MAN AND THE NORTH SHORE

A Study in Environmental Response

by

John L. Tyman, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the Faculty of
Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

Department of Geography,
McGill University,
Montreal.

August 1961

"The land that was desolate and impassable shall be glad, and the wilderness shall rejoice, and shall flourish like the lily." (Isaiah 35:1)

PREFACE

"What I have tried to do in this and in all my writing on the early days of this country is what the artist does when he paints a sketch of a Canadian scene or a Canadian person. I have tried to select something that is beautiful or significant or interesting or essential to an understanding of ourselves. I have tried to tell the stories of personalities, men and women who have by their human qualities, aspirations, and activities, given substance to our history, whose loves and hates and fears and achievements have been woven into the very fabric of our Canadian consciousness. I have tried to say, as the painter says, 'here is something I think you would like to know,' 'here is something that has significance' or 'here is something that may evoke your love or pride or indignation' as the case may be." (10:x)

This, in very simple terms, has been my aim here - to paint a picture, or rather a series of pictures of the North Shore, past and present, from the viewpoint of the human geographer. I make no claim to be a historian, nor to have encompassed the full range of material available. Rather, I have selected from the accounts of yesteryear certain aspects which have an attraction for me personally, in the hope that these might also be of interest to others. In brief, I have attempted to write an academic treatise which will yet prove acceptable to the 'reading public.'

The geographer may, if he so wishes, construct a plausible

argument in favour of considering a certain topic as one lying within the field of his discipline. But the reason for his choice is (invariably) that he happens to be interested in that particular subject- and that surely is excuse enough. If he has been trained in geographical concepts and methods his work will inevitably reflect this, whatever the object of his research.

The present study springs from three main personal considerations: my own interest in the area, dating back to the summer of 1957; my liking for the 'atmospheric' type of historical geography, exemplified by Ralph Brown's "Mirror For Americans"; and my concern for the teaching of 'Social Studies' in Canadian Schools.

It was possible to carry out much of the necessary documentary research here at McGill, in the Redpath Library. But thanks are due also to Mr. T.B. Fraser (of the Champlain Society) and Mgr. Gérard Couturier (Bishop of the Gulf of St. Lawrence) who afforded me the opportunity of looking over their personal collections and that of the North Shore Historical Society; and to the Municipal Library in Baie Comeau. And I am indebted to Mr. John Parry and Mr. Alan Macpherson, with whom I originally discussed the general theme of the thesis, and to my Supervisor, Professor Hills. Also to the Canadian British Aluminium Company who during three summers have very graciously provided me with employment in the area. Finally, to Mgr. René Bélanger, for his friendship and encouragement; and to my fiancée, who typed both the original and final drafts of the whole.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

PREFACE iii

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS vi

LIST OF MAPS vii

INTRODUCTION: the appraisal of environment, the thesis stated, and the area defined 1

Chapter

I. The North Shore of the Explorer: first impressions of its natural aspect 14

II. The North Shore of the Trader: early efforts in the economic field 30

III. The North Shore of the Missionary: the sufferings of its people and their priests 51

IV. The North Shore of the Mariner: navigational hazards and the fate of castaways 68

V. The North Shore of the Tourist: the joys of a summer's visit 96

VI. The North Shore of the Settler: trials of farmer and fisherman 120

VII. The North Shore of the Industrialist: the wealth and promise of the New Age 153

Conclusion: Man and the North Shore; its function and extent, and the method discussed 172

BIBLIOGRAPHY 180

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1.	Jacques Cartier, 1491-1557	19
2.	Figures des Montagnais	33
3.	Chauvin's Post at Tadoussac	37
4.	Methods used in the Cod-Fishery	47
5.	Premières Conversions sur les rives du Saint-Laurent	55
6.	R.P. Paul Le Jeune, 1591-1664	58
7.	The Chapel at Tadoussac	65
8.	An October Squall off the Saguenay	72
9.	Ile aux Oeufs and Pointe aux Anglais	77
10.	Father Emmanuel Crespel, Recollet	85
11.	The Majestic Scenery of the Saguenay	100
12.	Advertisement for the Tadoussac Hotel	105
13.	A Lively Summer Scene at the Hotel around 1865	106
14.	Major and Mrs. Scott, their Trophies and Guides	110
15.	The Upper Pool at the Godbout	117
16.	In a Forest Clearing	129
17.	North Shore Fishing Stations in the Late Nineteenth Century: (i) Rivière Pentecôte (ii) Moisie	134
18.	ditto: (iii) La Baie de Magpie (iv) Saint Jean	139
19.	The Ultimate in Family Pioneering	143
20.	The Villa Menier	151

Figure — Page

21. Le Poste de Manicouagan et l'établissement de la 'Manicouagan & English Bay Export Company'. 156

22. Baie Comeau and the Quebec North Shore Paper Company 161

23. The Canadian British Aluminium Company 166

24. Seven Islands: Canada's Newest Seaport 169

LIST OF MAPS

Map — Page

1. The St. Lawrence North Shore and Gulf . . . . . At Rear

2. Distribution of Settlement in the St. Lawrence Gulf, 1951 . . . 13

3. The Gastaldi Map 17

4. Newfoundland, the Great River of Canada, and the Coasts of New France (Lescarbot) 23

5. The Port of Tadoussac 26

6. Carte de la Nouvelle France (Champlain) 42

7. Area of the King's Posts and the Mission to the Montagnais . . 62

8. The St. Lawrence Estuary and Gulf (Bellin) 90

9. County Saguenay: Middle Part 124

INTRODUCTION

"Beauty is altogether in the eye of the beholder." (Lew Wallace)

The Appraisal of Environment

Like Mackinder, "I propose to define geography as the science whose main function is to trace the interaction of man in society and so much of his environment as varies locally." (13:143) To write a 'human geography' of any area as it exists to-day, is inevitably to attempt an appraisal of its potentialities for human development. This is no less true of studies descriptive of times past. And the student who presents a series of such pictures is, perforce, brought face to face with the fact that estimates of worth do change quite radically with the passage of the centuries.

Obviously the environment itself does change in its superficial forms. Also, men choose, mould, develop and modify various aspects of the framework of their surroundings. Far more significantly, however, man's own viewpoint changes, so that the term 'environment,' as a qualitative expression, is virtually meaningless save where considered "relative to a particular focus or perspective". (8:171) In theory a man-less universe needs must be considered as devoid of resources; for the latter are inseparable from man and his wants. "They are the environment in the service of man" (15:3), and whether they be animal, vegetable, mineral or locational in substance, it is their usefulness

to man which stamps such environmental aspects as resources. Their appraisal is purely subjective since it proceeds from human wants and from human powers to use. And it is also relative, applicable only to a particular area or people at a particular time. "Cultural influences have materially altered the original simple and straight-line relationship between man and his environment." (15:8) Further, since "man alters his environment ... the action of that environment on his posterity is changed in consequence. And the relative importance of physical features varies from age to age according to the state of knowledge and material civilisation." (13:157)

The usefulness of the environment to man, therefore, depends not only on the environment itself, but 'on the appraiser himself, social objectives, and technological and societical arts and institutions" (18:38), - all of which appear to the historical geographer as changing with the passage of time, both individually and in the manner of their inter-relationship. It is the general spirit of the age which sets the course for human purpose and gives a functional quality to the scenes of action, a relative value to the environment. While the physical backcloth to any story of human endeavor changes but slowly in substance, man adds to his estate by acquiring knowledge and experience in the workings of Nature, and gives new values, new functions, new meanings to terrestrial order in different stages of his evolution.

Again, the environment may be viewed as a spatial and temporal condition involving both natural agencies and the spiritual energies,

thought and will of man, with their concommitent fabric of responses. "Things are coloured by our past and present attitudes and dispositions, by our knowledge and practice. So that environment in the widest sense must embrace not only the physical facts in their several relations but also our interpretation of them." (12:119)

In sum,then, "I believe that Man rather than Nature gives direction and purpose in history and that the world as we experience it to-day is a man-made world to a much greater degree than we allow. I recognize further, that the present order is in part an inheritance and that the natural and human elements in it have relationships which vary at different times and places. It is not sufficient therefore to think of a static earth, unchanging while men come and go, for its character varies by the function and quantity which men give to it. There is a past history of Nature and Man which is embedded in the present, itself leading to new transformations and fresh designs." (12:vi)

The Thesis Stated

Accepting the above as a fair statement of the inter-relationship of the temporal, physical and human aspects of environment, the object of the present work will be to show how, in a particular area, estimates of landscape potential, together with the form of man's mental and material reactions to the same, have changed dramatically over the years. It will be based upon a series of period pieces,

chosen as representative of major phases in the changing pattern of environmental response. Such an approach has rendered more manageable the amount of material available. And, though each sketch is necessarily based upon a wealth of factual material, this has been arranged with the intention of leaving but a well-marked, if general, impression in the mind of the reader. The principle of selection has not been "the relationship of historical causation and effect, but rather the need of providing a panorama of the age." (14:55)

Since "the historian is, by definition, absolutely incapable of observing the facts which he examines ... [and] can speak of earlier ages only through the accounts of eye witnesses" (2:48), recourse has been made to a large volume of direct quotation. This has called for a careful selection of passages from the many works available. Many represent eye-witness accounts or brief appraisals of the region; others describe events typical of a particular period or activity; some are descriptive of life; and a few are included simply for their 'atmospheric' content. And yet the author does not pretend to be anything of an academic contortionist; and makes no claim to have put himself back into the mind of Jacques Cartier or even of Colonel Robert McCormick.

Obviously it was necessary that the accounts be contemporaneous to the various periods under discussion, but their reliability was not generally a major consideration (though certain of the more obvious errors of fact have been noted as such). Rather, instead of

attempting to show precisely what the region was like at a particular time the writer has concentrated on how eye-witnesses reacted to it, and on what various armchair commentators thought it to be - believing that "men at all times have been influenced quite as much by beliefs as by facts." (4:3) And for this reason, none of the period pieces is complete in itself. It cannot stand alone. It cannot be viewed at all realistically apart from either the general background of the period in question or the events before and after it, simply because the sketches are so very relative, - both to personalities and to periods.

The writer has not, however, attempted to provide a comprehensive, chronological survey of the history of the area. Neither is it to be supposed that to describe certain significant phases in its development is necessarily to suggest a continuous and quiet existence, even if the reader's natural inclination would be to draw such a conclusion. At the same time, the author makes no apology for the obvious overlap of his period pieces, which are thematic rather than temporal in basis, and are associated with a particular viewpoint which can be only very imperfectly tied down to a particular period.

Finally, he has in no way endeavoured to present a systematic or regional geography of the area selected. Rather it is hoped that the more significant aspects of the former will be obvious from the body of the text. Otherwise, it will not have fulfilled its fundamental purpose, - to portray the changing response of particular groups of men to a particular 'natural' environment, through an impressionistic

account of the spirit and form of both.

The Method of Approach

Though it was admittedly the author's personal interest in the area which led him to decide on the north coast of the St. Lawrence Estuary and Gulf, it was an area well suited to such a study. Two very practical considerations were of prime importance. Firstly, there was on hand a wide range of historical material in both French and English. The existence of several published collections rendered certain of the earlier documents readily available. And the comparatively restricted volume of these same source materials made possible not only the wide historical coverage necessary, but also facilitated study on a broader topical front than would be possible in some other parts of the Province.

Secondly, the term 'North Shore' is a definite regional expression. The area enjoys a certain uniformity of physical and human aspect throughout, and has clearly defined limits. Further, unlike the titles of so many other 'regions,' it did not originate with the geographer, but has been used for centuries. Though changing somewhat in exact definition it has been an everyday expression. And as such it has influenced the growth of ideas and modified economic development.

Over the last four hundred years the story of the North Shore has run something like this: fish, fur, timber, water power and iron. Fish brought the first European adventurers here; then fur was the

lodestone. Later men came for the timber and stayed to develop the power; and later still they prospected for iron in the interior. This succession mirrors in part major phases in the growth of the Dominion as a whole, but with the important reservation that the later stages in the development of the North Shore have been compressed into a very much shorter period. It was long a land passed by or set apart, where for three centuries only the fur trader and the missionary did anything to alter the 'natural' order of things. Such changes as have been effected have in large measure been the product of but the last two or three decades. During this time, though, an area variously described by early explorers as 'the land God gave to Cain,' or 'the land that God forgot,' has been transformed almost overnight into "la région actuellement la plus progressive du Québec." (6:230) How this change came about it is the aim of this thesis to narrate.

We shall, therefore, endeavour to discover what the 'North Shore' has stood for in the minds of past generations, both as a quantitative and a qualitative expression. In doing so we shall study significant phases in man's adaptation to the physical conditions of an inherently inhospitable area. There has been no doubt as to the possibility of making a living there; the early fishing centres and fur trading posts bear witness to this fact, also the various seigneuries granted on the understanding, albeit optimistic, that the land should be peopled. Rather the question has been whether or not the North Shore would ever develop beyond the frontier stage; whether man,

initially enslaved by the physical environment, could in time subdue it to his own ends.

Each period piece will be considered from the viewpoint of a particular class of people who have played a significant part in the development of the Shore - explorers, traders, settlers, and the like. And in so doing we should catch something of the spirit of the age. Obviously, a certain amount of background information will be required to make sense of what would otherwise be a jumbled mass of seemingly unrelated impressions, but it will be the thread rather than the circumstances which concern us most.

Throughout, the author has borne in mind the need to consider the particular aims of the various observers, the level of their adjustment to the environment, their contribution to the changing landscape, and so on. At times such points are referred to directly and afforded special consideration, but within the body of the text itself it is hoped that in general they will be apparent, and that there will be no need to spoil the picture by pausing 'to point a moral, or adorn a tale.' Similarly no direct reference is made to individual illustrations; the captions were thought sufficient explanation. And there was no wish to interrupt the 'atmospheric' thread of the story, to which it is hoped they will make sufficient contribution to merit inclusion on their own account. For much the same reason footnotes, too, have been omitted. And the bibliography also represents something of a compromise. It is by no means exhaustive, yet does list the main

works referred to.

The Area Defined

Linguistically, there is a clear distinction between 'la Côte Nord' and 'la Rive Sud.' Both lie alongside of a water mass whose very extent suggests a maritime rather than a riverside location; but the former is of a much more rugged aspect, and being fringed with but a narrow coastal strip contrasts markedly with the broad, fertile and well settled region to the south. The very term 'North Shore' has always savoured of "un relent de sauvagerie, de pays non encore touché, un pays de solitude ... presque un pays non encore découvert." (1:7)

However, ideas as to the linear extent of the region have changed over the years. Once Three Rivers was on the 'North Shore'; for the term was used in the early days of New France in reference to a stretch of country running the full length of the river. But with the general spread of colonisation outwards from its centre in the St. Lawrence Lowlands the North Shore retreated downstream. By the close of the French Regime it had come to refer to the area between Cape Tormentine and the Saguenay, beyond which lay a sort of terra incognita.

The English saw the matter in a slightly different light, and gave the term a more specific connotation. They used it in reference to a definite area, the upper coast of the Gulf, extending as far west as the St. Jean River, fifteen miles beyond Mingan. But in time its meaning was so widened as to take in the coast as far west as the

Saguenay, since the character of the land and its settlements - or lack of them - was similar to that along the shores of the Gulf.

However, the situation was complicated by a series of political changes. Under the Treaty of Paris (1763) France had ceded Britain all 'islands and coasts in the gulf and river of St. Lawrence.' And the whole of the then North Shore proper, extending as far west as the St. Jean, was placed under the control of Newfoundland. In the Quebec Act (1744) the Province regained possession of the coast. It lost it again in 1809, but had it returned in 1825.

Meanwhile the old French grants had been bought up by English merchants, and under lease were turned over to the North West Company. The latter was then absorbed by the Hudson's Bay Company, and the line of posts thus maintained by 'the Bay' not only united the whole coast but also gave the Company actual control over the region, though the Province retained the legal authority. Finally, the rights of the Company were purchased by the Federal Government in 1871, and the area annexed to the Dominion in 1880.

Notwithstanding the apparent political unity effected by the close of the nineteenth century, writers in the twentieth have differed somewhat in their delimitation of the Shore. As the district about the mouth of the Saguenay was rescued from 'Labradorism' the term 'North Shore' was once more confined to the Gulf section. Then, when in the twenties the word 'Labrador' came to bulk large, this same stretch of coast came to be referred to as the 'Quebec' or Canadian Labrador.'

The result was a sort of compromise, whereby the most easterly two hundred and fifty miles were spoken of as 'le Labrador Canadien,' and the western section of the coast as 'la Côte Nord.' And occasionally the two were referred to also as the 'Grand' and the 'Petit Nord.' The line between them was variously drawn at the rivers Natashquan (179:14.180:11) or Mingan (41:259-60), and latterly at Seven Islands. (1:11) Most authorities agreed on the Saguenay as the westernmost limit of the greater North Shore, but some advanced it to beyond even the Portneuf River. (180:11.9:277)

And yet, even if in theory certain writers subdivided the shore, these same authorities generally wrote of it as a whole. And even Achard, whose recent work covers only the section from Tadoussac to Seven Islands, affirms that for the purposes of both history and geography the North Shore is best treated with the Quebec Labrador. (1:11) Blanchard, Bussières and Massue all treat of it as extending the full six hundred and fifty miles from the Saguenay to Blanc Sablon, and Brouillette also, though like Rochette he distinguishes various socio-economic sub-divisions. Invariably Anticosti Island was considered an integral part of the whole.

From 1948 onwards, the North Shore could have been defined as the southern edge of County Saguenay (see Map 1). But for a year now it has comprised two counties, - Duplessis, and a new County Saguenay, much reduced in size. Very briefly, it is an area of harsh climate and

poor soils, presenting a surprising combination of markedly continental and maritime characteristics. It corresponds, save for Anticosti and scattered outliers of palaeozoics, with the southeastern margin of the Shield. Although fringed with beach deposits and in places by a succession of wave-built terraces, it lacks as a whole the sedimentary fringe which has made possible extensive settlement higher up the St. Lawrence (see Map 2). In consequence it is a coast rather than a country, a shore in contrast to a wide and settled area, a husk embracing a territory which until very recently remained almost unused, whose value was rumoured rather than exploited.

CHAPTER I

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE EXPLORER

"When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength; a fugitive and a vagabond shalt thou be in the earth."
(Genesis iv:12)

On Wednesday, May 27th, 1534, Jacques Cartier arrived at the entrance to the Strait of Belle Isle. He was then forced by ice and contrary winds to seek shelter off the Newfoundland coast, but set sail once more on June 9th, and headed west along the north shore of the St. Lawrence. Portuguese and Breton vessels had been fishing off the Banks with increasing activity, certainly from as early as the year 1500. But their sole purpose was to fish; and since the eastern shores of Newfoundland and Acadia swarmed with the latter and abounded in safe, commodious harbours, there was little inducement to explore further. Certain individuals, more curious than the rest, may have penetrated the Gulf, but if they did no vestige of their enterprise has come down to us to-day. Thus Cartier's logs provide the earliest extant account of the Shore.

Prior to 1534 both the straits of Cabot and Belle Isle had been sighted on various occasions. But they were mistaken for closed bays, and, cartographically, were endowed with a form and extent which varied with the artistic imagination of the portrayer. The only thing, it seems, cosmographers agreed upon was that "on this dim verge of the

known world there were other perils than those of the waves. The rocks and shores of those sequestered seas had, so thought the voyagers, other tenants than the seal, the walrus, and the screaming sea-fowl, the bears which stole away their fish before their eyes, and the wild natives dressed in seal skins. Griffins ... infested the mountains of Labrador, ... devils rampant, with wings, horns, and tail, [and one] heard in the air, on the tops and about the masts, a great clamour of men's voices, confused and inarticulate - the din of their infernal orgies, and woe to the sailor or the fisherman who ventured alone into the haunted woods." (29:I,11)

The Gulf of St. Lawrence

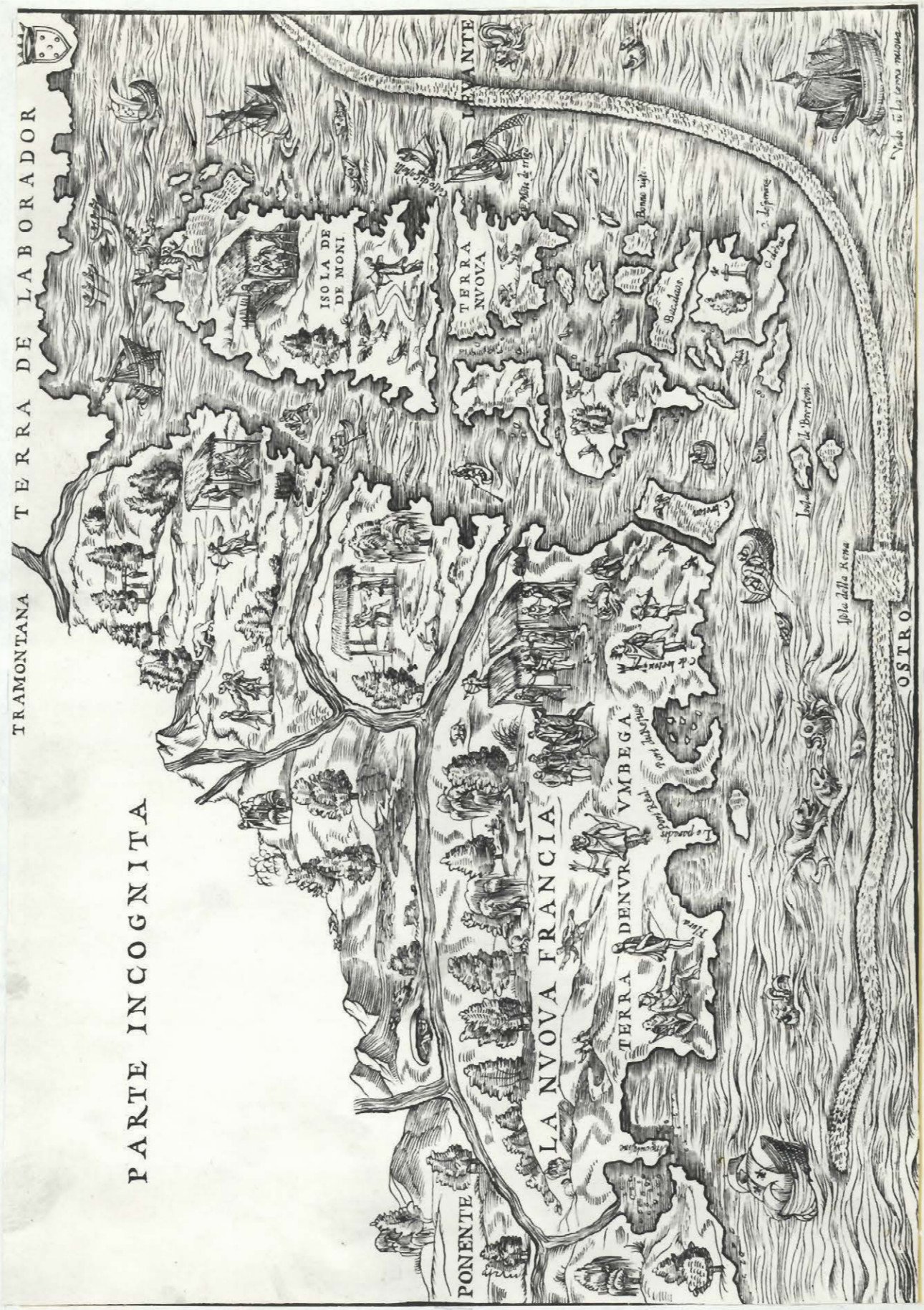
That first summer Cartier sailed only as far west as the North Point of Anticosti, but the following year he travelled almost the entire length of the North Shore. He was succeeded by Roberval, the course of whose voyage in 1542 is outlined by Jean Alphonse, who served as his pilot then. In the next fifty years or so many visits were made to the Gulf by private traders, but on the whole they are poorly documented, and contributed little if anything to the mapping of the St. Lawrence in the years before Champlain. The latter visited the region first in 1603, and in the succeeding three decades oft-times sailed the length of the river.

These persons differed in their interests and objectives, but they were all seamen and inevitably much concerned with sailing

conditions, - winds, currents, reefs, and the like. "The gulf is over four hundred leagues [twelve hundred miles] in circumference, there being within it an infinite number of ports, harbours, and islands. It is like a small sea, and at times is greatly tossed and agitated by impetuous winds blowing chiefly from the north-east, with occasional great blasts from the north-west. In these regions there are strong tidal currents of an irregular kind, setting sometimes from one shore and sometimes from another, and changing about in such a way as often to throw navigators out of their reckonings in the fogs to which the region is very subject." (19:V,169-70)

In August, 1534, Cartier battled steadily westward along the north shore of Anticosti, but in five days was unable to advance "more than about twenty-five leagues, on account of the heavy head-winds and of the tides, that set against us." Finally, in an attempt to round the western end of the island, he took to the long-boats, whereupon currents straightway carried one of these on to the rocks. A disaster was averted "by all of us jumping out and pushing the boat into deeper water," but then the tide turned, and "came against us from the west so violently that it was impossible to make a stone's throw of headway with thirteen oars." (18:71-2) And it was deemed advisable, therefore, to leave the boats and walk along the shore as far as was possible.

The following August it was fog which caused him the greatest trouble here. But in the early summer it was ice which bothered him most. "From Tadoussac to Gaspé, Cape Breton, Newfoundland, and the



(28)

Map 3. The Gastaldi Map from Ramusio's 'Raccolta,' - a fair representation of the state of knowledge prior to 1534. Though charting both entrances to the gulf, it shows no trace of Cartier's exploration of the same.

Grand Bay [inside the Strait of Belle Isle], one still finds ice and snow in most places up to the end of May, at which time the whole mouth of the great river is blocked with ice, whilst at Quebec there is none." (19:II,58)

Le Grand Nord and the Island of Anticosti

As for the Shore itself, it was most uninviting in aspect. From Blanc Sablon westwards to the Musquaro it was littered with islands, in places "so numerous that it is impossible to count them." Those lying west of Bonne Espérance were simply named "All Isles." (18:19) Everywhere, Cartier had to thread his way most carefully among them. There were harbours, to be sure, but dangerous reefs and shoals almost always impaired their usefulness.

Most of the islands were rich in bird life, the St. Augustin River in salmon, and Bradore Bay in cod. Whales were common west of the Strait. Otherwise the area had little or nothing to offer man. It was "broken and rocky, having no soil nor timber except in some of the valleys." (18:96) In truth, it could scarcely be termed "the 'New Land,' being composed of stones and horrible rugged rocks; for along the whole of the north shore [of the Gulf], I did not see one cart load of earth and yet I landed in many places. Except at Blanc Sablon there is nothing but moss and short, stunted shrub. In fine I am rather inclined to believe that this is the land God gave to Cain." (18:21-2)

Moreover, "the whole country is excessively cold in winter; the

(30)

Figure 1. Though Cartier was by no means the first navigator to enter the Gulf, his journals do afford the earliest account of any such expedition. In this case, however, the artist, judging by his portrayal of the human geography of 'la Côte Nord,' seems to have been woefully ignorant of his subject's appraisal of the area.

snow falls to a great depth, and remains on the ground in some places more than seven months of the year." (19:V,169) And "the savages ... of the north coast are very malicious, and attack fishermen .... It has been impossible to make peace with them .... They are small men [Eskimo], with very ugly faces and deep-set eyes, wicked and treacherous in the highest degree." (19:V,168)

Jean Alphonse rejoiced in the riches of Anticosti - "a goodly Isle, and a goodly champion land. (26:277) Si est la terre bien belle et platte de manière que je n'ay point veu, en toute l'isle, montaigne si haulte que l'on n'y peult bien mener une charrette." (16:485) Wyet "heaved a lyne overboorde and founde wonderfull faire and great Cod fish; and, on going ashore found there exceeding fayre great woods of tall firre trees, and heard and sawe a store of land and sea foules, and sawe the footing of divers beastes in the sand." (25:164)

But neither Cartier nor Champlain found there any thing worthy of praise. The southern coast appeared muddy and flat "and the most bare of timber that we have seen" (18:69); while the northern edge was lined with cliffs, and rocky off-shore. Champlain located a harbour at the western end of the island, but it was the only one, and even then was "greatly dreaded by navigators on account of its shoals, and ... points running out to sea." (19:V,166) The island was "not inhabited by any natives [on account of] a number of very dangerous white bears to be found on it." And "the cold in winter [was] extreme, and the snow very deep." (19:V,167-8)

From Natashquan to the Escoumains

Above Kegashka, the coast was "fringed all along with sandy beaches, and with no sign of a harbour, as far as Cape Thiennot" (Pointe Natashquan). West of here "this whole coast is very dangerous and is full of reefs. Though one would think it contained many harbours, there are shoals and reefs everywhere. (18:99-101) The land is low along the sea, but farther inland it appears very high; it is not safe to approach except with the lead in your hand" (19:V,176-7), for even the bay at Chisedec (Sept Iles) is fringed with dangerous sand banks.

The coastal regions, save where their rocky frame was itself exposed to view, were cloaked only in "very poor soil, and covered with fir-trees." (19:I,173-4) Whales were common, as always, and on the Moisie Cartier sighted a great many walruses, "fish in appearance like horses." (18:110) "There are a number of small rivers, where there is good salmon fishing" (19:V,177), and around Chisedec were "a marvellous number of all kinds of water fowl." (18:194) But the area was only very sparsely inhabited, and the Indians whom Cartier met at Cape Thiennot had, in fact, come from Newfoundland.

West of Sept Iles he "found that the shore was low and flat at the water's edge [as before], but that beyond this there were mountains." (18:105-6) Between Pointe des Monts and the Outardes the less-elevated areas, according to Alphonse, were furnished with "arbres de toutes sortes, comme en France, et aulcuns portent fruictz comme noix,

noisettes, grouselles, frazes et framboises." (16:488) And yet, but a moment before he had declared that "toutes ces terres ... sont sans prouffict, fort froides et pierreuses"!

