the existence of profitable commercial and financial ties between town and country provided Fraserville's business elite with the material basis for an urban-industrial investment strategy. Secondly by its involvement in local political affairs the same business elite was able to capitalize upon some of the more beneficial effects of the railboom. The first factor implies an authentic experience of social transformation. The second element of the discussion focuses on the nature of political power within the railtown.

Central to the prosperity of Fraserville's leading citizens, was their ability to connect the investment returns from the expanding frontier of colonization in the county to the investment opportunities of the booming railtown.¹⁵ Indeed their manufacturing and investment position would have been untenable but for the steady inflow of revenues from the countryside. The illfated Fraserville Boot and Shoe Company for example, was the work of half a dozen or so capitalists, many of whom had investments in commerce, money-lending and real estate here and there throughout the county. The circumstances lead more than one successful merchant to jump upon the industrial bandwagon. N.G. Pelletier, who inherited the commercial firm of Pelletier and Lebel in 1879, went on to establish a viable lumber-producing and contracting business in Fraserville during the following decade. The implied transition from commerce to industry demonstrates the inter-sectoral mobility of capital in the early stages of industrialization and is a classic, if controversial theme of contemporary historiography (MacDonald, 1975; Linteau *et alii*, 1979).

With respect to Fraserville the aforementioned commerce to industry scenario exhibits two major weaknesses. In a sense it ignores, or downplays, the participation of professionals in industrial capitalism. The figure of the doctor-industrialist, the notary-land speculator and the "avocat brasseur d'affaires", left an indelible imprint upon the entrepreneurial environment of the railtown. One suspects that similar cases could be plucked from the rosters of other XIXth Century urban elites. (Robert, 1975, pp. 69-70). More importantly the scenario does not sufficiently stress the fact that the industrial strategy of these investors was almost exclusively confined to the railtown. Surprisingly few members of the business elite in Fraserville were attracted to the lumber export sector, the most important industry in the rest of the county. The limited scope of this business thrust in space, was matched by the convergence of political and economic loyalties in the direction of local or municipal institutions. Fraserville was, from beginning to end the focal point of the business elite's political authority.

Politics and power

Municipal power in Fraserville was not without its ambiguities. On the one hand the institution of municipal government was firmly in the grasp of the business elite. Hegemony at city hall in the office of the mayor and on council was flanked by participation in related institutional fields notably education and the dispensation of justice. The developing secular-bourgeois institutional outlook was further complemented by involvement in various lobbying groups and socio-cultural organizations (Chambre of Commerce, theatre and drama club and so forth). The outlook represented the favourable response of small-town leadership in this instance, to the cultural and economic challenge of industrialism in the gilded age.

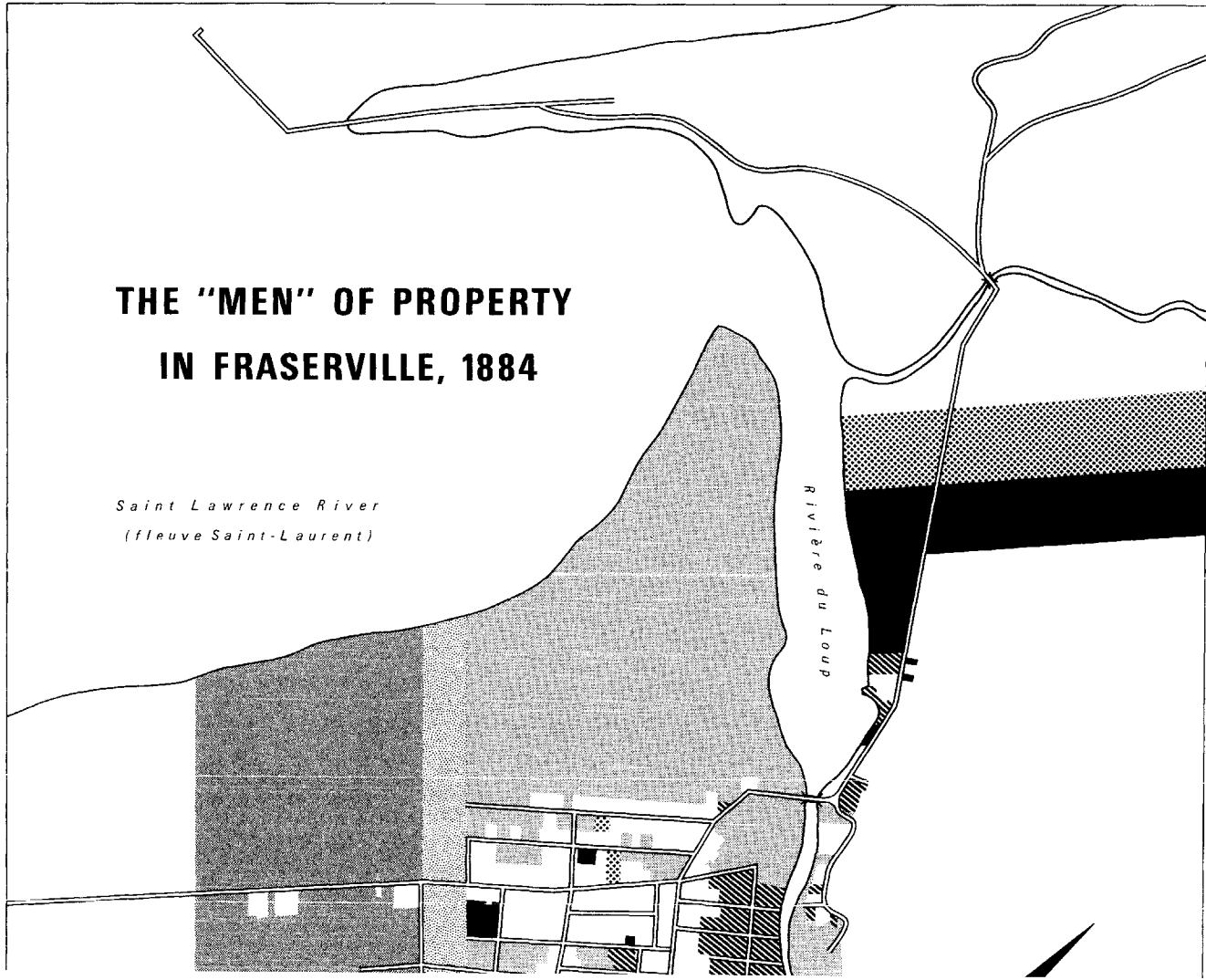
In discussing the emergence of local municipal authority in these terms we do not intend to argue that the entire institutional fabric of the railtown was completely the work of its local elite. In Fraserville the elite was simply executing tendencies which were latent in Québec society: hence the need to re-evaluate the conventional view of French Canada's response to the "new industrial order".¹⁶

