Cheminements 1997

Histoire Mythique et Paysage Symbolique
Mythic History and Symbolic Landscape

Actes du projet d'échange Laval-Queen's
octobre 1995, octobre 1996, rencontres de Québec et de Kingston

Sous la direction de
Serge **Courville** et Brian **Osborne**

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Cheminements

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Présentation

À l'automne 1995 et de nouveau un an plus tard, en octobre 1996, avaient lieu deux colloques de géographie historique, associant des représentants (professeurs, étudiants de 2e et de 3e cycles, candidats au postdoctorat) de l'Université Laval (Québec) et de l'Université Queen's (Kingston), auxquels sont venus se joindre quelques autres participants de l'Université McGill, de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières et de l'Université de Toronto. Les rencontres ont été organisées autour du thème « Histoire mythique et paysage symbolique ». Elles avaient pour but d'échanger sur les constructions culturelles du passé, en plus d'être elles-mêmes des occasions pédagogiques d'initiation aux problématiques, aux méthodes et aux techniques de chacune des équipes.

Le premier colloque a eu lieu au Lac Beauport près de Québec et a eu pour objectif d'examiner la distance entre les représentations et le réel. Placé sous le thème « Du Pays construit au pays vécu », il a réuni plus d'une trentaine de participants, dont la moitié environ sont venus de l'Université Queen's, avec, en plus quelques représentants de l'Université McGill et de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières. On y a présenté, à tour de rôle, une synthèse des travaux en cours dans les différentes équipes.

Le second colloque a eu lieu à Kingston, où se sont rendus cette fois les participants de l'Université Laval, ainsi que quelques représentants de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières, de l'Université McGill et de l'Université de Toronto. Intitulé « People in Time and Space », il a eu pour objectif d'examiner les modes de représentation et de construction symbolique des lieux, des régions et des identités. Contrairement à la première rencontre, celle-ci a été organisée autour de quelques présentations choisies pour leur représentativité quant aux travaux menés dans les deux milieux. Ce sont ces contributions que nous présentons ici, suivies d'une appréciation du colloque par les étudiants de l'Université Laval et un résumé des travaux en cours dans les deux équipes. Comme à notre habitude, elles sont tantôt en français, tantôt en anglais, respectant cette règle de bilinguisme passif que nous retenons dans nos travaux.

Quant au thème plus général qui a entouré les travaux, « Histoire mythique et paysage symbolique », il trouve sa pertinence dans la place prise de tout temps par l'imaginaire et les lieux symboliques dans la construction des références collectives. Les excursions organisées dans le cadre des deux rencontres en ont été une illustration.

Il est de tradition, en effet, en géographie historique, de prolonger les présentations orales par une excursion sur le terrain. On peut même dire que c'est l'une des composantes centrales de l'expérience académique, qui vise à rendre plus concrètes les réalités abordées au cours des présentations. Ces colloques n'ont pas fait exception. Aussi se sont-ils terminés sur le terrain, par deux activités d'exploration destinées à mieux faire saisir les concepts présentés au cours des échanges.

La première, celle de Québec, a été guidée par le professeur Marcel Bélanger. Elle a bien fait ressortir les multiples facettes de la ville de Québec, depuis ces micro-territoires intensément vécus qu'on réaménage aux couleurs de l'histoire, jusqu'aux lieux symboliques représentés par les places de pouvoir et les lieux de mémoire. Ils rappellent le rôle des idéologies dans l'histoire de la ville et, plus largement, du Québec, et l'importance qu'elles ont encore dans son aménagement.

La deuxième, dirigée par le professeur Brian Osborne, a été de prolonger cette découverte, par une exploration des paysages symboliques de Kingston et de leurs similitudes avec ceux de la ville de Québec. Mettant l'accent sur l'architecture institutionnelle et le rôle historique et actuel de l'État

dans l'aménagement urbain, elle a montré comment les deux villes ont intégré les mythes qui ont entouré l'origine, dans un cas, du Canada français (1608) et, dans l'autre, du Canada anglais « loyaliste » (1783), et quel rôle elles jouent aujourd'hui dans le paysage culturel de chacun de leurs milieux. Car en dépit de leurs différences d'échelles, les deux centres ont été d'importantes places militaires pour l'Empire britannique. En plus d'être des villes de garnison, ce qui a fortement influencé leur mentalité de « citadelle », elles ont été d'actives places de commerce, bien localisées sur la voie d'eau, et de véritables capitales administratives, qui ont laissé dans le paysage d'importantes traces historiques que recupère aujourd'hui le tourisme pour en faire des symboles identitaires. C'est à la compréhension de ces symboles, de leurs composantes et de leurs agencements qu'ont été consacrées ces excursions. Elles ont montré que loin d'être neutre, le paysage urbain est, comme un texte ou un document, chargé de significations, à comprendre et à interpréter par un retour aux processus socioculturels du passé.

Enfin, soulignons qu'en plus d'être extrêmement profitable aux deux groupes, cet échange Laval-Queen's a montré la diversité des lieux, des thèmes et des époques abordés par chacune des deux équipes, et aussi leur manière très différente mais aussi très complémentaire de fréquenter et de pratiquer ce qu'on appelle ici la géographie historique. Il a montré également comment cette dernière pouvait faire place à des préoccupations culturelles. Car si la géographie historique a un sens, c'est bien celui d'éclairer la culture. Sa finalité même l'y convie. Elle y parvient par une démarche analytique, à partir de sources très diverses et souvent de première main, qu'elle exploite en regard de leurs contextes historiques de production et des courants idéologiques qui les dominent. En ce sens, elle apporte une contribution originale aux démarches des autres disciplines, qu'elle enrichit d'une catégorie essentielle, l'espace, abordé sous l'angle du lieu et de la durée, dans une perspective unificatrice et selon une approche et des préoccupations relationnelles.

QUEBEC IN THE 19th CENTURY: MYTHS AND REALITIES

Serge Courville, Normand Séguin

The study of beliefs is central to the exploration of past societies. Such study is important not only because it sheds light on the way we can address problems of the past, but also because it enlightens the ways some paradigms are formed. Sometimes we discover that very important historical paradigms have evolved from what was often only a myth at its origin. Such myths were frequently created to dignify national history or to restablish the "truth" about it. Thus, what began as a subjective expedient is transformed into an "objective" interpretation.

As Martyn Bowden wrote, one can distinguish four phases in this process[1]. In the first phase (IMAGE FORMATION), an indistinct view is formed about the past, from which a complex set of symbols emerge, which in turn fictionalize the prime experience of the society in either positive or negative images. In the second phase (MYTH CREATION), an historically suitable interpretation takes form to explain this experience and the role it played in the development of that particular society. It often benefits from a critical event such as the publication of a book with a wide readership. In the third phase (INVENTED TRADITION), this interpretation is taken for granted by most writers, who assume it to be "fact" and perpetuate the interpretation through repetition. In the fourth phase (UNIVERSALIZATION), the interpretation becomes a paradigm.

If applied to Québec before the 1960's, this model helps to explain two major representations of French-Canadian society. Both originated in the 19th century, emphasize a critical event, and were given a scientific legitimacy one hundred years later. They deal with geopolitical, macro-economic, and cultural issues, but provide only a rural vision of the society.

The first representation came from the French-Canadian elite. Although its roots go back to the British Conquest and to the rise of a new political class after the introduction of the parliamentary system in late 18th century, its real critical event came with the publication of Garneau's *Histoire du Canada* in 1845, five years after Lord Durham's report. For him, as for novelists, painters, and other historians of his time (Lacombe, Légaré, Rameau de Saint-Père…), French-Canadian society was seen to have suffered greatly from the British Conquest. Once part of the great French North-American Empire, French Canada was now threatened by its vulnerable and weak position within an English-speaking world. Since its economy was also controlled by strangers, its survival was conceived to rely solely on agriculture and its capacity to create a national territory where French Canadians could take in hand their own destiny, guided by their Catholic Church and their political elite.

As early as the 1840's, many believed that the ideal place to start this renewed society was in the northern part of Québec and on the Appalachian plateau, where land was still available. The place of renewal was not seen to be in the St. Lawrence Valley, where major social and economic changes were happening. Although 85% of the population was still living in the St. Lawrence Lowlands (half of them in the Montréal region), and although these lowlands were the best place to participate in the dramatic changes of urbanization and the industrial revolution, the highlands were seen to be the place to develop a new society, through agriculture and rural colonization.

This rural ideal was still very much alive a century later, when the French geographer Raoul Blanchard began his survey of Québec. Writing from 1935 to 1960, he divided the province of Québec into natural regions that were heavily charged with history, as it had been done in France. Insisting on the significance of rural development, he gave a scientific legitimacy to the 19th-century representations. It was through a rural and regional approach that Québec could be understood, Blanchard argued, and not through economic phenomenon related to urban development. This was a view that lasted well after his last writings about Québec.

The second representation is that of the Laurentian School, which has its roots in Lord Durham's report and the critical event that engendered that report, the Rebellions of 1837-1838. Contrary to the French-Canadian elite, Durham (who was not a racist but an economic liberal) believed that it was only through assimilation that the French Canadians could be saved from what he perceived as their inhability to cope with a developing market economy. Viewing agriculture as all other previous British administrators had before him, Durham argued that not only the institutions but also the folkways and attitudes of the French-Canadian habitants were not suitable to meet the challenges of the modern world.

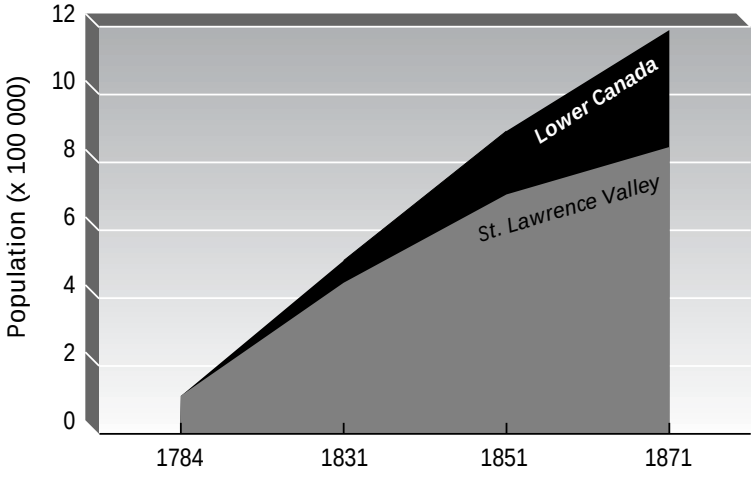
In their staples approach, Creighton, Jones, and later Ouellet relied on the same interpretation. Looking at wheat production, for example, Ouellet argued that the fall of wheat exportation from the end of the 18th century through the first decade of the 19th century could be explained by the failure of the domestic system of production. And since population was growing rapidly in the 19th century, he saw in this growth the exhaustion of agricultural soils. Bad techniques, too many people, lack of arable land, mounting pressure on the land, soil exhaustion, bad roads, too few industries..., those were, for him, the main reasons why the rural economy declined. Another indicator, he believed, was the numerous laborers he found in the censuses. Viewing them as young peasants without land, he concluded that they were without means - which would of course be a major issue in his explanation of the 1837-1838 Rebellion.

These two representations of Lower Canada were rooted in the perception that agriculture was at the very heart of the economy, and that the French Canadian society lived with its back turned from the market economy. However, these are not our conclusions stemming from the work we have done since the early 1980s on the St. Lawrence Valley in the 19th century[2]. Among the problems we address in our research, five will be summarized here, specifically: population, transportation and communication infrastructures, agriculture, rural industry, and the merchants and the market economy. All of our conclusions rely upon the mapping of data, much of which comes from individual information available in the Canadian manuscript censuses. This study also rests on the use of relational data bases, with which we analyze our variables in both time and space.

A research summary

Lower Canada experienced a strong and sustained growth of population between 1784 and the time of Confederation (Figure 1). Indeed, there were 113,000 inhabitants in 1784, while by 1867 we find over 1,200,000. An impressive mobility characterized this population growth. It followed two main patterns in space. The first one was centrifugal and is well known. Starting in the French Regime, it proceeded in two directions: 1) up the the St. Lawrence River towards Montréal and the interior of the continent, and 2) away from the river banks towards the highlands. Not as well known, the second pattern was centripetal and had been clearly underestimated until the recent studies of Serge Courville about villages in the first half of the 19th century[3]. The centripetal pattern shows an important movement of population, largely composed of francophones (Figure 2) from the countryside towards numerous new villages and newly rising urban centers such as Trois-Rivières, Saint-Hyacinthe, Saint-Jean, and Sorel. The conjunction of these two patterns of mobility explains the relatively moderate or low density of population in the countryside.

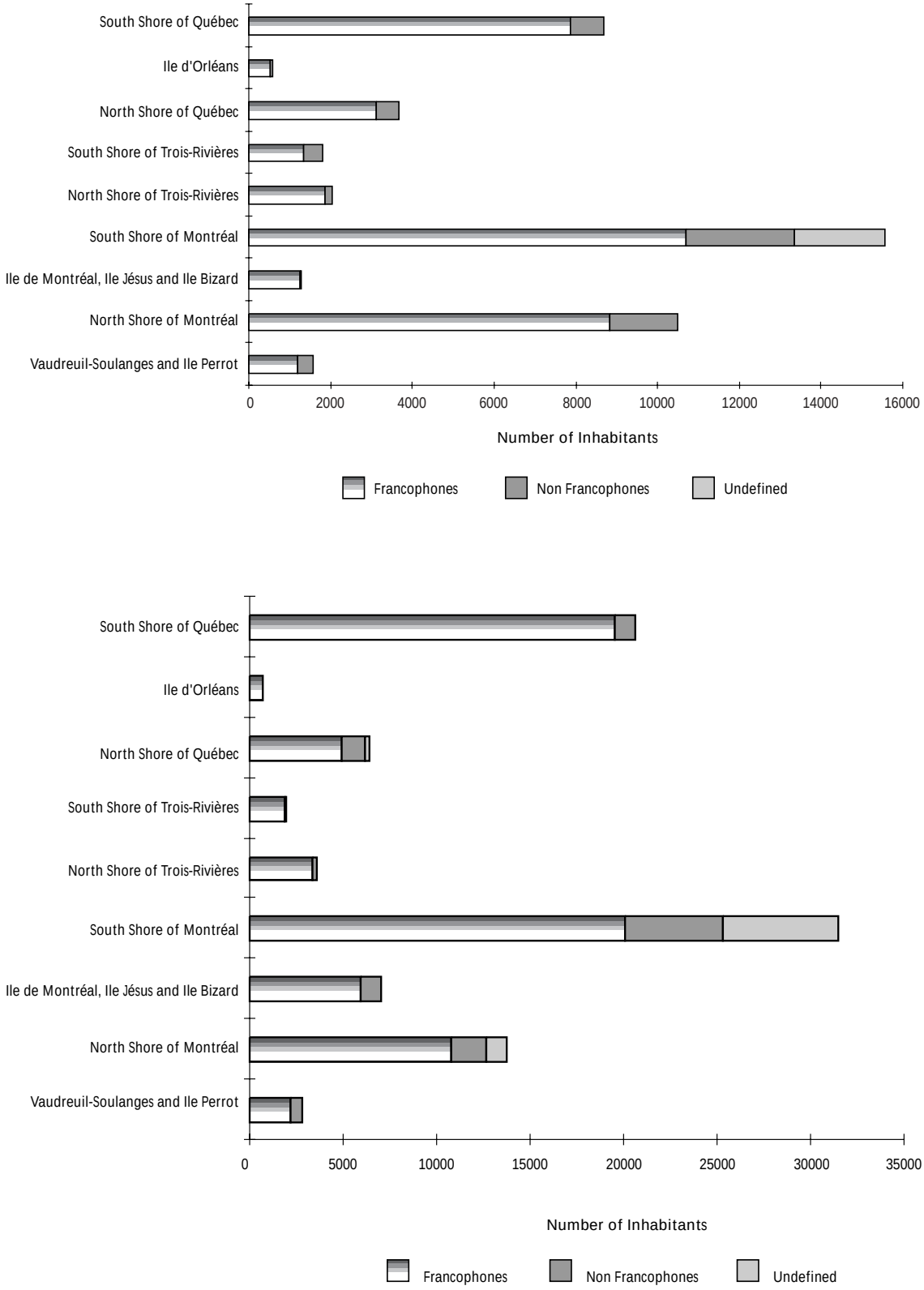
Figure 1
Population Growth



Source: Courville, Serge, Jean-Claude Robert et Normand Séguin (1995), *Atlas historique du Québec. Le pays laurentien au XIX^e siècle: les morphologies de base,* Sainte-Foy, Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