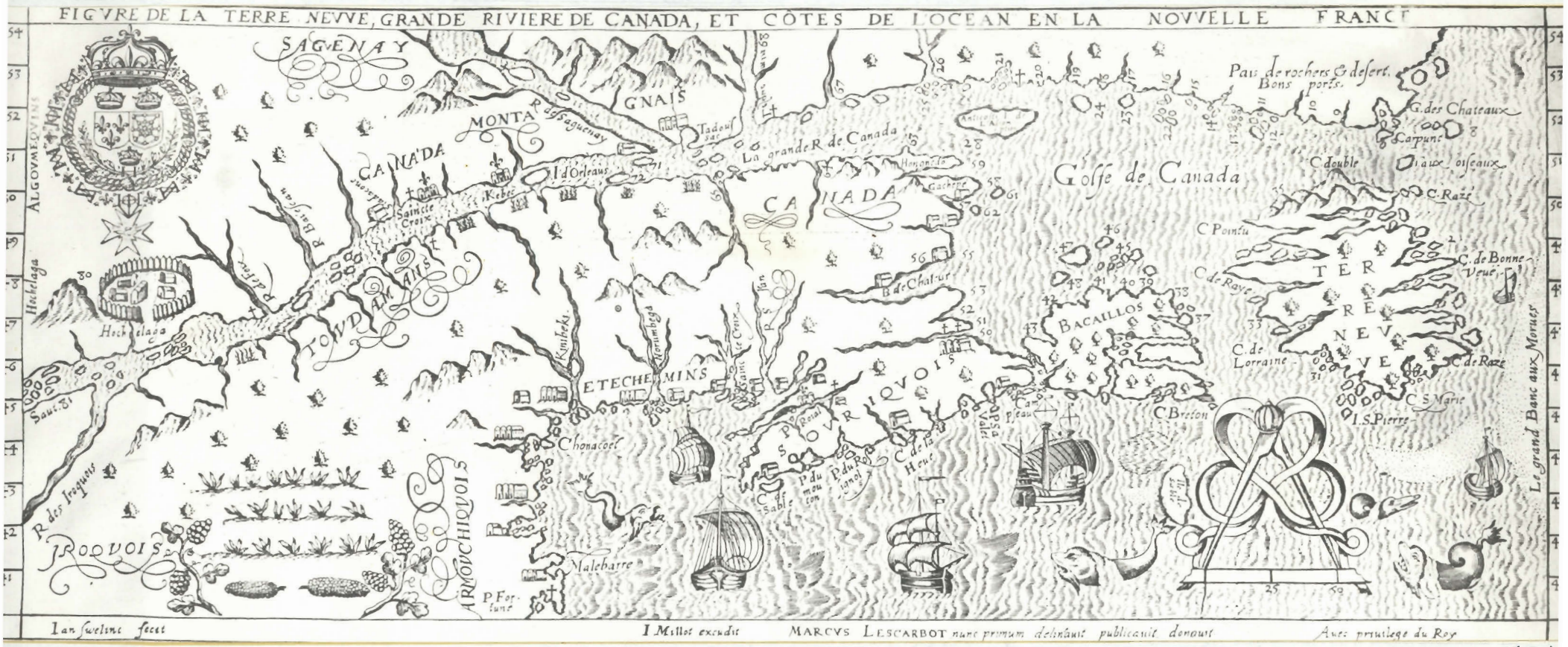
Champlain thought the Manicouagan estuary "the best harbour along the whole of the North Shore." But it was "very dangerous to approach," and one had to "skirt the eastern [i.e. the northern] shore for about three hundred paces to be able to make an entrance." (19:I,175) Moreover, the river here formed "several shoals at a distance of more than three leagues from shore, which spot is very dangerous as there is only a depth of two fathoms and less." (18:112)

And continuing westward, Champlain found "nothing but shoals," and little water. The Escoumains River was, he thought, "a very bad harbour, surrounded by rocks, and dry at low tide," and Anse aux Basques was "of no value at all." (19:I,176-7) In sum, the whole shore west of the Manicouagan was "very high, and barren, producing nothing, ... [and] neither so pretty nor so fertile as that on the south." (19:I,96,177)

Tadoussac and the Saguenay

"On the third of June [1608] we arrived off Tadoussac ... and cast anchor in the roadstead, a league from the harbour, which is a sort of a cove at the mouth of the river Saguenay .... There is water enough, and it is sheltered by the river Saguenay and by a small rocky island which is almost cut off by the sea." (19:II,10)

But it was far from being an ideal harbour. Not only was it



(23)

Map 4. Newfoundland, the Great River of Canada, and the Coasts of New France.
The estuary and gulf of the River St. Lawrence, as Lescarbot imagined them in 1618.

small, and able to "hold only some twenty vessels," but required a particular combination of wind and tide for a ship to be able either to enter it or to remain there in safety. "With a good wind and at half tide ... one may double the Pointe aux Vaches, keeping the lead in hand and having two or three boats always ready; because, if the wind were to die down all of a sudden, as it does quite often, you would be carried into the current of the Saguenay; and when you have doubled the said Pointe aux Vaches, you can then, if the weather is calm, have your vessel towed out of the Saguenay current towards the shore, and thus enter the port of Tadoussac, steering one point west of north. Once in port, you must land a good anchor and sink the fluke as deep in the sand as you can, placing a buoy crossways against it, and driving stakes as far down as possible at low tide, to prevent the vessel from dragging her anchor; because what is most to be dreaded is the land wind blowing down the Saguenay, which is very tempestuous and violent." From across the St. Lawrence (S.S.E.) the wind blew directly into the harbour, but it was not considered to be "dangerous, inasmuch as there is a firm hold towards the sea, so that the anchor on that side does not drag: either the cable or the ship's anchor would break first." (19:V,175-6)

One might well be forgiven for supposing, on the basis of such an account of the physical hazards involved in using the harbour, that there was something about Tadoussac itself which made all this worthwhile. Certainly, from over a wide area the Indians came regularly each summer to fish and to trade at the mouth of the Saguenay. But the

largest band Champlain ever met with, one thousand strong, were encamped on the other side of the river, by Pointe aux Alouettes. And it was not likely that any large European settlement would ever be located there. Rather, Champlain thought it a "very forbidding locality ... the most disagreeable and barren in the whole country. There are nothing but pines, firs, birches, mountains and almost inaccessible rocks, and the soil very ill-adapted for any good tillage .... And the cold is so great that if there is an ounce of cold forty leagues up the river, there will be a pound of it here"! (19:III,307)

Nor was there cause to imagine any improvement in conditions inland, away from the St. Lawrence. What with currents and tides, the islands off-shore, and the shoals and boulders clustered at its mouth, to enter the Saguenay was a perilous undertaking in itself, and scarcely worth the risk involved. For it issued "from between lofty mountains of bare rock with but little soil upon them," and heading upstream Champlain still found only "mountains and rocky promontories, for the most part covered with spruce and birch, a very disagreeable country on both sides of the river; in short a real wilderness uninhabited by animals or birds ... by reason of the excessive cold which prevails." (19:II,16-17)

On his first visit to the area Champlain had actually been surprised at the great quantities of game consumed by the Indians during a single feast. (19:I,101) But on subsequent occasions he found them in a miserable state, sometimes "being so thin and ghastly that I did not recognize them. (19:II,249) All these people ... suffer so great

(19)

Map 5. The Port of Tadoussac

The figures show the fathoms of water.

A. A large circular hill on the shore of the Saguenay River.
B. The harbour of Tadoussac.
C. Small stream of fresh water.
D. The spot where the savages encamp when they come to trade.
E. A sort of island which shuts off part of the Harbour from the Saguenay River.
F. All Devil's Point.
G. The Saguenay River.
H. Lark Point.
I. Very poor hills covered with fir and birch.
L. Bode Mille.
M. The anchorage where vessels drop anchor while awaiting wind and tide.
N. Small pond near the harbour.
O. Small stream flowing from the pond and emptying into the Saguenay.
P. Opening on the Point bare of trees where there is much grass.

extremity, on account of the great cold and snow, that they are almost constrained to eat one another; for the animals and fowl on which they live migrate to warmer countries." (19:I,110)

The North Shore as 'a Home for Man'

On the face of it, then, no one would be likely to take ship post haste and rush to settle this New Land. But somehow the North Shore seemed quite inviting when viewed from a distance, - say, from Quebec or from France, even. Certainly a more pleasant view was to be had thus than from the deck of some small ship beaten by wind and wave off the coast itself. Or was it, perhaps, that the sacred commission to "be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it," required of those who sought to fulfil the same that they find at least something encouraging to say of "the earth" in question. Either way, though, the summary speculations of most 'witnesses' seem somehow to cut across impressions conveyed in their day-to-day observations.

The account of the Sieur de Cobes, supposedly written at Old Fort Bay on February 13th, 1608, is remarkable for its enthusiasm if nothing else. "Canada," he states, "is a very beautiful country, large, pleasant, ... of a fair enough temperature, ... being placed under the 50th degree of latitude .... It is very fertile, flat, full of all sorts of trees, except that it produces no wine, but in compensation are certain apples marvellously big and full of a certain juice, very delicate and which intoxicates as much as wine .... The country is as

fertile as France itself .... It is only necessary to plough the ground once and to sow .... I cannot describe to you the fertility of the country both in wheat, in other sorts of things necessary to mankind, as well as in all kinds of merchandise, drapery, silk and wool. To sum up in a word, I believe it is some promised land and that the simplicity of its inhabitants brings on it the benediction of Heaven, because without excess of labour and without hard work to make a living, such as we do in Europe, they have all things in abundance"! (20:3-30)

Alphonse couched his appeal in decidedly scientific terms, discounting pure rhetoric, but he too declared the New Land to be "as good and as temperate as France .... The reason wherefore it is colder in the winter is, because the fresh River is naturally more colde then the Sea; and it is also broad and deepe .... And also because the land is not tilled, nor full of people, and is all full of Woods, which is the cause of colde, because there is not store of fire nor cattel .... And the reason why it snoweth oftener then in France is, because it raineth there but seldom: for the raine is converted into snowes." (26:282-3)

Cartier, too, encouraged the belief that New France more or less duplicated the environment of the old; for it lay "in the same climates." (18:90-91) But Champlain warned specifically against inferring any climatic similarities with the homeland, either from the resemblance of the vegetation or from similarity of latitude. Of the St. Lawrence below Tadoussac, he declared "the country [both] on the right and on the left is very full of horrible mountains and rocks and desert lands,

where there is no means of traversing." (19:II,333) Nevertheless he found the southern shore more populated, more temperate, and, all in all, far more agreeable than that to the north.

CHAPTER II

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE TRADER

"A country considered by some as horrible,
but which according to the well informed,
is held to be a real Peru." (Suppl. to 40)

With the North Shore, at first sight, so unpromising a region economically, it was only to be expected that the earliest economic activities associated therewith should have been based not on any realizable aspect of the environmental potential of the coastal lands themselves, but rather on the wealth of areas off-shore. In the latter half of the sixteenth century fishermen descended upon the Gulf in ever-increasing numbers, and by 1613 "at least six or seven hundred French vessels" (19:II,335-6) foregathered there yearly. Whaling was the particular concern of the Basques, and was centred on the little bay south of the Escoumains of which Champlain had spoken so disparagingly (see p.22). The English hunted the walrus; Breton and Norman fishermen, as well as many others, chased after the cod.

Before long, fishing proved to be so rewarding an enterprise that various imaginative souls were tempted to enlarge still further upon the wealth of the area. Old Fort Bay - at best but a summer rendezvous for fishing vessels - was elevated to the status of a fair-sized town, and, as 'Brest,' found a place on most maps. Lewis Roberts, in his Dictionary of Commerce, published in London in 1600, states that it was "the

chief town of New France; ... the residence of the governor, almoner, and other public officers: [and] that the French drew from it large quantities of baccalo, whale fins and train." (147:32) And the ever-appreciative de Cobes (of doubtful identity still) declared it to be "well provisioned, large and strongly fortified, peopled by almost fifty thousand men, and furnished with all that is necessary to enrich a good-sized town." (20:14)

In fact, the transition from an off-shore fishery to the permanent occupancy of lands near to the fishing grounds was accomplished only over a period of many years. Initially the fleets were land-based in Europe, and cod were shipped home for drying. Yet vessels often put in to land, for shelter, to make repairs, replenish food and water, etc., and in time these tenuous connections were expanded so as to involve drying cod on the beaches. At the same time, the boiling down of blubber from whales, seals and walruses, to supply "train oil" enough for the European market, obviously involved some form of shore establishment. But whaling station and cod platform alike were, until quite late in the seventeenth century, abandoned each winter without fail.

The Fur Trade

Trading was developed initially only as a secondary occupation, - an interesting sideline for fishermen. It was pursued in haphazard fashion, and was restricted to a few vessels seeking simply to improve

on their summer's earnings. But as fishing and whaling were advanced along the Shore, and as the returns from even such casual associations with the Indians proved most rewarding, these intermittent exchanges were eventually expanded into a regular fur trade.

All such activities, however, were long antedated by organised bartering amongst the savages themselves. At Tadoussac, representatives of the nomadic tribes to the north met each summer with sedentary peoples from the south, and received corn and tobacco in exchange for walrus ivory and furs. The French simply took over a system which was functioning already, and developed it further to their own ends.

Moreover, the Indians whom Champlain met there did not themselves trap the animals whose pelts they traded. Rather, the latter were transported thither from "the interior, where there are migratory tribes of savages who ... live entirely by hunting. This is the region to which the savages go with the merchandise we give them in exchange for the furs ... which are found there in large numbers and which they bring to our ships." (19:II,18) Thus the Montagnais were "intermediary traders betwixt the French and the shivering bands who roamed the weary stretch of stunted forest between the headwaters of the Saguenay and Hudson's Bay .... Indefatigable canoe-men, in their birchen vessels, light as egg-shells, they threaded the devious tracks of countless rippling streams," till they reached the Saguenay, and came at last to Tadoussac. (29:II,152-3)

Endeavouring to control the individual and wildly competetive

(19)

Figure 2. Figures des Montagnais. "These peoples are well proportioned in body, without any deformity .... They are clad in skins, one part of their bodies is covered, and the other part uncovered. But in winter they provide for the whole body; for they are clad in good furs, such as the skins of moose, otter, beavers, bears, seals, stags and deer, which they have in abundance. In the winter when the snows are heavy they make a kind of racket twice or thrice as big as ours in France, which they fasten to their feet, and so walk on the snow without sinking; for otherwise they could not hunt nor make their way in many places." (19:I,118-9)

trading characteristic of the late sixteenth century, Henry IV awarded monopolies to various companies. The first to come into effect was that granted to Pierre Chauvin, Sieur de Tonnetuit, who at the close of the century had four vessels, the largest of two hundred tons, which traded annually to the St. Lawrence. It was shortlived, only one in a series of concessions awarded and revoked in rapid succession, generally because the company concerned failed to satisfy the settlement clause of the agreement. And yet it effected the earliest occupation of the Shore.

Inevitably, but fatefully, Chauvin chose Tadoussac as the site of his development. It was a lovely spot in summer but that was the only season at which it was known. It was well located, at the mouth of the Saguenay, and at what was then considered the head of 'ocean navigation'; but that in itself was no justification for establishing a settlement there. "But whatever the reason, either because time did not then permit [them to go further upstream], or for other considerations in the promoter's mind, he had a few workmen put up a summer house .... Here they left sixteen men furnished with a few commodities which could be placed under the same roof."

Chauvin then headed for home, but the "men wintering there soon eat up their small store, and winter coming on, made them realize thoroughly the difference between France and Tadoussac. It was like the court of King Petaud, each desiring to be the leader: idleness and laziness along with the diseases which seized them unawares, reduced them to such great straits that they were obliged to trust themselves to the

Indians, who charitably took them in, and they gave up their abode. Some died miserably; the others in great distress awaited the return of the ships." (19:III,309-10)

In place of the fifty sturdy settlers planted on good soil which he had undertaken to provide, Chauvin had left but a miserable remnant one third as strong (and that only numerically). Eleven of them died and the remaining five were taken off in the following summer. From the commercial viewpoint the expedition was a success, but the attempt at settlement proved a failure, and neither Chauvin nor his successors were inclined to repeat the experiment. In the years that followed, Tadoussac was abandoned each fall. During the winter there was nothing to be seen there save for the empty post building itself, the remains of the Indian bark dwellings on the other side of the stream, and the boats used for ferrying goods to Quebec, which were left drawn up along the beach. (46:I,47)

However, in summer, the place swarmed with people. In fact, in the early part of the seventeenth century Tadoussac was THE place of trade in Canada. The Indians assembled here regularly each spring, bringing with them "hides of moose, lynx, fox, otter, ... martens, badgers, and muskrats." But traders sought most the skin of the beaver, and in a single year might "carry back as many as 22,000." (66)

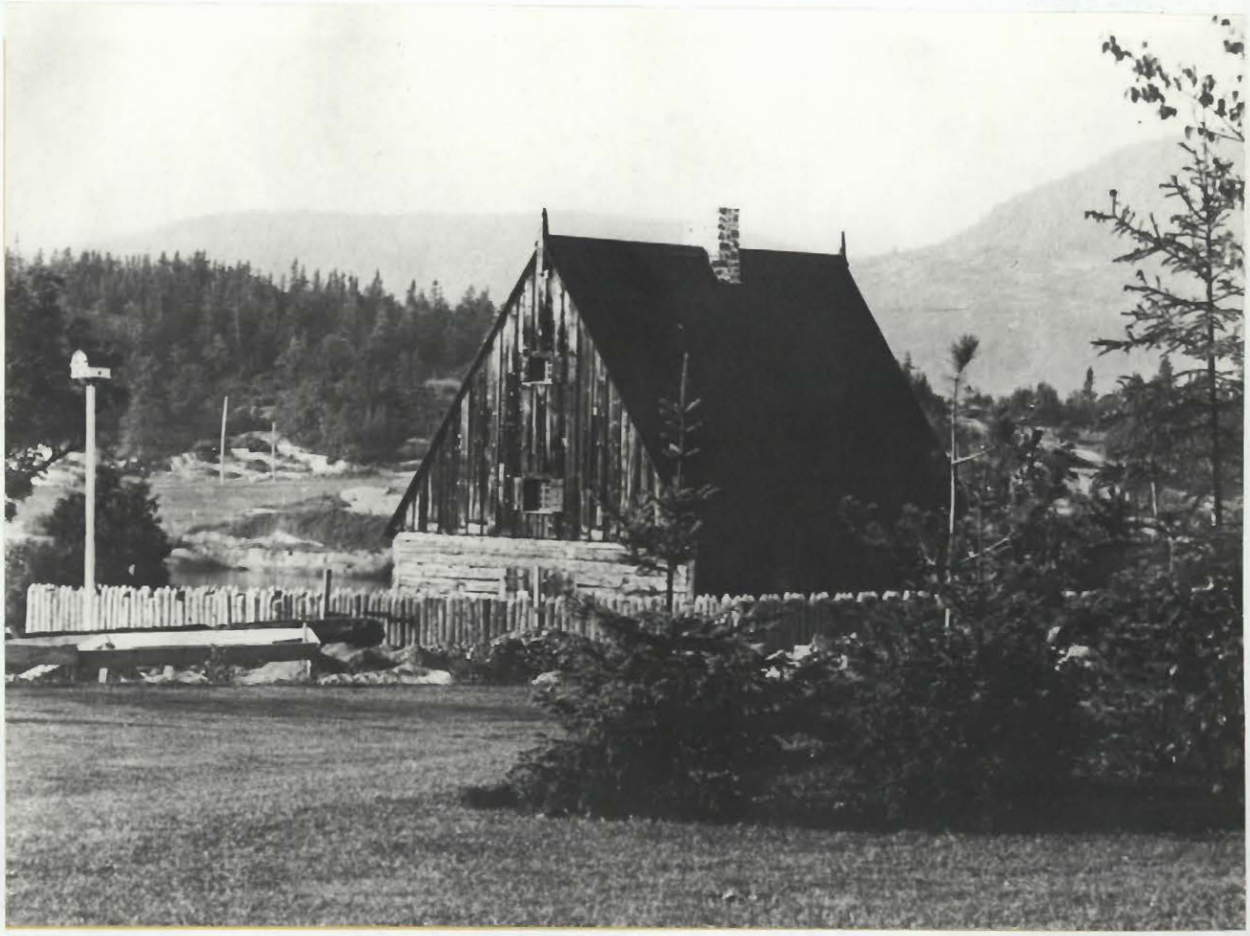
In time the number of merchants frequenting the place had grown so that on occasions it was impossible for them all to dispose of their wares. (19:II,146) In addition to the simple iron goods which had

sustained the earliest exchanges, they now offered "cloaks, blankets, nightcaps, hats, shirts, sheets, ... prunes, raisins, Indian Corn, peas, crackers or sea biscuits, and tobacco," together with as many other articles as they could convince the natives that they now needed. (66) And as often as not the little harbour was crammed full of vessels, belonging either to persons who traded thereabouts, or to those who preferred to disembark here and to continue on upstream in a smaller boat. On occasions, there were "as many as twenty ships in the port." (66.cf.,p.24)

Les Grands Seigneurs

Meanwhile, well to the east of Tadoussac, fishing and whaling yet prevailed on the Labrador Canadien. In fact, since Cartier's discovery of Cabot Strait in 1535, few other vessels had ever used the northern route; so that very little was known of the eastern section of the shore at this time. But, in the latter half of the seventeenth century, with the development of the in-shore fisheries, and the establishment of posts at various points along the coast, Labrador once more appears in the records.

The very first seigneury conceeded on the North Shore was that at Mille Vaches, awarded to Robert Gifford in 1653. But in the succeeding decades a whole series of grants were made along the coast of the Gulf itself, - including those of the Terre Ferme de Mingan, to François Bissot in 1661; the Isles and Islets of Mingan, to Jacques de



(Canada Steamship Lines)

Figure 3. Chauvin's Post at Tadoussac. (1600)
"A summer house, twenty-five feet long by eighteen wide and eight feet high, covered with boards with a fire-place in the middle, the shape of a guard room, surrounded by wattles and a small ditch dug in the sand."
(19:III,309)

la Lande and Louis Jolliet in 1679; Anticosti (also to Jolliet) in 1680; and the Kessessakiou-Kegashka Concession, to Legardeur de Courtemanche in 1702. And in the course of time, these several territories were linked together. For the occupation of the Grand Nord turned out to be something of a family affair; possibly because all persons choosing to live in such an area must inevitably have had much in common to begin with. Or perhaps it was that a man needed both family and friends in order to survive there! In any event, François Bissot, himself a descendant by marriage of Louis Hébert, became in his turn father-in-law, first to Jolliet and then to la Lande. Finally, to round things off, Courtemanche married Bissot's granddaughter!

François Bissot.

According to his 'aveu et déclaration' of 1668, Bissot had received from les Cent Associés "le droit et faculté de chasse et d'établir en terre ferme aux endroits qu'il trouvera plus commodes, la pesche sédentaire des loups marins, baleines, marsouins, et les autres négoces, depuis ... Isle aux Oeufs jusqu'aux Sept Isles et danse la Grande anse, verse les Esquimaux ou les Espagnols font ordinairement la pesche, avec les bois et terres nécessaires pour faire le dits établissements." (94:3-4)

He was a tanner by trade, from Normandy, but like many others had not come to Canada to make a living in the ordinary way. Earlier he had hunted seals at the mouth of the Saguenay, and traded with the Indians at Tadoussac, but in the face of increasing competition, turned

his attention to the Labrador coast.

In many respects, though, the latter region was less attractive. Ile aux Oeufs was only "un rocher stérile, dénué de toute végétation, long de trois quarts de mille environ. Dans le creux des roches granitiques, on installa les huttes des pêcheurs. Rien de plus primitif que ces campements de grève. Les sapins nains, les cyprès de la côte voisine en faisaient tous les frais. De larges fourneaux faits de pierres sèches, servaient à bouiller les huiles." (45:34)

Later he built a little stone fort at Mingan, but once more on an island, for fear of the savages. Then, when these proved to be less ferocious than was at first imagined, posts were established on the mainland itself. And yet, though Bissot was the first 'Canadian' to establish a sedentary fishery on the North Shore, he did not himself spend overmuch time in the area. Instead, he directed the operation from Quebec, from whence he dispatched vessels annually, laden with fishing gear and trade goods, and then awaited their return in the fall. Initially, he was concerned most with the herring and cod fishery; later with the seal and the whale. In this way, he furnished the city with fish, leather and oil, and also exported the latter to France and the West Indies.

Louis Jolliet.

The original grant made to Jolliet and la Lande in 1679 comprised "les Isles, et Islets appelés Mingan etans de Costé du Nord, et qui se suivent jusqu'à la Baye appellée Lance aux Espagnols." (36:3144) But,

firstly through marriage and then with the death of Bissot in 1678 (?), the two seigneuries were united into one whole, extending on- and off-shore, from Ile aux Oeufs to Bradore Bay. And, in 1680, the award of Anticosti considerably increased the value of Jolliet's holdings, especially in view of its strategic position with reference both to fishing and trading along the North Shore.

Jolliet had actually asked for the Island, being "desirous of forming [there] fishing establishments for green and dry cod fish, seal and whale oil, and trading therein between this country and the West Indian Islands." (36:3144) And in the years which followed he developed a string of flourishing fishing and trading posts. But he also explored along almost the entire length of the Quebec Labrador, fishing all the while. And he traded with the Eskimo, exchanging "des armes & des munitions pour des peaux de Loups Marins, & quelques autres Pelleteries." (43:II,8) He had little help from la Lande, though; for the latter was early recalled to France on business.

In accordance with his agreement to "keep house and home [on Anticosti] and cause the same to be kept by his tenants" (36:3428) Jolliet actually settled there with his family. The census of 1681 lists twelve persons as resident on the island - Louis Jolliet, his wife, four children, and six servants. He had by then cleared two arpents of land and shipped in a couple of cows. But he wintered there only occasionally, generally preferring at that season the warmth and fellowship to be had in Quebec to the bleak solitude of the North Shore.

Augustin Legardeur de Courtemanche.

In 1702 Courtemanche was granted the entire coast eastwards from "the river called Kegaska as far as that called Kessessakiou [Hamilton], ... for a period of ten consecutive years, to carry on thereat trade with the savages and the seal fishery." (36:3679-80) But prior to this he had already operated a post at the mouth of the River St. Paul within the limits of the concession, and he now established others, at Old Fort Bay, half a league to the westward, and at Fort Pontchartrain, in Bradore Bay.

Even now, though, hostile Eskimo, who in the previous century had migrated westwards along the shore, still endangered such undertakings. At each post Courtemanche needed to "station four or five men during the winter" to look after his equipment." (36:3680-82) In 1714, therefore, when he was awarded a second, if less extensive, concession, in the area of Bradore Bay, he not only induced thirty or forty Indians to settle there and to hunt and fish for him, but made every effort also to keep on friendly terms with the Eskimo. Furthermore, he was, at the same time, appointed 'Commandant of the Coast of Labrador,' and authorised to settle any disputes arising from fishing activities there.

Some time before this, however, he had carefully explored the coast from Kegashka to the Strait of Belle Isle and had reported at length on the great wealth of the same. In the Baie des Ha! Ha! he "killed 200 seals with muskets in two days" and observed that the land there abounded with caribou and game, so that even the Eskimo seem to

Map 6

Carte de la Nouvelle France
Faicte l'an 1632 par le sieur de Champlain

live almost royally. And the mouth of the River St. Paul was, he noted, "bordered with islands where [once again] food of all kinds can be found in abundance and the islands are so rich in game that one could easily feed with it all the Frenchmen and savages." While in lakes nearby, "trout and salmon abound to such a degree that, with two or three hand lines or a common net, one might catch enough to feed a considerable garrison." (39)

Yet Bradore Bay was richer still. Cod were so abundant that "three men, whom I had fishing there, caught thirteen hundred of them in a single day .... [They] are so numerous that the line has not even time to reach the bottom." Seals too were slaughtered there en masse; "in less than fifteen days, I have had killed ... as they passed along, enough to fill more than thirty barrels of oil; and had we a net with which to obstruct a little channel through which they pass, we would have made enough to load a ship." Caribou were "more numerous than cattle in the prairies of Illinois. There are also large numbers of lynxes, foxes, martens and bears .... [And] I believe that one could also very easily carry on at this place a fishery for whales, of which there is such an abundance that they come so close to land that they could be harpooned from the summits of the rocks." (39)

Indeed, a contemporary of his, saw no reason why Labrador should not become another Norway or Sweden. He believed that the Eskimo could be civilized; that they would make an important contribution to the growth of the country; and that the lot of the visiting fishermen could

be so improved as to make the region both profitable and attractive. In his mind's eye he could even see the caribou domesticated. Was not "Sweden a far more northern country than Labrador?" Yet it had "a very large population [and] several beautiful cities, ... a proof that Labrador, by means of settlements and agricultural development, may become in time a powerful kingdom, that would be one of the brightest gems in the crown of the Emperor of the French"!

The Vision Fades.

However, the days of 'le Grand Seigneur' were already numbered, and on the North Shore they came to an end with the death of Courtemanche in 1717. He was succeeded by his step-son, Vincent de Brouague, who did his best to keep the tradition alive, but he inherited only one quarter of the King's grant. Again, though he continued for forty years to submit his annual reports, they grew progressively less complete. He was supposed to keep a careful watch on fishing activities especially, but many vessels refused to recognize his authority or to stop at Bradore to procure a licence. And when the English took over the country the Navy Board declined to continue him in office.

Further, in 1733, both Mingan seigneuries were drastically reduced in size. The area west of Cape Cormoran was annexed to the Crown, and those sections lying east of the Etamamiou River were divided up into a dozen or so concessions. The latter were mostly limited to the right to fish, hunt, and trade with the Indians within the limits of the concession; they seldom gave any legal possession of

the land, were of only very limited duration, and made little or no permanent contribution to the settlement of the North Shore.

The King's Posts

In 1663, the administration of the Colony had passed out of the hands of the Hundred Associates into those of Louis XIV. Henceforth, the western half of the Shore was reserved to the fur trade, lying within the newly-created Domaine du Roi with its headquarters at Tadoussac.

The actual limits of the Domain were not fixed properly until 1733, on the occasion of its extension eastwards to take in the area between Ile aux Oeufs and Cape Cormoran. But, save for the small seigneurial enclave of Mille Vaches, it was generally accepted as extending as far as Ile aux Coudres, and reaching into the interior an indefinite distance, at least as far as the height of land. The Seigneury of La Malbaie was sliced off the Domain in 1762, and its western limit on the St. Lawrence advanced to the Black River at St. Simeon. It was an immense territory nevertheless.

Bearing in mind always the generally inferior and very improvident nature of the Montagnais, and the need for some form of legislative protection, the Government wavered between two different policies. Sometimes it leased the Domain and on other occasions managed it on behalf of the Crown. Either way, though, new posts were now established and the original ones placed on a firmer footing. When John

Law's Compagnie d'Occident had charge of the Domain in the 1720's it contained "but 4 posts solidly established: Tadoussac, Chekoutimi, the Jeremie Islets or Papinachois, and the Moisy River, [at each of which the Company maintained] warehouses, clerks, and other French employees, for the purpose of hunting and trading with the Savages." (70) But Hocquart, in his decree of 1733, listed eight more, three of them on the coast - at La Malbaie, Bon Désir and Sept Iles - and the others inland.

The Manner of their Operation.

During periods of public administration, "the posts of the King's Domain ... were under the immediate management of the Director thereof who was appointed to that charge by the Governor & Intendant of Canada. He furnished them at the King's expence with the merchandize & effects proper for the Indian trade or fisherys which were carried on at these several Posts, and received from them likewise upon the King's account, the furrs, oyl, fish or other produce of the same." (37) Otherwise, the right to operate the Posts was simply farmed out to the highest bidder, according the latter the exclusive privilege of trading, hunting and fishing throughout the entire Domain.

"Clerks or Factors were established at the different Posts to supply the savages with what their necessitys reasonably required. Rates were fixed for the trade - when an Indian family came to a Post, whether they had been successful in their hunting or had nothing to exchange, they were alwise supplyd with necessarys until the chance of

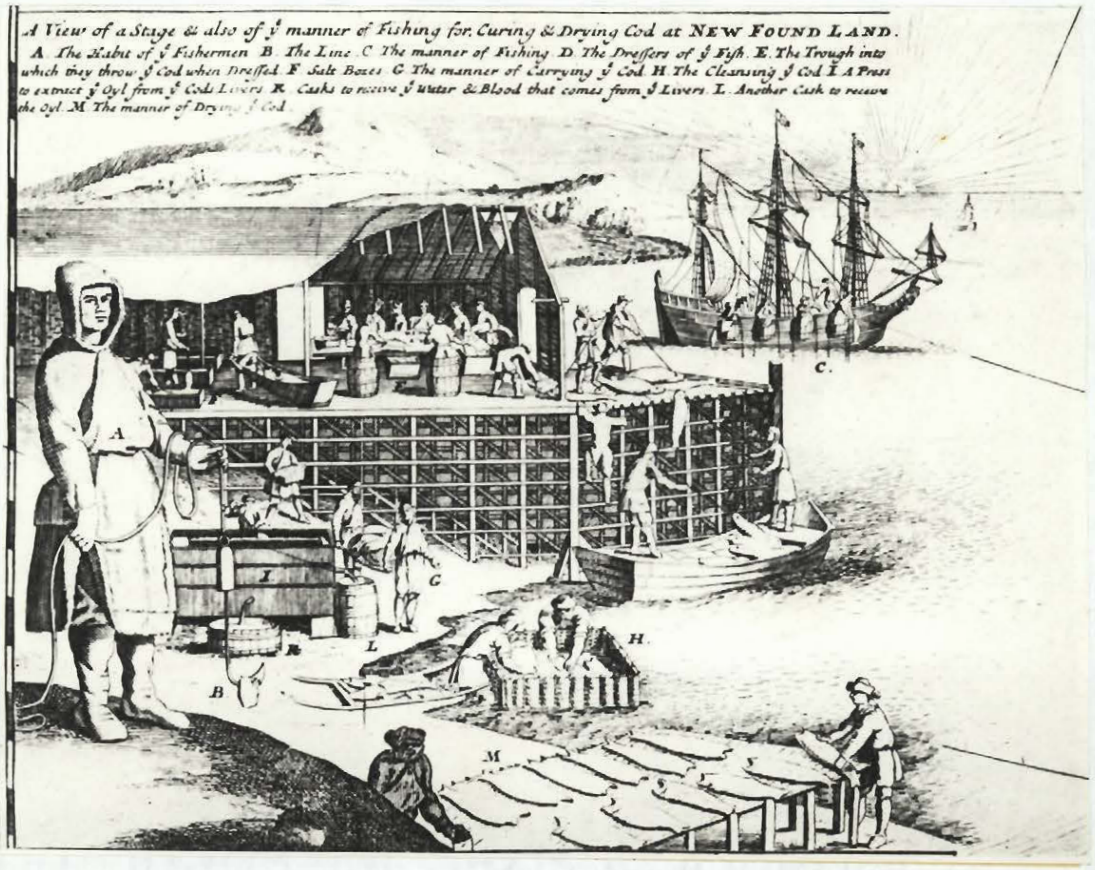


Figure 4. Methods used in the Cod-Fishery.
From Moll's Map of North America, of about 1713.

the hunt should enable him to pay, and in case of sickness or death, their wives and orphans were maintained & supported until capable to provide for themselves. This created the strongest tyes of gratitude, friendship & interest in both partys," - and it was also the only chance the factor had of the Indians' ever settling their debts. (37)

The charge for leasing the King's Posts was a mere thousand or so 'livres' a year, but running costs were high. Each

> must be provided with flour, biscuits, lard, pease, and other foodstuffs for the men engaged in its operation.
> With biscuits for the Indians employed at the seal fishery.
> Some of these are also required for those who come from the interior to trade their beaver and other furs.
> With cloths, coats and other mercer's and iron wares fit for the use of the Indians and more particularly with muskets, powder, lead and other utensils so as to assist them in their chase and facilitate the same.
> Wages must be paid to those employed in the operation.
> A barque must be maintained with four sailors during the full season of navigation, both to carry thereto provisions and foodstuffs and to bring back the effects traded in.