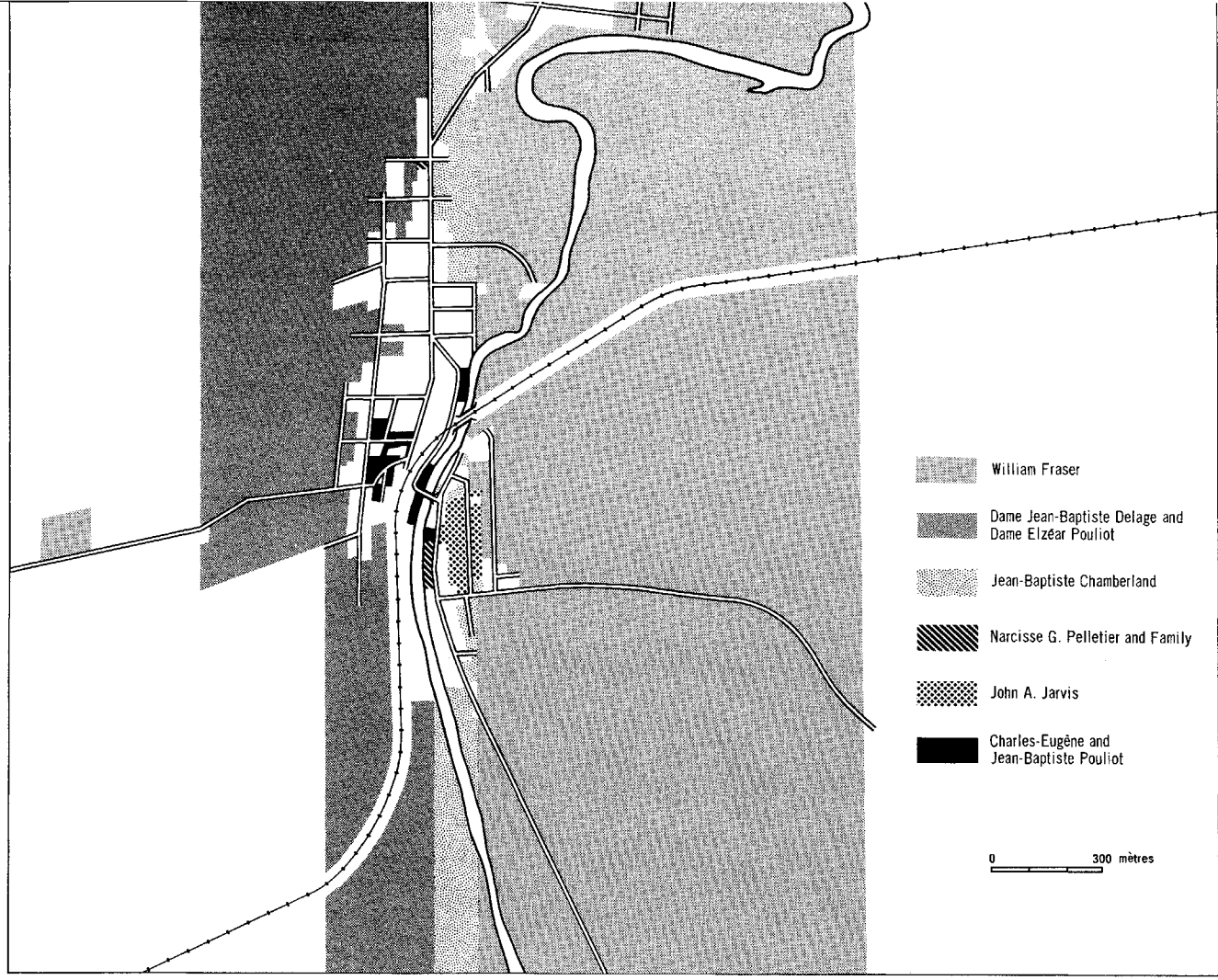
Without being especially unique the elaboration of political power in Fraserville was related to the specific sequence of events set in motion by the railboom. The articulation between leadership and circumstance was a two-step process. The railboom at first ignited a significant local political force only to transform it subsequently and secondly into a projection of non-local politico-economic interests. The cycle began with the reins of municipal power securely in the lap of the town's landed elite.

"City hall" was an essential instrument of speculation and urban development in Fraserville during the late XIXth Century period (figures 12, 13 and 14). The extension of the town limits to include those lands adjacent to the repair shops and station of the Intercolonial Railway in 1882 was the keystone of a municipal policy designed by and for the town's more substantial men of property.¹⁷ Included in this landed elite were the mayor of Fraserville (1878-1885), William Fraser — who was also the seignior of Rivière-du-Loup —, two members of the seignior's personal entourage Jean-Baptiste Chamberland and Jean-Baptiste Pouliot (both notaries), and finally a wholesale merchant (Thomas Jarvis) who sat on the town council for almost ten straight years. The interpenetration of political power and landed capital was thus assured.