For many years we have been taught that the Québec countryside was becoming overpopulated in the first half of the 19th century, a burden which caused the farmers to subdivide their land. Thanks especially to Jones and Ouellet, this view was advanced to a cultural argument to explain why the French-Canadian farmer did not contribute more to the external market. Yet our research has shown that this farm division was not as dramatic as portrayed. On the contrary, relying on the mapping of census data, we observed a tendancy to enlarge the farm, a

Figure 2
Ethnic Distribution in Lower Canadian Villages



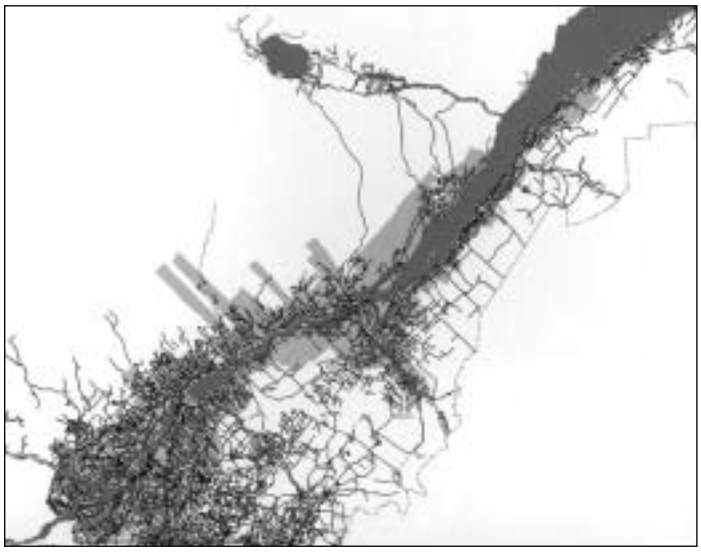
Source: Courville, Serge, (1990), *Entre ville et campagne. L'essor du village dans les seigneuries du Bas-Canada*, Sainte-Foy, Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

process that actually increased through the 19th century. This led us to think that there was a spatial reinforcement of the social process of regulation already described by other researchers (Mathieu and Bouchard, for example), a process that prevented overpopulation of the Québec countryside. We view the great migration out of the province, especially to the United States, as an aspect of this regulation. This is why we reject the old image of a rural Lower-Canada as being characterized by immobility, overpopulation, ignorance of the outside world, and general poverty.

We have also been led to believe that the inhabitants of Lower Canada in the last century had little access to markets, largely through a bad road system running solely along the Saint Lawrence River. Our research has shown that this was not the case. On the contrary, we have demonstrated that significant roadways was developing in the 19th century, one of which was linked to the internal navigation system and the growing railroad network (Figure 3).

Many transformations occurred in Lower-Canadian agriculture, transformations that were not synonymous with the implied lack of change and opposition to progress described in past historiography. Agriculture expanded towards the hinterland, through the process of colonization, and the total volume of agricultural production also rose significantly. Simultaneously, the countryside became more diversified from one region to another. It is true that wheat production was rapidly declining, but the census data also informs us that it was replaced by other products like hay, oats, barley, and cattle breeding.

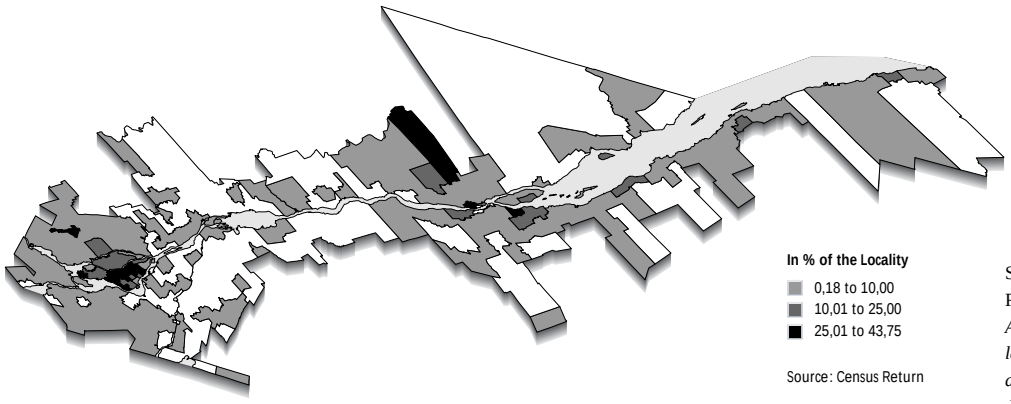
Figure 3
Road System at the End of the 19th Century



Sources: Ministère des Mines et des Relevés Géologiques (1898), *Eastern Townships.* Taché, Jules (1880-1895), *Carte régionale de la province de Québec […]*, 6 plates, département des Terres de la Couronne.

Near the main cities, as early as 1830, agriculture was apparently more "intensive" and adapted to a growing urban market (Figure 4). Elsewhere, it seems to have been more "extensive". Besides these tendencies we have noted a great variety of situations or contexts in agricultural production in every direction. Nonetheless, the faster-growing Montréal region was the heart of Québec agriculture in the last century. And everywhere in the countryside we were able to notice the development of a stratifying hierarchy among the farmers. While some were small, a good proportion of the farmers were able to generate a surplus for the market. Ultimately, a growing integration with the market economy is what we have found in Lower-Canadian agriculture.

Figure 4
Distribution of Large Potatoes Producers in 1871

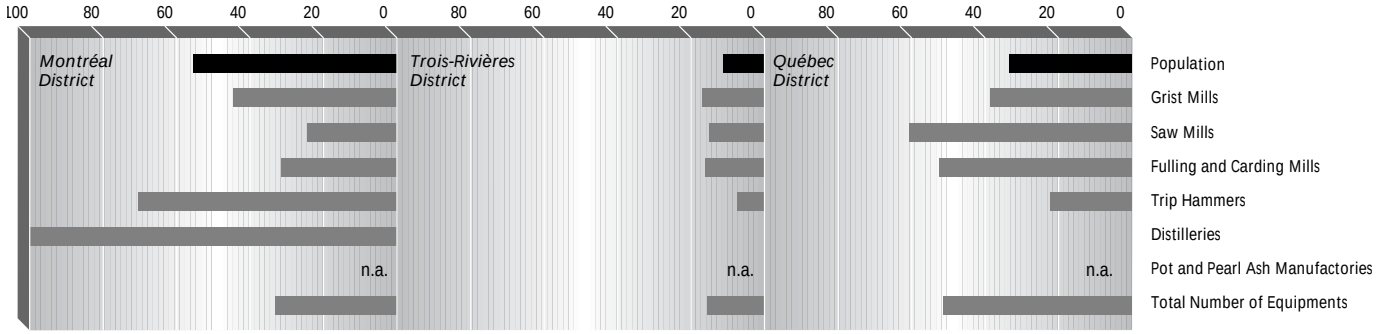


Source: Courville, Serge, Jean-Claude Robert et Normand Séguin (1995), *Atlas historique du Québec. Le pays laurentien au XIXe siècle: les morphologies de base,* Sainte-Foy, Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

Nineteenth-century Lower Canada was characterized by a slow but clear development in urban and rural industries, especially after 1815. We see this period as a transition before the advent of a general process of industrialization. In the first half of the century, the industrial production in the two main cities of the province was not yet diversified and relied on a few typical establishments such as breweries, foundries, and shipyards, especially important in Québec City. After 1850, industrial production in the two main cities rapidly became more diversified, particularly in Montréal.

The spread of rural industries was significant throughout the 19th century (Figure 5). It gave birth to numerous new villages, stimulated their development, and generated the growth of new urban centers. This spread of rural industries deeply altered the relations between the main cities and the countryside - a countryside that now appears to have been more integrated into the overall economy than was previously believed.

Figure 5
Industrial Equipments in 1831 (in % of the St. Lawrence Valley)

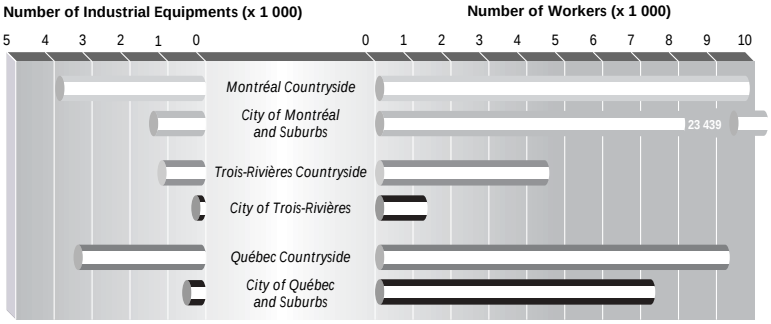


Source: Courville, Serge, Jean-Claude Robert et Normand Séguin (1995), *Atlas historique du Québec. Le pays laurentien au XIXe siècle: les morphologies de base*, Sainte-Foy, Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

In this process of early industrial development, before the large-scale industrialization of the late 19th century, we see two paths of growth in Lower Canada. One was closely linked to the exploitation of natural resources such as wood and the saw-milling industry. The other was related to the transformation of leather, textiles, tobacco, rubber, etc. The eastern part of the Saint Lawrence axis (dominated by Québec City) was heavily relient on the first path of growth, while the western part (dominated by Montréal) relied more heavily on the second path of growth.

After 1850 Montréal was undoubtedly the key to industrial growth in Lower Canada, while Québec City lagged far behind (Figure 6). Thus it seems that the fifties and sixties were a decisive period for the shaping of the Québec urban system dominated by Montréal. In 1871 Montréal had 40% of the total workers of the St. Lawrence Valley and Québec City barely 11%. At the time of Confederation the Montréal region appears to have been a more integrated and fast-growing city than was previously thought. In other respects, we know that the financial crash of 1873 caused considerable distress in the Québec resource economy, but that is another story.

Figure 6



Source: Courville, Serge, Jean-Claude Robert et Normand Séguin (1995), *Atlas historique du Québec. Le pays laurentien au XIXe siècle: les morphologies de base*, Sainte-Foy, Les Presses de l'Université Laval.

In 19th-century Québec, the number of merchants grew faster than the total population. This is a significant sign of an expanding market economy. We have identified 2,000 merchants in 1831 and approximately 8,000 in 1871.

Again, the Montréal region appears to have been the heart of the Québec mercantile system. In 1871 close to 64% of all the merchants of the St. Lawrence Valley were found in that area, while the region itself held only 54% of Québec's total population. In trying to shed light on the merchants, we discovered how deeply they were involved in the agricultural sector. When we started the project ten years ago, we already knew that merchants were associated with agricultural production, but not to such a significant extent.

Our data for 1871 show that a solid proportion of merchants owned agricultural land and were active producers. In every type of cultivation, the merchants figure among the biggest agricultural producers in the province. Importantly, we know that they were able to develop a capitalist form of agriculture, alongside and in relation to the family farm system.

Conclusion

The above discussion presents only a preliminary overview of our conclusions about the socio-economy of Lower Canada in the 19th century. The need to better comprehend our subject has forced us to explore more deeply into the very processes of that socio-economy than it had been done before. In order to better analyze this process, we decided to work at four different scales: that of a large rural region, in this case Beauce and its relationship with Québec City and Maine; a major urban area, that of Montréal; of an expanding regional center, that of Trois-Rivières; and that of family networks, seen as a sign and a factor of urban growth and the market economy. By using this method, we hope to gain a clearer view of the numerous social and economic processes operating in the Québec society in the 19th century. This period was a time of transition between two major contexts, between that of a rural type of civilization, and one that was increasingly coming under the influence of a new urban and industrial civilization. Our goal is to better understand the new realities imposed by that transition.

Notes

1 M. J. Bowden, "The invention of American Tradition", *Journal of Historical Geography,* 18, 1 (1992): 3-26.

2 S. Courville, J.-C. Robert et N. Séguin, *Le pays laurentien au XIX^{e} siècle. Les morphologies de base*, coll. «Atlas historique du Québec», (Sainte-Foy: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995).

3 S. Courville, *Entre ville et campagne. L'essor du village dans les seigneuries du Bas-Canada,* (Québec: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1990).

HONOURING 'ONE OF THE GREAT FORCES OF THE DOMINION'*: THE CANADIAN PUBLIC MOURNS McGEE+

Peter G. Goheen

Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston

Easter Monday, 1868, "broke clear and cold" in Montreal. With "scanty snow on the ground… [t]he late sunrise saw signs of preparation in the streets and houses. The day was, by proclamation, a general holiday, but the people had anticipated authority, and had constituted April the Thirteenth… a popular holiday, consecrated to the martyr, McGee" (Montreal *Gazette*, April 14, 1868).[1] It was the day of Thomas D'Arcy McGee's funeral, on what would have been his 43rd birthday. It was, most especially, the day set apart by the people to mourn his loss in a fitting manner.

At the time of his death McGee enjoyed the reputation as Irish-Canada's premier public figure. Born in Ireland at Carlingford, County Louth on April 13, 1825, he left his native land when still a young man to take up journalism in the United States, principally in Boston. His views on the appropriate ties with Britain were, in the words of one biographer, "to travel a changeful journey" (Brady, 1925, 25). Having first gained notoriety for his fierce hostility to maintaining Ireland's imperial connection, McGee was to become a leading proponent for Confederation of the British North American colonies within the British imperial system. By 1857 such was his international stature as a journalist and orator, and so altered had become his earlier hostility toward Britain, that the pro-British Irish community of Montreal invited him to settle in their city. He accepted their invitation, and their assistance in establishing a newspaper for him. It was dedicated to the cause of colonial union under British rule. In 1858 he was elected to Parliament as one of three members for Montreal, a position he retained until his death. He was to play a central role as a propagandist for Confederation, travelling and speaking in every region of British North America. He was also to serve in several ministerial capacities in various governments in the Province of Canada before 1867.