And "in exchange for all such advances [it would furnish] Raw and dry beavers, pelts of various kinds: Fish oils: [and] seal skins." (38)

Their Decline and Fall.

All this while, though, the 'fermiers' of the Domain had been losing ground in the face of strong competition from the English based on Hudson's Bay. The agent at Jeremie Islets journeyed each year via the Outardes River to Lake Pletipi, to be able to trade more readily with the savages from the north and northwest. His counterpart on the Moisie similarly travelled more than one hundred and fifty miles inland to Lake Achouanipi. As a result, both these posts continued to function

satisfactorily. But Tadoussac declined rapidly as the centre of gravity of trading shifted west and north, to Chicoutimi and beyond. In 1663 it had been the headquarters of the Domain, but after 1733 was maintained only as a depot for supplying other posts.

There were other factors contributing to the decline of the Trade. Between 1710 and 1714 the lessee, Riverin, had introduced a large number of Huron, Abenaki and Micmac Indians who practically annihilated the moose and the caribou, causing the starvation of many of the Indians of the Domain. Fires over-ran vast areas, killing or driving away the fur bearing animals. And as the number of pelts received fell off, the agents reduced the quality of their goods and increased their prices. Inferior arms and ammunition either injured the Indians or drove them away. The traders were more liberal in their distribution of brandy and initially obtained many cheap furs in this way. But they also killed off many trappers, who traded their few skins for liquor instead of buying food and ammunition. (36:3254-6)

All in all, the history of the King's Domain in the early part of the eighteenth century makes tragic reading. The Indians were widely scattered and drastically reduced in number. Coquart planned to repeople Tadoussac with orphans from Chicoutimi whom he thought to apprentice to the seal and walrus fishery, but had to drop the idea owing to fierce rivalry between the clerks concerned. In a good year, Jeremie Islets might still "produce 4 to 500 Beaverskins, sometimes 800 and more handsome martens, [a few] well-dressed skins of the Caribou,

and sealskins," together with "35 to 40 casks of oil." (71) But in the late forties it, too, lost many of its trappers in an epidemic. The post at Seven Islands was on occasions every bit as remunerative, and trading there had "seldom failed to be profitable, while Dufresne [had managed it; but, Coquart observes, he was] hardly in a condition to continue his winter enterprises; the voyages that he has to make into the interior at the end of June have ruined him." (71) Finally, in 1759, the arrival of the British fleet thoroughly interfered with the replenishing of the Posts. That at Seven Islands was abandoned, and everywhere the Indians were in the utmost misery and distress.

CHAPTER III

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE MISSIONARY

> "The land of shades, ... amid frightful mountains and forests, where the sun never looks upon the earth except by stealth." (46:doc.XLIV)

Christian missionaries were the first to live for any length of time on the North Shore. In spite of the commercial assets of the area, for three centuries at least after its discovery the French felt little inclination to settle there. Its native inhabitants themselves endured untold hardships. The various fishing and trading posts scattered along the coast were small in size, and were at best occupied only for part of the year. They suffered changes of fortune, and were subject also to repeated attack, both from land and sea.

Even Tadoussac was never anything more than a summer trading post. Indeed, only the missionaries kept it from complete abandonment. They alone rebuilt and held on when warfare, sickness and famine had obliterated almost all evidence of settlement along the Shore. They came to evangelize the forest peoples of the north who foregathered on the coast in summer, believing that "where the savages came to trade they might also be converted" (50:66); and they remained long after the merchants had sailed for home. They erected crude chapels, and, save for occasional breaks due to the premature death of the incumbents, succeeded in maintaining some semblance of civilization.

The Missionary Viewpoint

Champlain had set sail for New France with a commission to establish 'the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman faith.' He saw this as a command not only to found a European community duplicating the faith of the old, but also to bring into the fellowship of the Church as many of the native peoples as would receive Christ. The men sent out to him were in most cases highly educated and were specially trained for the task. New lands had to be charted, tribes civilized, superstitions eradicated, and the Gospel preached. Jesuit and Recollet alike plunged fearlessly "into unexplored regions, with no weapons but a breviary and a crucifix, no guide but a compass, and often no other companions than their own zeal and the grace of God." (9:31) For "this country, although so ill-favoured by nature, nevertheless has its inhabitants - who, having as well as we a share in the Redemption of Jesus Christ, fully deserve that we should secure it for them, in order to enjoy eternal rest after the manifold hardships amid which they drag out their wretched lives." (68)

'Enduring the Cross, despising the shame,' these Reverend Fathers called themselves 'unprofitable servants.' Indeed, "a single conversation on heavenly themes, held with a Savage in some wooded nook or on the edge of some rock; a Soul won for God; a child baptized; ... these impart a joy greater than the trouble caused by all the hardships of a long and arduous journey, [and] recompense with usury the fatigues

undergone in coming so far." (68)

The Montagnais Mission

From as early as 1615, the year when the first Recollets arrived in Canada, missionaries visited the North Shore regularly at intervals of a year or so. Then, in 1640, a definite mission was established by Jean De Quen, centred, naturally enough, upon Tadoussac. Its sphere of influence was widened rapidly, in time extending northwards to Lac St. Jean and Hudson's Bay and eastwards to the coast of Labrador.

Mission posts were established at various points along the coast, close to river mouths, as at Ilets Jérémie and Sept Iles. Jean Dolbeau, the first missionary appointed to the North Shore, was sent with instructions that from Tadoussac "he should extend to the end and mouth of the River St. Lawrence." (52:I,92-3) But this was generally interpreted as referring to the estuary alone, which, at best, extended no further east than the Moisie. A century later, Pierre Laure was to petition that a resident missionary be sent to the Labrador coast, and he even volunteered his own services. But to no avail; the Labrador Canadien yet remained beyond the pale.

Originally, as often as not, the missionaries spent the winter at Quebec, ministering to the needs of the colonists there. Then, in the spring, they travelled downstream to Tadoussac and laboured mightily throughout the summer to bring Indian souls to Christ. But as the need grew for a continued work and witness in the area, instead of returning

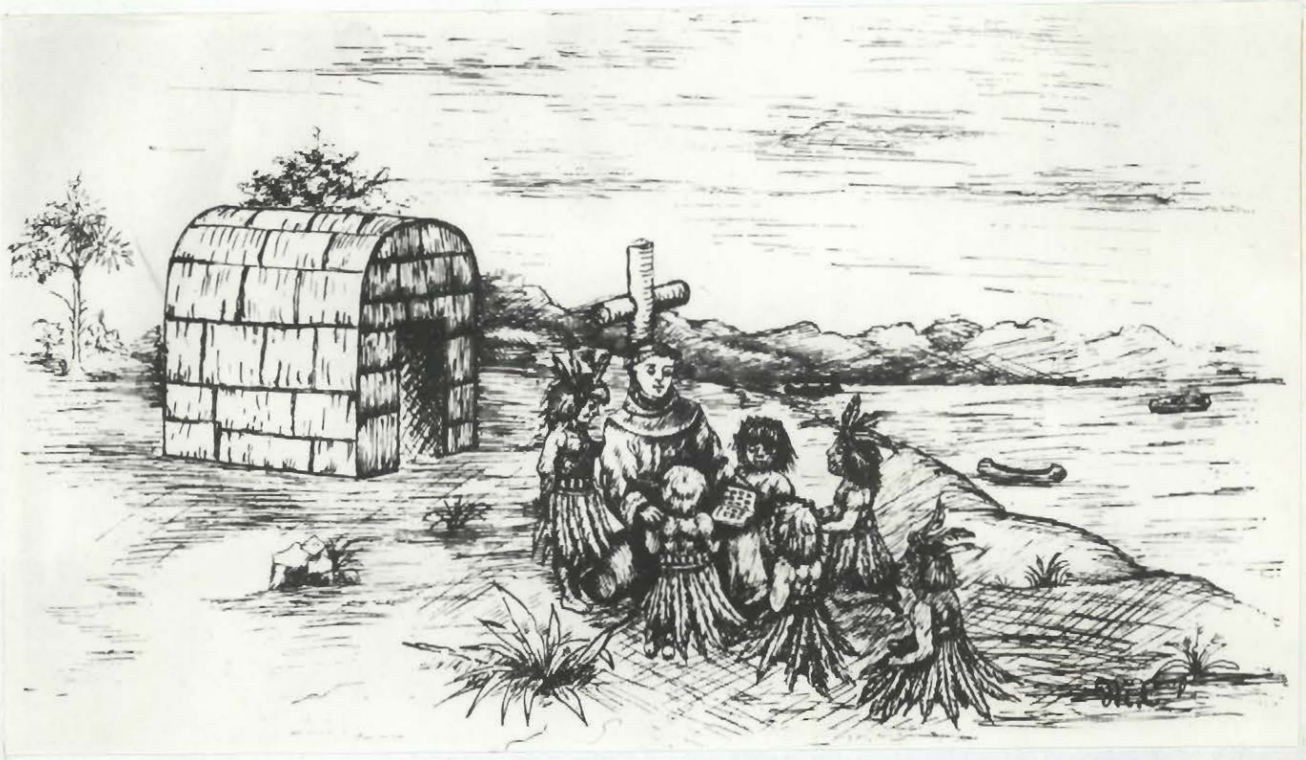
home each fall, they followed the Indians into the interior and were in the ensuing months to suffer cruelly, both through the impoverishment of their hosts, and from the elements.

A Summer's Work along the Coast

After a hard winter spent wandering in the interior in search of food, the Indians headed for the coast once the rivers were open. They arrived amply laden, some men bearing "packages of beaver-, marten-, and lynx-skins; the others with their canoes. The women carried their children, the bark for their cabins, the kitchen utensils, firewood, fir branches for their beds, etc. [The Reverend Father] received them, before the Church, vested with a surplice; ... recited for them a short prayer, after the montagnais veni creator, and then gave a brief exhortation. After that, they went to the French house for refreshments, and thence to make their cabins." (70)

These they grouped around the chapel and the few other buildings which made up the post. And, while trading continued, the Fathers "kept open school," preached and baptized; for much had needs be accomplished by the fall. Young and old alike were grounded in the rudiments of the Faith, and taught also how to read and to write, that they might in time lead their own people in the Way. (52:I,134)

Life was pleasant enough then, but one thing was lacking - some defence against the flies! "They are troublesome in the extreme. The great forests here engender several species of them ... disagreeable



(54)

Figure 5. Premières Conversions sur les rives du Saint-Laurent.

"Here - sometimes on the green turf, in fine weather; sometimes in the cabins - the missionary, surprised at the memory and docility of his young plants, catechized them, gradually taught them the general prayers, made them sing, and by little presents encouraged them to surpass one another." (70)

beyond description. Some people are compelled to go to bed after coming from the woods, they are so badly stung." Paul Le Jeune, who had himself been almost "eaten up by the mosquitoes," believed that "if the country were cleared and inhabited, these little beasts would not be found here." (67) There was, however, little likelihood that this would ever happen. The flies persisted, so that at chapel services the priest was invariably assisted by two persons waving aspen boughs, whose sole function it was to drive the flies away.

As to the 'chapel' in question, the bark oratories hurriedly improvised by enthusiastic helpers had little which would commend them to any European. Take, for example, De Quen's account of how the savages built him "a house after their fashion. It was soon up; the young men went to search for bark, and the girls and the women for branches of fir, to line it with a beautiful green; the old men did the carpentry, which consisted of some poles that they bent to form a bower, and spread thereon the bark of ash or of spruce; and lo! a church and a house were quickly built. In the beginning, I wondered where they would cut the bark, so as to make windows; but, when the house was finished, I saw that it was not necessary to take that trouble, for there was enough air and light without the windows .... Here I am, then, lodged like a young Prince, in a Palace built in three hours"! (64:doc.XLIV)

It was in summer, too, that the missionaries from Tadoussac could most easily reach the outlying areas served by their mission.

And yet, travelling was as often as not a hazardous experience even at that season. "We have passed through forests such as might easily frighten the most confident travelers - whether by the vast extent of these boundless solitudes, where God only is to be found; or by the ruggedness of the ways, which are alike rough and dangerous, since one must journey over naught but precipices, and voyage over bottomless gulfs where one struggles for his life, in a frail shell, against whirlpools capable of wrecking large vessels." (68)

On Wintering with the Savages

However, life on the coast in summer was, as it turned out, a veritable picnic compared with the sufferings undergone during the winter months. Each fall, once trading was done, the Indians scattered "for their hunting to a great distance, - of some one hundred to 200 leagues." (70) The missionaries followed them, and, as the savages were "almost always errant and vagabond, ... underwent great hardships in seeking them and in visiting them in all the places they assembled." (52:I,93-4)

In December, 1615, Dolbeau plunged boldly into the interior with the Montagnais. But he was not very strong; his eyes were weak; he did not understand the language of the Indians; and was utterly untrained and unseasoned in the art of living through any winter more severe than those he had known in France. Insufficiently nourished, crawling with vermine and almost blind, he was forced to give up. He returned first

(61)

Figure 6. R.P. Paul Le Jeune, 1591-1664.

Arriving with the first Jesuits in 1632, as Supérieur Général of the Canadian Mission, he took up residence with the Indians of the Saguenay, determined to learn their language. Somehow he managed to survive the winter, but the experience left him forever broken in health.

to Tadoussac, and then to Quebec to recuperate. But even those Black Robes, who later survived many a cruel winter, shuddered at the thought of spending yet another on the North Shore. Life there was "a long and slow Martyrdom, ... an almost continual practice of patience and Mortification, ... truly penitential and Humiliating." (69)

"La saison d'hiver est plus rude et plus longue dans ce pays-là [north of Tadoussac] que dans aucun canton de la Nouvelle-France. Comme les glaces n'y laissent en plusieurs endroits la navigation libre que vers le 15 de juin, on ne peut y suivre les sauvages qu'à la piste sur les neiges; on ne les suit même que de loin à cause de la légèreté de leurs jambes; il faut grimper sur les montagnes avec les raquettes pieds par le chemin qu'ils ont tracé, et on n'arrive que longtemps après eux à une ou deux heures de nuit au lieu où ils campent." (63:III,413)

And the further one went inland, the harsher conditions became. So much so that the savages spoke of "a country where the cold is so great as to freeze all words uttered there; and when spring approaches, upon these words thawing out, there is heard, almost in a moment, all that was said during the winter." The missionaries were less given to such imaginings, but even they, in this instance, refrained from offering any scientific explanation of the sound, preferring an interpretation peculiarly their own. Thus, "whatever may be the foundation of this story, it is true that all the evil that has been committed during the winter in these great woods is told to the Father publicly in the month of April"! (64:doc.LXXXVI)

However, it was not only the cold which blighted the missionaries so. The very manner in which the natives lived would, in itself, have been enough to provoke a saint, and on occasions it did. The Fathers were forced to live with the Indians for months on end in miserable little huts wherein one could not "stand upright, as much on account of the low roof as the suffocating smoke; and consequently you must always lie down, or sit flat upon the ground, the usual posture of the Savages. When you go out, the cold, the snow, and the danger of getting lost in these great woods drive you in again more quickly than the wind, and keep you a prisoner in a dungeon which has neither lock nor key." (64:doc.XXIII)

There were no furnishings to speak of, and so few coverings that you froze on one side and got burnt on the other - that is, if the presence of some large and rather precocious animal did not cut you off from the fire altogether. And yet, Le Jeune continues, "the cold, heat, annoyance of the dogs, sleeping in the open air and upon the bare ground; the position I had to assume in their cabins, rolling myself up in a ball or crouching down or sitting without a seat or a cushion; hunger, thirst, the poverty and filth of their smoked meats, sickness, - all these things were merely play to me in comparison to the smoke .... It almost killed me." (64:doc.XXIII)

Yet, throughout the winter, even while the missionary was cooped up in this way, "il ne faut pas cesser d'instruire les infidèles, de donner les sacrements aux chrétiens, et de secourir les malades."

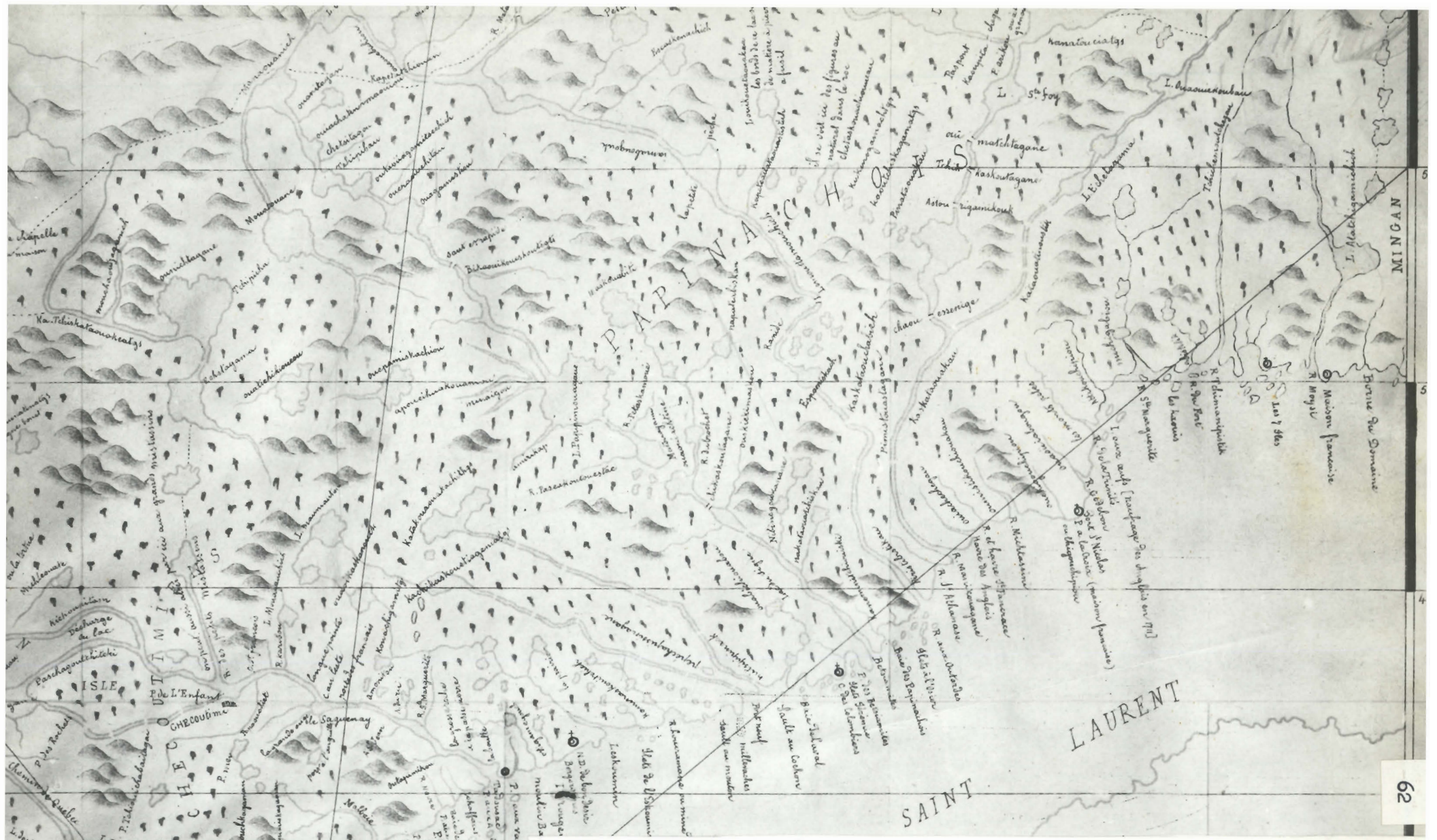
(63:III,413)

Occasionally, the priests would winter on the coast instead, with those of the savages who had chosen to remain there. Laure spent several quite happy winters thus, at Notre Dame de Bon Désir. "There until spring, religious exercises were performed for five months .... Mass was said before daylight in an old ruined French house; and the savages attended it regularly. From there they went to ... hunt seals on the river St. Lawrence," - for six days of the week, that is. (70)

The Trials and Tribulations of the Montagnais

The savages themselves suffered cruelly; and they were imprisoned here for life. If they survived one winter, there was always the certainty of another to follow, and another, and another - unless death should save them from further torture.

Hunting conditions varied as alarmingly as the rewards of the chase. After a severe winter the Indians would be "in a miserable condition, [with] only a few articles which they wished to barter merely in order to get food." (19:II,171) But even in good years their intemperance would, as often as not, bring them near to starvation. Thus, Le Caron (a contemporary of Jean Dolbeau) notes, "I would have a great number of children, to instruct in the mysteries of Our Holy Faith, if I had something to give them to live on." (52:I,134) Absent from the coast all winter, they would "reappear destitute of everything,



(63)

Map 7. Area of the King's Posts and the Mission to the Montagnais.

From the map of Father Laure, S.J. (1733) Sent to reopen the Mission in 1720, after it had been closed for nigh on twenty years, he served along the North Shore until his death in 1738. Renowned both as scholar and priest, Pierre Laure travelled widely in the interior, producing the earliest detailed maps of the Saguenay region. His successor, La Brosse, was the last of his Order at Tadoussac.

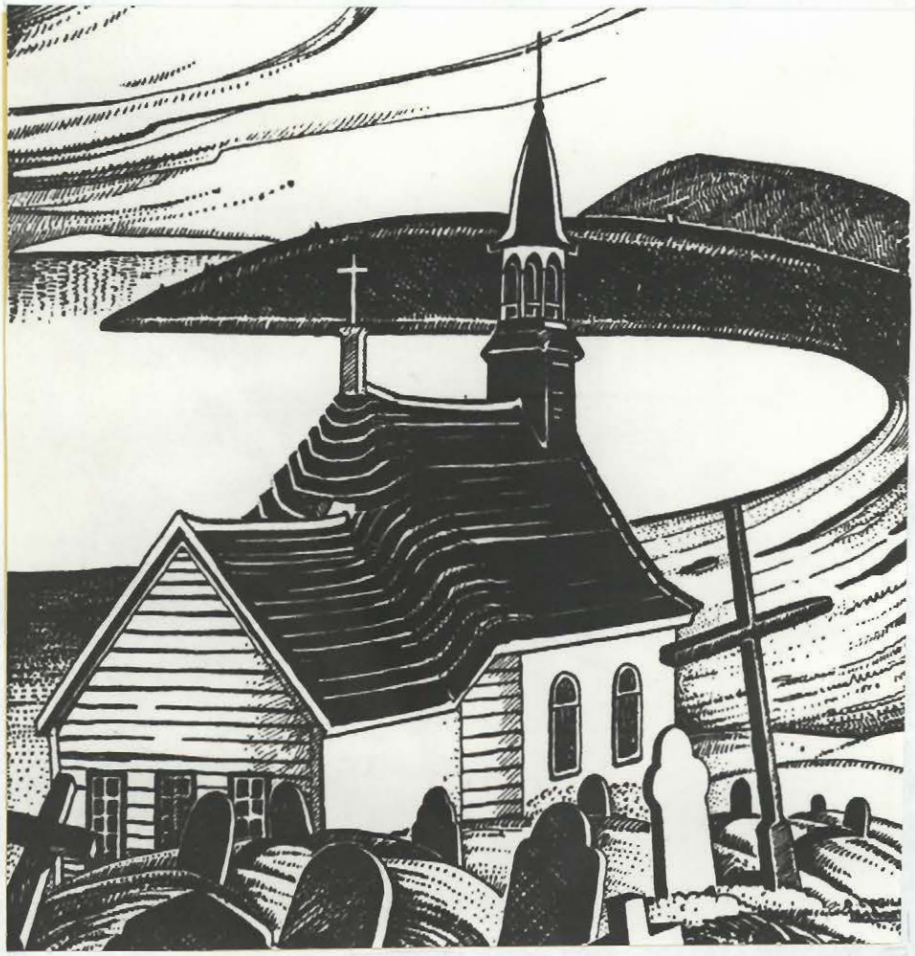
exceedingly thin, and always with the invariable greeting: 'we are dying of hunger'." (70) And the number who really were sick was "quelquefois si grand qu'on est comme accablé de travail dans les conjonctures où le corps manquant de nourriture peut à peine se soutenir." (52:I,137)

Yet, the sum total of those dying from starvation soon proved small indeed alongside of the number stricken by the white man's diseases. Plagues ran riot along the Shore, causing havoc everywhere. At such times, "the missionary had barely a single day or night to look about him; he was nearly always vested with his surplice, having the crucifix and the holy oils in his hands, his breviary under his arm .... Every day had its funeral and saw so many dying persons almost despaired of; so that, while tolling the knell of one ... [he] would be summoned to attend either some one about to expire, or another who desired to be helped to pray." (70) The Relation for 1669 tells of a small-pox epidemic which slew two hundred and fifty Christians in ten weeks. (64:doc.CXXVI) And the very same priest who shared in that ordeal, writes also of an earlier visit, in 1657, to a group encamped on the lower Saguenay. Although it had been one thousand two hundred strong two summers before, all but a hundred of these had "perished of a loathsome, contagious disease" during the winter. Then, in 1670, to crown it all, a great forest fire raged along the Saguenay and carried before it the house and the store, the chapel and the presbytery, and the rest of the settlement at Tadoussac.

Oft-times, too, the Indians suffered at the hands of the traders. And when these were upbraided by the Fathers for abusing their charges so, they promptly retaliated, and accused the missionaries themselves of both hindering trade and wronging the Indians by keeping them at prayers day and night, and leaving them no time to hunt!

However, as often as not, their fellow savages were those who oppressed the Montagnais most. The Betsiamites and the tribes to the east of them, though "poor people, - some of whom have no other riches than the Baptism which they have come to get at Tadoussac - are pursued by the Savages of Gaspé, who cross the great river and massacre them in the country of the wild animals, - the forests of that region feeding more Moose, Bears, and Beavers than men." (64:doc.LXXXI) And even around Tadoussac the Fathers complained bitterly at times of "those Mikmak runners who, not knowing which way to turn, spoil most of our mission, or beg their bread along the banks of the river." (70)

But their greatest enemies were the Iroquois, who raided the coast at all too frequent intervals. On June 6th, 1661, for example, sixty or seventy of them attacked Tadoussac, burnt everything they could lay their hands on, the chapel included, killed all those who had remained there, and so thoroughly frightened the Montagnais that they fled far into the interior and did not return for three years. (64:doc.CVI)



(51)

Figure 7. The Chapel at Tadoussac.

Begun in 1747, the oldest wooden frame church in Canada, "it stands to-day, with its red-shingled roof and white-washed wooden walls, on the high-ground overlooking the bay. Beside and beyond it lies the cemetery, where modern stones and crosses give no hint of the resting-places of those earlier Christians, red and white, who knew this chapel and its predecessors." (50:67)

The Close of an Era

All this while, of course, as the Indians were reduced in number and trade fell off, the mission also lost much of its former significance. Always "deserted except at the arrival of the ships," (64:doc.LXXXIII) Tadoussac was now often untenanted in summer too. "Among all the objects that I have seen, worthy of compassion," declared one Father in 1670, "that which most touched me was the great solitude and the few people that I found in that once beautiful and flourishing Mission .... I compared it with what it was formerly; ... and I saw there only some wretched remains of its old-time splendour." (64:CXXVIII) And half a century later Laure was to lament that whereas the Mission "formerly consisted of nearly three thousand men, and was directed by 3 Jesuits, [it had] been reduced by various fatal diseases to 25 families at most .... [This] pretended capital of the Province of Saguené consists of merely a wooden dwelling and a storehouse .... [Yet] old ruined stone buildings, whereof the foundations, cellar, bake house, and a gable still exist, show that a very neat Church and a very comfortable house once existed there." Similarly, although the Indians at Ilets Jérémie "formerly had a pretty chapel in their village, all the exercises of the mission [were now] performed in a poor bark cabin, ... open and exposed to every wind and to the rain." (70)

At the end of their first year's work in Canada, back in July, 1616, the Recollets had met in Quebec to talk things over. In the

course of their discussions they described the North Shore as follows. It is "an uncultivated, barren, mountainous country .... The Indians are nomadic, wandering in the woods, excessively superstitious, attached to their juggleries, with no form of religion, and, for the most part, it would require a long time to civilize them." (52:I,109) In fact, in the succeeding century and a half the Mission did have a real impact on the present lives and future destinies of these very same savages. But, when the Jesuits were expelled from New France, in 1782, they left the Shore itself much as their predecessors had found it.

CHAPTER IV

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE MARINER

"A wild inhospitable country, affording small inducement for settlement, and a most dangerous coast for vessels."
(75:II,307)

Although the English encouraged settlement elsewhere in the Province, in the St. Lawrence Lowlands, the Eastern Townships, and even on the South Shore, 'la Côte Nord' remained well nigh deserted. In fact, the latter half of the eighteenth century marks the lowest ebb in the history of man's occupancy of the area. The Indians were dying out, and there were no European colonists to replace them. Moreover, the existing fisheries had suffered much from the Conquest; for prior to his assault on Quebec, Wolfe had very carefully destroyed shore establishments on both sides of the Gulf. And, soon after, in the War of Independence, they were attacked again, this time by the Americans. Tadoussac was saved through the ingenuity of its clerk, one Martin by name, who arranged several old field pieces along the edge of the bluff and dressed up a group of Indians in red blankets, parading them around whenever a strange ship appeared. This he did in the hope that those on board would be bluffed into thinking the settlement garrisoned by red-coats; and it paid off. (141:440) But most of the other posts were sacked by privateers.

Certainly, the leasing of the King's Posts was continued under General Murray. But the administration of this vast Domain now rested in the hands of a few individuals in the employ of the great trading companies. These had no interest either in sponsoring settlement or in publicising their knowledge of the area, and a veil was drawn down over the whole. "Probably information concerning all this territory existed in the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company, but outside of their officers the whole region was an unknown wilderness, even to the Canadians themselves. Only those who were familiar with the Jesuit Relations and the old Colony records knew the extent of what had been forgotten." (11:391)

A Mariner's Graveyard

The public at large trusted solely in the present experiences of those of their number who were so unfortunate as to be compelled to sail the length of both Estuary and Gulf year in and year out. And such persons regarded the North Shore then with understandable horror. The dangers of the coast as revealed in the accounts of early explorers were not one whit less terrifying to navigators two or three hundred years later. Indeed they were greater; for in time the Shore was endowed with a reputation for malignancy which outstripped even the facts of the case, and lingered on into the twentieth century.

"Labrador is visited periodically by terrific gales .... The coast, in its southern section [the Labrador Canadien] is honey-combed

with reefs and shoals, many of which are uncharted, and their presence is never suspected until the storm lashes them into fury .... The oncoming of a North-easter is ever a source of uneasiness, as it spells wreckage and disaster." (76:135) Further west, beyond the cape, the wind from the south-east was most dreaded. It could transform the area of the Mingans into "a perfect cauldron of heavy seas and baffling races." Dangerous rocks, well enough exposed normally, were "almost totally hidden in darker weather from the vessels driven towards them from the open sea, over-shadowed as they were by the highlands on shore and the larger islands near." (112:58)

Currents in-shore and off were dangerous almost everywhere, and especially so on account of their incredible vagaries; for they varied unevenly according to the season, time of day and night, and with fluctuations in barometric pressure and such like. And they were rendered yet more hazardous by sudden changes in the strength and direction of the wind; also by frequent fogs, which "play strange and dangerous tricks in these latitudes." (75:II,293) Often, even in broad daylight it was impossible for "un matelot de distinguer son voisin sur le pont. Autour de lui tout est nuageux et opaque; la mer est là qui confond ses teintes grisâtres avec le ciel fumeux, et sans le monotone clapotis de la vague qui se brise sur le flanc du navire, l'homme à la roue croirait que son capitaine vogue vers le néant." (79:135)

Lieutenant Chappel of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond almost came to grief thus off Bradore Bay. "Such a thick fog prevailed, that we could

scarce distinguish the end of our ship's jib-boom." The captain was alive to the danger and "listening very attentively, and putting his head as near as possible to the surface of the sea, could faintly distinguish the dashing of a surf apparently at no great distance from the ship." Becalmed, and held fast in the grips of a powerful indraught they were carried rapidly towards the shore. Soon the noise of breakers was obvious to everyone, and they dropped anchor immediately. "At length," Chappel reports, "the vapour slowly cleared away; and our astonishment may be conceived, when we perceived the black rocks of Green Island within a quarter of a mile, ... with the wreck of two large ships lying bilged upon the beach!" They had been cast ashore but a short while before, and soon after were joined by a third. (77:94)

There were, too, hazards of man's making, which likewise claimed the lives of many. "Anticosti, on the best of charts, was thirty miles out of its place ... and the north shore was so badly laid down, that in one of the best of them, in a distance of only thirty miles of coast, there is an error of no less amount than ten miles." (75:II,278)

In fact, the reputation of Anticosti alone was reason enough for most vessels giving the Shore a wide berth. It was the epitome of the perils of the whole. "Anticosti, stretching as it does across the mouth of the St. Lawrence, is ... much dreaded by sailors .... Sailing past [it] is always esteemed the worst part of the voyage to or from Canada ... [and would] unnerve the stoutest seaman's heart in a storm." (75:II,239) "The currents around the Island are very variable and

(102)

Figure 8. An October Squall off the Saguenay.