Fraser's strategy was to reinforce the fixation effect of the railroad in the southern part of town where, it seems, the seignior and his fellow landed capitalists owned a

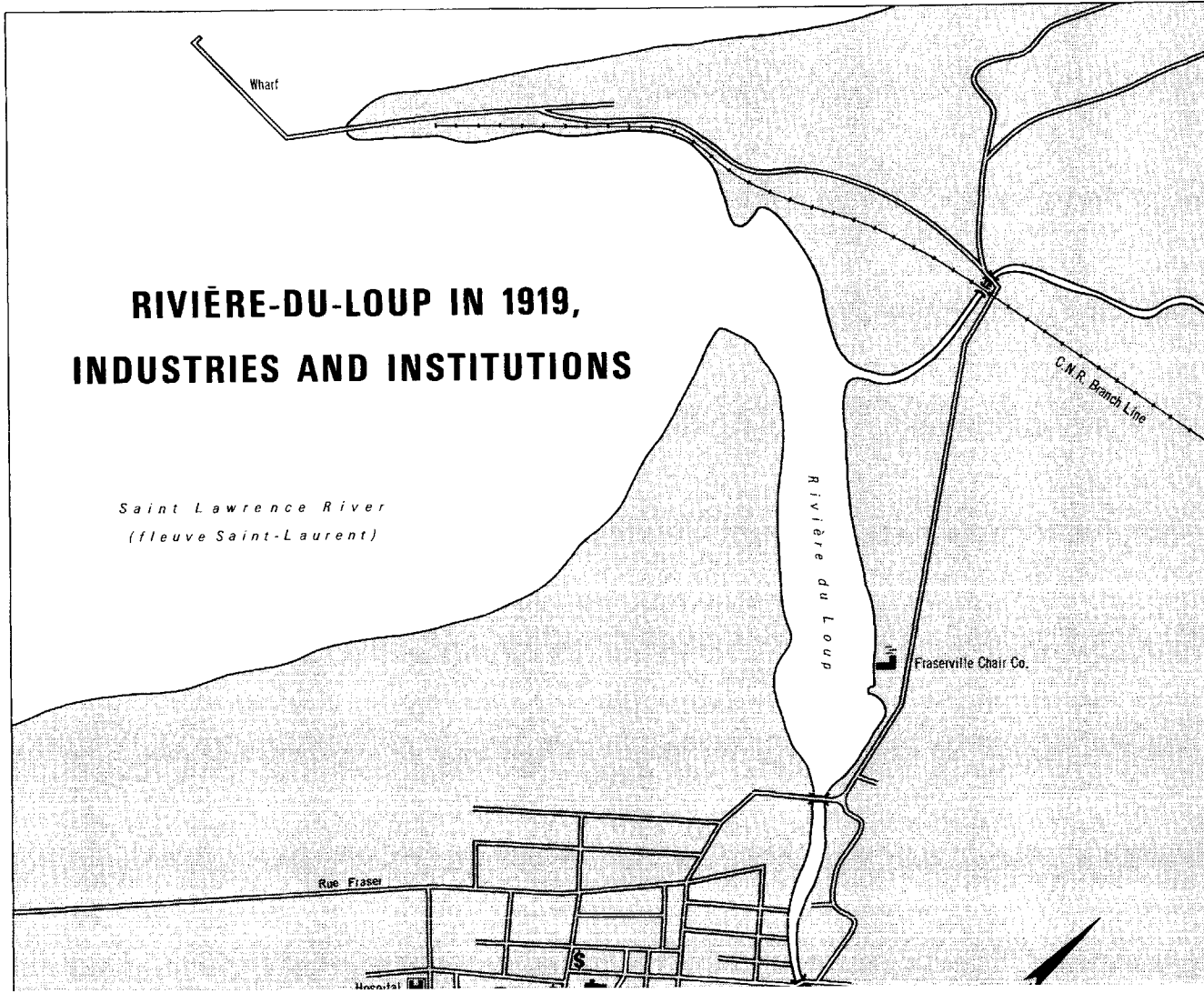
Figure 13

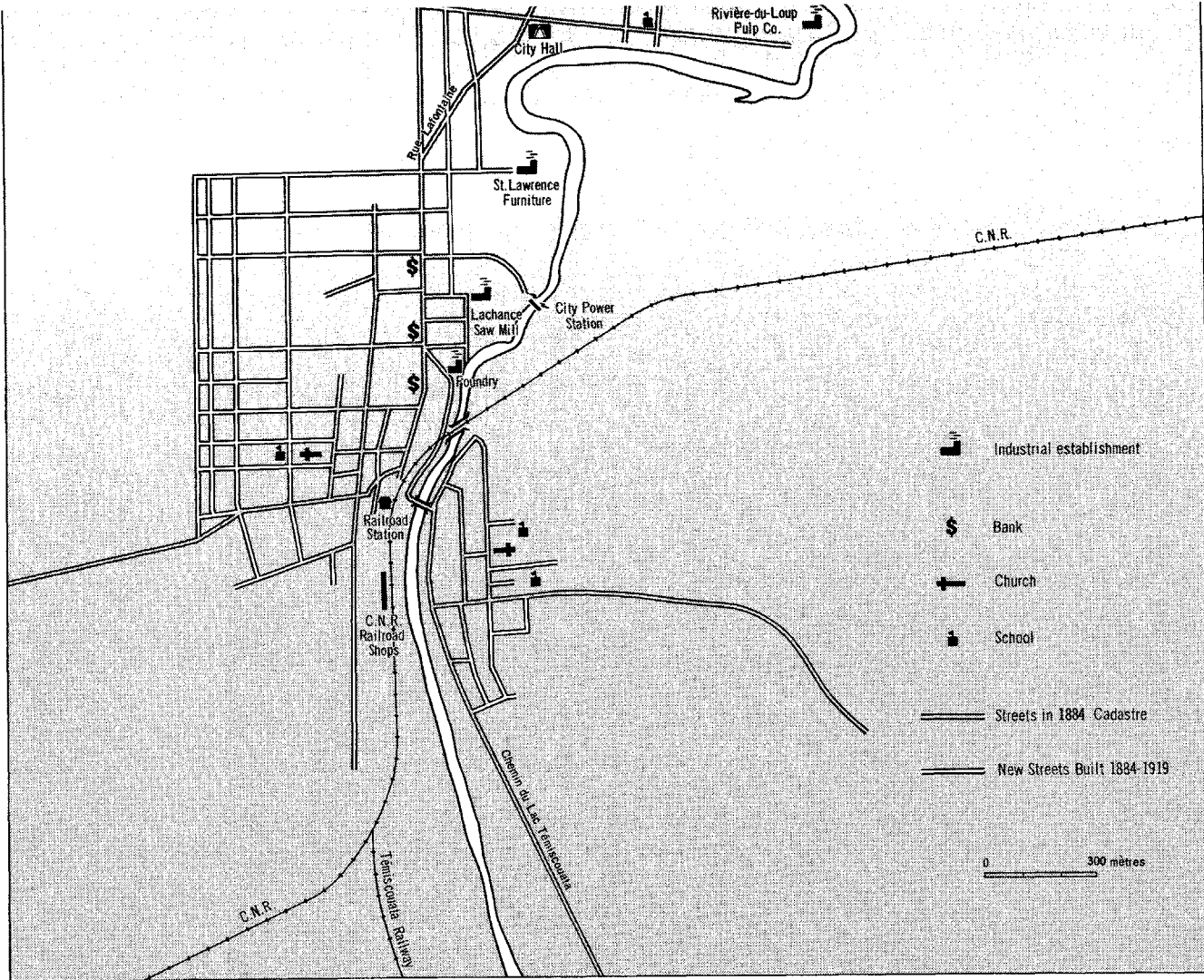




Source : Casgrain, E., "Plan officiel de la ville de Fraserville", Québec, 1884. (Cadastral Map).

Figure 14





Sources : Goad, Charles. "Fraserville or Rivière-du-Loup" Montréal, 1906. (50 feet : 1 inch)

Ouimet, Georges. "Plan de la Cité de Rivière-du-Loup", Rivière-du-Loup, 1919. (400 feet : 1 inch)

good deal of property. The policy was relatively successful resulting as it did in the birth of a functional milieu of shops, streets and dwelling places during the 1880's. There was nothing exceptional about the symmetry between railroad construction and land speculation in this particular case. What was original was the extent to which local proprietors were able to play the urban speculation-development game independent of some omnipotent railroad-real estate corporate monopoly (Reps, 1965, pp. 382-413; Johnson, 1973, pp. 313-316; Linteau, 1975, pp. 196-206; Linteau and Robert, 1977, pp. 17-36). In effect the railboom quickly gave the landed faction of the business elite a predominant position in local politics. As it turned out the leadership of this group was eclipsed just as precipitously.

The seigniorial landed group was ousted from incumbency at "city hall" in 1885. The succeeding administration represented the predominantly industrial faction of the local business elite. The railroad had indeed stimulated such ancillary industries as lumber production, building construction and iron-working. Yet these entrepreneurs, by virtue of their business, family and political connections were even more directly dependent upon the railroad than their predecessors. In essence the town hall became one of the many links in the chain that bound the Témiscouata Railway to the Conservative Party organization in eastern Québec. Railroad prosperity imposed serious limitations to the economic and political power of the Fraserville elite.

The complex process by which the municipality, and hence the business elite of Fraserville, was absorbed into the larger politico-economic designs of British capital and Canadian entrepreneurship did not take place without a few hitches.¹⁸ But the absorption process was near completion by the turn of the century when the council began to spend most of its time and energy promoting industrial development on behalf of non-local corporate concerns. Clearly the auto-dynamic phase of urban industrial growth in the railtown was at an end for the time being. By the year 1914 the best and the brightest elements of the business community in Fraserville, were either deceased, bankrupt, if not barely solvent, or perhaps on the verge of moving out.

As we will establish below, the failure of local entrepreneurship was tragically ironic for it was the work of the same metropolitan forces which had summoned the boom in the first place.