The editor who eulogized him as "the most eloquent public man in the Dominion" was acknowledging what was widely appreciated across the young nation at the time of his death (Toronto *Daily Telegraph*, April 9, 1868). He was assassinated on the streets of Ottawa in the early morning hours of Tuesday, April 7 as he was returning to his lodgings at the conclusion of a late sitting of the House of Commons in which he represented the voters of Montreal West in the first Parliament following Confederation. McGee had been jeered in his own city, and his life had already been threatened. This treatment he received as a consequence of his forthright condemnation of Fenianism, a movement dedicated to a republican programme for Ireland that also hoped to detach Canada from its constitutional British ties (Brady, 1925; Phelan, 1951).[2] News of his murder was received, nonetheless, with "a thrill of horror" and disbelief: the Quebec City editor whose words these are found it necessary personally to call at the telegraph office to authenticate the bulletin for himself (*Quebec Daily Mercury*, April 7, 1868). The country responded as with one voice and mood: a "profoundly sad mood" described the people of Lévis, Quebec; "profound regret" were the words used by the Newcastle, New Brunswick editor; in Brockville, Ontario the news "excited universal horror"; a St. Thomas, Ontario editor declared that, "[t]he whole dominion is draped in mourning" (*Progrès de Lévis*, avril 13, 1868; Newcastle *Union Advocate*, April 9, 1868; *Brockville Recorder,* April 16, 1868; St. Thomas *Weekly Dispatch*, April 9, 1868). The editor of the Kingston *Daily News* took especial note of how "spontaneous in its effusion" was the "sense of national loss" (*Daily News*, April 15, 1868).

This paper takes the public response of the Canadian people to the news of McGee's assassination as an opportunity to explore the neglected topic of public rituals that were staged in mid-nineteenth-century Canada.[3] It is in her cities and towns, where the fullest records remain, that we can best examine how the people mobilized their collective values and enacted the rituals they thought appropriate to mark such a significant occasion. The great impact of the event produced an

+ Reprinted from The Canadian Geographer, 41, 1997.

* Quoted from Quebec Gazette, April 8, 1868.

impulse to memorialize the occasion across the Dominion, leaving an unusually rich record of a popularly practiced but evanescent and easily overlooked part of the period's social geography.

Responding to the News

Expressions of interest and sorrow came from Canadians of all ranks and stations and from every part of the country. Every newspaper editor, no matter how late the intelligence arrived on his desk, treated it with importance.[4] In Halifax the Catholic Archbishop promptly responded by issuing an announcement regretting that "owing to the disastrous news of the assassination of Mr. McGee,...[he] feels unable to attend the public services of Holy Week in the Cathedral..." At the same time he gave notice that he would celebrate a requiem mass as a "public tribute to the Mighty Dead" at as early a date as the "Rubrics of the Catholic Church" would allow (Halifax *Evening Express*, April 8, 1868). In Toronto one editor, writing of the day the news arrived, declared that "business is almost entirely suspended, and nothing is spoken of but the horrid event" (*Daily Telegraph*, April 7, 1868). In Saint John the martial traditions of Good Friday were in abeyance: there was no inspection of Volunteers and no military displays were mounted, on account of the "general melancholy [that] seemed to prevail" (*Morning News*, April 13, 1868).

Editors sought to capture the public mood by paying McGee's memory the most glowing homage they could imagine and by anathematizing his presumed killer, Fenian rage. The people's "horror and indignation" compared only to that of the Americans on the occasion of Lincoln's assassination; their "ovation" for McGee's heroic contribution suggested England's celebration of Wellington at his death (Montreal *Gazette*, April 8 and 14, 1868. See also Montreal *Minerve*, avril 16, 1868; Chatham, N.B. *Gleaner*, April 11, 1868; *Quebec Daily Mercury*, April 7, 1868; Belleville *Daily Intelligencer*, April 7, 1868). In Charlottetown, Prince Edward Island, the Editor of the *Examiner* was in no doubt that members of the Fenian organization were implicated (*Examiner*, April 13, 1868). He echoed sentiments that were expressed throughout the Dominion. Readers of Halifax's *British Colonist* knew exactly which group was targeted by the Editor's reference to "the wicked counsels of those who were leagued together in a wild and fanatical crusade against the cause of law and order" (*British Colonist*, April 9, 1868). Readers of the Saint John *Morning Journal* were bluntly informed that McGee died "because, acting on his convictions of duty, he has been outspoken in condemning those organized bands of robbers and murderers known by the name of Fenians..." (*Morning Journal*, April 8, 1868). Writing more circumspectly, the editor of Hamilton's *Daily Spectator* did not "deem it right to offer any public expression of opinion on the subject" of the assassin's motives. Nevertheless, he proceeded to note McGee's "zealous...denunciation" of Fenians and their "ire...[that] was excited against him to the utmost" (*Daily Spectator*, April 8, 1868).

The people in many communities chose to mark the occasion through public rituals, understanding as they did their power to signify, one might say sacralize, the importance of the episode in their collective experience.[5] These were rituals of the people, as I will seek to demonstrate through attention to the roles that the citizenry played in every phase of their planning and enactment. They were rituals incorporating those near the centre of power but most especially relying on those who yearned for "the sense of being near to the heart of things, of being caught up in the realm of the serious" while often living "at a rather enormous distance" from those who "dominate social affairs" (Geertz, 1983, 143-44).[6] They chose for their ceremonies the public spaces of the city to which the most prestige attached, understanding that the value of the place would transfer to those who occupied it. It was their space as citizens, and the manner of their sharing it created shared public meanings (Smith, 1993; Hayden, 1995, 227).

This shared public space was politically charged space, and was socially constructed through the political process (Merrifield, 1993; Mitchell, 1995). The people, concerting their will and ambition as a public, sought the approval of governments whose imprimatur would add official sanction to their intended commemoration. It was a process of authenticating the group's political will and social purpose, of asserting its status as a public (Habermas, 1989; Ryan, 1990 and 1992; Fraser, 1992). The public, by this device, could proceed without fear of official denial to claim for their rituals a broad recognition that would ensure the respect it considered appropriate.[7] The publics in the various communities neither asked governments to act as sponsors nor wished them to assume control of the ceremonies. They nevertheless understood the advantage of official consent to their programme: it helped them unproblematically to appropriate some of the symbolic values characterizing the community as a whole. Without such government cooperation public commemoration risked becoming contentious, an undesirable outcome for such an occasion as the memorialization of a much admired public figure.

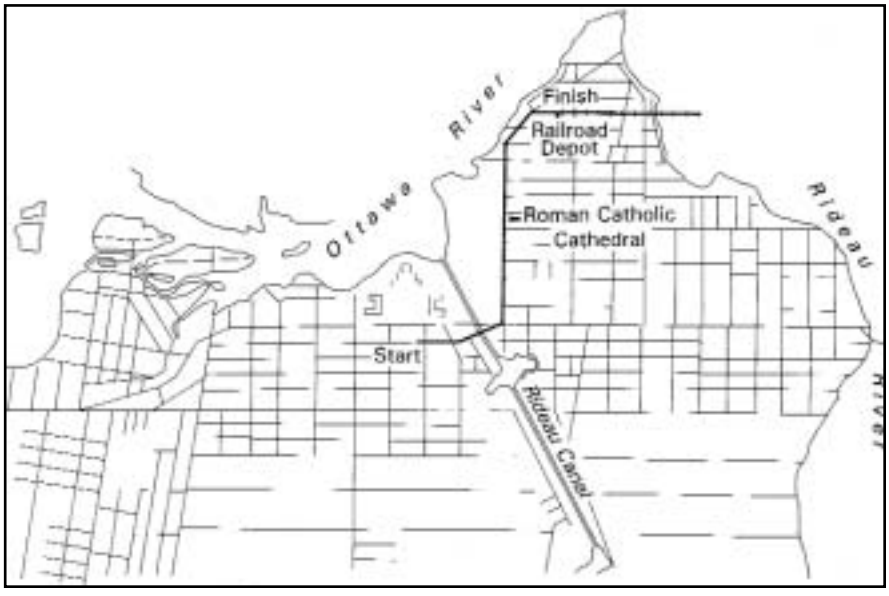
Public Rituals of Commemoration

Across the Dominion, in communities large and small, citizens acted in concert to organize and validate what they thought to be appropriate public commemoration of McGee's life. Their programmes included events they wished to bear the seal of official approval as well as unofficial but organized activities. Their initiatives lead to a remarkable series of public rituals of mourning and commemoration. These ceremonies became a magnificent public demonstration of their society as they wished to present themselves. They memorialized McGee in a pageant of unparalleled solemnity and magnificence in Montreal and in religious services held in a number of other centres. They also conveyed their sentiments to the community and the nation in especially called public meetings, in public demonstrations in the streets, through transforming their public spaces into landscapes of mourning, by suspending regular business, and in yet other public ways that indelibly marked the occasion.

In Montreal on Easter Monday the funeral suitably climaxed an elaborate commemorative celebration; the writer in the Montreal *Gazette* believed that "a whole nation, with one-half the continent" was "listening," eager to share, however vicariously, the day's special quality (*Gazette*, April 14, 1868). The ritual that climaxed with the funeral in Montreal had begun in Ottawa where the murder was committed in the pre-dawn darkness of April 7. Almost immediately a small crowd gathered in the street at the scene of the crime. The Prime Minister, Sir John A. Macdonald, was immediately informed and hastened to the site despite the hour. After first light the crowds grew much larger as the astonished and horrified residents of the city learned the news. During the hours of commerce little business was conducted and flags hung at half mast. By three o'clock, when the House of Commons convened, "an immense crowd" had gathered on Parliament Hill as Macdonald "rose amidst the breathless silence of the House." "'With pain amounting to anguish,'" he eulogized McGee who "'charmed us with his marvellous eloquence, elevated us by his large statesmanship, and instructed us by his wisdom and patriotism...'" (quoted in Montreal *Gazette*, April 8, 1868). Out of respect the House voted to adjourn until Tuesday, a week hence.

On Wednesday morning Ottawa memorialized McGee. At nine o'clock, with businesses in the centre of the city mostly shuttered and flags everywhere at half mast, a solemn procession accompanied McGee's remains through the principal streets to the Catholic Cathedral (Figure 1). There the first of what would become several funerals was conducted. Among the pall bearers were the Prime Minister, the Premiers of Quebec and Ontario, the Speaker of the House, and senior representatives from each province. The procession comprised all members of Parliament then in Ottawa and the citizenry, marching two-by-two, in a defile that extended for half a mile. There followed people in carriages and cabs stretching as far again to the rear. In all, "an immense concourse of mourners" accompanied the remains (*Ottawa Citizen*, April 10, 1868). After the service another procession, again comprising "the entire population" of the town, accompanied the body to the railway station (Montreal *Gazette*, April 8, 1868). A special train, carrying some of McGee's friends who had journeyed from Montreal for the privilege of

Figure 1
Route of T. D'Arcy McGee's Funeral Procession, Ottawa, 8 April 1868



Source: Map of the City of Ottawa, Compiled from Accurate Surveys by W.R. Thistle and Co., 1869. J. B. Taylor. National Archives of Canada (NAC).

escorting his remains, waited to transport the body home.

The journey to Montreal took on the markings of a royal procession: at all the principal stations the train halted to allow the people who had assembled to pay their respects and to view the body. The crowds were reported to be "extraordinary" (Montreal *Minerve*, avril 14, 1868). Officials, bands and volunteer militia units were also occasionally in evidence. At Cornwall the Mayor headed a prominent assembly at the train station and church bells tolled for the duration of the stop (Slattery, 1968, 482).

Montrealers greeted McGee's train with pomp and ceremony. As it approached the city it was met at Lachine Junction by a train from Montreal carrying a large contingent of the city's gentlemen who wished to escort the body into the city. The cortege arrived at the designated hour of 5 o'clock at Bonaventure Station which was suitably prepared to receive it. In the station, heavily draped in festoons of crepe, waited a "great crowd" of citizens attired in mourning. The body was immediately removed to a hearse, a procession forming rank behind the Chief of Police and McGee's friends who had accompanied his body from Ottawa. There followed the Mayors of Montreal and London, the Premier of Quebec, members of City Council and a throng of citizens that stretched "as far as the eye could reach, a procession of all nationalities, creeds and stations. The sidewalks were also occupied by a large number of people who accompanied the procession in stern silence" as it moved through the streets to McGee's late residence (*Gazette*, April 9, 1868). There the body was to lie in state until the funeral on Easter Monday.

Elsewhere the public was likewise devising suitable ceremonies of commemoration. In at least 19 communities in addition to Montreal and Ottawa official and institutional initiatives acknowledged public sentiment (Table 1). The public meeting was the preferred and familiar form for encouraging public participation. Requested by numerously signed citizen petitions that called on the Mayor to authorize it and to take the chair, it was customarily held in the largest public hall of which the community could boast. It was designed to generate public enthusiasm and commitment to an intended ritual. Leading local orators were invited to lend their eloquence to the occasion, and many others spoke freely. Through motions passed the meeting could instruct Council as to the role it might best play in the ritual. This was the preferred procedure in the principal cities of the nation but was also used in such small centres as Beauharnois, Quebec and Port Hope, Ontario.