"No scene can inspire one with gloomier and more terrific ideas than the one met when navigating this river on a dark, stormy night, the thunder rolling among those precipices with a rattling noise. The flashes of lightning discover to you, at intervals, the dismal objects around you and the danger you are in, and the reflexion that you are at the mercy of the jarring elements, which in a few minutes may dash you against the rocks into eternity, adds much to the horror of your situation." (141:442)

uncertain," (88:108) and they, together with "the reefs of flat limestone, extending in some parts to $1\frac{1}{4}$ miles from the shore, the want of anchorage off most parts of the coast, and, above all, the frequent fogs" (74:69) rendered it "a perpetual terror." And "the many shipwrecks occurring there ... [gave it] a mournful celebrity." (89:94)

Admiral Sir Hovendon Walker

The most famous wreck in the history of the North Shore, however, was not on Anticosti, but at Ile aux Oeufs, by Pointe aux Anglais. It was a calamity of the first order, and had widespread repercussions. With New France to be had almost for the asking, it seemed, a large British expedition left Boston on July 30th, 1711, headed for Quebec. It consisted of nine warships, two bomb vessels, and some sixty transports and tenders, with close to seven thousand five hundred troops and marines aboard. "For Canadians, had they known it, the only bright spot in the gloomy scene was the picture of the heads of this formidable array - the incapable Admiral Walker and the inept General Hill, brother of Mrs. Marsham, favorite of the Queen." (50:153-4) Walker sailed into a fog, figuratively and literally, and as the French observed, "la guerre fut finie à notre avantage sans avoir tiré un seul coup de mousquet." Indeed, "tout le monde avoüait que la main de Dieu y avait travaillé." (87:365-8)

"After a tolerable good passage from Nantucket Bay to the mouth of the River St. Lawrence, which wee performed in a reasonable time,

the wind came up at ESE the 22nd of this month [August], fresh gales, the fairest that could blow for going up the river." (83) They soon passed the western end of Anticosti, but suddenly the wind died down and a fog descended, blanketing everything. That night, "the Fog being so very thick, without the least Glimpse whereby to perceive any manner of the looming of the land," (96:123) and wherewithal "so excessively dark we could not see from one end to the other of our vessel ... the admiral lay'd by for fear of falling foul of one side or other of the river." (82) He counted on a south-west drift, but instead the fleet was caught by strong currents bearing it relentlessly towards the north-west, soon backed up by an easterly wind. When land was sighted he supposed this to be the south shore and ordered the ships to bring to on the other tack. Suddenly, there were breakers ahead!

Walker was at first disinclined to heed the cries of a mere "Land Captain" who rushed to his cabin with news of imminent destruction. But he yielded to a second and yet more urgent entreaty, "and coming upon Deck, found ... all the People under a mighty Consternation, and in great Confusion." (96:125) Eventually he got the helmsman to turn about, "and ordering all the Sail to be made that we could carry, stood off from the Shoar into the mid Channel," though, since his captain had in the "hurly burly" let go the anchor, they had to cut the cable. (96:125)

All hell broke loose, it seems. "Les éclairs et le tonnerre, se mêlant au bruit des flots et des vents et aux cris perçants de tous les

naufragiez, augmentoient l'effroy de tous les spectateurs, de sorte que ceux qui en ont été témoins nous ont dit depuis qu'ils s'étonnoient de ce que nous n'en avions rien entendu à Québec" - and that four hundred miles away! (87:366) "All the night we heard nothing but ships fireing and showing lights as in the utmost distress, so that we could not but conclude that the greatest part of our fleet was lost; and indeed there were not ten ships in the whole that were not in danger of being cast away." (82) Some vessels were able to make sail and stood off from shore; others anchored for the night; the remainder ran aground.

With justifiable enthusiasm Mère Juchereau records "que la justice de Dieu les poursuivit et les châtia de toute manière, car le tonnere tomba sur un de leurs vaisseaux et le fit sauter si loin que la quille qui avait plus de cinquante pieds de long fut trouvée bien avant sur la grêve .... Tous ces miserables tâcherent de gagner terre, en environ trois mille mourûrent des qu'ils y furent arrivez, sans compter ceux qui furent submergez à l'heure même et qui n'eurent pas la force de nager et de combattre contre les eaux pour differer un peu leur mort." (87:366) In fact, but eight vessels were lost, seven transports and one storeship, and with them the lives of seven hundred and forty of Marlborough's veterans (thirty-five women included!) and one hundred and fifty sailors.

Earlier a gale had been blowing almost directly on shore. Had it continued it is doubtful if many of the fleet could have been saved. But mercifully, around two in the morning there was a providential lull,

followed by a shift in the wind, which blew the surviving vessels across to within sight of the South Shore. These returned the next day "to save and get off all the Men that had escaped drowning." (81:126) There were five hundred such, but most of them "were so mangled and bruised on the rocks, and naked withall, that they were not in any condition of service." (84)

On August 25th, therefore, after a brief consultation with General Hill, Walker called his captains to a council of war. They, "finding unusuall tides and currents so farr as wee are come in this river, and expecting worse the farther we go, ... were unanimously of the opinion that the river is wholly inpracticable by reason of the ignorance of the pylotts ... and [we] can consequently proceed no further." (83) Dismayed at their loss, and fearful of further disaster, they turned about and headed for home.

The Fate of those Marooned

However terrible the fate of the many persons drowned in 1711, and of those lost from divers other vessels both before and after this, they were more fortunate than some. Ships were wrecked on the Shore most frequently towards the close of the season, and on a virtually uninhabited coast the chances of survival were small indeed. Anticosti alone became "the grave of hundreds, by the slowest and ghastliest of deaths - starvation. Washed ashore from maimed and sinking ships, saved to destruction, they drag their chilled and battered limbs up the

(81)

Figure 9. Ile aux Oeufs and Pointe aux Anglais,

where Walker earned his dismissal. Certain of the wrecked transports were driven on to the reef; others ran aground north of the point. Colonel King's vessel managed somehow to anchor in the channel between the islands, in "seven fathoms of water with a shoal of rocks on each quarter, ... which we plainly perceiv'd by the waves breaking over them." If the wind had not dropped "our anchors could not have held and we should have all been lost. For the wind and the vast seas which ran would have broke our ship in a moment in ten thousand pieces against the rocks." (82)

rough rocks; for a moment, warm with hope, they look around with eager, straining eyes for shelter, - and there is none; the failing light darkens on hill and forest, forest and hill, and black despair. Hours and days waste out the lamp of life, until, at length, the withered skeletons have only strength to die." (88:88)

In an earlier assault on Quebec led by Sir William Phipps the English had similarly set sail from Boston, but this time in the fall. On their way upstream they destroyed the posts at Mingan and on Anticosti, but such vandalism they were soon to regret. On the return journey, five weeks later, they were caught in a storm close by. "There were three or four vessels which totally miscarried: one was never heard of, a second was wrecked, but most of the men saved by another in company; a third was wrecked so that all the men were either starved, or drowned, or slain by the Indians, ... and a fourth ... a brigantine, whereof Captain John Rainsford was commander, having about three score men aboard, was in a very stormy night, October 28th, 1690, stranded upon the desolate and hideous island of Antecosta." (91)

It did not break up immediately, and Rainsford was able to get his men ashore safely. "Convinced, that ... they had nothing but a sad and cold winter before them ... they built themselves nine small chimney-less things that they called houses ... and a store-house, wherein they carefully lodged and locked their poor quantity of provisions, which though scarce enough to serve a very abstemious company for one month, must now be so stinted, as to hold out six or seven ....

The allowance agreed among them could be no better than for one man, two biskets, half a pound of pork, half a pound of flower, one pint and a quarter of pease, and two salt fishes per week." Before long, half the crew were out of their minds, and the other half sick in body. After Christmas "they dropt away, one after another, till between thirty and fourty of the sixty were buried by their disconsolate friends." (91)

From the start, severe penalties had been imposed for stealing from the common stock of provisions. "Nevertheless they found their store-house divers times broken open, and their provisions stolen by divers unnatural children of Leviathan .... It was not possible for them to preserve their feeble store-house from the stone-wall-breaking madness of these unreasonable creatures .... There was a wicked Irishman among them, who had such a voracious devil in him, that after divers burglaries upon the store-house, committed by him, at last he stole, and eat with such a pamphagous fury, as to cram himself with no less than eighteen biskets at one stolen meal, and he was fain to have his belly stroked and bathed before the fire, lest he should otherwise have burst.

"This amazing and indeed murderous villainy of the Irishmen, brought them all to their wit's ends," but it led to the desperate venture which was to prove their salvation. "There was a very diminutive kind of boat belonging to their brigantine, which they recovered out of the wreck, and cutting this boat in two, they made a shift, with certain odd materials preserved among them, to lengthen it so far, that

they could form a little cuddy, where two or three men might be stowed, and they set up a little mast, whereunto they fastened a little sail, and accomodated it with some other circumstances, according to their present poor capacity.

"On the twenty-fifth of March, five of the company shipped themselves upon this doughty fly-boat, intending, if it were possible, to carry unto Boston the tidings of their woful plight." (91) They suffered terribly, enduring "a thousand dangers from the sea and the ice, and [were] almost quite stunned with hunger and cold." (87:viii-ix) But "God carried them into Boston harbour the ninth of May, unto the great surprize of their friends that were in mourning for them: and there furnishing themselves with a vessel fit for their undertaking, they took a course in a few weeks more to fetch home their brethren that they left behind them at Antecosta." (91) Sixty-seven men had embarked on the vessel at Quebec; twenty-one lived to tell the tale.

Emmanuel Crespel and La Renommée

Yet more dreadful was the fate of Father Crespel's companions, also cast ashore on the island of Anticosti. Only a short while before, an English vessel had been wrecked there without loss of life; both passengers and crew being "indebted for their preservation principally to a cargo of French wine which they had on board, a large quantity of which afforded them sufficient nourishment to sustain life." (78:ix-x) Their experience was pleasant enough; Crespel's own story was one "of

sorrow and of woe." (78:47)

He took ship at Quebec on November 3rd, 1736, aboard La Renommée, a French sloop-of-war. Off Matane they were caught in a storm which blew first from the SSE, and then shifted suddenly to SSW. They were swept towards Anticosti, where "the ship struck, within a quarter of a league of the shore, on a ridge of rocks, about eight leagues from the southern point." (78:51) She was a stout vessel, though, newly built, and held together long enough for them all to get ashore. This they did in their yawl and long-boat, carrying with them tools and timber to repair the same, and sail canvas also, for tents. But over half of their provisions "had been either consumed or spoiled in the eleven days we had been at sea." There remained food enough for but five weeks, which "reflection was a melancholy one, for there was no appearance we should be able to quit this desert spot in the period." (78:67)

They organised a camp of sorts close to the shore, but soon despaired of lasting out till spring. "Cold, snow, frost and illness, seemed to increase our sufferings; and we were sinking under the pressure of so many evils .... The cold caused a perpetual inclination to sleep, and our tents were insufficient to protect us from the immense quantity of snow, which fell this year to the height of six feet." (78:68)

In consequence, it was decided that half the party should take to the boats and try, if it were possible, to round the western end of the island and fetch help from Mingan. On November 27th thirteen men

set off in the yawl and seventeen more in the long-boat. But they made slow progress, and on December 2nd the yawl was lost in a "dreadful sea." (78:70) On the 10th the long-boat itself was almost crushed by ice. Somehow the seventeen survivors managed to put to shore that night, but their boat was then frozen in and they had to stay put. "We had no other course to take but to land the few things which had not been thrown into the sea [during the storm], and to get our provisions round us. We proceeded to make cabins or huts, and covered them with branches of the pine tree." But otherwise, "to preserve us against the severe cold we had only our common cloaths and blankets half-burned." (78:90-91)

"Our only hope was prolonging our lives till the end of the month of April, and to wait until the ice was dispersed, or melted, that we might be enabled to complete our voyage in our boat." The remaining food, therefore, had to be strictly rationed among the seventeen, each being "allowed about four ounces of nourishment a day .... It was also necessary to regulate our employment." Crespel and two of his fellows "undertook to cut all the wood that should be wanted, let the weather be good or bad: others undertook to carry it home, and others to make paths in the snow in the way we must go into the forest." And so they continued, though at a diminishing pace; for the snow deepened and it was necessary also to go further in search of wood so that "our strength decayed as our labour increased." (78:93-8)

On January 1st, the ice broke up in the bay and the long-boat

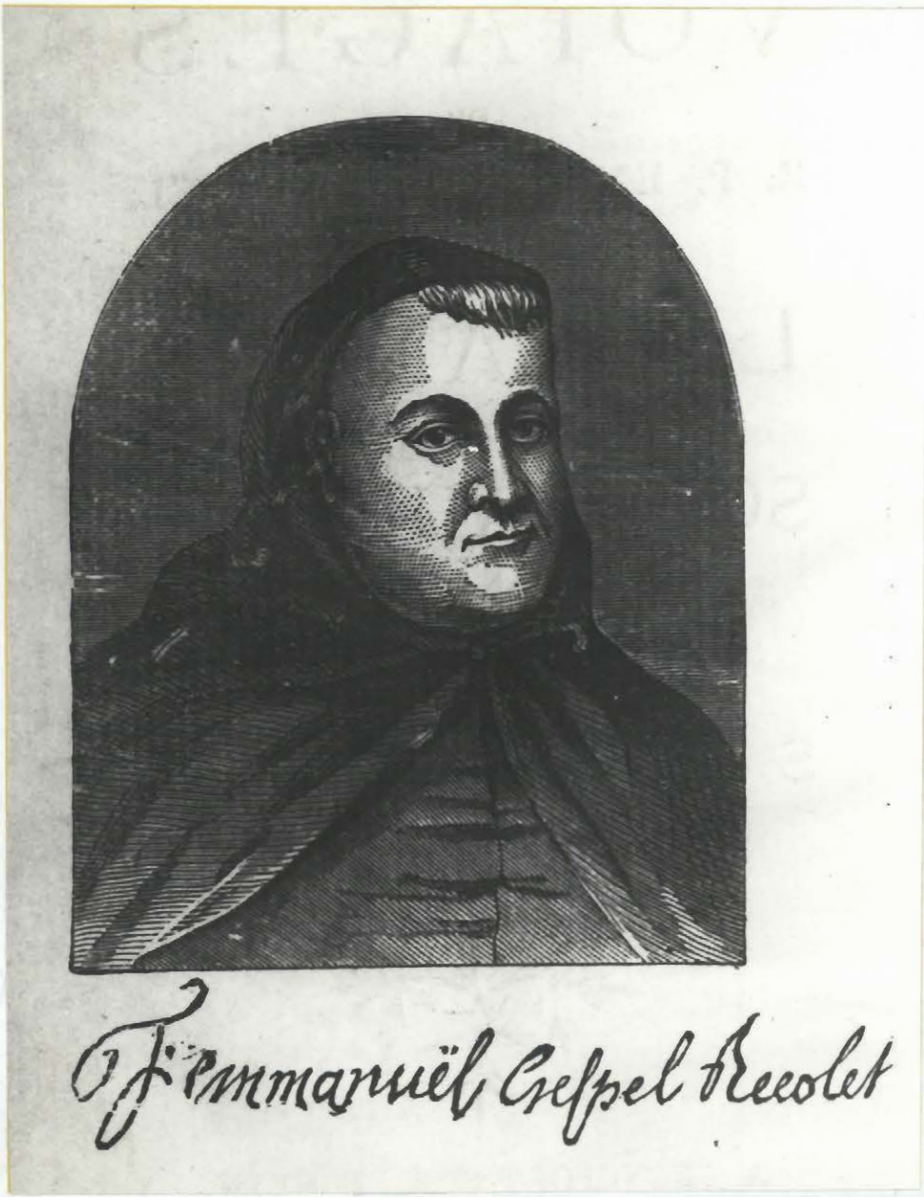
was carried away. At this point they abandoned almost all hope of ever getting off, but in a frantic search for their boat they came across an Indian hut with two canoes close by. There was now a chance "that towards the end of March, when [the Indians] returned ... in search of their canoes, they might assist us." (78:109) But this was poor comfort to the majority who had little hope of living that long. On January 10th the first of the passengers died, the carpenter on the 23rd, a seaman on February 11th, the captain on the 16th, and two others soon after him. As each man departed this life his body was simply dragged out of the hut and added to the pile of those already heaped up there in the snow. "The situation in which we now were could scarcely be rendered more unhappy .... Every one of us was an image of death, and we trembled when looking at each other." (78:119-20)

With the approach of spring their spirits brightened, but the weather worsened. The fire having gone out, "to keep ourselves warm we had no other resource but to lay all together, and as close as we could." For three days during a terrible storm they clung to one another, huddled beneath their only decent blanket. In that time five of them were frozen stiff. Eventually Crespel decided that they must prepare some food. He was "not more than a quarter of an hour employed in getting the meal"; yet two out of the three persons who ventured outside with him "had their hands and feet frozen, and died ... a few days after." On March 10th, the three men who could still walk went out in search of wood; but it was burnt in a few hours, and another of them

died that night. (78:124-7)

This left eight men, half of them horribly maimed already. Their provisions were fast running out, and were augmented by a few small shell-fish obtained only at grave risk of frost-bite. "Our sick grew worse every day; the gangrene or mortification took place in their legs, and as no one could dress them" Crespel had himself to undertake that office. Daily, therefore, "when I had finished speaking to them of spiritual things, I attended to the dressing of their wounds. To clean them I had not any thing but urine, and I covered them with some pieces of linen which I dried for that purpose; and when I removed these they brought away part of the flesh with them .... In ten or twelve days there remained nothing of their legs but the bones; their feet fell off, and their hands were wholly void of flesh. The infection was so great, that, when I was dressing the wounds, I was obliged to go into the open air almost every minute to avoid being suffocated." (78:133-8)

On April 1st, they made contact with an Indian couple, who promised help; but terrified of sickness they fled, making off with one of the canoes during the night. On the 7th the first of the five sick persons remaining passed away, and the others followed him in quick succession. More Indians appeared on the 26th. They, too, ran away, but Crespel and his two companions trailed them back to the main Indian encampment. From here they set sail for Mingan on May 1st, arriving there the same night.



(78)

Figure 10. Father Emmanuel Crespel, Recollet.

Wrecked on Anticosti in 1736, he was one of six persons who, out of a total of fifty-four passengers and crew, managed to last out the winter. Others perhaps endured sufferings as great as he, but none survived to tell so harrowing a tale.

The next day M. Volant, the agent here, set sail for Anticosti to search for survivors. "When he reached the neighbourhood in which our ship was wrecked, he fired some muskets, to give information to those who had been left there. He soon saw four men, who threw themselves on their knees, and with folded hands entreated him to save their lives .... Their haggard looks and the sound of their voices ... announced them to be on the brink of the grave .... Some had perished by cold and hunger, and others had been carried off by dreadful ulcers; their wants had been so great that the survivors had eaten the shoes of their dead companions .... When this resource failed, they had recourse to the leather breeches of the deceased, and when ... found they had but one or two pairs remaining." (78:180-84)

Their plight "affected M. Volant greatly. He joined them, and gave them some refreshment, but very moderate, for fear that too large a quantity might cause their deaths. Notwithstanding this judicious precaution, one of them ... died after drinking a glass of brandy .... The three who had survived the fatigues, famine, and the rigour of the season, we brought away. It was, however, a considerable time before they were restored to health." (78:180-81)

Phantoms and Sorcerers

The publication of Crespel's 'Travels' in four or five different countries, descriptive as it was of such great suffering, added much to the already unenviable notoriety of the Gulf. But in the ever-fertile

imaginations of those who sailed these perilous seas, there were, as always, other horrors to contend with. Apparitions beckoned to them from watery graves all along

> the dismal shore
> Of cold and pitiless Labrador;
> Where, under the moon, upon mounts of frost,
> Full many a mariner's bones are tost!
>
> (Thomas Moore)

On calm, foggy nights, ships would appear in full sail. Even to glimpse them, gliding silently over the water, would bring the hardest of heart to his knees, quaking. (88:36-7)

There were sorcerers, too, who by both devilishly human and supernatural means, lured ships to their destruction on this treacherous coast. Jean Pierre Lavallé, of the Isle of Orleans, was said to have drawn Walker's vessels on to the rocks. Little else is told of him; but Louis-Olivier Gamache, 'the Sorcerer of Anticosti,' reigned in the imaginations of Gulf fishermen for a large part of the nineteenth century. To-day the details of his life are well enough established: his birth at l'Islet around 1784; his early days at sea; his business ventures at Rimouski; his settlement on Anticosti; and his death there in 1854. (89) But in his life-time the facts were less significant than fantasies.

A "legendary and dreadful wrecker, ... a redoubted pirate," he was well known for his "lawless deeds, encounters with Her Majesty's Revenue officers, and predatory attacks on the forlorn crews which the autumnal storms might perchance cast on the God-forsaken shores of

Ellis Bay." (88:88) Also for his "frequent struggles with the poor [Indians] from the Labrador coast ... who poach on his manor." (75:II,252)

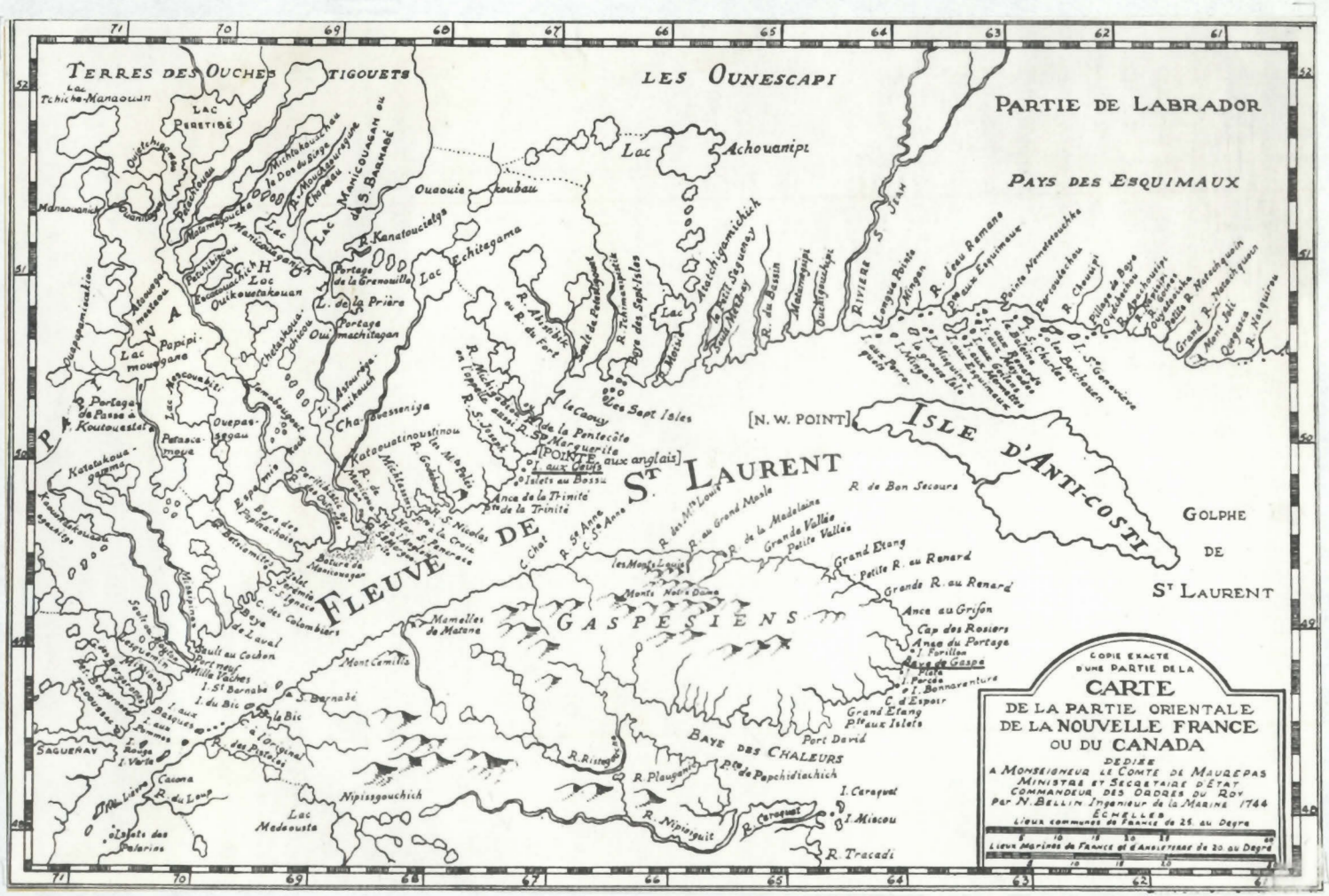
"The manifold stories ... respecting him would fill a volume. They were extravagant, made up of fact and fiction." (89) Indeed, "il n'est pas un pilote du Saint-Laurent, pas un matelot canadien, qui ne connaisse Gamache de réputation; de Québec à Gaspé, il n'est pas une paroisse où l'on ne répète de merveilleuses histoires sur son compte. Dans les récits populaires, il est représenté comme le beau idéal d'un forban, moitié ogre et moitié loup-garou, qui jouit de l'amitié et de la protection spéciale d'un démon familier. On l'a vu debout sur un banc de sa chaloupe, commander au diable d'apporter un plein bonnet de bon vent; un instant après, la chaloupe de Gamache faisait vent arrière, les voiles pleines, sur une mer unie comme une glace, tandis que, tout autour, les autres embarcations dormaient sur l'eau, sur un calme plat. Pendant un voyage qu'il fit à Rimouski, il donna un grand souper au démon, non pas à un diablotin de seconde classe, mais au bourgeois lui-même. Seul avec ses compagnons invisibles, il a massacré des équipages entiers et s'est ainsi emparé de riches cargaisons. Vivement poursuivi par un bâtiment de la compagnie des postes du Roi, il a disparu avec sa goëlette, au moment où il allait être saisi, et l'on n'a plus aperçu qu'une flamme bleuâtre dansant sur les eaux." He lived in "un véritable arsenal ... et la plupart des voyageurs auraient-ils mieux aimé escalader la citadelle de Québec que d'approcher, pendant la nuit, de

la maison de Gamache." (80:8-10)

Wrecking and Salvage

Legends apart, however, 'wrecking' might well be included in any catalogue of the occupations of the Shore. The salvaging of wrecks and wreckage was at one time a real and honourable industry. It benefited many, and there were even churches built of the spoils. (156:I,254) Anticosti was so rich a hunting ground as to attract men from the Magdalen Islands, who engaged in regular scavenging excursions. For in addition to the monetary benefits, "the cargo of some well freighted outward bound merchantmen, stranded on the coast ... presents to these fishermen the opportunity of making some very interesting observations, upon the kind of food and raiment with which their more civilized brethren of Quebec are wont to clothe their bodies, both inside and out." (73:184)

Though it provided but eight of the many hundreds of vessels wrecked on the Shore, 'le Naufrage Anglais' offers yet the best illustration of the rewards of salvage, and of the less savoury circumstances attending thereto. Returning from Quebec to Fort Pontchartrain, having given warning of the fleet's approach, François Lavaltrie sighted the wreckage on October 1st. He found the shore littered with the bloated bodies of men, women and children, "des chevaux, des moutons, des chiens, et des volailles, quantité de bats pour les chevaux de charge, trois ou quatre cent grosses futailles cerclées de fer dont il ne sçait si elles



Map 8. The St. Lawrence Estuary and Gulf.

Showing the site of Walker's wreck; also the Manicouagan Shoals.

sont pleines, beaucoup de brouettes, mesme une barrique de vin et une barrique et demie d'eau-devie." There were, too, "des cables, ancres, voilles, planches et madriers de chesne, bois ecary, des pelles, des picqs, pioches, chesnes, fiches et ferrailles dont il a veu des monceaux de trois pieds de hault." (95) Already there were looters hard at work removing silver coins and watches from the many corpses lying there. No time was to be lost, therefore, and he hastened back to Quebec to induce the Government to act.

In the following year a vessel was fitted out, and Duplessis, Receiver of the Admiral's dues, and Monseignat, Agent of the Crown, assisted by some thirty or forty men and a priest, set off with six month's provisions to gather up all they could retrieve from the wreckage. On arrival (according to the gossipy account of Mère Juchereau) they were greeted by the sight of two thousand naked corpses in every posture of anguish strewed along the Shore; some appeared as if gnashing their teeth, others as if tearing their hair; some were half covered with sand,- others joined in deathly embrace. "Non seulement la vuë de tant de morts leur paroissait effreuse, mais l'odeur qui en sortait étoit insupportable." (87:372)

But the loot was ample compensation for this discomfiture. It consisted of heavy anchors, cannon balls, chains, warm clothing, rich horse trappings, silver swords, tents, guns, every kind of ironware, ships' rigging and a multitude of other things. Back at Quebec "on en vendit pour cinquante mille livres; tout le monde courait à cet ancan,

chaucun voulait avoir quelque chose des Anglais." (87:373) And two years later they retrieved another twelve thousand pounds' worth!

Nineteenth Century Improvements

As the years passed, vessels continued to pile up along the Shore, with consequent loss of life and property (and great gain to the local fishermen). Eventually, though, after no less a person than Lord Dorchester had been inconvenienced thus, (78:x) even the Government was forced to act. In the 1820's, three supply depots were established on Anticosti, "for the relief of crews wrecked on the Island," and another at Pointe des Monts. (88:93) Within the next twenty or thirty years lighthouses too were erected, on the west, east, south, and south-west points of the island; and, again, at Pointe des Monts. The food caches were now relocated accordingly, and direction boards erected at various places along the shore, indicating the way to the posts. (88:107) Each "se compose d'un seul appartement et d'un grenier. Une double rangée de couchettes en bois, superposées les unes sur les autres, fait le tour de cette unique chambre .... Un grand poêle en fonte occupe le milieu de ce réduit .... La provision réglementaire ... consiste en quinze quarts de farine, sept de pois, du sucre et du thé, et sept barils du lard." (79:150) It was neither an over-handsome nor very substantial fare but saved many lives. At the same time, the Government initiated the first accurate survey of the entire coast of Labrador, and had dangerous spots, such as the Manicuagan shoals, marked out

in buoys. (88:91-2)

The Effectiveness of the Same

In 1841 Bonnycastle had affirmed that "great improvements are taking place annually in the navigation of the gulph and river; ... the superb light-houses on Anticosti and Point-des-Monts, are worthy of the British nation; ... and Captain Bayfield's charts, when published, will tend, with them, to preserve human life and valuable property." (75:II,277) But the nineteenth century was for all that the most disastrous of any in the history of navigation on the North Shore. As the number of vessels plying the St. Lawrence increased, the number wrecked rose every bit as rapidly. On Anticosti alone one hundred and forty were lost inside of a hundred years. (86:126) And the Mingan Islands, the Manicouagan shoals, and many other reefs and shallows also took a heavy toll.

Moreover, the depot system was far from foolproof; for wrecked mariners "ne sont pas les seuls à en profiter." (79:112) Newfoundlanders, in particular, when wintering on Anticosti, would break open the posts and make off with their contents. A similar act of villainy led to the death of the passengers and crew of the Granicus in the winter of 1828, when the fallibility and weakness of man magnified the natural horrors many times over. Whether or not the post had been plundered and left by Godin (who had charge of it), or whether, as he claimed, the supplies had been withdrawn on instructions from above, the fact

remains that when the Granicus ran aground in November at the lower end of the island the survivors found a sign there indicating that food was to be had further up the coast. If, instead, they had headed in the opposite direction, they would have found the supplies stored at the East Point.