The bust: origins, progress, consequences

The railtown is in some ways reminiscent of a gold-rush mining town where the bust comes very quickly on the heels of the boom. Yet in the case of this Bas-Saint-Laurent agglomeration the origins of the bust are not immediately evident. It was not as if the importance of the town's railroad function had declined significantly. On the contrary the Crown railway repair shops were expanded and modernized in 1908. The new plant facilities were no doubt a major factor in the town's 48% population increase between 1901 and 1911. Fraserville did not become a ghost town.

Economically-speaking Fraserville advanced timidly if at all beyond the highwater mark of the 1880's. The population boom of the 1900's, unlike the 1880's, did little to stimulate industrial growth. By the turn of the century, the railtown had fallen victim to an all-embracing metropolitan assault upon the vital sectors of the local economy particularly in the field of real estate, commerce, finance and industry. The net effect of this assault was to remove the local business elite from the county market and thereby destroy the foundation of indigenous urban and industrial development in Fraserville.

The railroad has always functioned as both an instrument and a catalyst of metropolitan domination in Canada. The Bas-Saint-Laurent, for example, first succumbed to Montréal's metropolitan thrust during the 1870's, following the completion of the Intercolonial Railway. The consequences of this eastward drive did not become entirely clear until the turn of the century. Until such time, however, Québec City was a force to be reckoned with throughout eastern Québec. To a large extent the growth of this regional metropolis was linked to the emergence of a network of local centers in the Saguenay — Lac-Saint-Jean, the Chaudière valley and of course the Bas-Saint-Laurent. With the help of the railroad these local centers gave Québec City the capacity to exploit the markets and resources of its growing hinterland. Fraserville is, in our opinion, a good case in point.

The advent of the Intercolonial during the 1870's, and the Témiscouata Railway in the 1880's, had an important impact not only upon the railtown, but also on the principal sectors of the county economy; i.e. agriculture and forestry. The improved transportation infrastructure stimulated the demand for investment in the more "progressive" agricultural districts of the county which were switching to dairying and potato production. Here the railroad gave producers the much needed access to extraterritorial markets. Meanwhile on the agri-forestry frontier of the county the railroad encouraged the expansion of forestry and settlement activities. This opened up a variety of land speculation and mortgage loaning — investment opportunities. Finally investors were drawn to the railtown itself which was the scene of a construction boom during the 1880's.