The behaviour of the people of Saint John was characteristic. Although by 1868 they could claim little common experience with their fellow citizens in Ottawa or Montreal, they were deeply affected by the news of McGee's death. They were as Irish as any city in Canada. This may have been one reason why McGee had in recent years found the warmest of receptions there on the several occasions when he sailed into these friendly waters while promoting closer ties within British North America. The news "caused a cold shudder to pass over the hearts of our citizens" and "evoked feelings of the deepest sorrow for the widowed wife and the desolate home" (Saint John *Morning Journal*, April 8, 1868). On Thursday, two days after the receipt of the news, the city remained "greatly excited" as the Common Council met to consider a resolution of sympathy, on behalf of the citizens, to McGee's family (Saint John *Morning Telegraph*, April 9, 1868). Not content with this modest official initiative, a deputation met on April 11 with the Mayor to present "a numerously signed requisition requesting him to afford an opportunity for the public expression of sympathy by the citizens generally on the day of McGee's funeral" (Montreal *Daily Witness*, April 13, 1868). When the Mayor failed to act in response to this delegation he was sharply criticized for depriving the people of "any civic direction" to their commemoration (Saint John *Morning Journal*, April 15, 1868). Nevertheless, Easter Monday, the day of the funeral:

> *was observed by our citizens in a manner worthy of themselves and of him who so lately lived...All the Merchants, Manufactures [sic], &c., in the principal business parts of our City closed their stores, flags, both public and private, were displayed at half mast, and even in the harbor, bunting was displayed on several vessels...The bells tolled forth their doleful sounds and general gloom seemed to hang over the spirits of the community (*Saint John *Morning News, April 15, 1868).*

Local people, especially those living in the smaller urban communities, often felt no need to appeal to municipal authority as part of the process of devising appropriate commemorations of McGee. The consensus of the community, of the public, offered the only guide to what was appropriate for the occasion. Goderich was one town where the public expressed its feelings collectively without municipal involvement. The local editor proudly wrote: "In our own good town every shop and store was closed up from 10 o'clock a.m. to 12 noon, the stars and stripes at the American Consulate floated at half mast, the bells were tolled solemnly, and during those hours a funeral gloom seemed to settle down upon our citizens generally. This act was a most proper one, and we trust it will never have to be

Table 1
Public Meetings and Services Commemorating McGee

Charlottetown, P.E.I.	?	Tribute paid in House of Assembly
Halifax, N.S.	April 24	Requiem Mass celebrated
	May 8	Public Meeting to raise Subscription Fund
Saint John, N.B.	April 9	Common Council meeting proposes resolutions
	April 16	Common Council meeting passes resolution
Fredericton, N.B.	?	York Division, Sons of Temperance, passes address
Quebec, Que.	April 12	Prayers said in the St. Patrick's Church
	April 14	City Council passes resolutions
Stanstead, Que.	April 13	Public Meeting held
Beauharnois, Que.	April 11	Public Meeting held
Montreal, Que.	April 8	Public Meeting held, commencing a series of subsequent public events
Cornwall, Ont.	April 8	Assembly, headed by Mayor, meets train carrying McGee's remains to Montréal
Ottawa, Ontario	April 8	City Council held meeting to organize memorialization
	April 8	Requiem Mass celebrated
L'Orignal, Ont.	April 28	Requiem Mass celebrated
Perth, Ont.	April 11	Town Council organizes memorialization
	April 13	Service held in Catholic Church
Brockville, Ont.	April 16	Public Meeting held
Kingston, Ont.	April 11	Special Meeting of City Council held
Belleville, Ont.	April 8	Town Council passes resolutions
Port Hope, Ont.	April 8	Public Meeting held
Toronto, Ont.	April 8	Requiem Mass celebrated
	April 13	City Council passes resolutions
Hamilton, Ont.	April 12	Special Church Service held
	April 13	Public Meeting held
St. Catharines, Ont.	April 9	Public Meeting held
Guelph, Ont.	April 15	Public Meeting held
London, Ont.	?	Public Meeting held

Sources: Charlottetown: *Patriot*, April 16, 1868; Halifax: *Novascotian*, May 11, 1868; [Connolly, [1868]]; Saint John: Montreal *Gazette*, April 11, 1868; *Morning Telegraph*, April 16, 1868; Fredericton: *Colonial Farmer*, April 25, 1868; Quebec: *Quebec Gazette*, April 13, 1868; *Quebec Daily Mercury*, April 15, 1868; Stanstead: *Stanstead Journal*, April 16, 1868; Huntingdon: *Canadian Gleaner*, April 17, 1868; Montreal: *Gazette*, April 8 and 9, 1868; Cornwall: Slattery, 1968, p. 482; Ottawa: Toronto *Globe*, April 13, 1868; *Ottawa Citizen*, April 10, 1868; L'Orignal: [Dawson, n.d.]; Perth: *Perth Courier*, April 17, 1868; Brockville: *Brockville Recorder*, April 16 and 23, 1868; Kingston: *Daily News*, April 11 and 13, 1868; Belleville: *Daily Intelligencer*, April 11, 1868; Port Hope: Belleville *Daily Intelligencer*, April 9, 1868; Toronto: *Globe*, April 9, 1868; *Daily Telegraph*, April 14, 1868; Hamilton: *Hamilton Evening Times*, April 11 and 14, 1868; *Daily Spectator*, April 13 and 14, 1868; St. Catharines: Hamilton *Daily Spectator*, April 11, 1868; Guelph: *Guelph Evening Mercury*, April 16, 1868; London: Toronto *Daily Telegraph*, April 11, 1868.

repeated on an occasion so sad" (*Huron Signal*, April 16, 1868).[8] The commemoration in many communities, including even some of the smallest villages, was similar. In Eastern Ontario the citizens of Prescott marked the occasion with equal solemnity, and reports from Pembroke, Hawkesbury, Vankleek Hill and L'Orignal indicate the suspension of business during the funeral (Montreal *Daily Witness*, April 13, 1868; Montreal *Gazette*, April 14, 1868).

In Toronto the response to the news was one of intense excitement and interest; the editor of the *Daily Telegraph* noted in the issue of April 8 that the four editions he had been able to issue on the previous day had failed to meet the demand.[9] A Toronto correspondent for a Montreal paper observed that the story remained for some days "[t]he sole exciting and all absorbing topic of interest" (Montreal *Daily Witness*, April 13, 1868).

The news may have excited great interest among the people in the streets of Toronto, but in other quarters the story was different. The local politics of the story were complex. A noticeable coolness characterized the coverage provided by Toronto's redoubtable *Globe* whose editor wrote dryly in his first column devoted to the assassination of his disapproval of much of what McGee had said in public and especially of his activities as a young man in Ireland (*Globe*, April 8, 1868). There was, as well, an unmistakable note of dispassion in the city's official response. Political reaction, it seems fair to conclude, reflected keen sensitivities and division among the city's local Irish. They were more protestant and Orange than Catholic, and City Council was notoriously in the pocket of the Orange Order. The lack of any response by local government for days afterward occasioned a rebuke in the *Daily Telegraph*, on Saturday, April 11, from its editor who considered that "the sentiments of our citizens" warranted proper recognition. The failure of officials to respond to the assassination was noted elsewhere, too, earning the acerbic description of being "a little singular" from the correspondent for a Montreal paper (*Daily Witness*, April 13, 1868).

Toronto's citizens waited on no official sanction to commemorate McGee's life. They attended Requiem masses that were celebrated in all the Catholic churches in the city on Wednesday morning. On Saturday a contingent of the city's leading citizens left by train for Montreal to attend the funeral on Monday. Nonetheless, the unwillingness of public officials to lend the prestige of their offices to the commemoration was significant. No public meetings were held, and no vehicle was provided by which the citizenry could articulate its own message and express it publicly. There survives some convincing evidence of a deeply felt divide in local opinion, and of the interest of city officials in responding quickly to local opinion when it threatened to disturb the peace of the community. Public pressure produced a quick response from City Hall when the Hibernian Society, widely regarded as a front for Fenian activists, announced its plans to bury its recently deceased leader. The man's death in Toronto happened to coincide with McGee's murder. The funeral in Toronto, to have been marked with great fanfare including a parade through the principal streets of the city, would have coincided with McGee's funeral in Montreal. The Mayor issued an order forbidding the demonstration, which was then cancelled (*Gazette*, April 14, 1868). The City Council finally took official note of McGee's death when, at its regular meeting on Easter Monday, it passed a resolution of condolence to the McGee family.

Throughout the Dominion the mood of the citizenry set the expectations for the memorialization. There are few examples of people experiencing such impediments as those encountered in Toronto. The mood in Perth, Ontario, was more typical. There the Town Council held a special meeting to organize the observance for the day of the funeral. A special service in the Catholic Church marked the hour and business was temporarily suspended throughout the town. The scenario in Kingston reflected a widespread influence of the people in encouraging and organizing appropriate observances. There the City Council held a special meeting to implement the expressed wishes of "very many of our citizens." Having resolved that condolences be sent to the McGee family, it then turned to consider the appropriate local memorialization. It was agreed that on the day of the funeral businesses should close from 10 a.m. to noon, that flags be placed at half-mast, and that city and church bells toll during these hours. It was so done. "Many gentlemen appeared in the street wearing mourning badges on their breasts, bearing in the centre of the rosette a striking likeness of the late Mr. McGee. The regret and sympathy of the community were demonstrated in an unmistakeable manner" (Kingston *Daily News*, April 14, 1868; and Kingston *Daily British Whig*, April 14, 1868).

The intense feelings engendered by McGee's assassination did not soon diminish. The press throughout the Dominion continued to devote much of its limited space to the story, including the trial in Ottawa of his accused murderer. A number of significant and well attended commemorative events were scheduled well after the funeral. These included two special masses that were celebrated in

Halifax on Friday, April 24 and in L'Orignal on Tuesday, April 28.[10] The requiem mass conducted in Halifax by the Archbishop drew "a vast crowd of worshippers" who filled St. Mary's Cathedral, which had been suitable decorated for the occasion (Halifax *Evening Express*, April 24, 1868). The entire text of the oration, published in the press, was available for the public's consumption. Later still, on Friday, May 8, a meeting was convened at the request of the Halifax Mayor in the City Council chamber to open a subscription for a fund to honour McGee's memory (Halifax *Novascotian*, May 11, 1868). This was one of a series of gatherings with the same purpose held in the more important cities of Canada.

Montreal Mourns McGee

Montreal awoke on Tuesday, April 7 to the news of D'Arcy McGee's assassination, "stunned and horror-struck." The word "spread wildly from mouth to mouth, and people rushed to the newspapers for confirmation..." "The greatest excitement prevailed up to a late hour at night" (Montreal *Gazette*, April 8, 1868). Notwithstanding the public perturbation, a well practiced protocol was soon in progress whereby the citizens could be seen to participate in and to influence the direction of planning for the events that would mark McGee's memorialization in the city.[11] The first step involved several citizens calling on the Mayor with a requisition for a public meeting which was duly announced for noon, Wednesday, April 8. It was to be held at the Mechanics' Hall, a commodious auditorium. A "large and influential" group assembled, to commence a process that would subsequently engage the interest and attention of the great generality of the citizenry. The meeting expressed "the universal indignation felt by the whole community," and extended the sympathy of the people to the sorrowing family. It then entertained a number of resolutions, urging that the funeral should be a public occasion to allow the population to express its respect, and appointing a Committee to wait on the Mayor and Council to cooperate in arrangements for the funeral (Montreal *Gazette*, April 8 and 9, 1868).

The public meeting signalled an intense burst of activity on the part of the city's many societies and public bodies that wished to be recognized as participants on the occasion of the funeral (Table 2).

Table 2
Order of the Funeral Procession in Montreal

The City Police
The Fire Brigade
The Officers of the Corporation
The Members of the Corporation
The City Treasurer
The City Clerk
The Recorder of Montreal
Marshal The Mayor Marshal
The Committee of Management
Corporation of Ottawa
The Mayor
Members of the House of Assembly
Legislative Councillors
Members of the Local Governments
Members of the House of Commons
Senators
Foreign Consuls
Officers of Militia in Uniform
Militia Commandant and Staff
Adjutant-General and Staff
Officers of the Army
Major-General Russell and Staff
Marshal Mounted Orderlies Marshal
Officers of the Courts of Law
Magistrates
Judges
Members of the Privy Council
Representative of the Lieutenant Governor of Ontario
Representative of the Lieutenant Governor of Québec
Representative of the Governor-General
Sir Charles Wyndham, KCB, and Staff
Horticultural Society
THE BODY
Chief Mourners
Supporters of the Chief Mourners
Funeral Carriages
Clergy
Bar
The Notaries
Medical Profession
Universities
Professors, University of McGill College
Students of Law, Medicine
Students in Arts, McGill
St. Jean Baptiste Society
St. Patrick's Society
Irish Protestant Benevolent Society
St. Patrick's Benevolent Society
St. Patrick's Temperance Society
Marshal St George's Society Marshal
English Workingmen's Benefit Society
St Andrew's Society
The St Andrew's Society of Ottawa
Caledonian Society
Thistle Society
Other National Societies
German Society
The New England Society
Literary Societies
Marshal The Literary Club Marshal
Board of Arts and Manufactures
Benevolent Societies (not being National Societies)
St Ann's Catholic Young Men's Society
Catholic Young Men's Society
Temperance Societies
Howard Division, No 1, Sons of Temperance
St. Ann's Temperance Society
Montreal Temperance Society
Workingmen's Societies (not being National Societies)
Montreal Typographical Union
Montreal Workingmen's Benefit Society
United Protestant Workingmen's Benefit Society
Canada Sugar Refinery Benefit Society
Citizens
Government Police
Chief Marshal

Source: *Montreal Herald*, April 14, 1868.

Unions, national societies, sodalities, benevolent societies, volunteer militia groups were among those which met to commence preparations. The Committee of Management, placed in charge of arrangements on behalf of the Citizens' Committee and the City, requested that participating groups meet with it on Saturday, April 11 to coordinate their involvement in the public ceremonies, especially the procession (Montreal *Gazette*, April 10, 1868).

City Council meanwhile voted $1,000.00 to defray the expenses of what was to be a Public Funeral, as requested by resolution of the public meeting. News of the participation of government officials was welcomed and the volunteer militia invited to appear under arms at the funeral. The latter was a unique request, to which the Adjutant General of the Militia replied: "'By all means—the Volunteer Force honour themselves, in honouring the memory of the patriot and martyr'" (quoted in the Montreal *Gazette*, April 9, 1868). In all, troops from 23 different units, including the volunteers, guarded the route of the procession, fired salutes and provided suitable music for the processionists. Among them were members of three units from Ottawa and a number from surrounding districts in Quebec. A writer in the *Daily Witness* commented on "the very unusual circumstances of the military turning out to a civilian funeral," concluding that the troops "showed in what high estimation were held Mr. McGee's services." They were on the streets from 7:30 a.m. until well past 3:00 p.m., "standing still with only one change of place, and no food" (Montreal *Daily Witness*, April 15, 1868).

The ceremonial occasion required orchestration in every detail. A hearse of suitable magnificence was needed—commissioned from "a well known ecclesiastical designer and decorator" and then custom built. The carriage–16 feet high, 15 feet long, 4 feet wide—was constructed so the coffin–8 feet from the ground—would be easily visible to the expected crowds. It was drawn by six "splendid" horses (*Montreal Herald*, April 14, 1868). A prominent photographer was commissioned to record the cortege on film, for which purpose the procession was to pause as it passed along one of the city's principal thoroughfares (Figure 2).

In the delicate negotiations over the symbolically important matter of the location of the funeral the sensibilities of the people and the vested interests of institutions reveal themselves with remarkable clarity. The obsequies for so prominent a confessionist as McGee were an important occasion for the Catholic Church as well as for the community. He was, however, an anglophone of Irish origin in a place where francophones with close institutional ties to France controlled many Catholic institutions. The claims of Irish Catholicism had but recently found recognition in the establishment of the parish of St. Patrick, and only after a bitter and protracted dispute over whether "The Parish" of Notre Dame should continue to exercise control over the whole Island of Montreal. Even the subdivision of the island into numerous parishes in 1866 and 1867 had not settled the matter (Slattery, 1968, 494; Sylvain, 1982; Toker, 1991). The competing claims of Notre Dame and St. Patrick's for recognition can be seen in contradictory press notices announcing that the funeral mass would be held in each place. Montreal's *Gazette* carried a statement that it would be in St. Patrick's while the *Quebec Gazette* declared the celebration would be held in the "French Parish Church"—Notre Dame (Montreal *Gazette*, April 10, 1868; *Quebec Gazette*, April 10, 1868). Neither of these alternatives proved satisfactory, for each slighted the sensitivities of an important part of the Catholic community. The strength of the claim of the Irish Catholics that the grand mass be celebrated in their parish church could not be denied, and St. Patrick's housed this ritual. Neither could the right of Notre Dame, the historic centre of public worship for francophone Montreal, be ignored. And so, following the mass in St. Patrick's a second service was held in this historic setting, where the Bishop chose to deliver his address after a "Libera" was sung. St. Patrick's could accommodate but 1,500 comfortably; one contemporary estimate suggested that 8,000 stood in Notre Dame for the service there (Taylor, 1868, 59). Neither could satisfy the desire of the citizenry to witness the rituals performed there.