McGregor ascribes their death to the work of pirates, but the facts of the case suggest otherwise. The remains of several bodies were found there in the spring of 1829 by a party of fishermen from the Magdalens, looking for wreckage. According to "a rude almanack scribbled on the boards of the house" the last of the survivors seemed to have lingered on till April 22nd. (75:II,250) How the remainder had passed away seemed obvious enough to Lieutenant Baddeley, when he enquired into the matter. From the scene of the wreck, the survivors had "proceeded to the north-westward, as far as Fox Cove, where a provision depot formerly existed, and where the board alluded to above, taught them to expect one still .... Upon arriving at this post, they found it deserted, the provisions removed, and nothing but an empty log-house and store to receive them; into these they entered, and yielding to deplorable necessity, they appear to have submitted themselves, gradually but deeply, to all the horrors of cannibalism; for, what other reference could be drawn from finding the beams of their dwelling places shambled with human subjects, half carcase, half skeleton, from which the flesh had undoubtedly been removed, to a pot which was found resting on the ashes of the extinct fire, the whole of its contents not

quite demolished - from the discovery of a pile of 'well-picked bones' and 'putrid flesh' - from the circumstances that money, watches, and gold rings, &c. &c. were found upon the premises, together with a penciled note, signed B. Harrington, desiring that forty-eight sovereigns in his hammock (which were found) should be sent home to Mary Harrington, (probably his poor mother or wife) Barrack Street, Cove, 'as they are the property of her son.' This man, the only unmutilated form among them, was found dead in his hammock, being the last to survive the cold, and the poisonous effects of this infernal feast .... It was thought that the remains of three children, two women and eight men could be distinguished. The skeletons of two men were also found in the woods, to which they are supposed to have retreated, with the view of avoiding such a scene, and flattered by the hope of reaching a place of safety." (73)

Finally, there were an astonishing number of wrecks "which were not due to stress of weather ... [but were] made to order," that is, scuttled, or "sold to the Insurance Company! [Indeed] the disease was epidemic at times." (76:141) For this, Anticosti was an ideal spot, with a gently sloping shelf off-shore where one might easily run a vessel aground and get to shore safely. If you could not do it early in the season, there were always the food caches to fall back on. And as the place had such a notorious reputation anyway, who was to know the difference - certainly not the underwriters in London!

CHAPTER V

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE TOURIST

> "Long a favourite holiday ground for Canadians of the Upper Provinces ... the Lower St. Lawrence ... has of late years begun to attract many strangers." (102:697)

Notwithstanding the terrible awe with which most mariners regarded the Shore it had at the same time a remarkable appeal for many travellers, landlubbers and amateur sailors alike. There always had been tourists in North America, but the development of the railroad around 1850, together with the explosive energies released after the American Civil War, produced an unparalleled volume of summer travel. In the Lower St. Lawrence temperatures at that season were generally regarded as ideal, refreshingly cool in fact; and for three months or so the various watering places there were soon thronged with summer visitors. They came from all quarters of the United States, from Upper Canada, and from the western provinces; and in time even from Europe, following the improvement of ocean services and the development of Canada as an overland route to Asia.

A Summer's Cruise

Still of a fearful aspect in winter, the North Shore seemed quite pleasant in summer. Its wealth of fish and game, though of diminished commercial significance, was yet a tremendous attraction for sportsmen.

The very atmosphere of mystery which had hitherto shrouded the region was itself an asset, offering a challenge to anyone bored with everyday life in the city. The evil reputation of the coast was well established; the interior was a barren, forgotten land, better known two hundred years before. And human interest in both was heightened by tales amply embellishing the wonders of natural and factual circumstance. Many people knew the area simply from an acquaintanceship with the legend of Marguerite, cast ashore there as punishment for a rather 'indiscreet affaire' with one of Roberval's young men; or from the story of Father de la Brosse, whose death was as well timed as it was well announced. And there were tales of more recent date, by W.H. Murray, L'Abbé Casgrain, J.C. Taché and James LeMoine.

For the less adventurous, tours were arranged by persons well qualified to choose routes and residences most likely to delight the tastes of intelligent travellers. Many of those who early embarked on the St. Lawrence Tour ceased their peregrinations at the Saguenay. But in time a goodly number continued on as far as the Gulf, and over a distance of two thousand miles "traced the noble stream, from the island of Mackinac ... at the head of Lake Huron, down to the island of Anticosti." (103:363)

However, for persons of ample means and adventurous spirit there was nothing to compare with the joys of a leisurely cruise. Freed of the need to comply either with the wishes of other passengers or the dictates of a schedule, such persons could put in to the shore at will.

Thus the sailor prince (Alfred) sampled the fishing at Mingan, camping "in the woods, ... and went to the boats early every morning for five or six days, taking trout, salmon trout, and salmon, in fair quantities." (112:17-18) Bowen's trip seems to have been positively idyllic. He visited various posts, "and occasionally enjoyed a day's fishing or shooting in the small rivers abounding along the coast, ... mostly filled with large sized trout which eagerly grasp at a gaudy bait, and fall an easy prey even to the most unskilled angler." On some streams he saw "water-falls that would gladden the eye of a landscape painter. On the banks of others were the relics of old Indian encampments. In many the black duck, shell-drake and other fowl had fixed their abode, fondly imagining it so secure from intrusion as scarcely to heed our approach, until sundry murderous guns had thinned their ranks, and considerably disturbed their domestic arrangements." (129:329)

There was much of interest, too, for the more seriously minded traveller, whether his concern be with the animal, vegetable, or mineral kingdom. Of the Trinity Bay area Bonnycastle observed, "the conchologist would reap a rich harvest of small shells on this shore; the botanist is amply repaid by observing most of the Labrador plants; and the geologist has his labour's reward." (75:II,293-4) Others commented especially on the tremendous wealth of fossils to be found on Anticosti Island. And those who wished only to sit back and relax while sailing, passed the time well enough telling and retelling the stories of the coast, - gruesome tales of shipwrecks and massacres.

Scenic Grandeur

Again, one of the greatest assets of the Shore at this time was the extreme ruggedness hitherto regarded as so hostile to man. To many minds it was unequalled anywhere in North America. There was little to soften the form of the landscape. "What words can do it justice! Mountain, flood and forest combine to make up one harmonious whole, grand beyond description." (106:248)

As to be expected, it was the Saguenay which attracted most attention, - of charms "manifold indeed, and beautiful beyond compare." (107:180) Impressionistic accounts of its beauties are legion; but although most people loved it there were some who hated it. How anyone reacted depended in part on the weather and in part on the individual concerned, but the tremendous majesty of the scene brooked of no half-hearted response.

"The scale of its scenery is bewildering .... There is an indescribable grandeur in the very monotony of the interminable succession of precipice and gorge, of lofty bluff and deep hewn bay, ... the inevitable sternness of the manifestation of great power .... The rare signs of life only accentuate the lonely stillness." (106:248-50) So that persons accustomed to happier lands thought "the stream ... a grim, gloomy and peculiar one; its rough and uncouth surroundings, together with its eternal gloom, seem to impress the visitor with wonder and amazement, and make him wish he was home." (114:200)

(102)

Figure 11. The Majestic Scenery of the Saguenay. "The rocks on either shore, tremendous masses, jut out their points or draw back their crevices, as if some giant hand had seized their tops and wrenching them asunder, had opened a deep gorge for the river to pass through, without caring to smooth down the marks of the rupture. Tall and gloomy, rising fifteen hundred to two thousand feet, rough, bare and precipitous, they spread an air of gloomy grandeur over the black and sluggish waters, which lazily trail their course along at their base. And the rent does not stop at the surface of the water but goes down, deep, deep down, fifty, sixty, or one hundred fathoms." (115:37)

Mr. Wood's reaction was, however, the most violent of any. Admittedly the weather was bad, but he insisted "it is on such a day, above all others, that the savage wildness and gloom of this extraordinary river is seen to the greatest advantage. - Sunlight and clear skies are out of place over its black waters. Anything which recalls the life and the smile of nature is not in unison with the huge naked cliffs, raw, cold, and silent as a tomb. An Italian spring could effect no change in its deadly rugged aspect, nor does winter add one iota to its mournful desolation. It is a river which one should see if only to know what dreadful aspects Nature can assume in her wildest moods .... It is with a sense of relief that the tourist emerges from its sullen gloom, and looks back upon it as a kind of vault. - Nature's sarcophagus, where life or sound seems never to have entered. Compared to it the Dead Sea is blooming, and the wildest ravines look cosy and smiling. It is wild without the least variety, and grand apparently in spite of itself, while so utter is the solitude, so dreary and monotonous the frown of its great black walls of rock, that the tourist is sure to get impatient with its sullen dead reserve, till he feels almost an antipathy to its very name .... On the right bank the cliffs are poorly mantled here and there with stunted pines, but on the left is scarcely a sign of life or verdure, and the limestone rocks stick up white and bleached in the gloomy air like the bones of an old world .... The Saguenay seems to want painting, wants blowing up, or drowning; anything, in short, to alter its morose, eternal, quiet awe. Talk of Lethe or the Styx, they

must have been purling brooks compared with this savage river, and a picnic on the banks of either would be preferable to one on the Saguenay." (112:44-6)

Possibly it was a trifle unfair to expect a correspondent of the London Times to react kindly to such a scene. In any event, his unfavourable comments were discountenanced by the majority. In the fifties Disturnell had complained that most Americans making the Grand Tour bypassed the Saguenay and so missed "the finest scenery on the continent." (103:360) But since "none have been there but have resolved to repeat the trip the first time they could possibly do so," (106:239) it was soon "visited by thousands of tourists as one of the chief curiosities of the Western World." (88:231)

The Tadoussac Hotel

Strictly speaking, perhaps, the Saguenay should be considered apart from the North Shore. Yet its popularity had a significant effect on the growth of Tadoussac. The many tourists who swarmed along the Saguenay "ne pouvaient se résoudre à passer devant Tadoussac sans s'y arrêter au moins quarante-huit heures." (130:60) And in the course of time the village developed as a recreational centre in its own right.

Tadoussac was virtually at the end of the road; to the west lay the settled and civilised region of Lower Canada, and to the east the unknown wilderness of the Labrador. The resorts of the South Shore, such as Cacouna and Kamouraska (the Margate of Quebec), were more

"easily reached by rail or by steamer; but attractive as they are, they have not the same charm for most people as the places across the river." (102:701) Certainly not for the fisherman, to whom the North Shore could offer "better fish, fewer flies, cleaner beds and cooler nights." (112:101)

Visitors thronged Tadoussac first in the fifties, and by 1860 its population had grown to six hundred, in response to this new source of income. As traders and trappers abandoned the place, holiday-makers redressed the balance. The construction of a magnificent hotel there by the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company in 1865, ushered in a new era of prosperity. It was a spacious building, comfortably furnished, "surrounded by roomy verandahs [and ideally] situated on the top of the cliff .... Thanks to judicious advertising, tourists flocked there from all parts, ... and no distinguished traveller, visiting the St. Lawrence bathing places, failed to pass at least some few days on these enchanting shores." (122:218-9) Indeed, nothing could speak more eloquently in favour of the region than that "l'hôtel se remplissait régulièrement, chaque saison d'été, d'américains et d'américaines qui avaient fait l'épithète invariable de 'far famed' qu'on lui accole dans tous les prospectus bien faits." (130:78) "Year after year the same people and the same families return to it." (108:191)

Initially Tadoussac was simply "a charming place to spend the summer in." (102:714) But it became positively fashionable to do so in the seventies, when both the Governor-General of Canada, the Marquess of

Dufferin and Ava, and President Taft of the United States were regular visitors. The former decided that it was the most pleasant spot he could find anywhere on the St. Lawrence for the location of a country house. Others followed suit. And in a few years "le long du chemin qui conduit du quai ... jusqu'à l'hôtel ... il y a une vingtaine d'élégants cottages accompagnés de jardinets gracieux et discrets qui semblent comme autant de perles découvertes inopinément et arrachées aux entrailles de ce sol sablonneux, aride et rebelle." (130:79) Certainly the environs of Tadoussac were barren enough, "but the little corner where the hamlet itself is situated is so lovely and the views from it so beautiful that the tourist is perfectly satisfied." (122:220)

Tourist Attractions

Here one could "forget all the fatigue and depression of city life .... What place indeed can combine greater advantages? The saline air of the St. Lawrence on one side, with the unequalled purity of that of the Saguenay on the other, would rebuild the most shattered health." (108:191) Indeed, Lady Dufferin, herself, observed "the air is delicious, and we feel so well and cheerful." (104:12)

"One of the most charming watering-places to be found in Canada," (122:217) Tadoussac was "placed, like a nest, in the midst of the granite rocks that surround the mouth of the Saguenay." (88:226-8) It offered "a calm tranquillity ... no words can paint, ... [and was, accordingly,] only frequented by lovers of peace and quiet, ... in

Advertisement

TADOUSSAC HOTEL

RIVER SAGUENAY

Sea Bathing,

Salmon and Trout Fishing secured for Guests.

This HOTEL is open for tourists during the summer. Special attention will be paid to securing good salmon and trout fishing for guests, also boats and pleasure carriages furnished.

Terms per day --- $ 2.50

" " week --- 12.00

" " month --- 50.00

Children and Servants, half-price.

Willis Russel,

Proprietor,
St. Louis Hotel, Quebec.

(119)

Figure 12.

Figure 13. A Lively Summer Scene at the Hotel around 1865.

search of a spot where they can let time slip away leisurely." (122:15) It was "held in special esteem by artists during their country repose, when they flee from the noisy crowd that frequents ordinary bathing places." (122:218) Not that Tadoussac was by any means deserted, but rather it was select, favoured by only the very best and most intelligent of company. The cliffs themselves offered every advantage for seclusion, abounding in cosy little nooks where one might meditate undisturbed.

At the same time, there was sport enough to satisfy the enthusiasm of the most active members of this refined clientele. For Tadoussac was a place both of "rest and recreation. You would hardly find a lace shawl, or a pair of six-button gloves, or a claw-hammer coat the whole length of the road. The men and women and children are all of them roughing it. They make a business of enjoying everything, and they also contrive that all their enjoyment shall be of a health-giving sort." (88:228)

The bathing was good, although the water was sometimes quite icy. The beach was "carpeted with sand of such unrivalled fineness and softness that no other shore can bear comparison with this one." (122:10) During the Season everyone was to be seen 'on the Bay.' "When the tide goes down, no boulevard can be compared with this picturesque shore." (122:218) Boating was also much in vogue, "and at high water, the port is filled with little boats and the rhythmical splashing of the oars blends with the most charming boating-songs." (122:218) "This beach is

a playground, too, for the children, and at all hours of the day small boys and girls may be seen tumbling head over heels in the sand and mud." (88:229)

"For older people, who do not care to bedaub themselves upon the beach, there are the crags and peaks and boulders to climb among." (88:229) There were magnificent walks, too, either along the shore to Moulin Baude or 'around the Concession,' where one was led "sometimes through wood, sometimes by mountain and valley. Making this tour is like visiting the Park or the Bois. It is the fashionable excursion of the place." (122:226) Lady Dufferin, out on a picnic with the children, attempted to ride round, but fared none too well. "The buck-board broke down, and we had to borrow a cart. As the road home was very rough, the fun of the expedition consisted chiefly in the fearful bumps we got! All our plates and cups were smashed, and I felt much bruised and shaken; but the children enjoyed it immensely." (104:235) In fact, to go for a walk at Tadoussac meant generally to go for a climb; "yet it was not [her Ladyship observes] too fatiguing; the rocks are smooth, with no sharp points, and tufts and shrubs grow in the interstices, so that there is always something to catch hold of if you stop." (104:11)

Again, there was ample opportunity for the keenest of anglers to indulge himself. He could check in at the hotel with his wife and family, and leaving these to their own devices, spend two or three weeks fishing in the area round about. "The principal and most interesting sport is fishing for sea trout in the waters of the Saguenay." (122:235)

But "should the landing of twenty [such vigorous specimens] not seem in your eyes so great an achievement as the slaughter of two hundred lake trout, such taste can be likewise accommodated to your heart's content." (112:101) "The peaks which surround Tadoussac have myriads of picturesque little fishing lakes hidden away on their sides, where enormous quantities of fish may be taken." (122:237) Then, of course, there were salmon to be had on the Ste. Marguerite and other tributaries of the Saguenay; and plenty of good shooting too.

Apart from this magnificent array of energetic pursuits, "Tadoussac offers great advantages also to more sober-minded tourists who are in search of the unknown, as well as to the pale antiquary who would fain investigate obsolete forms of civilization and explore whatever ruins his wandering steps may lead him across. This was the corner of the earth where the French founded their first establishments on Canadian soil, (122:16) - its very name takes us back to the cradle of Canadian History." Close by the hotel were the old buildings of the Hudson's Bay Company, well worth seeing, and on the lawns "a battery of antiquated 4 pounders, ... [while] the great curiosity for tourists is the diminutive old chapel of the Jesuit Mission." (88:225-6)

An added attraction was the Government fish hatchery down by the wharf in Anse à l'Eau. Indeed, for some there was "no more interesting way of passing the time than that of visiting this piscatorial establishment." (122:228) Here you could "see thousands of young salmon in all stages of development, from the ova to lively little fellows a couple of

(101)

Figure 14. Major and Mrs. Scott, their Trophies and Guides. "Labrador is essentially the field for sportsmen: such fishing and shooting are not to be found in any other part of Canada during the summer months. Large sea-trout and salmon swell the streams, while sea-birds of every name and description, as well as duck, geese, curlews, &c., abound on the shore ... [and] during the winter months reindeer afford fine sport to the hunter." (129:334-6)

inches long, ready to people the shallows of some depleted river; and you may watch hundreds of parent fish swimming majestically round the pond at the outlet, or leaping in vain at the net-work barrier that separates them from the Saguenay and freedom." (102:714) The upper floor of the hatchery was "devoted to a collection of the numerous sea fowl frequenting the shores of the Lower St. Lawrence," forming "a highly successful and very popular museum." (88:227)

Finally, there was the tremendous panorama opening out to east, west and south. From the terrace back of the village you could "look across the St. Lawrence, here twenty-five miles wide, and as smooth perhaps as a sheet of glass, past Ile-aux-Lièvres, Ile Rouge, Ile Verte, towards Cacouna and Rivière du Loup where the south shore is but a narrow blue streak sown all over with white specks, visible only on a clear, bright summer day like this." (102:714) "While the scene is rendered gay and animated by the frequent passage of the merchant vessel plowing its way toward the port of Quebec, or hurrying upon the descending tide to the Gulf:" (103:351) also by the "white porpoises and seals, and occasional whales to be seen rolling and jumping about." (104:10) "While from the summit of the hill upon which Tadoussac stands, the sublime and impressive scenery of the Saguenay rises into view." (103:351)

"Altogether," Lady Dufferin remarked, "we thought the place most attractive .... Not only as tourists, but as sailors, we are delighted with it." (104:10) "Tadoussac is neither a town, village, nor hamlet. It is Tadoussac, and the old hotel porter says, 'There ain't nothin'

like it on the face of this terrestial airth.'" (88:228)

Means of Conveyance

Tadoussac had, in spite of, or perhaps even because of its lack of road and rail facilities, grown to become one of the most cherished of summer retreats. Its rising prosperity paralleled that of the ship owners whose vessels plied between the Saguenay and Quebec City. "The time was ... when each summer a few of the venturesome spirits among us, at the approach of the dog days, tearing themselves away from business, gave a few weeks to recreation and health. It was customary then to walk to the Cul-de Sac or Palais harbour [in Quebec] and select a berth on one of the many coasters bringing to market ... produce from the lower parishes." (88:187) Thus Lanman observes "among other places I visited was the fish market, where it was my good fortune to find a small smack, which had brought a load of fresh salmon ... and was on the point of returning to the Saguenay for another cargo. In less than thirty minutes after I first saw him, I had struck a bargain with the skipper, transferred my luggage on board the smack, and was on my way .... Everything connected with the voyage was beautifully accidental, and I had a glorious time." (107:165)

"This quasi-pastoral era closed in 1853, when the staunch steamer, Saguenay, ... built by an enterprising company (the Quebec and Trois Pistoles Steam Navigation Company), was put on the Murray Bay and Saguenay route." (88:189) For three or four years previous to this the

Rowland Hill had provided some sort of a service between Quebec and Tadoussac, but until then vessels had "made only occasional trips to the mouth of the Saguenay," en route to Halifax. (107:183) "The Saguenay steamer was succeeded by the May Flower, the Comet, the Lord Elgin &c.," and by the Magnet of the Upper Canada Royal Mail Line, "until the establishment of the St. Lawrence Steam Navigation Company which put on this route the first-class steamers St. Lawrence, Saguenay, Union and Clyde." (88:189) And so on, until in the closing decades of the century the vessels of the Richelieu and Ontario Navigation Company left "Quebec four times a week, on the arrival of the steamers from Montreal, ... elegantly fitted up for the comfort of passengers, and furnished with every convenience ... to render the journey down the river most delightful." (106:239) Some travellers still preferred to go by rail to Rivière du Loup, and to cross from there, but the greater majority travelled all the way by water, certainly during the Season.

During "the summer months steamers freighted with holiday-makers and tourists" travelled regularly between Quebec, Tadoussac and Chicoutimi. In fact, "to look at the piles of baggage and furniture, the hosts of children and servants, the household goods, the dogs, cats and birds, one might think the Canadians were emigrating en masse." (102:702) The boat would "leave Quebec at a comfortable hour in the morning, arrive at Tadoussac ... some little time after dark, ascend the mysterious river by night to Chicoutimi, and then, leaving Chicoutimi in the early morning, descend the Saguenay by daylight and afford the

traveller a perfect view of the terrific scenery ... [and steaming back by night, arrive] at Quebec in comfortable time for breakfast." (120:102,110) Tickets were "granted allowing parties ample time to remain at any place on the route for the enjoyment of Sea-Bathing, Fishing or Hunting." (112:advt.)

Beyond the Saguenay

While the mouth of the Saguenay was a veritable hive of activity, "nobody but the salmon-fisher [went] beyond Tadoussac." (102:702) Even then only the most adventurous of spirits would ever "choose the wild coasts of Labrador for their fishing." (110:177) And it was some time too before the "occasional angler, lured principally by a fondness for out-of-the-way places ... ventured to test the waters" of Anticosti. (105:185)

An obvious reason for this was the absence of any means of regular communication with the North Shore east of the Saguenay. There were, of course, ways and means, but they cost money. In the seventies, for example, endeavouring to attain unto the Natashquan River a party headed by "the Duke of Beaufort ... paid the Captain of an Allan steamer 200 pounds sterling to go out of his way a few miles and drop them in a small boat, whence they got to their destination." (110:177) As for Anticosti, at that time too "the only means of visiting it [was] by chartering a boat or shallop, or securing passage at Quebec upon a ... fishing vessel .... Sometimes there is an opportunity by the Government

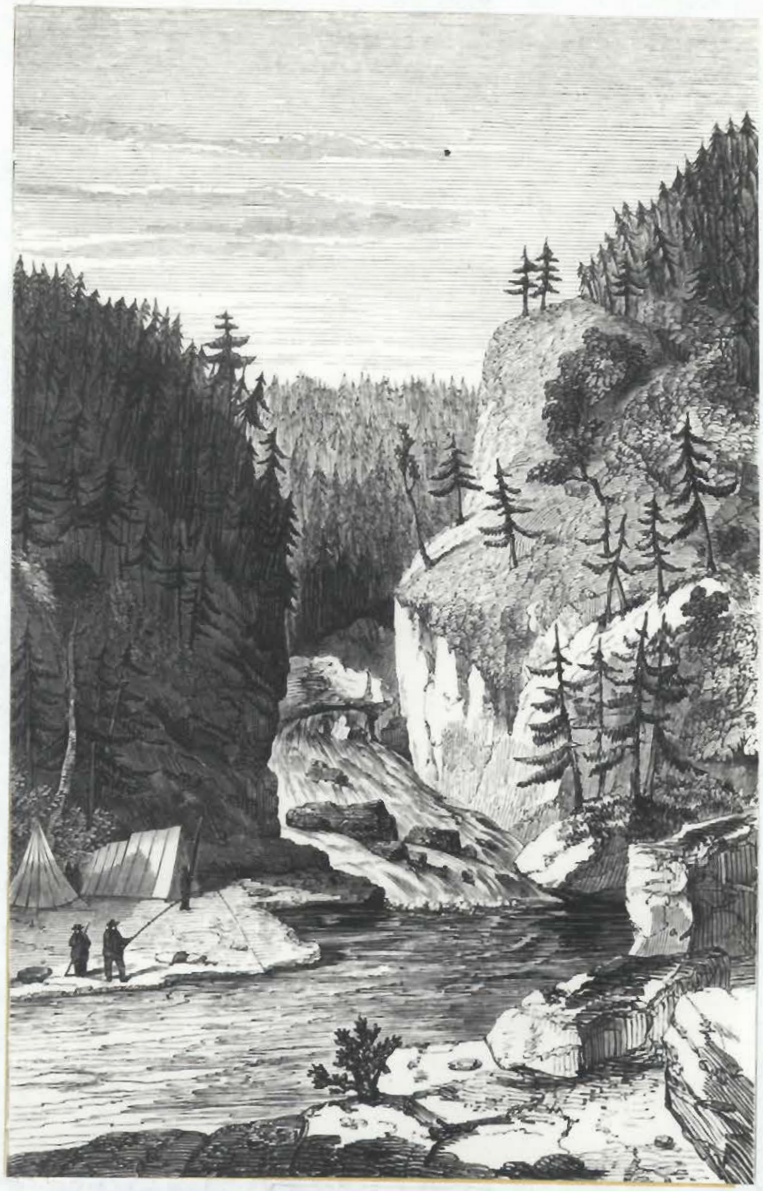
vessels in the light-house service, which make periodical visits to the several stations along the coast. However, there is more generally a disposition to keep a safe distance from the island than to seek it." (105:189)

Furthermore, once ashore there was little or no accommodation available, so that "in most places down the coast the tourist will find it indispensible to camp." (112:107) Yet for the hale and hearty this was no hardship; indeed, "in fine weather ... camping out [even] on Anticosti is one perpetual picnic. Here the traveller can have a charming little harbour for his canoe, a dry grassy bank to camp on, and a fragrant bed of fir boughs or dry grass. If he is given to sea-bathing, no better place could be desired; if he prefers fresh water, a walk of a few yards will bring him to a clear, pebbly pool; if table, chair, or roof of shanty be required, the materials for making them lie close at hand, in the shape of boards of all shapes and sizes with which the beach is strewed. Here [also] the best and driest of firewood ... is piled in immense profusion." (121:203-4) The extraordinary ferocity and hunger of its insect population still rendered the North Shore an uncomfortable abode at times. But by dressing correctly and providing himself with an ample supply of oil of rosemary, the wise fisherman could protect himself even from "the bites of these merciless marauders." (99:33) And such trials seemed small indeed alongside of the prizes to be won.

Though salmon yearly visited all the tributaries of the lower St.

Lawrence they were "most abundant on the north shore, ... in those streams which are beyond the jurisdiction of civilization." (107:187) LeMoine lists thirty-six such between the Esquimaux River and the Grandes Bergeronnes. (110:177) He was one who had a particular feeling for the Natashquan - "one of the best salmon rivers in the world, (110:177) a splendid stream, full of fish from 6 to 40 pounds ... [where] you may hook and kill salmon usque ad nauseam." (112:104) Others favoured different streams - notably the Moisie, "widely celebrated," (99:46) the Bersimis, second only to the latter in breeding "the largest salmon found along the coast," (112:103) the Godbout, "one of the best," and the Mingan, "the best river in the Province." (99:46) Trout, too, were "taken everywhere in the St. Lawrence, and in all its tributaries." (107:202)

In fact, as time passed, the very fame of such rivers proved to be their undoing. Not only were they overfished at times, but widely leased. In the last quarter of the century, save for those reserved unto the Indians, all of the major streams were set aside for the use of "private parties or individuals; so that the enthusiastic disciple of Izaak Walton who expects to find [some good sport] ... will return considerably enlightened with regard to Canadian fishing." (114:203) As a result, many tourist handbooks carefully avoided making any reference to streams under lease, for the very reason that "to excite the desire of visitants is only to invite disappointment." (112:102) Against an army of river guardians the individual angler was entirely helpless; but there



(97)

Figure 15. The Upper Pool at the Godbout. "This I believe to be one of the best rivers in the world for the angler. The fishing in this stream consists of what are called the lower and the upper pools; in the former the fish are first caught, and they continue to afford the best sport as long as the water is high and the fish are running up from the sea: between them and the upper pools there is a succession of rapids, through which the salmon do not venture to ascend until the spring floods have greatly subsided, and then they do not remain in the lower pools, but push on upwards." (97:219)

was some comfort in numbers. Armed bands of American raiders occasionally swept down on the larger rivers, netting and spearing fish in open defiance of the lesees, and in the process succeeded in glutting both the Canadian and American markets. (118:26)

But, such circumstances apart, the rivers of the North Shore long provided unrivalled attractions for the amateur fisherman. Napoleon Comeau, while guardian of the Godbout, caught fifty-seven salmon in a single day in the summer of 1874, and in a further eleven days' fishing brought his score to three hundred and thirty-eight, weighing three thousand six hundred pounds in all. (101:388-90) Close to Trinity Bay, Bonnycastle found that "so eager were the trout for the fly ... that two, or even three at a time, were caught on the hook, the trout rising as fast as the lines were thrown." (75:II,291) And besides the promise of rich rewards in respect to the size and number of the fish he might take, the angler here thrilled to the "uncertainty as to the character of his prize before he has landed him," for trout and salmon, often of comparable size, might be taken on the same line in almost any stream "as these fish swim in the same water." (107:202)

Finally, "the shores of the whole of the Lower St. Lawrence are probably unequalled in the world for the numbers and variety of wild-fowl which frequent them. In the fall of the year especially, they literally swarm with duck, teal and other sea-fowl.... "Where is the Canadian Sportsman who would not give the world for a week on the Mille Vaches shoals in September? Where is the fowler who has not heard of

the sport which the Jupiter River, on Anticosti, affords?" (99:25-6)

Where indeed!

CHAPTER VI

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE SETTLER

> "Unfit for any other inhabitants, save the ruthless Esquimaux, or hardy Mountaineer Indians, who wander along its waters, or traverse its wastes." (92:II,446-7)

However popular the North Shore may have been amongst summer visitors, its attractions were natural and not man-made. It appeared at the start of the nineteenth century to have changed little since the time of Cartier, -"a gloomy wilderness ... inhabited only by such of the savage tribes as prefer shade to light." (131:116) "An iron bound shore, ... [there was] nothing scarcely to be seen for hundreds of leagues but mountains, 'caps' and cliffs in various shapes and figures." (141:405) And the winter here was so prolonged and so harsh that the year's growth "of every living thing" was compressed into the space of but a few weeks. On August 4th, 1833, Audubon observed of the eastern section of the coast that "the fruits are now ripe, yet six weeks ago the whole country was a sheet of snow, the bays locked in ice, the air a constant storm .... Now and then an appearance as of summer does exist, but in thirty days all is over; the dark northern clouds will enwrap the mountain summits; the rivulets, the ponds, the rivers, the bays themselves will begin to freeze; heavy snowfalls will cover all these shores, and nature will resume her sleeping state ... of desolation and of death." (124:424)

It was yet "considéré comme un pays sauvage, comme une contrée

bonne tout au plus au commerce des pelleteries .... Jusqu'à cette époque, personne n'avait cru que la colonisation y fût possible. C'était le pays des légendes merveilleuses et des contes effrayants; tous les géants fabuleux devaient s'y donner rendez-vous dans des antres profondes." (130:81) From Tadoussac to Blanc Sablon the North Shore was wholly devoid of permanent settlement. "And if we except the king's posts at Seven Islands' Bay and Port Neuf, we discover no signs of art or civilisation, no traces of the industry or enterprise of man. A few miserable wandering Montagnez Indians, and a few transient fishermen and furriers, are the only human beings that frequent this cold, desert, and barren region." (92:II,446) "La seule terre en culture était un petit jardin et quelques arpents de terre que l'on permettait quelquefois à de vieux employés [of the posts] de cultiver à leur profit." (143:6)

Not until the 1840's did things get underway; but by the close of the century there were, strung out along the Shore, a succession of small villages. In the west farm settlers pushed on downstream. In the east fishing hamlets were the order of the day. In between lay a sort of no-man's land where the fur trade lingered on. Anticosti alone offered more courageous souls the opportunity of developing a balanced combination of fishing, hunting and farming activities.