No doubt the investment requirements of the three sectors combined exceeded the lending capacity of the local business elite. This gave Québec City investors and investment societies their first foot in the door, so to speak.¹⁹ More importantly the three-tiered expansion of the county economy widened the scope of interaction between Fraserville and its Témiscouata hinterland. This was particularly evident in the growing commercial rapport between town and country.

As the county market began to grow by leaps and bounds during the 1880's so did the fortunes of Fraserville's energetic colony of wholesalers and retailers. Highly ranked on the local scene this group was almost invariably the servant of big city commercial houses and brokerage firms (table 2). The general rule of indebtedness was underscored by the everyday routine of the small-town merchant; a routine punctuated by regular and no doubt enervating visits to suppliers and creditors in Québec City.

G. Gervais (1980) has recently argued that the structure of commercial credit late in the XIXth Century was such that it set the merchant in pursuit of the farmer's cash savings *and* his produce. Not a few merchants in Fraserville were forced to indulge in some form of barter with the local farming population on a regular basis. The point of equilibrium between the merchant and his customer on the one hand (facing downstream) and between the same merchant and his creditor on the other (facing upstream), was not easily achieved. But the ease with which Fraserville's commercial pre-eminence was subsequently overturned and transformed, was a reflection of the changing *system* of commerce and credit as well as the town's vulnerable *position* between Québec City and Montréal.

Early in the XXth Century Montréal began to strengthen its command of the Bas-Saint-Laurent economy. The number of wholesale and brokerage firms active in Fraserville during the 1880's suggests that Montréal first began to supplant Québec

City in the field of commerce, before the turn of the century. The advent of the travelling salesman and the department store catalogue further reinforced this trend.

Table 2
Importance of Montréal and Québec City Creditors.
The case of Eugène Michaud and Horace A. Gagné, bankrupt in 1888.

	<i>Montréal</i>	<i>Québec</i>	<i>Lévis</i>	<i>St-Hyacinthe</i>	<i>St-Jean (N.B.)</i>	<i>Région</i>	<i>Amount Due</i>
Eugène Michaud	44,59%	41,47%	2,53%	8,45%	—	2,98%	2 889,02 \$
Horace A. Gagné	52,03%	42,42%	—	—	0,19%	5,38%	3 851,76 \$

Source: Le Progrès de Fraserville 28-09-1888, 04-10-1888.

Yet another telling feature of the emerging metropolitan structure in the Bas-Saint-Laurent was evidenced by the arrival of several important English and French-Canadian banking institutions in Fraserville. Already faced with a considerable drain of commercial profits Fraserville's business elite was in no shape to withstand further direct assaults upon the county financial reservoir. The joint commercial-financial blow in effect shattered its industrial strategy. The process of de-industrialization was apparently irreversible. In this ultimate and triumphant phase the metropolis became the sole constitutive force of urban-industrial growth in Fraserville.

The forestry industry and the railroad industry were the two axes of metropolitan domination in the Témiscouata. Their importance demonstrates the ascendancy of exogeneous factors in the making of Fraserville — an urbanization process — and in the settlement of the Témiscouata interior. The relationship between the latter colonization process and the forestry industry was outlined in the first half of this paper. In essence, the forestry thrust fostered rural expansion rather than urban development. The succeeding pulp and paper frontier was perhaps more centripetal, more urban in focus. Yet enough of the agri-forestry frontier remained for us to conclude that the transformation was neither radical nor complete at this point in time.

Fraserville, meanwhile, acquired its first pulp mill late in the 1880's. The railtown, however, never did become a pulptown to the same extent as Edmundston. Urbanization in Fraserville remained almost exclusively tied to the progress of the railway industry. Caught up in the web of the railboom and subsequent bust the railtown and its entrepreneurs remained oblivious to the forestry industry which proceeded to shape the county's predominantly rural destiny. In the fundamentally fragmented or fractured state of the county economy we have the key to underdevelopment in the Témiscouata and perhaps throughout the entire Bas-Saint-Laurent region.