Figure 2
Montreal Mourns T. D'Arcy McGee

Source: National Archives of Canada.
James Inglis Collection / 1975-433 / PA-200396.

Montrealers rejoiced in the unparalleled opportunity on Easter Monday, 1868, of celebrating their own cultural identity by honouring the memory of their fellow citizen, Thomas D'Arcy McGee. They staged their ritual in the presence of visiting dignitaries representing the Dominion, provincial and foreign governments and of thousands of visitors from across the nation. But, as the citizens knew, and as all the journalists recognized, it was their event and not a state funeral. The distinction reflected neither any lack of pomp nor the intensity of response of the participants. Rather, the crucial signal was in the design and control of the pageant which the citizenry, acting in its capacity as a forceful public, exercised. The proof was in their overwhelming participation of the spectacle which so closely reflected their own concepts of their society as they wished to present it. If further evidence were needed on the point, the absence as participants of both the Governor General and the Prime Minister likewise reveals the real nature of the occasion as a popular rather than a state event.

In a city of 100,000 people an estimated 10,000 processed through the streets, observed by 100,000 spectators. "The demonstration is unquestionably the greatest that ever took place in our city," according to one journalist (Montreal *Gazette*, 14 April 1868). Another reporter wrote that:

a whole community—the population of a vast city—turned out into the highways to bury their dead. Montreal has never before seen such a spectacle.... [T]he crowds who attended the remains of the late Mr. McGee… were composed of all that Montreal possesses of a mixed population of several races; of many creeds; of the most varied ranks and characters. Hardly any of our citizens were missing, either from the ranks of the wonderful cortege, which slowly accompanied the coffin, or from the sidewalks of the principal streets, through which the procession passed...to the two magnificent temples where, in one and another language, his co-religionists have worshipped the same God with the same ancient forms and ceremonies.

It was "this unanimity—this stirring with one impulse of the great heart of an immense population" that most impressed the writer (*Montreal Herald*, April 14, 1868).[12]

Long before the solemn procession commenced its journey through the streets of Montreal the sights and sounds of the city announced the impending event. The volunteers paraded at their Armouries at 7:00 a.m., with regimental colours draped in mourning. By 8:00 a.m. they began to take up their stations along the line of march, joining the regular forces. At that hour members of the various societies and public bodies that were to march congregated at their designated places of assembly. People were already streaming onto streets along which the procession would pass, streets in which many of the buildings, residential and commercial, were heavily draped in the banners of mourning. At 9:00 o'clock the bells of the English Cathedral commenced tolling at measured intervals and minute guns of the volunteer field battery began to boom.

At 9:30, the procession having been fully formed, McGee's body was removed from his home where it had lain in state and placed on the funeral car (Table 2). To the strains of the "Dead March from Saul" the solemn procession commenced its passage to St. Patrick's Church, "amidst marks of almost universal respect" (Montreal *Daily Witness*, April 13, 1868) (Figure 3). Many a head bowed, knee bent and eye teared as the cortege made its deliberate progress past the hushed throngs who crowded the streets behind the continuous lines of troops or overlooked the scene from every building along the route. The procession arrived at St. Patrick's about 10:30, to the quick tolling of the church's bell. The church received the body and the mourners entered to be comforted by the sung requiem mass and the sermon preached by Rev. Mr. O'Farrell.

It was nearly 1 o'clock when the procession reformed outside the church to proceed, in the same order as before, on its assigned way to Notre Dame. There, in historic Place d'Armes, Father Rousselot, cure of the Church, received the body, once again escorted by an honour guard of the 78th Highlanders

Figure 3
Route of T. D'Arcy McGee's Funeral Procession, Montreal, 13 April 1868

Source: Bishop's New Map of the City of Montréal, Compiled by A.W. Simpson. George Bishop and Co., 1867. NAC.

whose band had accompanied the procession as it approached the church. Bishop Bourget, in his address, urged the congregation to believe that "'this grand demonstration teaches us that while a person may be assassinated, a people cannot be slain… Do not regret the manner in which you have occupied this day. The attention which you have given to such a demonstration will not be lost time'" (quoted in Montreal *Gazette*, April 14, 1868).

The procession again reformed, for the last time, to conduct the body to its final resting place in the cemetery which francophone and anglophone Catholics shared on the slopes of Mount Royal. The troops, who had been on the streets since early morning, led the procession as it completed its long journey through the attentive city.

By any measure, the participation in the procession was extraordinary for its variety and inclusiveness (Table 2). Over 70 institutions and groups were represented among the marchers, ranging in dignity from the representative of the Governor General to humble sodalities such as the United Protestant Workingmen's Benefit Society. Finally there was the category which guaranteed that no willing participant would be excluded for lack of a more precise claim to recognition: that is – the Citizen. The modern observer can only marvel and speculate on the negotiations necessary to establish the order of precedence of such diverse bodies – official and unofficial, elite and humble – in the funeral parade. Because a group's position in the defile signalled its ascribed status to the whole assembly, this was a delicate matter. Whereas the process of organizing the processionists remains hidden from our view, we know that it was quickly concluded with no public signs of rancour. The Committee established by authority of the public meeting exercised its responsibility for this as for other aspects of the arrangements with dispatch and with general public approval.

In the names of the national societies we read the ethnic divisions of the city; in the duplication of many benevolent organizations we see the religious cleavage; in the public bodies we glimpse the structure of government, business and the professions. Such processions were highly articulated, and well ordered, with each body understanding and acknowledging its precise place and status in the procession and, perhaps, in the complex urban society. Such was the intended ideological message of the occasion.[13] It was an acceptable and acknowledged public image that we, like the participants and spectators of the day, are invited to contemplate, a lens through which to contemplate and perhaps better understand the place and the time.

But order was not immutable, even as it refracted through the purposes of such a finely honed celebration as this. How was McGee's identity to be presented? Father O'Farrell, in his sermon at St. Patrick's, confronted the issue. McGee he praised for his "'patriotism to his own country and his adopted country'" (quoted in Montreal *Daily Witness* April 14, 1868). Irish and Canadian, both. The distinction was not always easily achieved, and McGee had created enmity for himself among many Irish-Canadians through his insistence that Irish problems should not become issues to be fought in Canada. From this viewpoint, in part, arose his hostility to Fenianism, warmly reciprocated. Archbishop Connolly, in his sermon delivered at the special mass celebrated for McGee in Halifax, emphasized his role and identity as a "Catholic Irishman," without neglecting to mention his place as a public figure in Canada ([Connolly], 1868, 19). McGee symbolized the immigrant experience with its changeable mix of meanings. Little was quite so fixed and clear as it seemed; and so, on one special—liminal—day the people seized a precious opportunity to present their society as a rich and coherent structure which they could celebrate before the watching world.

Conclusion

The people of Canada responded to the shocking news of the assassination of Thomas D'Arcy McGee by creating a splendid commemorative occasion. They made it into one of the important "moments of emergent meaning" by becoming organized and present on the stage of public life (Farge, 1994, 196). They chose well tried and universally understood rituals of public commemoration to portray and to reaffirm their collective civic values which seemed to be so violently challenged by McGee's murder. In cities and towns across the Dominion they came together to articulate and publicly express their shared values, to assert themselves in the face of a perceived crisis.[14] In the extreme hostility expressed toward Fenianism we can see opinion leaders building public consensus. Even the Toronto City Council, which so reluctantly offered its sympathy to the Irish Catholic McGee family, sensed the limits of what the public would tolerate and was quick to forbid a funeral procession organized by the Hibernian Society on the day of McGee's obliquies. The public devised their occasions to honour their society as they imagined it and to marginalize dissent (Bocock, 1974). The initiative and the direction came largely from the people acting in concert, usually with the acquiescence and recognition of municipal authorities. Their legitimacy as a public sprang from community

consensus supporting the values to be celebrated. Their success depended upon the willingness of the people of all stations and backgrounds to agree. Understanding this, they designed the process of consultation and action to encourage participation.[15]

Whether conducted with the grand ceremony and pomp of the funeral in Montreal or expressed in reverent quietness evinced by Goderich's citizens, the rituals shared the common features of claiming to represent central values in the society, a recognition of which was enhanced by their choice of where to stage them. It was symbolically significant that all the ceremonies claimed the most prestigious public space and the cooperation of major institutions in the communities where they were held. These were related strategies, for the values attached to the space transferred to what was enacted there, and the rituals performed reinforced the value society had assigned to the space.

Acknowledgments

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Notes

1 The newspapers read in the preparation of this article are given below.
Charlottetown, P.E.I., *Examiner, Patriot*
Halifax, N.S., *The British Colonist, Evening Express, Novascotian*
Chatham, N.B., *Gleaner*
Fredericton, N.B., *Colonial Farmer, Head Quarters*
Newcastle, N.B., *Union Advocate*
Saint John, N.B., *Morning Journal, Morning News, Saint John Morning Telegraph*
Arthabaska, Qué., *Union des Cantons de l'est*
Huntingdon, Qué., *Canadian Gleaner*
Lévis, Que., *Progrès de Lévis*
Montreal, Qué., *Daily Witness, Gazette, Minerve, Montreal Herald, True Witness and Catholic Chronicle*
Quebec, Qué., *Québec Daily Mercury, Quebec Gazette*
Stanstead, Qué., *Stanstead Journal*
Belleville, Ont., *Daily Intelligencer*
Brockville, Ont., *Brockville Recorder*
Dundas, Ont., *Dundas True Banner*
Goderich, Ont., *Huron Signal*
Guelph, Ont., *Guelph Evening Mercury*
Hamilton, Ont., *Daily Spectator, Hamilton Evening Times*
Kingston, Ont., *Daily British Whig, Daily News*
Ottawa, Ont., *Ottawa Citizen*
Perth, Ont., *Perth Courier*
St. Thomas, Ont., *Weekly Dispatch*
Toronto, Ont., *Daily Globe, Daily Telegraph*
Winnipeg, Man., *Nor'Wester*

2 McGee's outspoken attack on Fenianism in his address, "The Irish in Canada, The Importation of Fenianism," delivered to the St. Patrick's Society in Montréal on January 11, 1865, is published in McGee (1865). See also McGee (1866).

3 This essay may be regarded as an elaboration of a theme which the author introduced in Plate 58 of Volume 2 of the Historical Atlas of Canada (Goheen, 1993). In the Atlas the funeral procession was treated as a type of parade staged in nineteenth-century Canada. The aim here is to focus on the process of mobilizing and expressing public opinion, and of organizing and staging the grand public rituals that the citizenry across the nation decided to enact to honour the occasion and themselves. The significance of the Montreal parade is to be understood in relation to the larger scenario of which it was a significant highlight.

4 In Winnipeg, where a paper shortage caused a delay in publication, the story appeared in the *Nor'Wester* in its May 23, 1868 issue.

5 The power of public rituals to sacralize the causes which they are staged to support is discussed by Avner Ben-Amos in his articles on state funerals in the French Third Republic. See: Ben-Amos (1989) and (1991).

6 Rituals such as those discussed in this paper were a well practiced feature of popular culture. They can serve, as Lawrence Levine remarks, to rescue people from the historical condescension which has "reduced [them] to uncritical, acquiescent ciphers" (Levine, 1992, p. 1380). As Eugen Weber has remarked, they are a boon for "the inarticulate" (Weber, 1976, p. 379).

7 The idea of a public arose from the ability of a collectivity to establish its identity through collective action in the community. The performance of public rituals was important: it "affirmed...[what] might otherwise only have an ambiguous social existence" (Chaney, 1986, p. 248).

8 This sentiment was not uncommonly expressed by newspaper editors commenting on their town's observance of the occasion. It nicely illustrates the point that ritual can powerfully reaffirm the solidarity of local communities (Storch, 1982).

9 Editors issued "Extra" editions of their papers when demand for news of developing stories was particularly intense. According to a report of Tuesday, April 7 filed by the Montreal correspondent of the *Quebec Daily Mercury*, Montreal newspapers "are publishing editions every half hour, which are read with avidity" (*Quebec Daily Mercury*, April 8, 1868). In his edition of Wednesday, April 8, 1868 the editor of the Montreal *Gazette* reported that on Tuesday 9,000 impressions of his paper had been sold, a number "quite unprecedented in the sale of any Montreal paper." The Hamilton *Daily Spectator* of Tuesday, 14 April, 1868 carried an announcement of an Extra edition issued on that date in order to discuss Monday's public meeting, the city's principal tribute to McGee. "Extras" appear not to have been saved by the publishers, and readers are informed of their existence only by mention in subsequent regular editions which often contained synopses of their contents.

10 The sermons preached in Montreal at the masses celebrated for McGee were printed in that city's newspapers and widely reprinted from those sources in papers across Canada. The sermons preached in L'Orignal and Halifax were also issued as pamphlets, a sign of the great interest evidenced in what was said on these occasions. See [Dawson] [1868] and [Connolly] (1868).

11 Public rituals in the streets of Canada's cities in the mid-nineteenth century, including McGee's funeral in Montréal, are briefly discussed in Goheen (1993).

12 These nineteenth-century words illustrate beautifully a point that Victor Turner makes in his study on ritual: that when successful it temporarily liberates the particpants from their normal status and roles. He refers to is as an "ecstatic experience" (Turner, 1974, Chapter 5).

13 Ceremony is intended to offer "an image of how things should be, of order and harmony," according to Skorupski (1976, p. 91).

14 The crisis was not just the murder of a leading politician, but more especially the perceived threat of Fenian interference in the life of the new country. This was clear in the way the press treated the trial of the accused assassin, and in the extensive discussion of the Fenian threat following McGee's death.

15 Suzanne Desan has forcefully articulated the "pivotal role of the community in forging notions of legitimacy and justice" in her analysis of the treatment of ritual in the work of E.P. Thompson and Natalie Davis (Desan, 1989, p. 70).

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AN ENDURING MYTHOLOGY: THE PROPRIETARY BURDEN IN PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND*

Matthew G. Hatvany

Postdoctoral Fellow, Laboratoire de géographie historique / Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises, Université Laval

The place was new, the roads were few,
The people lived content,
The landlords came, their fields to claim;
Each settler must pay rent.
So now you see the tyranny that drove us to exile
Begin again across the main upon Prince Edward Isle.[1]

James H. Fitzgerald

Introduction

Sentiments such as those expressed in the above stanza, written by an Island schoolteacher in the late 1860s, were and are common in Prince Edward Island — but what was the tyranny that this popular verse and almost two hundred years of Island historiography speak about? This study is intended to challenge the prevailing perception that life within the proprietary system of Prince Edward Island was tyrannous and often an overwhelming burden for the tenantry. The aim of the thesis is not to promote a concept that the leasehold tenure system of Prince Edward Island was beneficial in some manner, but to argue that landlords and the proprietary system were not as onerous a burden to the tenantry as they have often been portrayed. Central to this analysis is the concept that all families were not influenced equally by the proprietary system, and that leasehold tenure was not the sole cause of distress faced by much of the tenantry in the colonial period. Instead, the impact of leasehold tenure on early farm families must be seen as only a partial factor that influenced the daily socio-economic well-being of the majority of the Island's tenantry.