The Tyranny of the Traders

Though the Tadoussac Trade was but a shadow of its former self, great fur trading concerns still ruled the Shore in the early years of

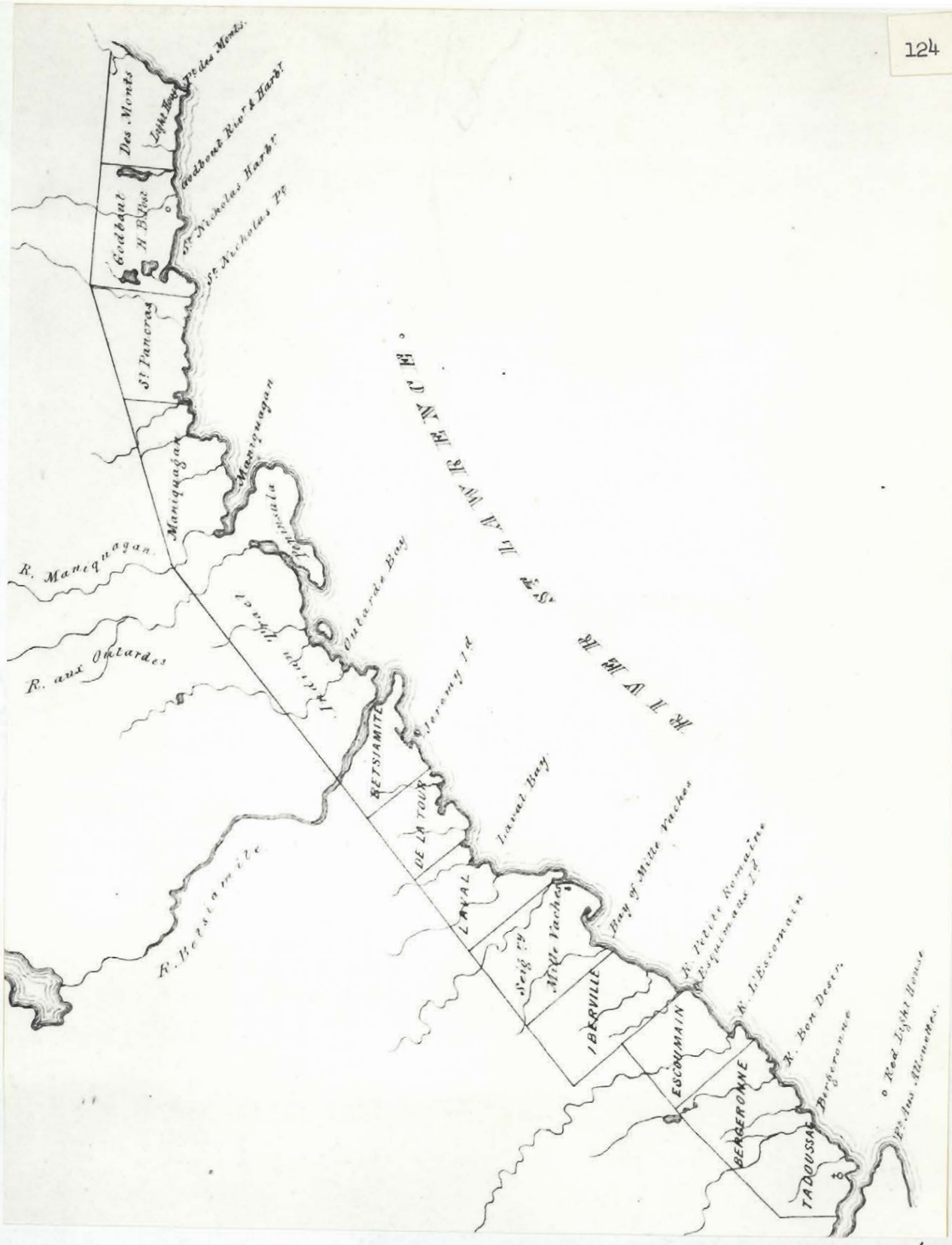
the nineteenth century. During the first two decades the North West Company held sway over the Domain; in the thirties, the Hudson's Bay. Both leased the Mingan Seigneury on occasions, too, and the Hudson's Bay also administered that at Mille Vaches. Posts were maintained at various points along the coast east of the Saguenay, at Portneuf, Jeremie Islets, Godbout, and Seven Islands; and beyond Cape Cormoran, at Mingan, Nabésipi, Natashquan, and Musquaro. But the largest of them comprised only one or two houses, a store, a chapel and a flag pole; these were generally "placed in a cluster, without order or method, as if they had been dropped from the clouds," on a "low sandy [beach], covered with the usual uniform of His Majesty's Posts, brushwood and stunted spruce." (141:448-50) On his tour of inspection in 1808 James Mackenzie heard tell of two cows which had formerly been kept at Musquaro; but they had "lately died for want of grass, ... and two superannuated cats were [now] the only domestic animals to be seen there." In all, the King's Posts employed twenty persons, and the Mingan Seigneury some twenty more.

Thus, "upwards of 500 miles of coast in the path of the commerce of Quebec, comprising half of the sea coast of the Province, ... [were] locked up and held desert for the only object of enabling a few adventurers to cheat the miserable aborigines." (147:38) In spite of the fact that the Posts were as often as not operated at a loss, the fur companies did their best to hinder the occupation of the Shore. Certainly they had a right to a monopoly of the Trade. But the Bay further "endeavoured to convince the would-be settler that it was the sole proprietor of the

immense domain, and that he had no right to live thereon." (107:181) And Bissot's heirs, "instead of conceding, and peopling the Seigneury, strive, by threats and otherwise, to keep off all intruders, as they call the British fishermen and wasters who touch on these inhospitable shores." (147:38)

For some time the shortage of good agricultural land remaining both in County Charlevoix and on the South Shore, had led to demands that the Saguenay region be thrown open to settlement; also that its resources be accurately surveyed, as ignorance of them had hitherto inhibited colonisation. Government officers were sent to investigate the opportunities and reported favourably, on the agricultural wealth of the Lake St. John area especially.

The Bay was able to hold out for a while yet, but in 1842, its lease came up for renewal. The Company was once more awarded the privilege of trading, hunting and fishing to the exclusion of all others, but only on the condition that the Government be able to survey the Domain and establish colonists in the areas it thought suitable. In the succeeding rush of settlers to the new agricultural 'Eldorado' of the Saguenay, Tadoussac regained some of its earlier political importance. And it became the base for the colonisation of the North Shore itself, spreading eastwards from here to Portneuf.



(152)

Map 9. County Saguenay: Middle Part. "Cette vaste étendue est loin d'avoir été entièrement mesurée, bon nombre des townships qui la composent n'ont pas en réalité de délimitations, quoique des délimitations soient figurées sur la carte; ils sont simplement à l'état de projet, tandis que certains autres ont été mesurés et allottés partiellement." (130:17)

[N.B. For Canton "Maniquagan" read 'Laflèche,' and for "Peninsula" read Canton 'Maniquagan.']

Le Petit Nord

In spite of the severity of the winter it was reckoned that the Shore was climatically suited to cereal cultivation at least,as far east as Trinity Bay. Of more practical significance was the shortage of suitable land; for "des montagnes longent presque le bord du fleuve et ne laissent que peu de terrains propres à la cultivation." (140:10) "Approaching the Bergeronnes ... [they receded] to a distance of 4 to 5 leagues from the immediate borders of the St. Lawrence, leaving a tract of gradual ascent at their base, which was at first supposed to be cultivable, from its exhibiting a rich vegetable border; but it was found upon penetrating into the interior that it consisted of a deep swamp, covered with moss to a depth of nearly 3 feet, and could therefore present no agricultural attractions. East of Portneuf, the shores continue for some miles to preserve a moderate and regular elevation .... Towards Pointe des Monts, the altitude of the banks becomes greater, and the characteristic boldness of the north shore is again resumed; ... lofty, frowning and forbidding." (127:I,292-3) Little was known of the interior, but it was thought "probable, from the geographical situation of the country, and its unpromising appearance, that it [was] unfit for the purposes of settlement, ... consisting of rocky cliffs, and rugged hills, ... variously dispersed over barren plains or thick forests, studded with crooked and stunted pines, birchs, firs and cedar." (127:I,203-4)

In time, it was found that in fact there were "nombreuses vallées

qui renferment des grandes étendues de terre arable et susceptible d'exploitation." Along the Grande and the Petite Bergeronne, the Escoumains, Sault au Cochon, and Bersimis rivers there were tracts "presque tout propre au défrichement," having soils "de la meilleure qualité." While the shore itself, fringed with level terraces "se compose d'un sol sablonneux, mêlé de terre jaune et grise ... très propre à la culture." (140:10-11) Les Bergeronnes were bordered with extensive meadows able to "produce altogether, from 7 to 8 thousand bundles of hay." (145:202) And at Mille Vaches there was grass enough to feed "at least one thousand head of cattle .... The country on either side of the bay is level for a considerable distance ... and there is a stream of water [that the Saguenay Commissioners believed would] admit of building a mill of six saws and also a grist mill." (145:72) "Plus à l'est, et bien au-delà des rivières Portneuf et Betsiamites, il y a pareillement d'immenses étendues de terrain cultivable, notamment dans les vallées des rivières Manicouagan, Pentecôte, Trinité et Godbout .... Quoique le sol soit sablonneux, médiocre et facile à épuiser, il peut cependant être aisément enrichi par les produits de la mer et de la pêche, qui se trouveraient à la porte des habitants et serait pour eux une source intarissable de profits." (140:12)

In sum, concludes Langelier (ever an optimist), "dans le comté de Saguenay, la région dont le climat permet de faire avec profit la culture des céréales embrasse une étendue de 2,240,000 acres quarrés." Subtracting from this figure areas too mountainous or too poor for

settlement "on peut dire sans crainte de faire erreur qu'entre le Saguenay et la Pointe-des-Monts, distance d'environ cent cinquante milles, la lisière de terre cultivable qui borde le fleuve ... forme une superficie de quinze cents milles ... ou de 960,000 acres carrés de terrain cultivable sous le double rapport du climat et du sol" (140:12-13): which "étendue n'en est pas moins suffisante, et davantage, pour établir une population de 64,000 âmes." (140:116)

The Process of Settlement.

In 1844 there was formed at La Malbaie "la Société Saint Laurent, tant pour former des établissements à l'agriculture dans le comté de Saguenay, tout le long du fleuve Saint-Laurent, ses tributaires, la rivière Saguenay et autres lieux et places dans le dit comté, que faire le commerce du bois, ériger des moulins à scie ou autres, faire et établir des chantiers, vaisseaux et autres choses qui peuvent en dépendre." (150:208) There was no sudden thrust eastwards along the Shore. In fact, the only striking thing revealed by the census taken in that year was the extraordinarily high percentage of people classed as "idiots" resident within the County (as it was then defined) - though the majority of them, together with most of their more normal brethren, lived west of Tadoussac! (144) But by 1851 there were one hundred and forty persons living around Tadoussac, and eight hundred more east of here, at Bergeronnes, Escoumains, Portneuf and Ilets Jérémie.

Farming was preceded almost everywhere by forest enterprises. Sawmills were established at Anse à l'Eau in 1838, at Grandes

Bergeronnes in 1844, at Escoumains in 1845, at Portneuf in 1846 - and so on. Each was located near a river mouth or falls, save for that at Anse à l'Eau, which was steam driven. Then, with a falling off in the lumber trade around 1850 many of the newcomers took to the land. Permanent settlements were established, and in the course of time, recognized both by Church and State.

Townships were laid out all along the North Shore; few of them, however, were settled, and then but slowly. For the region was "trop éloignée des grands centres d'affaires et sans moyens de communication pendant six mois de l'année." (140:116) Thus Buies noted, in 1880, "en partant de Tadoussac et en descendant le fleuve Saint-Laurent, nous avons les townships Tadoussac, Bergeronnes, Escoumains et Iberville qui se suivent; environ deux rangs de ces quatres townships ont été arpentés sur le littoral du fleuve et sont occupés et cultivés. Plus loin, on ne voit plus trace de culture, mais simplement des établissements de pêche échelonnés ça et là sur la côte, et des concessions de terrains miniers, appelés 'blocs' pour l'exploitation du fer qui s'y trouve en abondance." Laval and La Tour were "absolument inhabités." (18)

At Bersimis the Oblat Fathers - the new 'apôtres du Nord' - had succeeded, "après de patients efforts, à produire des légumes et une certaine quantité de céréales suffisant aux besoins de la localité." On the other side of the river was a sawmill employing "deux cent cinquante hommes tout le long de l'année"; but though a few had their families with them, they did not stay long, and made no attempt to settle

(86)

Figure 16. In a Forest Clearing. "L'écho de voix françaises survola tout le pays dans un vol conquérant. Sur le bord des rivières et dans la plaine on entendit le han vigoreux du défricheur. Ce han emporté par la brise, tel un frisson de vie, renouva la contrée. [From the forest] partaient des chants pleins d'espoir dont les échos sonores et héroïques s'unifiaient pour former le faisceau des aspirations chrétiennes et patriotiques de nos pères." (133)

in the area. In Manicouagan township "un 'bloc' a été concédé pour l'exploitation de fer magnétique, mais il a été abandonné depuis," and Canton Laflèche "ne renferme aucune habitation .... En descendant encore le fleuve, on arrive, après avoir suivi une longue lisière de côte absolument déserte, aux townships Le Neuf et Arnaud qui ne sont ni mesurés ni habités, puis au township Letellier, ... dont tout le littoral sur le Saint-Laurent forme un 'bloc,'"- similarly abandoned. (130:17-23)

Life on 'the Frontier'.

As things turned out, the occupation of the North Shore was a more painful process than that which its advocates had imagined. At Tadoussac, "patient, hard-working settlers" worked long hours "trying to cultivate successfully the sandy and ungrateful soil. There are some twenty-five farmers who are working there, enduring great hardship and straining every nerve to succeed. Wheat, rye, barley, oats, peas, are sown there ... during the first fortnight in May, ... and are housed in the beginning of September. It is said that the crops are satisfactory when the season is favorable." (122:208)

Yet, out of a hundred or so families living in the village the majority were "employed either as day-labourers or as shanty-men." Twenty-three were hunters and another fifteen were "occupied in the coasting trade." Then there were representatives of the various crafts - carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers, carters, bakers, and the like. And finally a small group of official personages who comprised the

'society' of the place - "the district-magistrate, the Crown Lands Agent, the director of the fish-breeding establishment, and the doctor." (122:209-10)

In winter, most people had a change of work. "Some of us navigate, keeping along the shore, cutting firewood for selling to the people on the south shore, others of us, the greater number, go into the forests and work in the shanties; a score or so of us, coming of families who from father to son have always been fishermen, remain at Tadoussac to hunt the seals." (208:242) And in summer, of course, there was also a large "population flottante de gens qui se mettant au service des étrangers, les font promener en chaloupe ou en canot, font la chasse au loup-marin et vivent ainsi de mille petits expédients que la saison leur procure pendant environ deux mois." (180:79)

But Tadoussac had always been something of an anomaly as far as the rest of the North Shore was concerned, and the inhabitants of smaller settlements fared differently. They had fewer openings either for work or recreation, and, as often as not, had to work harder for the little they were able to earn. The more fortunate ones received a dollar and a half a day working full time in a sawmill. But for the majority the latter provided only seasonal employment. Moreover, "le travail des chantiers ... pendant l'hiver se prolongeait jusqu'à la descente des billots qui n'avait lieu qu'à la fin de mai ou au commencement de juin, quelquefois même plus tard, de sorte qu'ils ne pouvaient

labourer ni ensemencer leurs terres que lorsque la saison était déjà fort avancée. Et, naturellement, le grain semé à cette époque, ne venant pas à maturité avant les gelées de la fin d'août ou de septembre, la récolte était souvent perdue." On the other hand, "ceux qui ne trouvaient pas d'ouvrage dans les chantiers" were of necessity often forced to clear and sow the land "sans autres instruments que la hâche et la pioche." (130:130-31)

Hardest to bear, though, was the awesome feeling of loneliness and quiet despair, substantiated at times by periods of real and complete isolation. The settlements were small and widely spaced, with little means of inter-communication. Occasional visits from the Fathers helped break the monotony of life, but these were few and far between. There was a post office at Bersimis, but none east of here. "In summer," Comeau observes, "we sent or received letters by trading vessels or fishing schooners which outfitted at Quebec and returned there after the season's operations were over." In winter one could do so in January, but only by favour of the men who carried the private mail of the Hudson's Bay Company from their post at Mingan. The distance to Bersimis and back, "by land, counting all the detours that have to be made [was] over six hundred miles .... The whole trip had to be performed on snow shoes, ... [and] except in a few places near settlements, there were no roads or paths of any kind." (101:336,7)

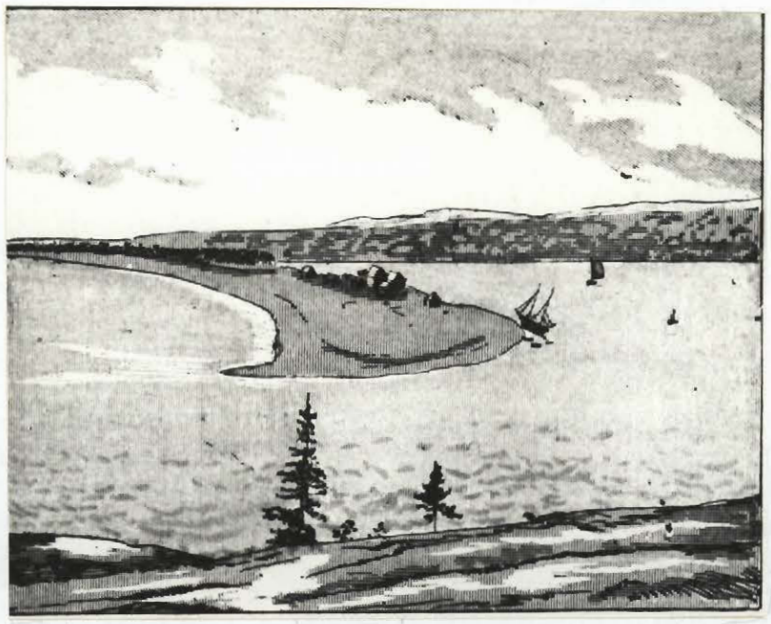
Alone at Seven Islands, with only "a half-breed" for company, Ballantyne had to strive "by all the means in [his] power to dispel ennui

.... Not another human being lived within sixty miles of our solitary habitation .... In front of us, the mighty Gulf of St. Lawrence stretched out to the horizon .... Behind, lay the dense forest, stretching back, without a break in its primeval wilderness, across the whole continent of America to the Pacific Ocean; while above and below lay the rugged mountains that form the shores of the Gulf." (125:316-9)

Even at Tadoussac "nothing much took place" during the winter months .... The land presented one uniform chilling aspect ... - cold, hard, misanthropic rocks, grin from beneath volumes of snow; and the few stunted black-looking pines that dot the banks here and there, only tend to render the scene more desolate. No birds fly about to enliven the traveller; and the only sound that meets the ear, besides the low sighing of the cold, cold wind, is the crashing of the immense fields of ice, as they meet and war in the eddies of opposing currents" in the waters of the St. Lawrence, now black as ink. (125:284-7) "When the North wind blows each one retires into his well warmed house and there waits patiently" until spring. (122:210-11)

The Land of Cods, Fogs and Dogs

By 1850 the colonists had reached Portneuf, but here they cut short their advance. To the east "at that date there was nothing else to be done on the coast ... but trading, hunting and fishing. Of the first the Hudson's Bay Company had the monopoly, and no one ever succeeded in offering them any serious opposition, the attempt generally



(i) Rivière Pentecôte.

(ii) Moisie.

Figure 17. North Shore Fishing Stations in the Late Nineteenth Century. (138)

ending in loss to all who made it." (101:32) Neither had hunting nor fishing occasioned much permanent settlement. For generations men had worked the Gulf fisheries, but with little profit to themselves; and few of them had been based on the North Shore. In Bradore Bay, which in 1813 had "not more than ten scattered inhabitants," (77:95-6) there were often as many as "one hundred and fifty sail ...hauling in the poor codfish by thousands"; but they came "principally from Halifax and the eastern portions of the United States." (124:I,413-4)

East of the Natashquan the Shore was "a common to which all nations at peace with England [might] resort, unmolested, for furs, oil, codfish and salmon." (141:406) Gradually, however, the coastal fisheries were taken up by individuals, and it was hoped that with the termination of the lease of the Hudson's Bay Company and the abolition of seigneuries the whole of the coast from Blanc Sablon westwards to the Sault aux Cochons would be occupied thus, - that "in due time, every place where a boat can be secured will be settled." (147:38)

Opportunities for Settlement.

In the early part of the century most people were quite prepared to write the area off as worthless. It was "perhaps the least favored by nature, in point of climate and soil, of the inhabited globe, (141:407) - a poor rugged, miserable country." (124:I,365) "Men placed here have no other resource but to prey upon the inferior animals around him, for the soil, composed of moss, sand and rock is too sterile, and the climate too cold to produce a substitute for satisfying the cravings

of hunger; often does the poor miserable sinner retire to his hard cold bed without a supper, and leave it next morning without a prospect of procuring for himself and family a breakfast or a dinner." (141:407) "Some of the west parts ... may be available for the purposes of agriculture." But "by far the greater part ... can be valuable only as fishing stands." (147:38-9)

Fishing East of the Natashquan.

"After the Conquest, Bradore, and 150 miles of coast westward, were monopolised by ... the Labrador Company, ... who for sixty years carried on the fishery, chiefly for seals" (147:34); but in 1820 they were forced to sell out. From then on the coast was gradually filled up with settlers, who by 1840 had "augmented from a dozen individuals to more than 250." (147:34) In that year there were "in the first one hundred and fifty miles from the Province line, about fifty establishments, more or less extensive, chiefly sedentary seal fisheries. Of these fifty, nearly half are in the neighbourhood of Bradore .... Indeed, for some years back, the fisheries have been so crowded thereabouts as to seriously annoy each other." (147:35) Most of the larger undertakings were run by Acadians or Jerseymen, and many of them were family concerns. The Mongers ruled at Tête à la Baleine, the Gallichon brothers at Old Fort, the Jones family at Bradore, and the Robertsons at La Tabatière. They were all "looked upon as the kings of the region." (136:161)

There were fair-sized posts at Blanc Sablon, Ile Verte and Bonne Espérance. But the largest was that at La Tabatière, "le produit annuel

de laquelle varie entre six cents et trois milles cinq cents loup marins." (135:10) It had "a population of about 60 souls," and boasted of "sixteen buildings, the largest collection at any one point on the Labrador." (129:330) Smaller settlements, with two or three families each, were located at Saint Augustin and Gros Mécatina; and there were a string of individual establishments, operated by various English, Scots and French 'planteurs.'

Permanent Settlement.

The companies operating the main posts did not encourage settlement. Although they employed many people in summer "these come and go yearly with the vessels to which they belong, and have no permanent habitation on the coast." Some worked there the year round, but even they were not allowed to have their families with them. In consequence, "the number of females is quite disproportionate to that of the sterner sex .... In 1852 there were 364 men settled on the coast [east of Mingan] and but 62 females." (129:330-34) But many men who came first simply to work for "les grandes maisons ... après avoir réussi à faire des épargnes et à découvrir quelque lieu avantageux pour la chasse ou pour la pêche, s'y bâtirent des demeures et commencèrent à travailler pour leur propre compte; la femme et les enfants venaient bientôt après occuper la maison et prendre part aux travaux du chef de la famille. Les premiers arrivés attirèrent quelques-uns de leurs parents ou de leurs amis"; and in this way were established settlements of anything from five to fifty families. In some cases the majority spoke English, in others

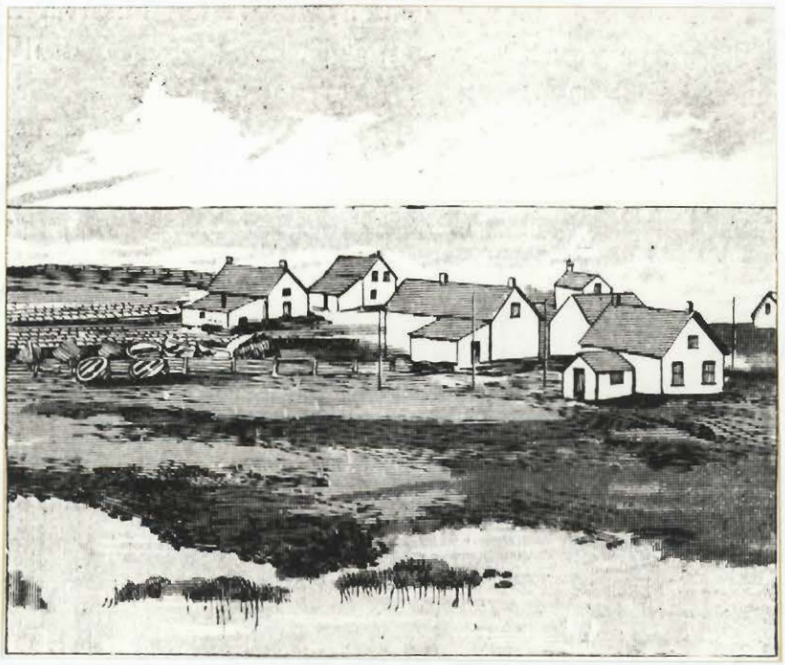
French; but "quelques-uns comptent parmi leurs ancêtres des anglais, des écossais, des irlandais, des jersiais, des français et des esquimaux." (80:68-70)

A Labrador Station.

The individual posts were spaced "far apart, generally three or four miles distant from each other." (129:331) "Chaque famille a ordinairement deux maisons; la maison du large et la maison de terre. La maison du large est placée sur une île, ou au bord de la mer si elle est sur la terre ferme. C'est la demeure ordinaire de la famille pendant la plus grande partie de l'année. Elle est toujours dans l'endroit où la pêche du loup-marin, du hareng et de la morue se peut faire plus facilement"; (80:81) generally "in some sheltered cove, ... where, if possible, high cliffs protect it on all sides, except from the sea." (151:119) "La maison de terre est occupée pendant la saison du saumon, qui se prend dans les rivières. Il est des gens qui en possèdent une troisième pour l'hiver, afin d'être plus rapprochés du bois; car il arrive que la maison du large se trouve à quatre ou cinq lieues de l'endroit où l'on coupe le bois de chauffage." (80:81)

All the "maisons du large" were "modelled and furnished about the same plan." Every "well conducted fishing post" comprised three main buildings - a "stage," a "shop" and a "house." "The stage consists of a platform some sixty or seventy feet long ... built from the beach into the sea. The inner half ... is covered with a sloping roof and board sides. It encloses bins for salt and fish." Next came the "shop," in

(i) La Baie de Magpie



(ii) Saint Jean

Figure 18. North Shore Fishing Stations in the Late Nineteenth Century. (138)

which were "kept the extra stores; the flour, potatoes, turnips, salt pork or beef, butter, tea chest, and other articles not in ordinary use in the house." Close to it would be "several boats lying upon the sand, ... the ever present pile of wood ... [and] the fish flakes." (151:119-23)

The house itself "is built with one full story downstairs, and an attic beneath the sloping roof; a partition running from floor to roof divides both .... Windows are few and far between .... There is no cellar, except a rough hole scooped out underground and lined with hay." The whole is furnished with "a good stove, a chimney, and an oven at the bottom of this, ... three beds," (124:I,375) perhaps a couple of home-made tables, a few chairs, and an occasional "poor apology for a book-case. [However, the] roof, boards, rafters, the sides of the house up and down stairs, the doors and the cupboard were all papered - the articles used being anything in the shape of book, pamphlet, or news-paper." So that the family guest could pass "dull, gloomy mornings ... reading the titles, looking at the pictures, or reading the stories, pasted at the head and sides of" his bed. (151:123-6)

Cultivable land was scarce, but soil was found in hollows, and "quelques habitants industrieux ont utilisé le terrain ainsi formé, en le ramassant et le transportant dans un lieu abrité. Par ce moyen ils ont réussi à créer des jardins et de petits champs, où ils récoltent des patates et des navets." (80:63) These did not always ripen properly,

but in most years provided "un secours plus ou moins important pour aider, avec la pêche et la chasse, à l'alimentation quotidienne." (138:415) A few cabbages were grown too, but "the best that can be said of them is that they flavored an occasional soup." (151:63)

Some families kept one or two cows. In summer these fed off the coarse grass growing along the beaches and flats; in winter, when fodder was scarce, they ate birch and alder tops "with avidity and apparent relish." (151:63) But seldon did they profit their owners - to judge by the experience of the fisherman at Natagamiou who kept one such animal. "De huit à dix lieues à la ronde, on envoie chercher chez lui du lait, pour guérir toutes les maladies imaginables: un tel service ne se refuse jamais et est toujours rendu gratuitement." (80:72) "A horse is not to be found on the coast, nor would he indeed be of much utility, for there are no roads [or farms] whatever, and the possibility of making highways over such uneven rocks is rather dubious. Foot paths are not wanting to communicate from one station to another, but these are rarely used. The people, without exception, live on the immediate seashore; their travelling in summer is performed by water, in winter by dog-train." (129:331-2)

Way of Life.

The average family consisted of "a middle aged man and his wife; either an old gentleman or an aged grandmother; perhaps a daughter or son (from 15 to 20 years of age), or both; two or three small children and a baby: and, to aid in times of general confusion ... several large, fierce,

full-grown dogs and one or two puppies that are always in the way, and in a continual state of warfare with themselves, the people in the house - who are always scolding them - and everybody and everything in general." (151:128) These dogs also "kill any domestic animals we may try to keep; they destroy any gardens we laboriously tend - if once they succeed in getting in over the palisades; ... and they disturb our sleep and our peace of mind." (137:1-2)

"The occupation of the different members of the family can be very briefly stated as that of earning a living in the summer, and living in the winter .... In the summer the men fish; in the fall they cut wood and do little odd jobs necessary to the preparation for winter; in the winter they keep things about their place in order and prepare for spring and summer, - by mending their nets, boats, and dog sledges." (151:129) Occasionally in winter, too, "the men hunt Foxes, Martens, and Sables, and kill some Bear of the black kind; but neither Deer nor other game is to be found without going a great distance into the interior." (124:375)

"Les marchands y viennent d'Halifax, parcourent les havres de la côte, sur des goëlettes, et fournissent à un taux raisonnable les provisions et les marchandises qui, si l'on en excepte la farine et le lard, sont à meilleur marché qu'à Québec. En retour, les trafiquants reçoivent les huiles, le poisson et les pelleteries." (80:82) But "impenetrable barriers of ice excluding communication with the outer world during about seven months of the year, ... the residents of the coast ... must

(142)

Figure 19. The Ultimate in Family Pioneering. "The fisherman's wants are few, and he can easily support a wife; moreover she could assist him in his calling ... and it often happens that the larger a fisherman's family becomes, the better are his prospects." (129:334)

lay up their store of luxuries during the summer season ... like the ant or humming-bee." (129:334) "Every winter makes a deep impression on beast as well as on man, ... snow - snow - is all that can be seen." (124:409,387)

The Mingan Territory.

Meanwhile, Bissot's heirs lay claim to a large part of the North Shore, even after the abolition of seigneuries in 1854 - when Mingan was somehow overlooked. They were unable to prevent the establishment of fishing posts within the territory, but the position of those who settled there was uncertain. Later court decisions which confirmed the seigneurs in their rights disregarded the claims of the actual inhabitants of the coast, and periodically threatened them with dispossession.

Once more, much of the pioneering work was done by the Jersey Island and South Shore firms. At the mouth of the St. John River, for example, the Hollidays put "some 20,000 pounds of salmon in cans annually." (105:191) The Têtu Company, leasing "la plus belle partie du banc de la rivière Moisie, ... a là un établissement où [elle] prépare l'huile de foie de morue." (134:8) And at Mingan there were "vingt-cinq ou trente bâtiments, appartenant aux ports des Etats-Unis, du Nouveau-Brunswick, de l'île Saint-Jean [Prince Edward Island], et de la Nouvelle-Ecosse." (80:38)

By the 1870's the changeover was already in progress. "Depuis peu d'années, des familles acadiennes se sont fixées dans les environs

de Mingan." There were similar groups at Pointe aux Esquimaux (later Havre St. Pierre) and Natashquan. And in the succeeding decades small fishing posts were established all along the coast - at Long Point, Saint Jean, Magpie, Rivière au Tonnere, Dock, Sheldrake, Chaloupe and Rivière aux Graines. Some of these were founded by men brought in by the fishing companies. Others were the work of individual families, or associations of such, from Gaspé and the Magdalens. On arrival, "ils se placèrent près du rivage, et après avoir mesuré l'étendue de grève que chacun se réservait, ils se mirent à l'oeuvre, pour construire des habitations avant la venue de l'hiver. Chaque lopin a environ quatre-vingts ou cent pas de largeur sur une profondeur indéterminée; avec la pêche il suffirait pour faire vivre convenablement une famille laborieuse." (81:54-6) Strange as it seems, most settlers found the North Shore "more attractive ... than their former homes" to the south. (136:12)

Anticosti Island

Until the latter part of the nineteenth century, Anticosti was known merely as one of the main dangers to navigation in the Gulf. Although its shores had been surveyed, the interior was virtually unknown; and even the coastal areas were largely "uncultivated, being generally of an unpropitious soil, upon which attempted improvements have met with unpromising results." (127:I,168) "The fogs and cold, damp atmosphere which envelop this island during the summer counteract the effects of

the sun, so that vegetation is slow, and wheat does not grow to maturity." In 1808 it boasted "two solitary Canadians, ... the sole human inhabitants, ... settled with their families on the western end, and raising a sufficiency on their farms "'pour faire la soupe'." (141:409) But it was the very absence of settlement which rendered the island so suitable a site for the grandiose projects which characterized its development in the last quarter of the century.

"Resources and Capabilities."