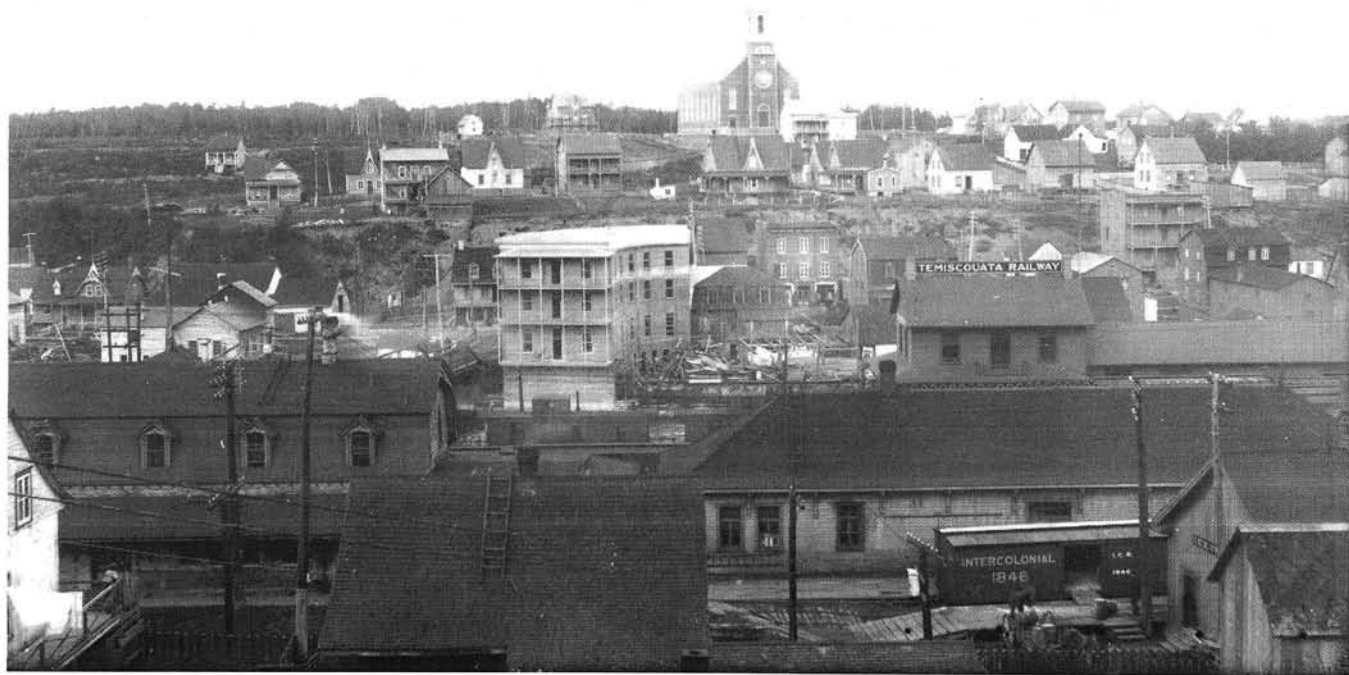
CONCLUSION

In the preceding pages we have endeavoured to demonstrate the pertinence of the agri-forestry model for the history of the Bas-Saint-Laurent. The strength of the approach, in my opinion, lies in its preoccupation with class (i.e. social relations) as a

defining feature of a peripheral region. This is not to suggest that regionalism has sublimated the basic contradiction in our capitalist society between labour and capital. It does suggest, however, that exploitation in the periphery can assume a form which is at variance with the prevailing worker-factory-capitalist model of the central region.

In our study of the Témiscouata we have come across two agencies that facilitated the reproduction of Québec society on a regionally differentiated basis: the railtown or satellite and the forestry industry. Our discussion of the former late in the XIX^e Century has enabled us to add an urban dimension to the agri-forestry approach. The addition represents an attempt to expand agri-forestry methodology from the parish to the county level of analysis. The object of study in other words forced us to deal with the county's urban experience as well as its rural heritage. Perhaps it will be necessary in the future to adopt a much wider regional perspective in order to enrich or correct our line of argument.

The forestry industry was the second integrative force contributing to the formation of Québec's peripheral regions during the late XIXth Century. In the Témiscouata for example the system of social relations in the forestry industry endowed the county with a class structure (composed of forestry capitalists and "colons") which constituted the base of the social edifice. The roots of this class structure lay in the system of agrarian relations which antedated the onset of the timber trade in the St. Lawrence valley. Research might be undertaken at this level in an effort to establish the pivotal role of seigneurial institutions in the early XIXth Century articulation between forestry and agriculture. The temporal scope of the agri-forestry hypothesis can and must be thus enlarged.



Rivière-du-Loup Station After the Turn of the Century. Church of Saint-Ludger in Background

Source : Collection Belle-Lavoie, Centre d'animation culturelle de Rivière-du-Loup.

Photo 2



Along the Western Shores of Lac Témiscouata, Early Twentieth Century.

Source : Courtesy of Beauvais Bérubé

NOTES

¹ Today with its pulp and paper mills and dairy farms, the Baie-des-Chaleurs area is arguably less dependent upon the fishing industry than the rest of the peninsula. See: FRENETTE, Y., DESJARDINS, M. et BÉLANGER, J. (1981) *Histoire de la Gaspésie*, Montréal, Boréal Express.

² For counterarguments to the cultural inferiority thesis, see: DUBUC, A. (1977) "Les inégalités économiques..." as cited in SÉGUIN, N., *La conquête du sol au 19^e siècle*, Montréal, Boréal Express, p. 32. See F. Ouellet's review (1977) of the above in: *Histoire sociale - Social History*, X(20): 439-447. HAMELIN, J. and ROBY, Y. (1969) L'évolution économique et sociale du Québec 1851-1896. *Recherches sociographiques*, 10(2-3): 157-169.

³ One might argue that the agri-forestry system consolidated the condition or regionalism or localism which characterized pre-industrial XVIIIth Century rural economies. See: DYOS, H.J. and ALDCROFT, D.H. (1969) *British Transport: An Economic Survey*. Leicester University Press, pp. 21-28 and 108. BOUCHARD, G. (1972) *Le village immobile: Sennely en Sologne au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris. D. Gagan argues that rural units functioned in relative isolation from each other in Canada as late as the XIXth Century. See his "Regional History and Social History: a Comparative Approach to the Study of Social Change", unpublished paper, C.H.A. meeting, Saskatoon, 1979.

⁴ One might mention a fourth, Saint-Mathias-de-Cabano, which was founded during the first decade of this century. Cabano, however, has experienced only marginal growth since the First World War.

⁵ J.A.L.: abbreviation for the Parish of Saint-Juste-du-Lac and the townships of Auclair and Lejeune. The J.A.L. was established as a colonization district under provincial government supervision during the 1930's.

⁶ In the 1920's the so-called Fraserville network, situated near or along the Saint-Laurent shoreline, was sending substantial contingents of forestry labourers into the bush. On the whole, however, these villages were less dependent upon the forestry industry and hence boasted a more commercialized form of agriculture. See BLANCHARD, R., *L'est du Canada Français...*, p. 192.

⁷ This generally negative view of agriculture in the Témiscouata, based on published census data, should be nuanced, considering the success of dairying and commercial potato production in such coastline districts as Trois-Pistoles, L'île-Verte and Saint-Alexandre. G. Bouchard has underlined the phenomenon of successful disentanglement from the agri-forestry system in the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean. See: BOUCHARD, G. (1977) Introduction à l'étude de la société saguenéenne aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles, in *R.H.A.F.*, 31(1): 3-27. Unfortunately the author's explanation does not account for the discriminating nature of success in commercial agriculture, i.e. from one parish to the next and so on. Perhaps a "Von Thunen" model, of the type employed by Courville in the Montréal region, might be of service here. See: COURVILLE, Serge (1980) La crise agricole du Bas-Canada, éléments d'une réflexion géographique (première partie), in *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 24(62): 193-224.