It must be emphasized that farm families were the basic units of production in early Prince Edward Island. Therefore, if the burden of the proprietary system is to be understood, the researcher must go beyond political and anecdotal histories — beyond statute books, government correspondence, and newspaper editorials — and look to a systematic economic and geographical analysis of the landscape and the majority of people (rural farming families) who lived upon that land. Such a fundamental break with past Island historiography forces new questions to be asked, neglected documents to be opened, and old documents to be examined in a new light.[2]

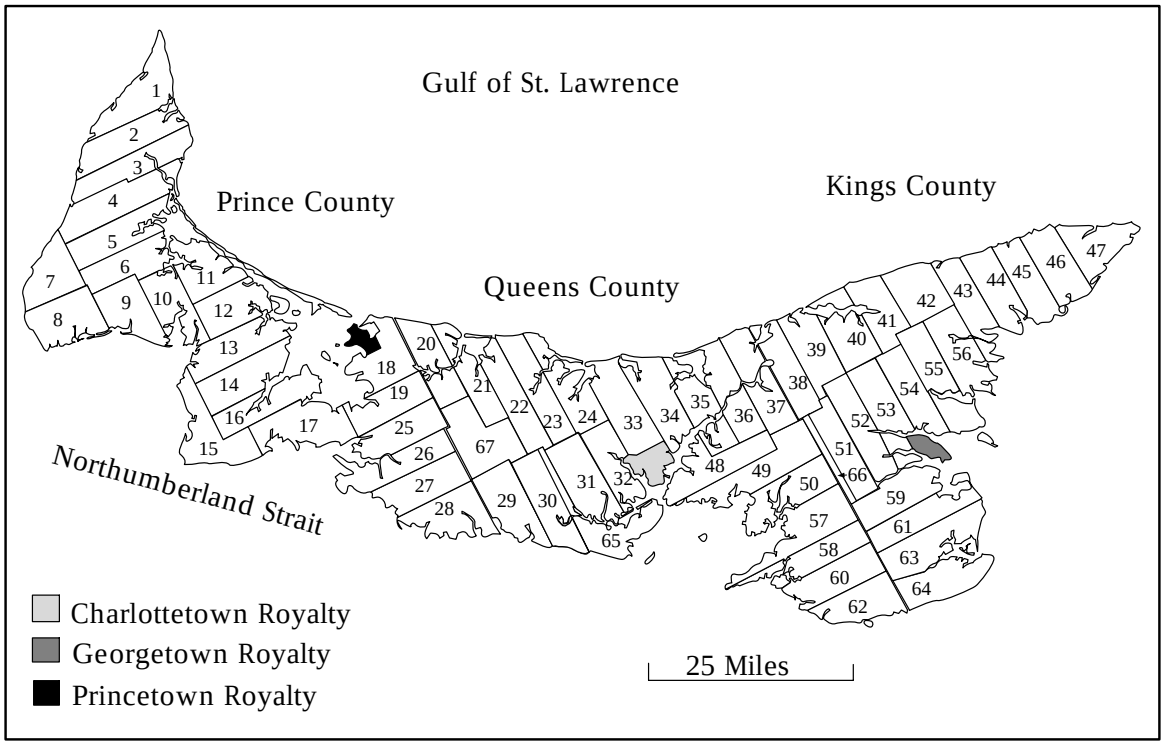
The Proprietary System

The distinctive hallmark of early Prince Edward Island was the granting of the colony to a small number of proprietors in 1767, establishing an "Old World" system of leasehold tenure that persisted until 1875 (Figure 1). In a continent where freehold tenure was popularly regarded as the norm, Island historians created an enduring mythology of the proprietary period as an epoch dominated by "bad," wealthy, absentee proprietors who neglected while exploiting their property and "good," poor, resident tenants whose progress was hamstrung by the burden of the leasehold tenure system.[3]

Just as Island historians have been recently discovering that the proprietors were not uniformly "bad" (in any sense of the word), or even always "absentee," so our view of the tenantry needs to be revised.[4] All tenants were not equally "poor" and repressed as frequently implied, and the leasehold system was not an overwhelming burden for every farm family. While much is known about the importation of a "feudalistic" land tenure structure to Prince Edward Island, and the continuous political discord surrounding the maintenance of that system, much less is known about the actual impact of the system on the tenantry.[5] For the historical geographer interested in the relationship between people and place, the proprietary system is yet an open subject for analysis. Significant questions remain to be answered, including: how hard was it for a tenant to pay rent? What was the nature of the lease? And, what factors influenced the ability of the tenant to pay the rent?

Much of the current understanding of the weight of the proprietary system on the tenantry is based on impressionistic evidence gleaned from the land investigations of 1860 and 1875.[6] While the government reports which followed these investigations were reasonably fair, presenting both sympathetic and uncharitable views of the proprietary system, it was the impressionistic "quotable quotes and memorable passages" of those discontented voices that castigated the system as exploitative and oppressive that were perpetuated in the historiography.[7] This emphasis on the voice of the

Figure 1
Division under the proprietary system into sixty-seven lots of approximately 20,000 acres each, Prince Edward Island



discontented is a problem of primary and secondary historical sources for the researcher. Unlike the disillusioned rural elements that frequently received the attention of the media and government correspondence because of their overt opposition to the leasehold tenure system, the voices of the content were often unrecorded because of their silence. Yet, as will be illustrated, a closer and more rigorous examination of the weight of the proprietary system indicates that leasehold tenure was burdensome for only a minority of the tenantry.

The Lease

Regarding the many constituent parts that made up the proprietary system, the lease was the most integral legal component upon which all other aspects of the system operated. Since proprietors possessed virtually all of the land in early Prince Edward Island, no colonist could lawfully settle on an estate without first receiving a lease. The main function of the lease was to provide legal security to both the landlord and the tenant. In theory, the lease guaranteed the landlord a revenue from the estate while for the tenant it provided security from arbitrary ejection provided the rent was regularly paid.

For the tenant, the duration of the lease was one of the most significant aspects of the proprietary system. Late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century leases in the Island often ranged for periods from 99 to 3,000 years in duration.[8] The late eighteenth century was an era in the British Isles when the forces of commercialization were increasing tenant obligations under the lease, while leases remained relatively short.[9] The security of the simplistic long-term leases offered in the early decades of settlement by many Prince Edward Island proprietors, therefore, served as an inducement to attract immigrants to settle and populate their estates with the promise of, in effect, a lease in perpetuity.

As the colonization of Prince Edward Island advanced during the nineteenth century, and the difficulty of obtaining tenants lessened, some proprietors began issuing leases of shorter duration to later settlers. Anxiety was often the result for tenants who received leases of short duration. Families with short leases who invested the considerable labor and capital outlay, and spent the estimated twenty years necessary to improve and bring forested land into production, often feared that they would be forced to re-negotiate their contract at a higher rent at the end of the lease, or forfeit their farm and improvements.[10] This was a reasonable concern since no legal provision existed for compensating evicted tenants until the late nineteenth century.[11]

Yet tenant farm families with short leases were a small minority of all leaseholders in Prince Edward Island (Table 1). In 1834, slightly more than half of all estate holders on the Island offered "leases in perpetuity" (999 years or more in duration).[12] The remainder of proprietors leased land at durations varying from tenant-at-will to periods of hundreds of years. According to the census of 1841, the earliest record to provide information regarding the status of lease duration for the entire island, more than three-fourths of all tenants possessed leases in perpetuity, while only about seventeen percent held leases for durations of one hundred or less years.[13]

Table 1
Duration of Leases in 1841

Lease Holders	Duration of Lease	Percentage
1733	999 or more years	75.8%
153	100-999 years	6.7%
216	50-100 years	9.5%
199	30- 50 years	5.6%
55	30 or less years	2.4%
2286 Total		Total 100.0%

Source: Census of 1841, in Prince Edward Island, *Journals of the House of Assembly,* 1842, Appendix N.

Such data illustrate that the proprietary system, in regards to the lease, did not influence all tenants uniformly across Prince Edward Island. Yet only for a minority of the tenantry during the first half of the nineteenth-century was the duration of the lease a substantial cause for anxiety. For the remainder, the ability to meet the rental payment guaranteed a secure tenure from hundreds of years to "perpetuity."

The Rental Payment

The exaction of rent by landlords represented one of the more important mechanisms of wealth transfer from the Island's agricultural producers to the elite classes. In 1841 the majority of leases in Prince Edward Island (approximately eighty-five percent) rented land at one shilling per acre, while only fourteen percent stipulated a higher rent (Table 2). Since the standard Prince Edward Island farm averaged one-hundred acres, five pounds was the annual rental payment made by the majority of the tenantry.[14] Yet such data are of little significance unless the value of one shilling per acre is determined.

Placed in the temporal context of early Prince Edward Island, the annual rental payment of £5 for a one-hundred acre farm equaled the value of one steer or cow — "a rent inconceivably small," as one Irish commentator observed, "to one coming from a country where the rent per acre is twenty times, thirty times, even fifty times, nay, in some instances, nearly one hundred times greater. "[15] Yet in order to meet the annual rental obligation, tenant farm families had to establish a productive capacity beyond mere subsistence. In other words, surplus production was necessary to permit settlers to purchase scarce goods not produced on the farm, and also to pay the annual rental obligation. For families settling on heavily forested estates (land which often took at least one generation to clear, stump, and fence, in addition to the time necessary to raise sufficient money to purchase tools, livestock, seed, and errect buildings), proprietary leases usually recognized that time, labor, and capital input were necessary for a farm to be brought into a state of improvement productive enough to support the tenant's subsistence needs and pay the rental obligation.[16] On many estates, therefore, the amount of rent initially paid by the tenantry was graduated over a variable period of time from nothing in the first year(s) to the full amount in about three to seven years.[17]

Some contemporary observers believed that contrary to the system of downpayment and mortgage that existed in many areas of freehold tenure in North America, the graduated rental system of Prince Edward Island was beneficial to the colonist, and allowed the poor without capital to settle a farm without running into debt by having to make an immediate downpayment or mortgage payments while simultaneously attempting to improve the land.[18] The productive capacity of the farm, and the ability of the farm family to produce a surplus, are perhaps the best ways of measuring the weight of the proprietary system on the tenantry.[19] For those families capable of producing a sizable surplus after their first few years in the Island, the burden of the proprietary system was much less considerable than for those marginal farmers who struggled just to meet subsistence needs.

Table 2
Rental Rates, 1841

Lease Holders	Rent in Sterling Per Acre	Percentage
46	6d. And under	1.9%
2050	6d. To 1s.	84.1%
341	1s. To 2s.	14.0%
2437 Total		Total: 100.0%

Source: Census of 1841, in Prince Edward Island, *Journals of the House of Assembly,* 1842, Appendix N.

But how is individual farm productivity determined from aggregate census data? There are a number of approaches, but one of the simplest is a model developed by A.R. MacNeil for Nova Scotia.[20] By compiling data for individual farms on one of the most significant components of the agrarian economy, the number of improved acres available, it is possible to roughly estimate individual farm production and surplus capabilities.[21] MacNeil's model indicates that farms with less than ten improved acres are hard pressed to provide a subsistence. Families with ten to twenty-nine improved acres are capable of providing a subsistence. Farms with thirty to forty-nine improved acres can produce a marketable surplus; and farms with fifty or more improved acres are able to produce a considerable surplus. Using this criteria, it is possible to develop a concept of the percentage of Island farms that were capable of producing a surplus adequate to meet the annual rent payment, and those farms which would have, in all likelihood, experienced difficulty.

These criteria were applied to the farms of Lots 34, 31, and 30 in 1841. These lots were chosen as samples for analysis because of their approximation of differing social, economic, and topographical conditions across the Island.[22] According to Table 3, it is readily apparent that the ability to produce a surplus not only differed between tenant farm families on the same estate, but also differed widely between tenants in different estates in separate locations.

Census data illustrate that in these lots about half the farm families (47.4%) were capable of producing a marketable surplus to meet their rent and other off-farm needs. About one-third (35.3%) had the ability to meet their household needs, but would have experienced difficulty generating a surplus. And finally, about one-fifth (17.3%) were hard pressed to produce a subsistence, and would have experienced significant difficulty either paying rent or purchasing goods not produced within the household economy.

While the data provided here are not a comprehensive description of rural productivity, they do illustrate that substantial productive variations existed between tenant farm families. For almost half of all the farm families on these lots who possessed over thirty improved acres, the annual rental payment was much less of a burden than it was for the marginal one-fifth of the families who farmed less than ten arable acres.

The Monetary Burden

The weight of the rental payment varied from year to year according to the outcome of the harvest. A bountiful season eased the difficulty of paying the rent, while a crop failure substantially increased the burden of attempting to meet financial obligations. It must be recognized that agriculture made up the largest component of the Island's nineteenth-century pre-industrial economy,[23] and the ability to pay the rent often varied decisively with the outcome of the harvest, especially for those farmers for whom the margin of difference between subsistence and commodity production was slight.[24] For other farmers, the quality of their soil dramatically influenced their ability to pay the rent. Despite the timing of settlement and area of location, the rent on many estates throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries remained fixed even though topographical variations, access to markets, and soil fertility on estates — and even on individual farms — varied substantially. Hence the burden of paying rent varied decisevely for farm families depending on their farm's location on an estate (Figure 2).[25] Beside the vagaries in harvest yields because of numerous factors including soil fertility, blight, and early and late frosts among others, even in a good season tenant families still had to find an outlet — a market — for their surplus production in order to convert their commodity production to the cash needed to pay their rental obligations.

Table 3
Productive Capacity of Farms

Lot 34, 1841

Improved Acres	Farms	Percentage
0- 9	22	10.2%
10-29	77	35.8%
30-49	74	34.4%
More than 50	42	19.6%
	Total 215	Total 100.0%

Lot 31, 1841

Improved Acres	Farms	Percentage
0- 9	12	21.0%
10-29	25	43.9%
30-49	20	35.1%
More than 50	0	0.0%
	Total 57	100.0%

Lot 30, 1841

Improved Acres	Farms	Percentage
0- 9	20	47.6%
10-29	9	21.4%
30-49	10	23.8%
More than 50	3	7.2%
	Total 42	Total 100.0%

Source: Census of 1841, individual enumerations for Lot 34, 31, and 30, microfilm, PARO.