Just as 'Le Nord' had a champion in Langelier, so in 1853 Anticosti found in A.-R. Roche a prophet of brighter days ahead. He thought "the inner anchorage [at Ellis Bay] of as large a capacity as the harbour of Montreal ... and able to contain in safety, during all winds, almost any number of vessels of the largest size." It could be developed as a repair yard to service ships damaged in the Gulf; as a revitalling centre; as a base for steam tugs, employed in the relief of vessels in distress; and as a naval station, for both guarding the gulf and policing its fisheries. In short, it required but slight improvement "to make it one of the finest harbours in North America." (148:183-4)

Most interesting of all was his suggestion to use it as an entrepôt. It lay "at the entrance of the St. Lawrence, in the direct and only channel of an immense traffic." (211) "And by establishing an entrepôt on the island, for the purpose of carrying on some of the traffic between Canada and Europe in the early spring, when for several weeks ... intercourse between it and Quebec could be frequently kept up in

small vessels, before ships from sea can traverse the same space; and later in the autumn after every ship from the latter has left for Europe, six weeks or two months would be virtually added to the period of open navigation to Quebec. While such an intercourse by colonial schooners or small steamers (for which there is shelter almost everywhere), could be maintained at those seasons, ships from sea could arrive earlier at, and depart later from Anticosti, than they can arrive or depart from Quebec, and those ships that might choose to discharge and obtain their cargoes at other periods at Anticosti, could easily make three voyages instead of two." (148:212-3)

As for resources, the island was "mostly covered with a thick forest of trees, stunted near the shore." A passing acquaintance with the fringe had led earlier writers to pronounce its forest growth as useless. But "with the tamarack and pine growing there, and the immense quantities of valuable timber drifted upon the island, many ships might be built every year." (148:186-7)

Roche himself spent no more than a few months on Anticosti, and then only in summer. Yet, he declared, the interior areas "consist generally of black light soil, clay and sand, and ... from the immense quantities of sea-weed with which the shores abound ... the land could be made to yield every description of farm produce." Moreover, the "rearing of cattle and sheep at Anticosti ... would, no doubt, pay very handsomely. While the natural grasses are as rich as any upon this continent, it appears that cattle can be left out to graze longer than they

can be at Quebec .... [So that] we have every reason to hope, that Anticosti, situated in the midst of the fisheries, which employ many thousand men, of a vast traffic, carried on by upwards of two thousand ships, and within easy reach of many valuable markets, may be made as profitable a grazing country as any portion of British North America." (148:188-91)

Finally, there were the fisheries - "among the most valuable of British North America." "Cod, halibut, and a variety of other fish, could be caught all round the island in incalculable quantities." And "though all the rivers of Anticosti abound with the finest salmon, few of them are fished to any extent; ... which, with sufficient attention and judicious management, might be made almost as valuable as the best salmon streams in Scotland, for each of which a rent is obtained of from five to fifteen thousand pounds, sterling, per annum." (148:197,204)

The Anticosti Company of Canada.

At that time Anticosti sheltered "no more than some fifteen or twenty residents, distributed between the fishing stations of the lesees, the light-houses and the provision posts, all of which are situated on the south side of the island." (148:208) The control of its two million acres was vested in a loose association of individuals, the majority of whom lived in Europe "et ne semblent pas avoir d'autre souci que de protéger les richesses et leur domaine en interdisant l'entrée." (149:28) But in 1874 the Forsyth (or Anticosti Island) Company gained possession of the whole, and set about its development on the grandest of scales.

> With a view to the early colonization and settlement of the Island, and the gradual development of its many valuable resources, the Directors propose: ...
> - to open out roads, to survey and lay out townships, and to encourage settlement.
> - to erect grist mills, saw mills, [an] iron foundry, planing mills, dwellings, churches, schools. [And to undertake:]
> - the building or purchasing of fishing schooners and boats,
> - [the laying of] a submarine telegraph cable, to connect the Island and the mainland,
> - the improvement of [the] harbors of Ellis Bay and Fox Bay ...
> - [and] the erection of stores and warehouses, and such other buildings as may be necessary for the business of the Company. (123:8-9)

"L'île devait être divisée en vingt-cinq comtés de 120,000 acres chacun, et les comtés devaient être subdivisées en cinq cantons, et les cantons en paroisses." (86:237) Large areas were scheduled for clearance. Rash promises were made to a number of Newfoundland fishermen to attract them to the Island, - "ceux qui vinrent ainsi s'y établir reçurent des avances tant pour se loger que se pourvoir de provisions. Malheureusement, cette compagnie qui promettait tant n'eut qu'un règne éphémère, car de l'automne de la même année elle n'était déjà plus en état de fournir des provisions aux nombreuses familles qui dépendaient d'elle." (86:50) And the Government had to intervene in order to save them from starving.

Initially "with a liberal colonisation policy, the Directors [had looked] forward at no distant day to see the Island of Anticosti with a flourishing population of at least 100,000." (123:8-9) In fact, during the year 1874, its resident population never exceeded three hundred; most of these were afterwards repatriated.

Henri Menier.

In the years that followed various other attempts were made at the settlement of the island, but to little or no avail. Its population increased gradually with the introduction of settlers from Gaspé and the Baie des Chaleurs "mais l'accroissement ne fut pas régulier et subit des fluctuations, en raison, principalement, du plus ou moins de facilités que donnèrent les compagnies successives aux nouveaux colons." (181:29) In 1895 it was well nigh uninhabited, and Henri Menier was able to buy it for a mere one hundred and twenty-five thousand dollars.

Primarily he intended it to be a private reserve, restocked it accordingly with fish and game, and denied all others the right to hunt therein. The few remaining settlers protested, but many of them eventually had to pack up and leave. Nevertheless, Menier saw a need to introduce persons who would make the island their permanent home and yet not interfere with his sport. He brought in first a few selected families from France. There were not enough of them, and forced to turn first to Gaspé and the Labrador Canadien, he eventually recruited even a few English and Scots settlers.

Before long he found himself developing the island as a sort of hobby. It was the 'Golden Age' of Anticosti! "A partir de ce moment, l'île reçut une impulsion nouvelle. Les constructions s'élevèrent comme par enchantement (maisons d'habitation, église, école, magasins, hôpital, boulangerie, entrepôts, scieries, abattoir, etc.) à la Baie-Sainte-Claire [Baie des Anglais] d'abord, puis à la Baie-Ellis .... Bientôt,

(155)

Figure 20. The Villa Menier. "Menier, chocolate king and one of the wealthiest men in France ... saw in Anticosti a unique opportunity. Here was an estate, ... a sportsman's paradise .... Here, moreover, was an isolated country to develop, to colonize and to rule according to one's own ideas .... Having established his capital [in Ellis Bay], he called it Port Menier, and erected for himself a villa, modelled along the lines of a French chateau, upon which he spared no expense, either in its construction or sumptuous furnishings." (181:76-7)

les défrichements s'agrandirent, les fermes se fondèrent, deux homarderies furent construites et l'exploitation forestière, agricole et des pêcheries commença." (149:31-2) "On the Jupiter River, ... luxurious fishing camps were erected, and trapper stations were established at various points along the coast." (181:77) At Port Menier, he built "a wharf three-quarters of a mile in length, ... reaching over the reef into deep water." And, with the launching of an extensive pulpwood operation "a standard-gauge railroad was built to tap the sources of wood and a mill erected at the port for barking the logs and loading the ships." (181:77-8)

But Henri Menier died in 1913, and though his brother, Gaston, took over the enterprise, it foundered five years later. It had been but an expensive plaything - never an economic proposition. In effect its collapse marked the end of pioneer settlement on the North Shore. Yet it had, like its predecessors, foreshadowed the type of development to come in the industrial era.

CHAPTER VII

THE NORTH SHORE OF THE INDUSTRIALIST

> "A country ever unknown and ignored until the recent realization of the economic value of these vast solitudes, rich in natural resources of all kinds." (157:1)

In the twentieth century the North Shore - or rather the cultural landscape of the North Shore - has undergone a remarkable transformation. Its economic potential has been reassessed in the light of changing world needs and advances in industrial technology. On the basis of past experience little alteration could be expected in the face of the land as long as man's first concern was "la qualité du sol et encore moins l'idée de jeter les bases de quelques colonies agricoles." Instead, "toute la richesse de la Côte Nord et du Labrador canadien ... consiste dans ses rivières, ses forêts, [and] ses mines." (180:8) The interior, at least as far as the Natashquan, is densely wooded; its forest species "sans être de grande dimension, sont de bonne qualité, et c'est là le point essentiel pour le commerce et l'industrie." (180:8) "The probability of large and important [mineral] deposits ... is high. The region has been little prospected and most of the exploration has been confined to the stream banks." (172:181) "Tous les fleuves du Nord charrient entre leurs rives à peine connues, des forces, des énergies dont il est impossible de préciser la grandeur, et l'esprit est confondu devant le rêve de l'avenir qu'il est permis de faire pour notre pays."

(180:9) And it needed only "la venue de quelques capitalistes américains et européens pour nous ramener à la réalité et ... soulever le voile qui dérobait à nos yeux un coin du pays où tant de richesses sont accumulées." (180:7,9)

Conditions in the Early Thirties

Thirty years ago, however, man had as yet launched no major onslaught against the barren inhospitality of the North Shore, and life there remained much as it had been for generations past. It was "within easy reaching distance of the capital city; is the part of the Province nearest Europe; its shoreline is seen from the decks of the thousand and one steamships and other vessels which traverse the river and gulf, but nevertheless it is comparatively unknown and but feebly populated." (9:325)

From 1889 on the Government had operated a telegraph line linking coastal settlements as far down as Pointe aux Esquimaux; but otherwise the inhabitants of the Shore were as isolated as ever. "En parlant de voirie, ... il ne faut pas penser aux belles routes macadamisées ou gravelées .... Sur la Côte Nord on est parfaitement heureux lorsqu'on rencontre un bon portage." (179:91) "One can travel by any means at hand without discomfort from Tadoussac to Escoumains, and fairly well for fifteen miles farther to Mille Vaches, and, with some difficulty, a like additional distance to Portneuf and Sault-au-Cochon. But here ends anything worthy of the name 'highway.' There is what is little more

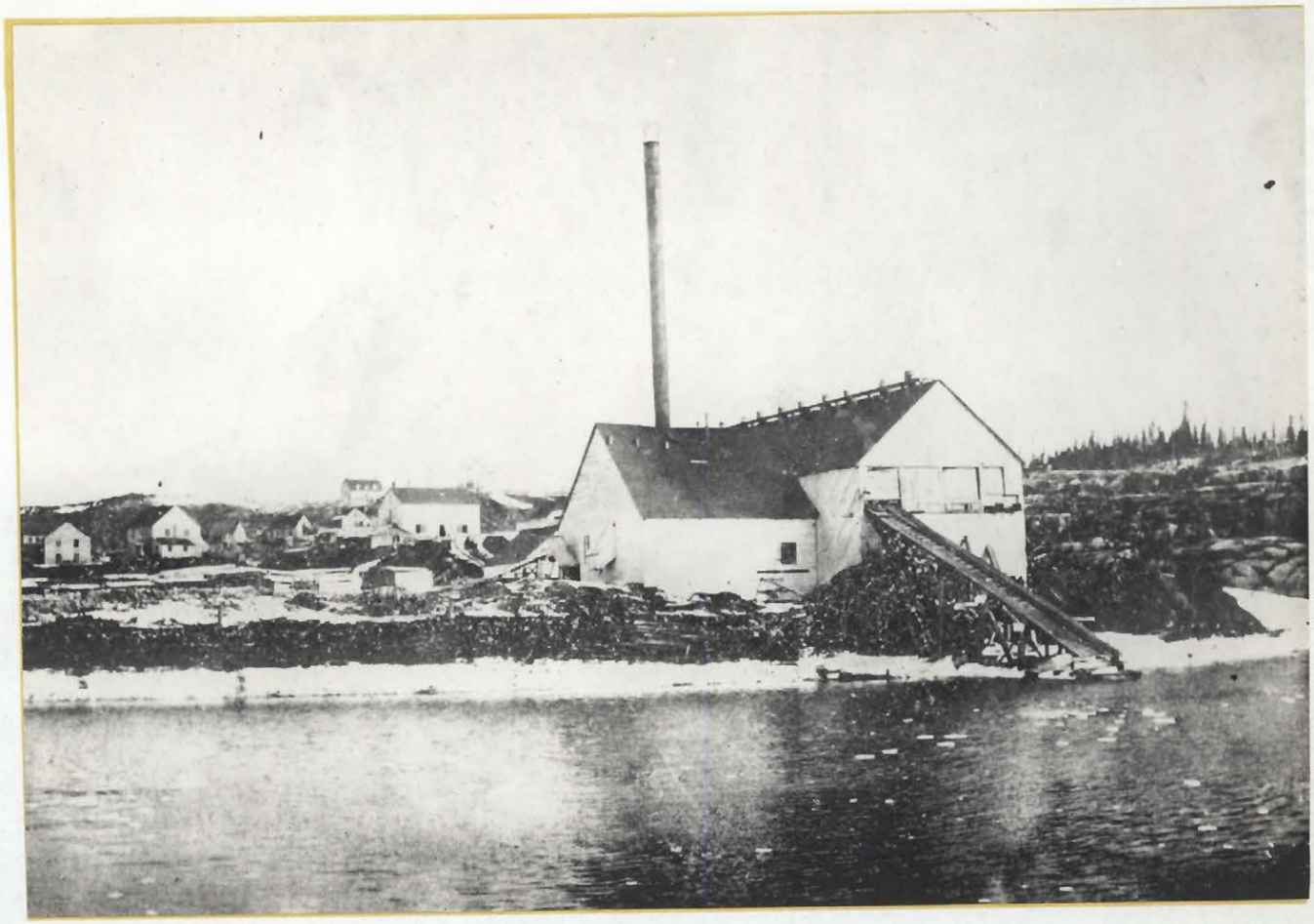
than a cleared path on to Betsiamis; from Betsiamis to Pointe des Monts [and beyond] one must take to the river." (9:328)

Steamers from Quebec made four or five trips a month, putting in at various points along the Shore, and smaller vessels provided an additional if less regular link with the outside world. But such services lasted only until the freeze-up, when travel downstream became easier on-shore, by dog-team. "Les hommes de chaque coin de la Côte sont étroitement rivés aux facteurs locaux d'existence [which] tendent, d'autre part, et très puissament, à engendrer des genres de vie de caractère saisonnier, où ce rythme de saisons correspond soit à la période où l'intérieur est ouvert, soit à celle où c'est la mer qui est libre." (156:I,261) This alternation of the means of transport was well enough suited to the earliest forestry enterprises, but it long inhibited large-scale industrial development.

Pulp and Paper

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century lumbering activities were advanced eastward from the Sault aux Cochons, where they had stagnated since 1850. Small saw-mills were established at Manicouagan, St. Nicolas, Pentecôte, Iles de Mai and at the mouth of the Ste. Marguerite River. Together they provided a fair amount of timber for shipment both to Great Britain and the United States.

But "à partir de 1900, le besoin de bois pour la fabrication du papier agit puissament; on laisse dépérir les anciennes scieries, ou on



(180)

Figure 21. Le Poste de Manicouagan et l'établissement de la 'Manicouagan & English Bay Export Company.' "In 1903, two lumber camps opened at Manicouagan and Pentecost for the purpose of furnishing lumber to the saw-mills. About five hundred men from localities all over the Shore worked there for a salary of fifteen to twenty-five dollars a month. When they arrived in these two villages, they scattered to rustic log camps built at ten, fifteen, and twenty miles from the village. The farthermost was sixty miles away, at the 'Fork,' where the Manicouagan River branches out in two directions. There, a hundred men used to cut the finest logs." (136:150-51)

les transforme en usines d'écorçage des billots prêts à être livrés aux fabriques de pâte: des capitalistes canadiens-anglais, américains, anglais, rachètent les entreprises et les transforment en vastes sociétés." (156:I,291) In 1908 the first pulp-mill on the North Shore began production at Clarke City. In 1919 cordwood-handling facilities were located at Shelter Bay, in 1920 at Franquelin, in 1923 at Godbout, and in 1928 at Trinity Bay. Cutting was extended eastwards from Seven Islands to the Pigou and Manitou Rivers, and timber limits were purchased also back of Rivière au Tonnerre and Mingan. "Dans les vallées qui aboutissent à chacun de ces établissements s'avancent des chantiers, dont les bûches descendent les rivières à chaque printemps vers les usines." (156:I,292) By the mid-twenties Rochette was already able to recognize an industrial heart to the North Shore. It extended from Bersimis to a point some distance beyond Seven Islands, and was clearly distinguishable from the agricultural section to the westward and the fishing and hunting region in the east. It yielded close to a million cords of pulpwood per annum. Things were happening even on Anticosti; the Canada Power and Paper Corporation was planning to exploit the island's forests on a large scale. "Construction projects were launched to handle the largely-increased output of pulpwood. Contractors were called in and with them came gangs of bushmen." (181:79)

Clarke City.

At the time, the mill at Clarke City seemed "a tremendous undertaking, one which, in the minds of the inhabitants of the North Shore,

took on stupendous proportions." (136:145) Its pioneers were the four Clarke brothers who sought to combine their publishing and building interests in one great industrial venture. Impressed with the thickly wooded area north of the bay at Seven Islands, they planned to establish there a modern pulp-mill, using power from the Ste. Marguerite River. "It was a wild rough country to which everything, including labour, had to be brought. The site of the dam and mill was inland with never a decent road and hardly a building of any sort." (9:334) The land had to be cleared and a railway built before work could even be begun on the main project. It was necessary also to build a completely new town, which, in spite of its isolation, was "better laid out, better constructed, had more complete public utilities, [and] larger provisions for the comforts and pleasures of its residents than most of the villages of like size in the Province." (9:334)

Yet the various forest enterprises initiated during the first three decades of the present century had not substantially altered the face of the Shore. In and around Clarke City the Gulf Pulp and Paper Company employed some three hundred men in summer, many of them European immigrants - from Poland, Russia, Bulgaria, Italy and Scotland. But the many smaller undertakings were concerned only with 'shipage'; and as "tous les produits du travail du bois ... sont destinés à l'exportation" instead of being processed on the spot, the region accordingly benefited less from their exploitation. Similarly, "une bonne partie des hommes

qui forment l'armée des travailleurs du bois n'est pas fixée à demeure sur la Côte. Plus de la moitié des bûcherons des chantiers vient de l'extérieur ... et le nombre des ouvriers d'industrie proprement dits n'est pas considérable." (156:I,296-8) Finally, during the Depression many ventures foundered; even those that survived stagnated. For a while afterwards the Shore lost ground again; and Anticosti, too, was once more in the doldrums.

Baie Comeau.

Rather it was Baie Comeau which marked the beginning of the new era - the birth of the new North Shore. Both town and mill were in large measure the creation of one individual - Colonel Robert McCormick, editor of the Chicago Tribune and New York Daily News, and a director of the Ontario Paper Company. The latter had pioneered in forestry on the Shore, but hitherto had simply shipped out cordwood for processing at Thorold. With increased newsprint consumption its directors decided to establish a second mill in Canada, closer to the source of supply. They were well aware of the difficulties. "The lack of harbors, the high tides, and the long, cold winters were [until now] regarded as obstacles too great for large-scale logging operations." (182:32) But McCormick was "prepared to pit the strength of men and machines against nature, however strongly entrenched." (163:8)

Work at Baie Comeau began in the spring of 1936. Again, "not only was it required to construct a newsprint mill and the facilities for transportation of raw materials. It was necessary to construct a

complete city to provide homes and all the normal attractions of city life for the future mill workers, to build roads and highways linking the city with other parts of the development, to construct dams and new waterways, to build a power plant at Outarde Falls, 13 miles away, to build railways and inland water barges, hotels and hospitals. And, to complicate the problem, there was scarcely a man, and not one machine, at the development site to be used in the construction job." (163:8) Yet two years later the mill was formally opened. With a productive capacity of six hundred and fifty tons daily, it was a pioneer in the field of high-speed, low-cost operation, the most modern of its kind in the world.

The construction of the town itself was a huge undertaking. The site selected was aesthetically satisfying, but expensive to develop. Nearly everything had to be blasted with dynamite; and there was so little earth there that soil for gardens had to be hauled in from five or six miles away. As one writer observed in 1938, "two years ago this North Shore district was a wilderness. To-day three thousand people call Baie Comeau home." (163:2) "One of the most unusual towns in Quebec, perhaps in all Canada, [it was] born, so to speak, with a silver spoon in its mouth, (159) the Metropolis of Canada's forgotten land, civilization's outpost on one of the last eastern frontiers." (163:2)

The incorporation of Baie Comeau in 1937 was quickly followed by the establishment of a rival logging town some distance to the westward,

(182)

Figure 22. Baie Comeau and the Quebec North Shore Paper Company. "There were other small towns scattered along the North Shore, but there was no precedent for the establishment of a city of three to four thousand persons. The Company, having decided to set a precedent, also resolved to make Baie Comeau a model community, ... designed for beauty as well as for comfort." (182:182)

at Forestville. Indeed, it led to a revival of pulp and paper enterprises all along the Shore. Forest operations to-day employ some two thousand men full time, and another ten thousand seasonal workers. And yet they have recently been surpassed by developments in other fields.

The Mining Industry

Back in the 1860's the Molson's had worked over some of the iron sands at the mouth of the Moisie River. Other small mineral deposits had been exploited at various times along the coast - mica at Bergeronnes, granite at Escoumains, ochre at Mille Vaches, and so on. But it was the tremendous wealth of the interior which occasioned the new burst of industrial activity on the North Shore. The decisive factor was the discovery of the large iron ore bodies of the New Quebec Ranges. The observations of various missionaries and explorers had earlier hinted at their existence; and as long ago as 1913 an application had been made to Parliament to construct a railway northwards from the St. Lawrence to develop deposits around Richmond Gulf. (9:353) But the first significant discovery was that made in 1929 by J.E. Gill near Lake Ruth. In 1938 Retty located another high-grade deposit at Burnt Creek, close to the present town of Schefferville. From then on the interior has swarmed with prospectors, who have between them succeeded in revealing something of its great riches not only in iron but also in titanium, manganese, copper, lead, zinc, nickel, silver and gold.

The Knob Lake project was another multi-million dollar undertaking. Once more it involved not only the establishment of mining activities, but also the construction of a railroad three hundred and sixty miles long, power plants and docking facilities; and the creation of two new town sites. Work on these was not begun till 1951. But within three years the Company was exporting ore from Seven Islands; and by 1958 it was shipping it out at a rate of twelve million tons per annum, - representing more than half of the total Canadian production.

However, this was merely the beginning. Although the only concern producing as yet, it will soon be rivalled by a succession of further mammoth undertakings. At Carol Lake, one hundred and fifty miles south of the railhead, the Iron Ore Company of Canada is developing a second deposit, "estimated to contain some two billion tons of ore capable of being concentrated into 65% iron product .... In addition to the installation of a 30,000-ton-a-day concentrator, the project entails the erection of a town, ... a new hydro-plant of 50,000 h.p. and the expansion of other needed facilities. Target date for the start of production is 1962." At Wabash Lake, close by, another corporation plans to invest an additional two hundred and fifty million dollars. "Tentative plans call for the treatment of 10 million tons of crude ore annually, and the production of some 5 million tons of concentrates." (169:28) At Gagnonville, two hundred miles north of Shelter Bay, Quebec Cartier plans to process a further ten million tons of ore yearly, exporting it by rail southwards to the newly created Port Cartier.

"If all expectations are realized, and the market is available, iron ore production by 1965 could well be at the rate of about 30 million tons a year." (167:8) Adding to this the development of the world's largest ilmenite deposit at Lake Allard, north of Havre St. Pierre; the world's largest feldspar ore body at Johan Beetz; and the proposed exploitation of the vast Natashquan mineral sands; together with the many other deposits under consideration, one can glimpse something of the industrial revolution on the North Shore. All along the coast small fishing and trading posts have been transformed almost overnight. Many of them have served as bases for exploration; some have grown into flourishing settlements with new harbours, closely linked by road and rail with the interior. These boom towns have little in common with their forbears; yet, as Cameron remarked of Seven Islands in the fall of 1959, "if you look closely in the shadows between the gleaming department stores and hotels ... you will see a few fisherman's shacks, a reminder of what life was like on the north shore of the St. Lawrence estuary before iron ore began to come down from the great deposits up north." (158)

Associated Developments

Meanwhile, to the westward, industry was expanding around Baie Comeau. First it was chosen as the site for a large aluminium smelter. This was to be built in four stages, each having a capacity of forty thousand long tons per annum. The Canadian British Aluminium Company

was incorporated in October, 1955 - and the first ingot poured on December 5th, 1957.

The following summer Roche's dreams for Anticosti (see pp. 146-7) came true instead for Baie Comeau. Plans were announced for the erection of a grain elevator at the mouth of the English River, adjacent to the smelter. With a capacity of twelve million bushels it will "place Baie Comeau among the best equipped grain-handling ports of the world and second [in Canada] of the leading grain-export ports, for overseas destination." (169:49) The first shipments were received in 1960.

The operation of the aluminium smelter necessitated the expansion of the existing generating facilities on the Manicouagan. This proved a minor undertaking beside Quebec Hydro's two million horse-power development on the Bersimis River, with its concomitant urban development at Labrieville. Taking account also of various smaller projects associated with mining activities, the generating capacity of streams draining to the North Shore should be almost three million horse-power by 1962. But even this is small in comparison with the six million horse-power development scheduled for the upper Manicouagan and Outardes Rivers. "The development of that power, within the coming 12 to 15 years, will increase Quebec's present hydro-electric installed capacity by about 50% and will entail, it is said, an expenditure of nearly $2 billion." (167:8)

In 1957, the industrial production of the North Shore, valued at

(C.B.A.)

Figure 23. The Canadian British Aluminium Company. The site was cleared in the summer of 1955, and the first access road begun that winter. In the next two years construction forged ahead, including work on the smelter itself, a wharf, roads, transmission lines, and storage facilities; together with the lay-out of a brand-new townsite.

around two hundred million dollars, involved the movement of twenty million tons of commodities. By 1970 the latter figure may well be two and a half times as great, - ten times what it was in 1952. The increase in traffic has led to a virtual explosion of transport facilities. Additional harbours have been created, old ones improved, and new shipping companies established to serve the Shore. Airlines now provide regular, scheduled services all along the coast, connecting it with the South Shore and Quebec City, and with settlements in the interior. "After a delay of many years, difficulties of all sorts and expenditures of millions of dollars, Route No. 15 between Baie Comeau and Sept-Iles" is now open to traffic. (167:7) Successive inroads have been made into the closed season for shipping, and "successful year-round navigation ... can now be foreseen." (168:61) There is even talk of a North Shore railway!

Growth of Population

Needless to say, so extensive a programme of industrial expansion has had considerable social repercussions. Not only has the way of life of the earlier inhabitants been radically changed in places, but hordes of newcomers have poured into the area, so that "the original North Shoremen are now in a minority." (170:35)

Only fifteen years ago the North Shore was "la région la plus faiblement peuplée de la province de Québec." (3:1,6) Almost without exception settlement was confined to the coast itself, and densities, if

they can be defined as such, were reckoned in terms of persons per mile of coastline - thirty-eight per mile west of Havre St. Pierre, and less than ten per mile east of here. During the two decades immediately following the census of 1931, the population of the Shore increased by an average of three per cent per annum; by 1956 this had jumped to five per cent, and over the next four years it averaged more than twice that amount.

The earlier industrial developments, such as at Clarke City and Baie Comeau, paralleled the Church's laboured efforts at colonisation. But the Church soon adapted itself to changing conditions. Its leaders had previously emphasized rural settlement; now they took up the challenge of city growth. Thus Mgr. Labrie, newly consecrated 'Bishop of the Gulf of St. Lawrence' at Baie Comeau, decided to build himself a new cathedral city. Accordingly he chose a site overlooking the estuary of the Manicouagan, where there was level land enough for a seminary and hospital, schools, shops and the industries which, he anticipated, would soon be established here. (136:288) In 1949 the area was a vacant lot; in 1950 the new town of Hauterive was incorporated.

Forty years ago the North Shore had a population of ten thousand, of which less than five hundred could have been classed as urban. To-day all but seven per cent of its eighty thousand residents actually live in towns, many of which are growing rapidly. "During the year ending June 1, 1960, the population of Sept-Iles grew by about 4,000 to some 15,000 persons; Baie Comeau reached 8,000 people; Schefferville, 5,000; Hauterive,

(170)

Figure 24. Seven Islands: Canada's Newest Seaport. "Formerly the town was the base of operations for a small group of people living at a subsistence level from the results of their labor fishing in the salt water of the St. Lawrence River and hunting and trapping in the interior. To-day the expanding population looks inward to the heartland of Quebec-Labrador where mines are rapidly being developed and new resources discovered." (170:ii-iii)

5,300; and Forestville, 3,400. The new towns of Port Cartier and Ville Gagnon now count 3,000 and 3,600 people respectively. A new town which will be called Labrador City is being developed in the Wabush Lake area. It is expected to contain some 5,000 people." (167:8) "On the basis of a 6% yearly growth only, the population of the North Shore will reach ... 121,000 in 1966 and 170,000 in 1971." (169:60.cf.,p.127)

The New North Shore

To-day "sur la Côte Nord, on ne parle qu'en termes de millions et les chiffres de moindre importance laissent les citoyens indifférents." (La Presse, le 30 octobre 1959) Nothing is attempted here save on a gigantic scale. The natural wealth of the area, presenting "a panorama of unrealized opportunity," had awaited only "the quickening touch of courage and capital to pioneer its possibilities and to bring the blessings of civilization to its door." (175:1) Men like McCormick and Retty were shrewd enough to recognize the opportunities available, and had the backing necessary for the implementation of their plans. The physical obstacles remained much the same, but were no longer insurmountable. In response to the world's need for the resources of 'the Labrador,' completely new techniques were often developed to fit local conditions. And in less than thirty years the North Shore "has been transformed almost in spite of itself, by the brute force of modern economic demand." (170:iv)

Yet, however startling the changes to date, "the natural resources

that have so far been discovered assure the North Shore of continued progress for many years to come." (169:9) "Délaissée pendant trois siècles et dénommée 'Terre de Caïn' par le découvreur du pays, la région ... est en train de devenir l'un des plus grands centres industriels et miniers du pays." (165) "There is no place in Canada ... which has added so much in so short a time to the national economy. There is no place in Canada which in the next ten years will have so vital an effect in increasing the prosperity, first of its own province, and secondly, of the nation at large." (106:102)

CONCLUSION

MAN AND THE NORTH SHORE

> "Les opinions se sont sensiblement modifiées depuis quelques années sur le compte de la Côte Nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent et du Labrador." (180:7)

There have always been men who have refused to believe "that this country was the last which God made, and that He had no other view than to throw together there, the refuse of His materials, as of no use to mankind." (7:III,222) Apart from enthusiasts who knew very little about the area and understood even less, wiser observers have still glimpsed something of its inherent possibilities. Such men, however, were clearly born before their time; for their contemporaries as yet neither saw their need of its wealth, nor had means sufficient to take advantage of the same.

It was the Explorer who first branded the North Shore as worthless, - on the basis of a fleeting glance at the coast itself and a passing acquaintance with the sufferings of its native inhabitants. Cartier's main preoccupation, after all, was his search for a passage through to China. Champlain was more concerned with the colonisation of New France itself, but for that very reason, by-passed the North Shore. While the early Traders had no interest either in the permanent settlement of the area or in the rational development of its then known resources.

The Missionaries learned much about the region, but their knowledge largely disappeared with them at the Conquest. Moreover, one can scarcely expect to find among their writings any objective appraisal of the economic potential of the Shore. They were interested in persons rather than things. They were indeed 'other-worldly': little concerned with the practical, believing "that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us." (Romans 8:18)

Similarly, the responses both of Mariner and Tourist were largely negative. Neither group made any attempt to subdue natural conditions to their own ends. The first avoided contact with the shore as far as was possible; the second lived there only in summer. Even though man found a way to alleviate the sufferings of those shipwrecked, the coast was dangerous still; and as long as it remained sparsely inhabited there was little shelter available for the poor unfortunates cast ashore.

The Settlers did seek to come to terms with their environment, but fared none too well. Fishermen made a reasonable living in places, but for the farmer the North Shore proved even less rewarding than the lands just west of the Saguenay. Thus only at the coming of the Industrialist in the twentieth century was the real wealth of the area appreciated.