⁸ Our findings corroborate those of G. Bouchard in Laterrière where the simultaneity of in-and out-migration moved the author to dispute the traditional view of the French-Canadian nailed, as it were, to his "paroisse". See BOUCHARD, G. (1977) Family Structures and Mobility at Laterrière, 1851-1935. *The Journal of Family History*, 2 (Dec.): 350-369.

⁹ Murchie's interest in the Témiscouata Seignior was acquired in 1881. Coffin began purchasing his share in 1872. Data on the proprietors of the Témiscouata Seignior have been obtained in the archives of the local land registry office, the "Bureau du Registrateur de Rivière-du-Loup et Témiscouata" (B.R.R.T.), On Murchie see: ACHESON, T.W. (1977) "The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910", in STELTER, G.A. and ARTIBISE, A.F.J. (eds) *The Canadian City*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, pp. 100-101; and DAVIS, H.A. (1950) *An International Community on the Ste-Croix* University of Maine Studies, n° 64, Orono, pp. 258-259. On Coffin see: WOOD, R.G. *A History of Lumbering in Maine...* map in appendix.

¹⁰ In 1908, Thomas delegated his power of attorney to a land surveyor from Bangor, Me, F.G. Quincy. The seigneur's instructions were indicative of his priorities:

- 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 sell lots with merchandable 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.

Source: B.R.R.T. *Registre des Actes*, n° 41972.

¹¹ Employment statistics for the more important establishments operating in 1888: the boot and shoe company, 100 workers; the pulp mill, 30; two lumber mills, 54 (40 and 14). According to the *Census of Canada* (1881) the Intercolonial employed 80 or so employees in the county. There is no equivalent figure for 1891. See also: *Le Progrès de Fraserville*, May 18, June 1, Oct. 19, 1888 and *Le Journal de Fraserville*, Dec. 28, 1888.

¹² In my opinion, the dependence perspective and the working class perspective do not cancel each other out. If, following Kealey's lead we can eventually illustrate the bearing of regional differentiation upon specific working class experiences, then all the better. One cannot, however, take the process of differentiation itself for granted. See: KEALEY, G.S. (1981) "Labour and Working Class History in Canada Prospects in the 1980's", *Labour — Le travailleur*, 7: 76-77.

¹³ The figures for each category of entrepreneurship are merely estimates. The published credit agency reports are incomplete particularly insofar as the petty-bourgeoisie is concerned. Lawyers, doctors and notaries for example are totally absent from the published Dun and Bradstreet lists. See Bradstreet's Reports of the Dominion of Canada (1888, 1892); and *The Mercantile Agency Reference Book and Key for the Dominion of Canada* (R.G. Dun and Co., 1897, 1917).

¹⁴ The following discussion of business entrepreneurship in Fraserville is based on archival sources in the "B.R.R.T." and a series of commercial biographies which appeared in *Le Progrès de Fraserville*, during the months of May and June, 1888.

¹⁵ For a comparative perspective, see: NOBLE, E.J. (1980) "Entrepreneurship and Nineteenth Century Urban Growth: A Case Study of Orillia Ontario, 1867-1898". *Urban History Review — Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 1 (June-juin), pp. 67-68.

¹⁶ By stressing the emergence of a nationalist movements in early XXth Century Québec, R. Cook has underestimated the importance of liberal-secular values and institutions in this province. See "French Canada and the New Industrial Order", in Ramsay Cook and Robert Craig Brown, *Canada 1896-1921 a Nation Transformed*, The Canadian Centenary Series, Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, pp. 127-143.

¹⁷ Sources used for this section include the city "Index aux Immeubles" and "Livre de Renvoi" available at the "B.R.R.T."; the "Procès-verbaux du Conseil municipal de Fraserville"; and finally, the "Refonte de l'acte d'incorporation", March 30, 1883, Act 46, *Victoria Cap. LXXX*.

¹⁸ The Témiscouata Railway bonus contraversion, pitting the "bleu" — railway coalition against other local business interests affords us one such example of a hitch. See: WILLIS, J. *op. cit.*, pp. 232-255.

¹⁹ Among the companies active in the Fraserville-Témiscouata area were: the "Société de Construction Permanente de Lévis", the "Société de Prêts et de Placements de la Province de Québec" and finally, the "Société de Construction Permanente de Québec", see the "Registre des actes" in the "B.R.R.T."

REFERENCES

- ACHESON, T.W. (1977) The National Policy and the Industrialization of the Maritimes, 1880-1910, in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Eds). *The Canadian City*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.
- AMIN, S. (1973) *Le développement inégal*. Paris, Les éditions de Minuit, 527 p.
- BELLAVANCE, M. (1982) *Un village en mutation, Compton, Québec 1880-1920*. Ottawa, Parcs Canada.
- BLANCHARD, R. (1935) *L'est du Canada français*. Montréal, Beauchemin, vol. 1.
- _____ (1947) *Le centre du Canada français*. Montréal, Beauchemin.
- _____ (1953-1954) *L'ouest du Canada français*. Montréal, Beauchemin, 2 volumes.
- BLOUIN, C. (1980) La mécanisation de l'agriculture entre 1830 et 1890 in N. Séguin (Éd.). *Agriculture et colonisation au Québec*. Montréal, Boréal Express, pp. 93-111.
- BOUCHARD, G. (1972) *Le village immobile: Sennely en Sologne au XVIII^e siècle*. Paris.
- _____ (1977) Introduction à l'étude de la société saguenéenne aux XIX^e et XX^e siècles. *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 3(1): 3-27.
- _____ (1977) Family Structures and Mobility in Laterrière, 1851-1935. *The Journal of Family History*, 2: 350-369.
- CANADA. *Census of Canada*, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891, 1911 and 1921.
- CONZEN, K.N. (1980) Community Studies, Urban History and American Local History in Michael Kammen (Ed.). *The Past before Us*. Ithaca and London, Cornell University Press.