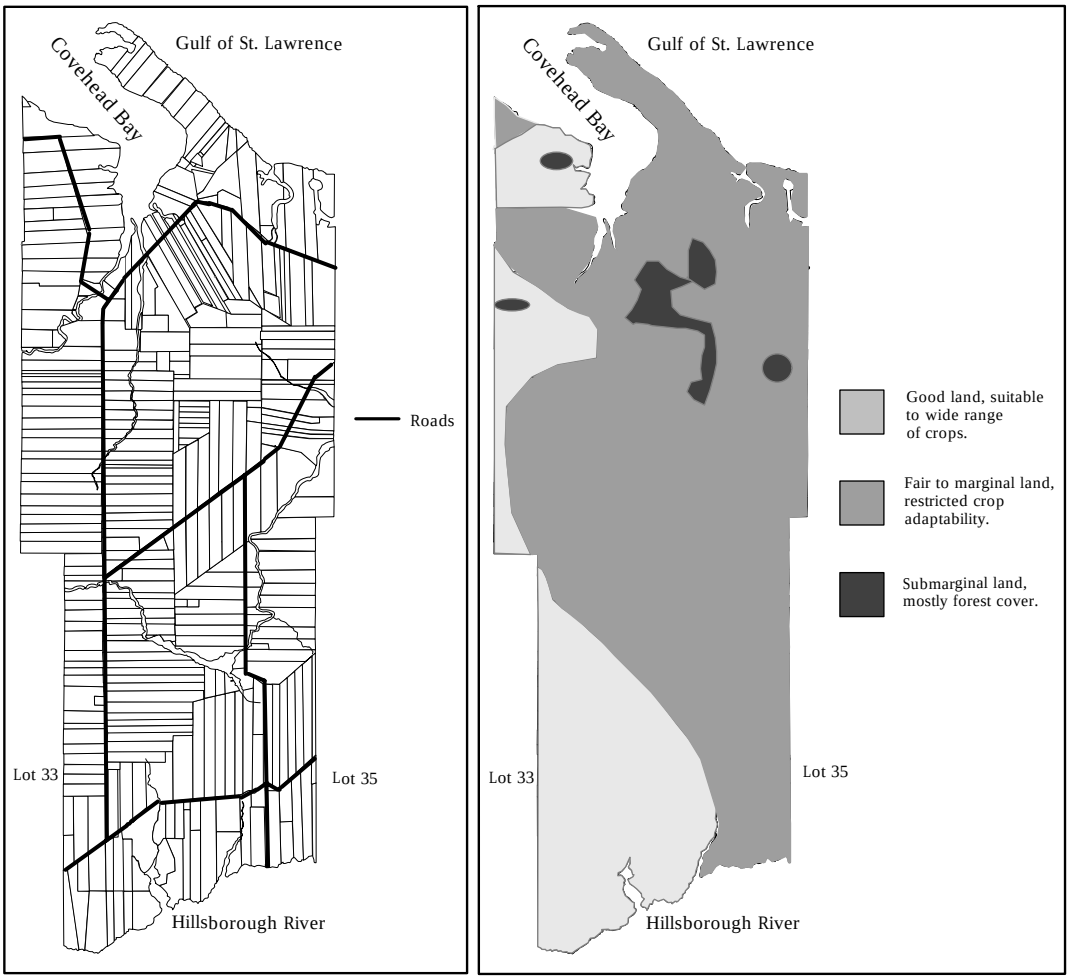
Island historiography often leaves the impression that the tenantry, at least prior to the mid-nineteenth century, was subsistence oriented and immune (or isolated) from domestic, regional, and international market fluctuations. Yet other than through off-farm laboring opportunities, it must be recognized that the market place was the primary means by which cash and goods made their way into the countryside in payment for various articles of farm produce.[26] While domestic outlets for agricultural produce were at times remunerative, it was the markets found in the staples timber and fish producing communities and urban areas of the Atlantic Region that served as the chief outlets for the commodity production of Prince Edward Island farms (Figure 3).[27]

When demand for agricultural produce in regional markets was substantial, the burden of paying rent was lessened. But when demand for agricultural produce in these markets was negligible, the impact could be devastating to Island farmers, and make the ability to obtain money to pay rent difficult if not impossible.[28] Because of frequent fluctuations in harvest yields and market demands during the first half of the nineteenth century, most proprietors could not be absolutely rigid with tenants regarding the promptness or manner of rent payment. To alleviate the shortage of cash in the countryside when markets were unavailable or not remunerative, many proprietors (but certainly not all) often accepted at their own risk and trouble the payment of rent in kind (i.e., produce).[29] After accepting payment in kind, it was incumbent upon the landlord to "find a convenient market to enable the tenantry to keep their rent paid up."[30]

The Proprietors' Perspective

It seems clear from the manner in which surplus crops were harvested, marketed, and converted to cash that the burden of rental obligations for the tenantry varied greatly as a result of numerous economic and environmental factors. Yet from the point of view of the proprietor, because of these and other contingencies, the annual rental revenues on Island estates were never close to what was actually due. Before taxes and administrative costs, an estate of 20,000 acres could be expected during the mid

Figure 2
Individual farm tracts and soil differences on Lot 34, 19th century



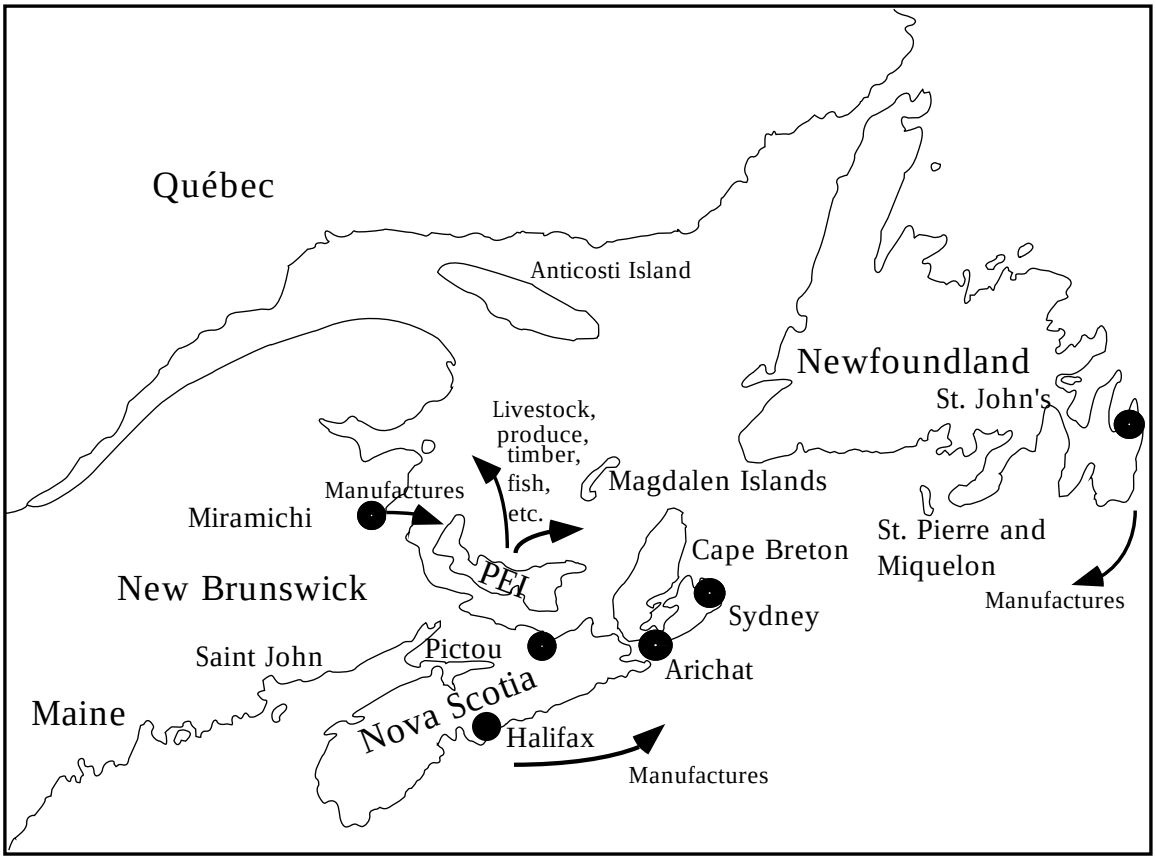
Source: MacDougall, The Soils of Prince Edward Island; Maps, PARO 4093F, 4094F.

1800s to annually generate in rents alone from £270 to £1,000 depending on the number of tenants on the estate.[31] But it was difficult for the proprietor to actually collect this full amount.

During times of frequent economic crisis and harvest failure, such as those experienced in the late 1820s and 1830s, rent arrears on Island estates increased dramatically.[32] The explanation behind these arrears seems to have been partially an inability by many tenants to meet their obligations because of harvest and market failures, and also the flooding of the colony at this time by many impoverished immigrants from the Highlands of Scotland and southern Ireland without adequate capital to begin the settlement process.[33] However, an unwillingness to pay on the part of those who held that a general escheat (a government redistribution of the land from the proprietors to the tenantry as a result of tenant agitation) was imminent, and those who believed it was not worthwhile for the proprietor to take legal action to recover small debts, also contributed to arrears of rent.[34]

Not only did proprietors rarely derive the full rental revenues from their estates, but the actual cost of collecting the rent was an expensive and difficult affair. In order to collect the rental obligations, a land agent was usually retained for fees sometimes equaling ten percent or more of total rental revenues.[35] However, finding competent and honest land agents to administer affairs on estates, without abusing their power of attorney, was difficult if not virtually impossible. On numerous occasions in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century the land agent, often through less than honest means, profited more from the revenues generated from an estate than did the proprietor.[36] Obviously, the role of the proprietor was not just a matter of annually spending a few days in collecting the rental obligations, but was a far more complex affair than is often presented.

Figure 3
Principal ports for Prince Edward Island exports, and origins of manufactured imports



Source: Quantitative study of Ship Index, 1815-1848, PARO.

The Lease and Rental Burden

An historical and geographical examination of the burden of the lease and rental obligation, the main mechanisms that constituted the leasehold tenure system in Prince Edward Island, demonstrates that sweeping generalizations based on political commentary and impressionistic evidence about the burden of the proprietary system on the tenantry are inadequate, and do not sufficiently show the territorial relationship between people and place within the proprietary land structure. Clearly, the proprietary system's economic impact on tenant farm families varied considerably as a result of many factors. Yet aside from the psychological factor of leasehold tenure in a New World where freehold tenure was popularly regarded as the norm (another problem that has yet to be adequately addressed by historians),[37] for the majority of the Island's tenantry the impact of lease duration and rental payments was only partially responsible for determining the well-being of the colony's nineteenth-century farm families. Once this inconoclastic fact is recognized, it is necessary to move beyond the myth of the proprietary burden as the sole factor influencing tenant prosperity, and begin exploring other significant, yet neglected, socio-economic factors that influenced rural well-being in the Island's early history.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

* This paper is drawn from my larger study, "Tenant, Landlord, and the New Middle Class: Settlement, Society, and Economy in Early Prince Edward Island, 1798-1848" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Maine, 1996).

1 Stanza credited to James H. Fitzgerald. The author, date of origin, and specific lines of the poem are the subject of debate and readers should see John Cousins, "The Irish of Lot Seven," *Abegweit Review* 4,1 (1983): 34-40; Cousins, "James H. Fitzgerald and Prince Edward Island, Adieu," *The Island Magazine* 8 (1980): 27-31; and Edward D. Ives, *Lawrence Doyle: The Farmer Poet of Prince Edward Island, A Study in Local Songmaking* (Orono: University of Maine Press, 1971), 61-86.

2 The methodology utilized here focuses on micro-socioeconomic differentiation that is often missed in broader analyses. For instance, Andrew Hill Clark's groundbreaking historical geography of Prince Edward Island was significant for its depiction of the colony's changing cultural, demographic, and economic patterns, yet because of its reliance on aggregate census data, issues of local differentiation, and the meaning of such differentiation are neglected. See Clark, *Three Centuries and the Island: An Historical Geography of Settlement and Agriculture in Prince Edward Island, Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1959).

3 See for instance the interpretation given by Lord Durham (1839) about the Island's proprietary system in Charles Lucas, ed., *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* vol. II (New York: Augustus M. Kelley, reprint 1970), 212; and for a more recent example see David Weale and Harry Baglole, *The Island and Confederation: The End of An Era* (Summerside: Williams and Crue, 1973). Baglole raises the question of the weight of the proprietary system on the Island's tenantry, but he provides no answer to the query in "The Land Question," in Harry Baglole, ed., *Exploring Island History: A Guide to the Historical Resources of Prince Edward Island* (Belfast: Ragweed Press, 1977), 78. Ian Ross Robertson provides an exemplary description of the characteristics of the leasehold system in Robertson, ed., *The Prince Edward Island Land Commission of 1860* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1988) - unfortunately, the brevity of his analysis leaves many aspects of the system and its burden unanswered.

4 For an example of the revisionary trend taking place in the understanding of the role of the proprietors see Harry Baglole, "A Reassessment of the Role of Absentee Proprietors in Prince Edward Island History" (Graduate paper, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1970), paper in possession of the author; J.M. Bumsted, *Land, Settlement, and Politics on Eighteenth-Century Prince Edward Island* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1987); and Deborah Stewart, "Robert Bruce Stewart and the Land Question," *The Island Magazine* 21 (1987): 3-11.

5 See for example F.W.P. Bolger, ed., *Canada's Smallest Province: A History of P.E.I.* (Charlottetown: 1973 Centennial Commission, 1973).

6 Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860;* and P.S. McGowan, *Report of the Proceedings Before the Commissioners Appointed Under the Provisions of the Land Purchase Act, 1875* (Charlottetown: 1876).

7 Baglole, "A Reassessment of the Role of Absentee Proprietors," 4-5.

8 For examples of lease lengths see the Montgomery Estate Rental agreements, which were usually for 999 years, Public Archives and Records Office of Prince Edward Island (hereafter PARO) 2810/266-; and see an account of the length of leases on the Seymour Estate, Seymour of Wragley Papers, Warwick County Record Office, England (hereafter WCRO), CR 114A/566, Reel 102.

9 For insight into the changing obligations and duration of the lease in the Scottish Highlands see J.M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance: Highland Emigration to British North America* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 1982), 4-7; for Ireland see Kerby A. Miller, *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1985), 30; for England see Michael Turner, *Enclosures in Britain, 1750-1830* (London: Macmillan Press, 1984).

10 See the memorial of the tenantry of Lot 22 to the land commissioners, and comments by the Hon. D. Montgomery to the land commissioners, in Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860,* 46, 99-100.

11 See McGowan, *Report of the Land Purchase Act, 1875,* 354.

12 Return of Township Lands, 1834, Colonial Office Papers (hereafter CO) 226/54/267-269.

13 Census of 1841, in Prince Edward Island, *Journals of the House of Assembly,* 1842, Appendix N.

14 Regarding one shilling per acre as the average Island rental price, and the average farm rental as one-hundred acres, see the census of 1841; and see also "Memorandum and State of the Rents," Montgomery Papers, Scottish Record Office (hereafter SRO) GD 293/2/17; MacDonald Estate Papers, PARO 2664/1-159; Montgomery Estate rental agreements, PARO 2810/266-; Rental agreements for Lot 13, in Seymour of Wragley Papers, WCRO 114A/566; Robert Stewart Letter Books, rent ledger for Lot 47, PARO 2989/2; and Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860,* xii.

15 John Francis Maguire, *The Irish in America* (Montreal: D. & J. Sadlier, 1868), 38; see also the remarks by Vincent Bell before a committee of the House of Assembly in *Public Documents on Various Subjects Connected with the Interests of Prince Edward Island Ordered by the House of Assembly to be Printed April 23rd., 1841* (Charlottetown: Cooper & Bremner, 1841), 75-76.

16 Statistical analysis indicates that the forest clearance rate for the average farm was less than two acres per year, indicating that almost twenty years was necessary before a farm could be brought into substantial productivity. See "Capitalization of the Family Farm," in Hatvany, "Tenant, Landlord, and the New Middle Class," 134-170.

17 See for example the 1771 lease of Ewan and Donald MacEachern on the MacDonald Estate, MacDonald Papers, PARO 2664/70; see also "Memorandum and State of Rents," Montgomery Papers, SRO GD 293/2/17.