Its Function and Extent

Paralleling this change in man's qualitative appraisal of the

Shore there has been a revision of ideas regarding its territorial extent. Hitherto it had in practice been considered as having only a linear development. (see p. 12) As Roche had complained of Anticosti, so the entire Labrador had been "condemned to desolation not on account of its being incapable of being made to sustain a population, but because of the superficial examination of its soil, bordering upon the sea only." (148:208) Until recently men had been forced to accept Cartier's assessment of the whole, either because the traders who ruled there denied them both access and information, or because the land itself resisted any attempt at its appraisal. Only its southern edge was settled and thus the term 'North Shore' - as one indicative of a particular form of environmental response - was not generally thought of as extending more than a mile or so inland. To-day, in the industrial era, it is defined instead as comprising "l'ensemble de bassins des rivières qui entre [Tadoussac and Blanc Sablon] débouchent dans le fleuve et le golfe Saint-Laurent." (178:234) And even those who hesitate to label the entire Ungava territory thus, yet include "certaines avancées de la pénétration humaine vers l'intérieur du bouclier." (6:229)

In fact, it has never been merely the North Shore. Not only has the term always been associated with a wider area, of which 'the Shore' was supposed to provide sufficient physical expression; but the coast itself has never had a life of its own. Nor have the activities of its inhabitants been conditioned solely by the 'resources' of the coastal tract. The major circumstance determining man's response to the area

has always been its position in relation to the riches of the interior on the one hand and of the Gulf on the other. It has provided a base for the development of both. In essence, the North Shore has been a transitional zone, a line of inter-communication. Like any other coast it has features peculiarly its own - beaches, cliffs and islands - but basically it is no more than the place where land and sea meet. As such the North Shore has been the scene of exchanges both in goods and ideas, - as it was long before the coming of the white man. Its failure to provide land suitable for agricultural settlement has served only to emphasize this fact. The real change, therefore, has been not in its function but in the form of its development, - in response to new industrial perspectives. In recent years the construction of roads and railways has given definite expression to the existing association of coast and interior: they are but the modern equivalent of the canoe trails of previous centuries.

Strictly speaking farm settlers alone have been concerned with the character of the actual coastal strip. But they failed to colonize the whole, and have leaned heavily upon forestry and fishing as subsidiary occupations. Thus Cartier was substantially correct in estimating the Labrador to be a non-agricultural country. To-day its interior roads and railways are like streams crossing a desert, and its isolated settlements, oases. The former, admittedly, rise within the desert, springing from its mines and forests, but they do not 'water' it overmuch. At

worst they lead straight to a wharf; and at best feed only primary processing plants. And judging by the present condition of most fishing settlements on the Grand Nord, it is evident that the resources of the Gulf have not greatly enriched the inhabitants of the Labrador either. Functioning much as it always has the coast of the Labrador is proving far richer now than the opposite shore of the St. Lawrence, which once outshone it so; but it remains a husk, and the distinction between 'la Côte Nord' and 'la Rive Sud' is still a real one.

The Method Discussed

It is difficult to say how well this approach could be applied to writing an historical geography of some other area, that is, whether or not the latter could be so easily covered in a series of specialized sketches only roughly related to particular periods. In some instances it might require an approach so analytical as to appear artificial, and be perhaps misleading. (I trust it hasn't here!)

In any case, writing such a study is like putting a jig-saw together; perhaps all creative writing is. The problem is having before you enough pieces to build up several different pictures. You must decide upon the one you wish to construct, and then extract from the pile only those pieces needed to complete it - though at times you may have to discard quite attractive pieces belonging to other puzzles.

However much the writer may wish to exclude his personal impressions, there is an appreciable subjective element in the very process of

selection. One may well ask wherein he has authority to choose certain pieces of evidence and neglect others, or to cut and edit the material he does use. But in return he may plead (as in the Preface) that the artist is at liberty to choose both his subject and the manner of its portrayal. His picture will never be purely objective, never an unimaginative photograph. He attempts, basically, to catch but the spirit of his subject, be it person or scene, and to reproduce this as well as his skill will allow. Similarly the only guarantee one can have of a writer's integrity in the selection and manipulation of the material at his disposal, is his honest desire to preserve in words an accurate picture of his subject - as he sees it. Everything is subservient to that end. His ability to do this will vary according to the degree of his personal acquaintance with the chosen person, period or pays, and with his knowledge of the available sources - both, of necessity, considered in the light of his imaginative capacity and literary skill. In some respects this may seem an unsatisfactory basis for any academic study, but the author declared his aims at the start and has endeavoured to abide by them.

As for the mechanics of the operation, several points call for brief comment. Firstly, the method as used here demands of the reader some historical knowledge to begin with; for the various events depicted are but a small part of the story of Eastern Canada. They must be considered in relation to the latter, though the author has not attempted to provide any such background. As anticipated, overlapping was

unavoidable, but the actual extent of this may not be immediately apparent. Indeed, in the case of the North Shore the mere passage of years is not of great significance, since the most startling developments have been compressed into the space of a few decades.

Perhaps some of the quoted material could have been less painfully employed if simply paraphrased. But the retention of the original wording, will, it is hoped, contribute to the general atmosphere of the picture. For whatever his initial intention, the author has found that in practice any attempt of his at imitating the style of writing characteristic of a particular period has been either discarded during the original drafting of the text, or cut drastically at the editing stage, as superfluous or flamboyant. In contrast, quotations, however strangely written, were inviolable.

As it is, some readers may balk at the countless quotation marks and bibliographical entries - included for reasons of academic propriety. But with luck most people will simply skip over them, so that they occasion no break in the thread of the story. Similarly, I have sought to avoid too frequent reference to particular individuals, lest the incorporation of so many names confuse anyone not already acquainted with them. In places this has led to an awkward repetition of various group nouns, such as 'missionaries,' 'Fathers,' or 'priests' in Chapter III. This may offend some, but throughout I have concentrated not so much on the opinions of individuals as on the response of 'man' in general to the natural conditions prevailing on the St. Lawrence North Shore.

As to whether I have succeeded in writing a readable historical geography, time and the publishers alone will tell.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Selected)

1. Introduction

1 Achard, Eugène. Sur les Sentiers de la Côte Nord. Montréal: Librairie Générale Canadienne, 1960.

2 Bloch, Marc. The Historian's Craft. Trans. Peter Putnam. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1953.

3 Brouillette, Benoît. "La Côte Nord du Saint-Laurent," Rev. Can. de Géog., I (1947): 1, 3-15; 2, 9-27; 3, 21-39.

4 Brown, Ralph H. Historical Geography of the United States. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1948.

5 _____. Mirror For Americans: Likeness of the Eastern Seabord, 1810. (Special Pubn. No. 27.) New York: American Geographical Society, 1943.

6 Bussières, Paul. "The Region with a Future," Cahiers de Géographie de Québec, 7, 228-30. (Book Review.)

7 Cartwright, George. A Journal of Transactions and Events, during a Residence of Sixteen Years on the Coast of Labrador. Newark (Eng.): Allin and Ridge, 1792.

8 Cohen, Morris R. The Meaning of Human History. La Salle, Ill.: Open Court Publishing Co., 1947.

9 Conklin, Edwin P. "Regional Quebec," The Storied Province of Quebec: Past and Present. Ed. William Wood. Toronto: Dominion Publishing Co., 1931. I, 277-437.

10 Davies, Blodwen. Quebec: Portrait of a Province. Toronto: William Heinemann, Ltd., 1951.

11 Dawson, Samuel E. The Saint Lawrence - Its Basin & Border-Lands: The Story of their Discovery, Exploration and Occupation. Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1905.

12 Gauld, William A. Man, Nature and Time: An Introduction to World Study. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1946.

13 Mackinder, Halford J. "On the Scope and Methods of Geography," Proc. Royal Geog. Soc., New Monthly Series, IX (1887), 141-174.

14 McNicol, Harry. History, Heritage and Environment: The Place of Social Studies in Secondary Schools. London, Faber and Faber, 1946.

15 Zimmermann, Erich W. World Resources and Industries: A Functional Appraisal of the Availability of Agricultural and Industrial Resources. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1933.

2. Explorers

16 Alfonse, Jean. La Cosmographie avec l'espère et régime du soleil et du Nord. Ed. Georges Musset. Paris: E. Leroux, 1904.

17 Biggar, H.P. (ed.) The Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534. (Pubns. of the Canadian Archives, No. 5.) Ottawa: Govt. Printing Bureau, 1911.

18 _____,__. The Voyages of Jacques Cartier. (Pubns. of the Public Archives of Canada, No. 11.) Ottawa: F.A. Acland, 1924.

19 _____,__. The Works of Samuel de Champlain. 6 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1922-36.

20 Cobes, Le Sieur de. "Coppie d'une Lettre envoyee de la Nouvelle France, ou Canada, ... a un sien amy," Trans. R.S.C., 2nd. Ser., XI (1905), Section II, 3-30.

21 Ganong, W.F. "The Cartography of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, from Cartier to Champlain," Trans. R.S.C., 1st. Ser., VII (1889), Section II, 17-58.

22 _____. "Crucial Maps in the early Cartography and Place-nomenclature of the Atlantic Coast of Canada: VI. The Voyages of Jacques Cartier," Trans. R.S.C., 3rd. Ser., XXVIII (1934), Section II, 149-294.

23 Grant, W.L. (ed.) The History of New France by Marc Lescarbot. 3 vols. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1907-14.

24 Hakluyt, Richard. The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation. 12 vols. Glasgow: James MacLehose and Sons, 1904.

25 "The voyage of the Grace of Bristol of M. Rice Jones, a Barke of thirty-five Tunnes, up into the Bay of St. Lawrence ... for the barbes or fynnes of Whales and traine oyle, made by Silvester Wyet, Shipmaster of Bristoll." VIII, 162-82.

26 "The course from Belle Isle, Carpont and the Grand Bay in Newfoundland up the River of Canada for the space of 230 leagues, observed by John Alphonse Xanctoigne chiefe Pilote to Monsieur Roberval, 1542," VIII, 275-83.

27 Laverdière, C.-H. Oeuvres de Champlain. 6 vols. 2nd. ed. Quebec: Geo.-E. Desbarats, 1870.

28 Michelant, M.H. (ed.) Voyage de Jacques Cartier au Canada en 1534. Nouvelle édition, publiée d'après l'édition de 1598 et d'après Ramusio. Paris: Librairie Tross, 1865.

29 Parkman, Francis. Pioneers of France in the New World. 2 vols. ("Frontenac Edition.") Toronto: George N. Morang and Co., 1899.

30 Pouliot, J. Camille. La Grande Aventure de Jacques Cartier. Quebec: n.n., 1934.

31 Société Littéraire et Historique de Québec (eds.) Voyages de Découverte au Canada entre les années 1534 et 1542. Les trois voyages de Jacques Quartier au Canada en 1534, 1535 et 1540; Le Routier de Jean Alphonse de Xantoine; Voyage du Sieur de Roberval. Quebec: William Cowan, 1843.

3. Traders

32 Biggar, H.P. The Early Trading Companies of New France: A Contribution to the History of Commerce and Discovery in North America. (Univ. of Toronto Studies in History.) Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Library, 1901.

33 Blanchard, Raoul. "Vieilles routes et foires de fourrures dans le nord-est du Canada Français," Revue Trimestrielle Canadienne, XIX (1933), 225-41.

34 Burgesse, J.A. "The King's Domain, Today and Yesterday," The Beaver, Outfit 279, 1 (June, 1948), 32-38.

35 Coverdale, William H. Tadoussac Then and Now: A History and Narrative of the Kingdom of the Saguenay. New York: Charles Francis Press Inc., 1942.

36 England, Privy Council. "Precis of History of King's Posts and of the Concessions and Seigniories within the Labrador Peninsula granted by the Government of Canada during the French and British Regimes," In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula. London: For the Council, 1927. VII.

37 General Murray. "State of the Posts of the King's Domain in Canada, 26 May 1767." 2760-2766.

38 Lanouiller. "Memorandum re Ferme de Tadoussac, 1728." 3192-4.

39 Courtemanche's Memoir, 1705. 3683-89.

40 Anonymous Memoir Concerning Labrador, 1715. 3691-3706.

41 Gagnon, Ernest. Louis Jolliet: Découvreur du Mississippi et du pays des Illinois, premier Seigneur de L'Ile d'Anticosti. 3rd. ed. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1926.

42 Jolliet, Louis. "Journal de Louis Jolliet allant à la découverte du Labrador (1694)," Rapport de l'Archiviste de la Prov. de Qué., 1943-44, 147-206.

43 Lahontan, Louis Armand, baron de. Nouveaux Voyages dans l'Amerique Septentrionale. 2 vols. La Haye: n.n., 1703.

44 Leacock, Eleanor. The Montagnais 'Hunting Territory' and the Fur Trade. (Memoir 78.) Menasha, Wis.: Amer. Anthro. Assoc., 1954.

45 Roy, Joseph E. "François Bissot, sieur de la Rivière," Trans. R.S.C., 1st. Ser., X (1892), Section I, 29-40.

46 Sagard-Theodat, Gabriel. Histoire du Canada. New ed. 4 vols. Paris: Librairie Tross, 1866.

47 Simard, H. "Les Seigneuries du district de Saguenay," Bull. de la Soc. de Géog. de Qué., X (1916), 80-93.

48 Voorhis, Ernest. Historic Forts and Trading Posts of the French Regime and of the English Fur Trading Companies. Ottawa: Dept. of the Interior (Natural Resources Intelligence Service), 1930. (Mimeo.)

49 Wilson, Clifford P. "Tadoussac, the Company and the King's Posts," The Beaver, Outfit 266, 1 (June, 1935), 8-12, 63, 66.

4. Missionaries

50 Angus, Alexander D. Old Quebec: In the Days Before Our Day. Montreal: Louis Carrier, 1949.

51 Barbeau, Marius. The Kingdom of Saguenay. Toronto: Macmillan, 1936.

52 Clercq, Christian Le. First Establishment of the Faith in New France. Trans. John Shea. 2 vols. New York: John G. Shea, 1881.

53 England, Privy Council. "Documents Exhibiting the History of Canada's Relations - Governmental, Commercial and Ecclesiastical - with the Indians of the Labrador Peninsula," In the Matter of the Boundary between the Dominion of Canada and the Colony of Newfoundland in the Labrador Peninsula. London: For the Council, 1927. VI, Pt. XVII.

54 Les Franciscains du Canada et leurs Missions. (Collection, "Pax et Bonum.") Montreal: La Librairie Saint-François, 1927.

55 Harris, R.W. The Cross-Bearers of the Saguenay. Toronto: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1920.

56 _____. Tadoussac and Its Indian Chapel. n.p.: n.n., n.d.

57 Jouve, Odoric-Marie. Les Franciscains et le Canada. Quebec: Couvent des SS. Stigmates, 1915.

58 Kenton, Edna (ed.) The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. New York: Albert & Charles Boni, 1925.

59 Laure, Pierre. Mission du Saguenay, 1720 à 1730: Relation Inédite. Ed. A.E. Jones. Montreal: Archives du Collège Ste.-Marie, 1889.

60 Notice Historique sur la Mission de Ste. Croix de Tadoussac. Quebec: Léger Brousseau, 1864.

61 Parkman, Francis. The Jesuits in North America in the Seventeenth Century. 2 vols.("Frontenac Edition.") Toronto: George N. Morang and Co., 1899.

62 Potvin, Damase. Les Ilets-Jérémie: Histoire d'une Ancienne Mission du Domaine du Roi. Quebec: For the Author, 1928.

63 Rochemonteix, Camille de. Les Jésuites et la Nouvelle-France au XVIIe Siècle. 3 vols. Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1895-6.

64 Thwaites, Reuben G. (ed.) The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents. 73 vols. Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1896-1901.

65 Joseph Jouvery. "Concerning the Country and Manners of the Canadians, or the Savages of New France." Rome, 1710. I: Doc. VIII.

66 "Letter from Father Charles L'Allement." Quebec, 1626. IV: Doc. XIX.

67 "Brief Relation of the Journey to New France, made in the month of April last by Father Paul Le Jeune, of the Society of Jesus." (1632). V: Doc. XX.

68 Letter written by Dablon (?) to Lallement, from NeKouba, dated 2nd. July, 1661. XLVI: Doc. CVII.

69 "The Life of a Montagnais Missionary ... by François De Crepieul ... Chegoutimy, April 21, 1697." LXV: Doc. CLXX.

70 Pierre Laure. "Relation of the Saguenay, 1720-1730." LXVIII: Doc. CCII.

71 Claude Godefroi Coquart. "Memoir upon the Posts of the King's Domain." LXIX: Doc. CCXVIII.

5. Mariners

72 Achard, E. Les Nauffrages du St.-Laurent. Montreal: Librairie Générale Canadienne, 1943.

73 Baddeley, Lieut. "On the Magdalen Island, being the substance of four reports," Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Que., III (1831-32), 128-190.

74 Bayfield, Henry W. The St. Lawrence Pilot: Comprising Sailing Directions for the Gulf and River. 4th. ed. 2 vols. London: Hydrographic Office, 1860.

75 Bonnycastle, Sir Richard H. The Canada's in 1841. 2 vols. London: Henry Colburn, 1841.

76 Browne, Rev. P.W. Where the Fishes Go: The Story of Labrador. New York: Cochrane Publishing Co., 1909.

77 Chappel, Lieut. Edward. Voyage of His Majesty's Ship Rosamond to Newfoundland and the Southern Coast of Labrador. London: J. Mawman, 1818.

78 Crespel, Rev. Emmanuel. Travels in North America by M. Crespel, with a Narrative of his Shipwreck and Extraordinary Hardship and Sufferings on the Island of Anticosti. Trans. from the French. London: Sampson Low, 1797.

79 Faucher de Saint-Maurice. (pseud.) De Tribord à Babord: Trois Croisières dans le Golfe Saint-Laurent. Montreal: Duvernay Frères & Dansereau, 1877.

80 Ferland, L'Abbé. Opuscules. Nouvelle éd. Quebec: A. Côté, 1877.

81 Graham, Gerald S. (ed.) The Walker Expedition to Quebec, 1711. (Pubns. of the Navy Records Society, Vol. XCIV.) London: Navy Records Society, 1953.

82 "Colonel King's Journal." 317-34.

83 "General Hill to Governor Hunter ... August 25th., 1711." 350-51.

84 "General Hill to Lord Dartmouth ... Sept. 9th., 1711." 352-53.

85 Gregory, M.J.U. En Racontant: Récits de Voyages en Floride, au Labrador et sur le Fleuve Saint-Laurent. Trad. Alphonse Gagnon. Quebec: C. Darveau, 1886.

86 Guay, Mgr. Charles. Lettres sur L'île d'Anticosti. Montreal: C.O. Beauchemin & Fils, 1902.

87 Jamet, Dom Albert (ed.) Les Annales de L'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec, 1636-1716. Quebec: L'Hôtel-Dieu, 1939.

88 Le Moine, Sir James M. The Chronicles of the St. Lawrence. Montreal: Dawson Bros., 1878.

89 Charles Lanman. "The Wizard of Anticosti." 94-100.

90 William Smith. "Anticosti Island." 100-110.

91 Mather, Rev. Cotton. Magnalia Christi Americana: Or the Ecclesiastical History of New-England. First American ed. 2 vols. Hartford: Silas Andrus, 1820. (Rainsford's wreck described - I, 167-78.)

92 McGregor, John. British America. 2 vols. Edinburgh: William Blackwood, 1832.

93 Myrand, Ernest. Sir William Phips devant Québec. Quebec: L.-J. Demers & Frère, 1893.

94 Roy, Pierre-Georges (ed.) Inventaire de Pièces sur la côte de Labrador Conservées aux Archives de la Province de Québec. 2 vols. Quebec: Archives de la Province, 1940-42.

95 François M. de Lavaltrie. "Procès-Verbal au sujet du naufrage des vaisseaux de la flotte de l'amiral Walker sur l'Ile aux Oeufs." I, 278-80.

96 Walker, Sir Hovendon. A Journal or Full Account of the Late Expedition to Canada. London: D. Browne, 1720.

6. Tourists

97 (Adamson, William A.) Salmon-Fishing in Canada by a Resident. Ed. Colonel Sir James E. Alexander. London: Longman, Green, Longman, and Roberts, 1860.

98 Boucher de Labruère. Le Saguenay: Lettres au Courrier de St. Hyacinthe. St. Hyacinthe: Presses du Courrier, 1880.

99 The Canadian Handbook and Tourist's Guide. Montreal: M. Longmoore & Co., 1867.

100 Chisholm's All Round Route and Panoramic Guide of the St. Lawrence. Montreal: Chisholm & Co., 1870.

101 Comeau, Napoleon A. Life and Sport on the North Shore. 3rd. ed. Quebec: Telegraph Printing Co., 1954.

102 Creighton, J.G.A. "The Lower St. Lawrence and the Saguenay," Picturesque Canada. Ed. George M. Grant. Toronto (?): Belden Brothers, 1882. II, 697-740.

103 Disturnell, John. A Trip through the Lakes of North America: Embracing a full Description of the St. Lawrence River. New York: J. Disturnell, 1857.

104 Dufferin, Lady. (Marchioness of Dufferin and Ava.) My Canadian Journal, 1872-8. London: John Murray, 1891.

105 Hallock, Charles. The Fishing Tourist: Angler's Guide and Reference Book. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1873.

106 International Railway Publishing Company. All-Round Route and Panoramic Guide of the St. Lawrence. Montreal: International Railway Publishing Co., 1899.

107 Lanman, Charles. Adventures of an Angler in Canada. London: Richard Bentley, 1848.

108 Leclaire, Alphonse. Historical, Legendary and Topographical Guide along the Saint Lawrence. Montreal: Sir Joshua Reynolds Art Publishing Co., 1906.

109 Le Moine, Sir James M. L'Album du Touriste. Quebec: Augustin Coté et Cie., 1872.

110 _____. The Explorations of Jonathan Oldbuck in Eastern Latitudes. Quebec: L.J. Demers & Frère, 1889.

111 _____. The Legends of the St. Lawrence. Told during a Cruise of the Yacht Hirondelle from Montreal to Gaspé. Quebec: C.E. Holiwell, 1898.

112 _____. The Lower St. Lawrence or Quebec to Halifax, via Gaspé and Pictou. Quebec: At the "Mercury" Office, 1862.

113 _____. The Tourist's Note-Book. 2nd. ed. Quebec: F.X. Garant & Co., 1876.

114 (McAdam, J.T.) Capt. "Mac." Canada ... A Compendium of Travel from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Montreal: n.n., 1882.

115 Moore's Hand-Book of Canada. 2nd. ed. Montreal: British American Advertising Agency, 1860.

116 (Morgan, Henry J.) The Tour of H.R.H. the Prince of Wales through British America and the United States. Montreal: John Lovell, 1860.

117 (Muirhead, J.F.) The Dominion of Canada with Newfoundland and an Excursion to Alaska. Handbook for Travellers. Leipsic: Karl Baedeker, 1894.

118 Nettle, Richard. The Salmon Fisheries of the St. Lawrence and its Tributaries. Montreal: John Lovell, 1857.

119 The Quebec and Lower St. Lawrence Tourist's Guide. Quebec: A. Coté & Co., 1875.

120 Roberts, Charles G.D. The Canadian Guide-Book. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1891.

121 Rowan, John J. The Emigrant and Sportsman in Canada. London: Edward Stanford, 1876.

122 Roy, J. Edmond. In and Around Tadousac. Trans. G.M. Ward. Levis: Mercier & Co., 1891.

7. Settlers

123 Anticosti Company of Canada. Prospectus. (Montreal: Anticosti Co., 1874.)

124 Audubon, Maria R. Audubon and his Journals. 2 vols. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900.

125 Ballantyne, Robert M. Hudson's Bay: or Every-Day Life in the Wilds of North America. 2nd. ed. Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1848.

126 Bélanger, l'Abbé René. Les Escoumains. (Pubns. de la Soc. Hist. du Saguenay, No. 10.) Chicoutimi: Soc. Hist. du Saguenay, 1946.

127 Bouchette, Joseph. The British Dominions in North America. 2 vols. London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green and Longman, 1832.

128 Bouchette, Joseph. A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada, with Remarks upon Upper Canada. London: W. Faden, 1815.

129 Bowen, Noel H. "The Social Condition of the Coast of Labrador," Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Que., IV (1855), 329-341.

130 Buies, Arthur. Le Saguenay et la Vallée du Lac St. Jean. Etude Historique, Géographique, Industrielle et Agricole. Quebec: A. Coté et Cie., 1880.

131 Campbell, Patrick. Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America. In the years 1791 and 1792. Edinburgh: By the Author, 1793.

132 Carrière, Gaston. Le Roi de Betsiamites: Le Père Charles Arnaud, O.M.I. (1826-1914). Ottawa: Les Editions de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1958.

133 Centenaire des Bergeronnes, 24 et 25 Juin 1944: Programme - Souvenir, 1844-1944. Quebec: Le Soleil, 1944.

134 Drapeau, Stanislas. Etudes sur les Développements de la Colonisation du Bas-Canada, depuis dix ans (1851 à 1861). Quebec: L. Brousseau, 1863.

135 Fortin, Pierre. Rapport annuel du magistrat commandant l'expédition pour la protection des pêcheries dans le golfe St. Laurent pendant la saison de 1856. Toronto: J. Lovell, n.d.

136 Garnier, Louis. Dog Sled to Airplane: A History of the St. Lawrence North Shore. Trans. H.A. and R.L. Nantais. Quebec: By the Author, 1949.

137 Grenfell, Wilfred T. Tales of the Labrador. Toronto: William Briggs, 1916.

138 Huard, l'Abbé V.-A. Labrador et Anticosti. Montreal: C.-O. Beauchemin & Fils, 1897.

139 Johnston, Claire M. The Historical Geography of the Saguenay Valley. Unpublished Master's thesis, McGill University, Montreal, 1950.

140 Langelier, J.C. Le Nord: Esquisse sur la Partie de la Province de Québec située au Nord du Fleuve Saint-Laurent, entre l'Outaouais et la Labrador. Quebec: I.P. Dery, (1882).

141 McKenzie, M. James. "Some account of the King's Posts, the Labrador Coast and the Island of Anticosti, by an Indian Trader residing there several years; with a Description of the Natives, and the Journal of a canoe trip through those Countries, by the same," Les Bourgeois de la Compagnie du Nord-Ouest. Ed. L.R. Masson. Quebec: A. Coté, 1890. II, 401-454.

142 Pelland, Alfred. La Province de Québec - Guide pour le Colon. Quebec: Min. de Colon., des Mines et de Pêcheries, 1908.

143 Pilote, François. Le Saguenay en 1851: Histoire du Passé, du Présent et de l'Avenir probable du Haut-Saguenay au point de vue de la Colonisation. Quebec: Augustin Côté & Cie., 1852.

144 Quebec, Province of. Recapitulation by Districts and Counties, of the Returns of the Enumeration of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada. And of the other Statistical Information obtained in the year 1844. Montreal: Stewart Derbishire and George Desbarats, 1846.

145 _____. Report of the Commissioners for Exploring the Saguenay. Quebec: Neilson and Cowan, 1829.

146 _____. Subdivisions du Bas Canada en Paroisses et Townships, depuis 1853. Quebec: Assemblée Législative, 1860.

147 Robertson, Samuel. "Notes on the Coast of Labrador," Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Que., IV (1855), 27-53.

148 Roche, A.-R. "Notes on the Resources and Capabilities of the Island of Anticosti," Trans. Lit. and Hist. Soc. of Que., IV (1855), 175-227.

149 Schmitt, Joseph. Monographie de l'Île d'Anticosti. Paris: A. Hermann, 1904.

150 Société Historique du Saguenay. L'Histoire du Saguenay. Depuis l'origine jusqu'à 1870. (Pubns. de la Soc. Hist. du Sag., No. 3.) Chicoutimi: Soc. Hist. du Saguenay, 1938.

151 Stearns, Winfrid A. Labrador: A Sketch of its Peoples, its Industries and its Natural History. Boston: Lee and Shepard, 1884,

152 Township Atlas of Quebec and Ontario. n.p.: (Matthew's Lith.), n.d.

153 Tremblay, Armand. "Les Oblats et le Royaume du Saguenay," L'Apostolat des Oblats de Marie Immaculée, IX (1938), 196-9.

154 Wallace, W.S. (ed.) John McLean's Notes of a Twenty-five Year's Service in the Hudson's Bay Territory. Toronto: Champlain Society, 1932.

155 Wilson, Eugene E. "Anticosti Island, Nugget of the North," Nat. Geog. Mag., LXXXI (1942), 120-40.

8. Industrialists

156 Blanchard, Raoul. L'Est du Canada Français. 2 vols. Montreal: Beauchemin, 1935.

157 Branchaud, Arthur. "Lower St. Lawrence North Shore Highway Development." A paper read before the 72nd. Annual Meeting of the Engineering Institute of Canada, Quebec City, May 21st. to 23rd., 1958. (Mimeo.)

158 Cameron, John F. "Quebec Cartier Strikes North," C-I-L Oval, Oct., 1959, 16-18.

159 Coffey, Bernice. "Where Pioneering has Gone Streamlined," Saturday Night, Sept. 30th., 1939, 17.

160 "Developing Northern Quebec," The Shell Magazine, XXXVII (1957), 102-105.

161 Gilbert, Josaphat-E., and Bergeron, Robert. Northern Quebec. (Geological Report, No. 75.) Quebec: Dept. of Mines, 1957.

162 Hare, F. Kenneth. "The Labrador Frontier," Geog. Rev., XLII (1952), 405-424.

163 Knott, Leonard L. City in a Wilderness. Montreal: Editorial Association, 1938.

164 Labrie, Mgr. N.-A. "Une industrie sidérurgique est-elle possible à Sept-Iles?" L'Action Catholique, 9 mai, 1949.

165 Lauzier, Laurent. "L'avenir est à la Côte Nord - Essor presque phénomenal de la région en ces dernières années," La Presse, 19 décembre, 1959, 43.

166 _____. "L'avenir est à la Côte Nord, IV: Un essor avant tout fixé par les progrès de la navigation," La Presse, 23 décembre, 1959.

167 The Lower St. Lawrence and Gulf Development Association. Third Annual Report, October 1st. 1959 to September 30th. 1960. Montreal: The Lower St. Lawrence and Gulf Development Association, 1960.

168 Massue, Huet. Improved Winter Navigation in the Lower St. Lawrence River and Gulf Region. Montreal: Lower St. Lawrence and Gulf Development Association, 1958.

169 _____. The Region with a Future: the Gulf and Lower St. Lawrence. Montreal: Lower St. Lawrence and Gulf Development Association, 1959.

170 Michie, George H. Sept-Iles: Canada's Newest Seaport. (McGill Sub-Arctic Research Papers, No. 2.) Montreal: McGill University, 1957.

171 Peattie, Roderick. "The Isolation of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," Geog. Rev., V (1918), 102-118.

172 _____. "The Resources of the Lower St. Lawrence Valley," Scot. Geog. Mag., XXXVII (1921), 103-116, 178-184.

173 Potvin, Damase. Trois Petits Clochers: Emouvante petite Odyssée de Colonisation sur la Côte Nord. Quebec: n.n., 1953.

174 Quebec North Shore Paper Company. L'Erection d'une Ville. Les Premiers dix ans de Baie-Comeau, 1938-1948. Montreal: Q.N.S.P.C., 1948.

175 _____. The Facts about Baie Comeau and its Newsprint Industry. Montreal: Q.N.S.P.C., 1941.

176 Quebec, Province of. Statistical Yearbook. 1955. Quebec: Min. of Trade and Commerce, 1956.

177 Retty, J.A. "Iron Ore Galore, in New Quebec-Labrador," Can. Geog. Journal, XLII (1951), 2-21.

178 Richard, René. "La Forêt dans l'Economie de la Côte Nord," L'Association Forestière Québecoise. Compte-rendu du 1er Congrès Provincial. Quebec: L'Association Forestière Québecoise, 1944. 233-275.

179 Rochette, Edgar. Notes sur la Côte Nord du Bas Saint-Laurent et le Labrador Canadien. Quebec: Le Soleil, 1926.

180 Rouillard, Eugène. La Côte Nord du Saint-Laurent et le Labrador Canadien. Quebec: Laflamme et Proulx, 1908.

181 Scheult, L.R. "Anticosti Island," Can. Geog. Journal, V (1932), 66-80.

182 Schmon, Arthur. Speech before Baie Comeau Chamber of Commerce, L'Avenir and Sept-Iles Journal, 5 décembre, 1957, 15.

183 Wiegman, Carl. Trees to News. A Chronicle of the Ontario Paper Company's Origin and Development. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1953.


GOLFE ST-LAURENT
FLEUVE ST-LAURENT
DÉTROIT DE JACQUES-CARTIER
DÉTROIT D'HONGUEDO
DÉTROIT DE BELLE-ISLE
RÉSERVE DE CHASSE ET PÊCHE DE MINGAN
SEIGNEURIE DES ILES DE MINGAN
ROBERVAL
CHICOUTIMI
CHIBOUGAMAU
MATANE
MATAPÉDIA
RIMOUSKI
GASPÉ-SUD
GASPÉ-NORD
TÉMISCOUATA
CHARLEVOIX
PARC NATIONAL DES LAURENTIDES
Sept-Iles
Baie-Comeau
Forestville
Mont-Joli
Rivière-du-Loup
Campbellton
Dalhousie
Bathurst
Baie des Chaleurs
C. Gaspé
Chandler
Bonaventure
Iles de la Madelaine
Rocher des Oiseaux
I. de Brion
Cap de Raye
Port-aux-Basques
C. St-George
C. à l'Anguille
Shelter Bay
Havre-St-Pierre
St-Augustin
Pte Nouveau-Férolle
I. Miscou
I. Shippigan
L. St-Jean
L. MISTASSINI
Rivière-Pentecôte
Baie-de-la-Trinité
Roberval