- COOK, R. French Canada and the New Industrial Order in Ramsay Cook and Robert Craig Brown (Ed.). *Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart, The Canadian Centenary Series.
- COURVILLE, S. (1980) La crise agricole du Bas-Canada, éléments d'une réflexion géographique (première partie). *Les Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 24(62): 193-224.
- DAVIS, H.A. (1950) *An International Community on the Ste-Croix*. Orono, University of Maine Studies, no 64.
- DUBUC, A. (1973) Les inégalités économiques. *Le Devoir*, March 2 and 3.
- DYOS, H.J. and ALDCROFT, D.H. (1969) *British Transport: an Economic Survey*. Leicester University Press.
- FRENETTE, Y., DESJARDINS, M. and BÉLANGER, J. (1981) *Histoire de la Gaspésie*. Montréal, Boréal Express.
- FRANK, A.G. (1969) *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America*. New York and London, Monthly Review Press.
- (1972) The Development of Underdevelopment in A.G. Frank, J.D. Cockcroft and D.L. Johnson (Eds). *Dependence and Underdevelopment*. New York, Anchor Books.
- GAFFIELD, C. (1982) *Boom and Bust: The Demography and Economy of the Lower Ottawa Valley in the 19th Century*. Ottawa, C.H.A. meeting, unpublished paper.
- GAGAN, D. (1979) *Regional History and Social History: a Comparative Approach to the Study of Social Change*. Saskatoon, C.H.A. meeting, unpublished paper.
- GERVAIS, G. (1980) Le commerce de détail au Canada, 1870-1880. *Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique française*, 33(4): 521-556.
- HAMELIN, J. and PROVENCHER, J. (1967) La vie de relations sur le Saint-Laurent entre Québec et Montréal au milieu du XVIII^e siècle. *Cahiers de géographie de Québec*, 23: 243-252.
- HAMELIN, J. and ROBY, Y. (1969) L'évolution économique et sociale du Québec 1851-1896. *Recherches sociographiques*, 10(2-3): 157-169.
- HENRETTA, J.A. (1978) Families and Farms: Mentality in Pre-Industrial America. *William and Mary Quarterly*, Third Series, XXXV: 3-32.
- HOBBSBAWN, E.J. (1972) From Social History to the History of Society in F. Gilbert and S.R. Graubard (Eds). *Historical Studies Today*. New York.
- JOHNSON, Leo A. (1973) *History of the County of Ontario, 1615-1895*. Whitby, The Corporation of the County of Ontario.
- KEALY, G.S. (1981) Labour and Working Class History in Canada Prospects in the 1980's. *Labour - Le travailleur*, 7: 76-77.
- LEMON, J.T. (1978) The Weakness of Place and Community in Early Pennsylvania in J.R. Gibson (Ed.) *European Settlement and Development in North America*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.
- LINTEAU, P.-A. (1975) *Histoire de la ville de Maisonneuve 1883-1918*. Montréal, université de Montréal, thèse de doctorat.
- LINTEAU, P.-A., ROBERT, J.-C. and DUROCHER, R. (1979) *Histoire du Québec contemporain*. Montréal, Boréal Express.
- LINTEAU, P.-A. and ROBERT, J.C. (1977) Land Ownership and Society in Montreal: an Hypothesis in G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Eds). *The Canadian City*. Toronto, McClelland and Stewart.
- LOWER, A.R.M. (1936) *Settlement and the Forest and the Mining Frontiers*. Toronto, MacMillan.
- MACDONALD, L. (1975) Merchants Against Industry an Idea and its Origins. *Canadian Historical Review*, LXI (3): 263-281.
- NOBLE, E.J. (1980) Entrepreneurship and Nineteenth Century Growth: A Case Study of Orillia Ontario, 1867-1898. *Urban History Review - Revue d'histoire urbaine*, 1: 64-89.
- OSBORNE, B. (1976) The settlement of Kingston's Hinterland in G.J.J. Tulchinsky (Ed.) *To Preserve and Defend*. Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century. Montréal and London, McGill-Queen's University Press.
- OUELLET, F. (1977) in *Histoire sociale - Social History*, X(20): 439-447.
- REPS, J. (1965) *The Making of Urban America*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.
- ROBERT, J.-C. (1975) Les notables de Montréal au 19^e siècle. *Histoire sociale - Social History*, VIII(15): 69-70.
- SAVARIA, J. (1975) Le Québec est-il une société périphérique? *Sociologie et Sociétés*, 7(2): 118 and 125-126.

- SÉGUIN, N. (1973) Hébertville au Lac-Saint-Jean, 1850-1900. Un exemple québécois de colonisation au XIX^e siècle. *Communications historiques*, Société historique du Canada, pp. 251-268.
- _____ (1976) L'économie agro-forestière: génèse du développement au Saguenay au 19^e siècle in N. Séguin (Ed.) *Agriculture et Colonisation au Québec*. Montréal, Boréal Express, pp. 159-164.
- _____ (1977) *La conquête du sol au 19^e siècle*. Sillery, Boréal Express, 295 p.
- WILLIS, J. (1981) *Fraserville and its Témiscouata Hinterland, 1874-1914: Colonization and Urbanization in a Peripheral Region of the Province of Québec*. Trois-Rivières, Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, thèse de maîtrise.
- WOOD, R.G. (1971) *A History of Lumbering in Maine*. Orono, University of Maine, Maine Studies n° 33.
- WYNN, G. (1981) *The Timber Colony. A Historical Geography of Early 19th Century New Brunswick*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press.

CARTOGRAPHIE

Conception: Louise MARCOTTE

Réalisation: Isabelle DIAZ

Photographie: Serge DUCHESNEAU