18 This is an important consideration, especially when there are numerous cases of capital-poor settlers in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick losing the freehold land they attempted to farm because of the inability to afford the downpayment or pay the mortgage. See Alexander Munro, *New Brunswick; With a Brief Outline of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island. Their History, Civil Divisions, Geography, and Productions* (Halifax: Richard Nugent, 1855), 355.

19 James T. Lemon, "Household Consumption in the Eighteenth Century and its Relationship to Production and Trade: The Situation among Farmers in Southeastern Pennsylvania," *Agricultural History* 41 (January 1967), 59-70; Allan Greer, *Peasant, Lord, and Merchant: Rural Society in Three Quebec Parishes, 1740-1840* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 134-135.

20 A.R. MacNeil, "Mobility and Rural Society in Annapolis Township, Nova Scotia, 1760-1861," in Donald H. Akenson, ed., *Canadian Papers in Rural History* 9 (Gananoque, Ontario: Langdale Press, 1994): 251-252; see also the methodology utilized by Bettye Hobbs Pruitt to determine individual farm productivity in "Self-Sufficiency and the Agricultural Economy of Eighteenth-Century Massachusetts," *William and Mary Quarterly* 41 (1984): 358.

21 My reliance on improved land as an economic indicator is derived from MacNeil, "Mobility and Rural Society," and Thomas Purvis, "Economic Diversification and Labour Utilization Among the Rural Elite of the British Mid-Atlantic Colonies: A Case Study from the Delaware Valley," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 19, 37 (1986): 62-63.

22 Regarding the differing soil qualities of lots in the Island see the county soil maps of Kings, Queens, and Prince in G.B. Whiteside, *Soil Survey of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: Experimental Farms Service, 1950).

23 While agricultural products were not the Island's largest remunerative exports in the nineteenth century (usually the combined value of ships and timber were), it was the largest capitalized industry (in the form of individual farms) upon which the majority of Islanders were dependent to meet their subsistence and market needs.

24 Regarding the importance of the harvest to economic well-being see John D. Post, *The Last Great Subsistence Crisis in the Western World* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1977), 141-143.

25 See for instance the testaments of Vincent Bell, *Public Documents on Various Subjects,* 75-76; and Michael Lacey, quoted in Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860,* 116; and see J. I. MacDougall, C. Veer, and F. Wilson, *The Soils of Prince Edward Island. Preliminary Report of the Soil Survey of Prince Edward Island* (Ottawa: Canada Department of Agriculture, 1981).

26 See an editorial on the role of the market in converting surplus produce to cash and goods in *The Prince Edward Islander,* October 27, 1843.

27 Prince Edward Island's role as a supplier of agricultural produce for the larger Atlantic region in the early nineteenth century is well-illustrated in Plates 12 and 15 of R. Louis Gentilcore, ed., *Historical Atlas of Canada* II (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993).

28 Regarding market fluctuations and their impact see "Commerce and Mercantile-Capitalist Development," in Hatvany, "Tenant, Landlord, and the New Middle Class," 171-231.

29 For an example of payment in kind in lieu of cash see the Montgomery estate rent ledger (1843-1847), in which tenants gave livestock, hay, produce, and labor in exchange for their rental payments, PARO RG 15, 1502. See also the numerous advertisements in Island newspapers where proprietors offered to accept payment in kind to satisfy rental obligations.

30 Report of a Select Committee of the Inhabitants of Lot Fifty Six, January 16, 1838, CO 226/56/177-188.

31 These figures are derived from the Rental ledger of Lot 34, 1832-1833, Montgomery Papers, SRO GD 1/409/16; and from information provided by G.W. DeBlois, land agent for the Cunard Estate, in Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860,* 54.

32 See the rental ledger of Lot 34, 1832-1833, Montgomery Papers, SRO GD 1/409/16; See also Montgomery's Lot 34 rental ledger and arrears due for the years 1844-1846, PARO 2810/263.

33 See "Economic Transformations in the Old World and Immigration to the New," in Hatvany, "Tenant, Landlord, and the New Middle Class," 103-133; Helen Cowan, *British Emigration to British North America: The First Hundred Years* (Toronto: University of Toronto Library, 1928), 179; and Phillip A. Buckner and John G. Reid, eds., *The Atlantic Region to Confederation: A History* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994), 269.

34 Robert Stewart argued that some arrears could be attributed to the fact that "a man who thinks he will get his land for nothing to-morrow will not want to pay up to-day. There is no doubt but that ... the anticipation of [escheat] legislation, have affected the collection of rents," Stewart, quoted in McGowan, *Report of the Land Purchase Act, 1875*, 170; Daniel McDonald of Lot 10 stated to the land commissioners of 1875 that: "I suppose that the reason that the land lord is not paid until the last is because he is not so persevering as the merchants," McGowan, *Report of the Land Purchase Act, 1875*, 195-196. For further information regarding escheat see Rusty Bittermann, "Escheat! Rural Protest on Prince Edward Island, 1832-1842" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of New Brunswick, 1991).

35 G.W. DeBlois, land agent for Samuel Cunard, in Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860*, 54; C. Birch Bagster, *The Progress and Prospects of Prince Edward Island* (Charlottetown: John Ings, 1861), 51-53.

36 For instance, see the comments about the land agents John Hill and H.D. Morpeth in Robertson, *The Land Commission of 1860*, 85, 95. See also Robertson's comments about the role of the land agent in *The Land Commission of 1860*, x-xi.

37 It is another myth that freehold tenure was the norm in North America outside of Prince Edward Island, which fails to recognize the existence of leasehold tenure in the seigneurial system of Quebec, large proprietary estates that existed until the mid-nineteenth century in New York and Maine, and the increasing advent of farm renting in Ontario, western Canada, and the American west in the nineteenth century. Regarding the psychological impact of leasehold tenure on Island farmers, see the brief commentary in Maguire, *The Irish in America*, 38-39; and Ian Ross Robertson, *The Tenant League of Prince Edward Island, 1864-1867: Leasehold Tenure in the New World* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 10, 23, 278-279.

SOLANELL: LIFE AND DEATH IN THE CATALAN PYRENEES

W. George Lovell,

Department of Geography, Queen's University

You must go down the high road which runs south of Urgel until you come, in something over a mile, to Ciudad, which is that hillpile of white houses, once fortified, which rises over against the Cathedral city. There you must ask the way to Castellbó, which is two or three hours away up a torrent bed, and you must go up this torrent bed by way of a road. If you start early from Urgel you will be at Castellbó well before noon, and the hospitality of the place is so great that you will wish to stay there. The mountains here are not very high, well wooded, and fairly inhabited.

Hilaire Belloc, *The Pyrenees* (1909)

Nothing we were told in La Seu d'Urgell prepared us for what we found. Not even in Castellbó, itself long in decline but inhabited still, was our sense of anticipation properly kindled, for signs of life there were apparent, though hardly vibrant. What I knew of abandoned places had to do with mountain regions other than the Pyrenees: in Scotland, on the Isle of Skye, the mute stone ruins of Boreraig, one small community among hundreds gutted and burned to make way for English authority and flocks of sheep; in Guatemala, the militarized landscapes of Huehuetenango and El Quiché, entire areas emptied of people in the name of anti-communism. Where we were headed, the hand of force had not been heavy, but time and circumstance had wrought an equal measure of destruction.

We crossed a bridge at the edge of Castellbó and started to ascend. The car toiled. In front, the dirt road was pot-holed and rutted, a means of access initially hewn for feet and hooves, not rubber tyres. Off to our right the ground fell away steeply. Water murmured far below. We continued upwards until we reached a wide bend, beyond which the huddled shape of Solanell came partly into view. That first, magical glimpse was a rite of passage into a bygone era. I remember saying to my companion, "Let's park and walk the rest," for to take the car any further seemed an unnecessary violation. A nearby clearing beckoned. We parked in the shade of a tree, scaled a slope, and made our way across a field, our approach allowing Solanell to rise like a lost kingdom before us. Its haunted air entered our consciousness slowly, structure by structure, bit by bit. On the outskirts of town a well, no longer cared for, leaked water on to the trail. Our path through the mud soon became a rocky, uneven street. Houses on either side, their windows shattered, their doors broken, their interiors vacant, led up towards the church. We saw no-one, but noticed that sheep roamed freely, moving in and out of dark rooms where once fires were lit, meals cooked, families raised, lives lived. Opposite the church, its Romanesque features not yet dilapidated beyond appreciation, we ate lunch mostly in silence, our enjoyment of bread, cheese, wine, and sun mixed with contemplation of all that surrounded us. On that high summer day, when the Pyrenees were full of people no longer there, the solitude of Solanell became a sadness my heart embraced, a story my curiosity compelled me to explore.

The Setting

Solanell is one of twenty-eight towns in the mountains around the Catalan city of La Seu d'Urgell which, in the course of the last thirty to forty years, have suffered a fate of total depopulation. A dozen or so other towns in the Urgell area are inhabited only part of the year, are populated by *neorurales* fleeing the stress of contemporary urban life, or are occupied in such a precarious fashion that their existence in the year 2000 cannot be guaranteed (Figure 1). Some towns, like Sendes or Tost, lie completely in ruins, their former inhabitants brought back to life only in old photographs (Figures 2 and 3). The state of decay elsewhere, as at Banyeres, Lletó, and Llirt, is less advanced, due in part to their fields still being of some agricultural use, thus allowing passing workers an opportunity to stall the process of collapse. By the end of the century, however, one-third of present agricultural operations (250 out of 750) are likely to disappear, so material upkeep is bound to deteriorate.

Historically, the Catalan Pyrenees have been one of the most dutifully tended regions of Spain. People have lived and farmed in these parts for a long time. Something of a population climax may be said to have occurred during the ninth and tenth centuries, when Arab control of the Iberian peninsula meant

Figure 1
Rural Depopulation in the High Urgell, Catalonia

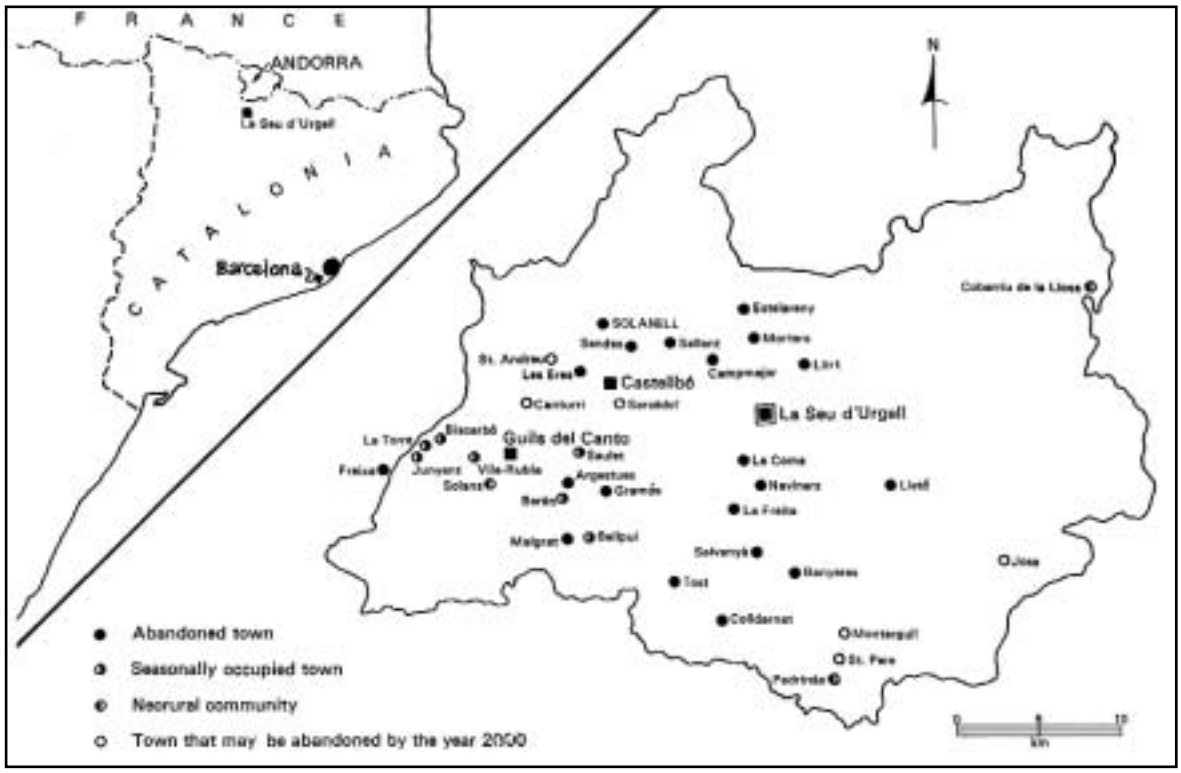


Figure 2
Sendes, c. 1920

Figure 3
Sendes, c. 1950

that Muslim presence in the south exerted tremendous pressure on zones of Christian refuge in the north. This pressure was everywhere reflected in forest clearance, terrace cultivation, and village life at upper elevations turned to only in times of crisis. With the retreat of Muslim influence, pressure was relieved and population levels stabilized, to waver periodically, due to pillage and sickness, until the nineteenth century, when another climax was reached. Around the year 1865, human numbers attained their maximum size, after which decline set in, slowly until about 1950, then sharply from then to the present. For two Urgell valleys, those of Cantó and Castellbó, Table 1 and Table 2 depict the general downward spiral that for Solanell signals extinction, but for all communities drastic attrition or worse.

One of fourteen towns scattered throughout the valley of Castellbó, Solanell lies in the *solana*, or sunny half of the valley, at an elevation of some 1,200 metres. Above it, to the north, rise peaks of more than 2,000 metres. Five kilometres to the south, about four hundred metres below, the town of Castellbó functions still, albeit in modest form, as the valley capital. Towns in the *umbria*, or shady half of the valley, are colder and more humid places to live, but are better endowed in level, cultivable land than their *solana* counterparts.

Land in the *solana*, even to the eye, appears less hospitable, more difficult to work. Soils are thin, rock outcrops common, water scarce. Natural vegetation consists of groves of oak (*Quercus ilex*) broken by extensive scrub in which juniper (*Juniperus communis*), wild rose (*Rosa canina*), and boxwood (*Buxus sempervirens*) spring up at random. Species of introduced pine grow higher up. Along the banks of streams, alders (*Alnus glutinosa*), elms (*Ulmus minor*), poplars (*Populus alba*), and willows (*Salix alba*) do well. In the *solana*, only Albet and Seix, with less than twenty folk between them, are inhabited. Sallent and Sendes, like Solanell, are now deserted, left behind to rot after centuries of continuous occupation.

Solanell has the tragic distinction of being the largest abandoned town in the High Urgell. About thirty houses, together with associated barns, sheds, and threshing areas, constitute the settlement core. It was home to some 180 people not much more than a century ago. Save for one or two exceptions, dwellings both for humans and animals now reflect years of neglect. Roofs have caved in, walls fallen down, whole units become unsafe even to enter (Figure 4). A maze of narrow streets connects one scene of desolation with another. Watering holes and fountains are no longer maintained. Part of the cemetery has subsided, and the church is beginning

Table 1
Population Decline in the Cantó Valley, 1865-1986

Town	1865	1920	1950	1970	1986
Avellanet	100	40	35	18	8
Canturri	32	20	15	6	2
Cassovall	80	55	47	26	11
Pallerols	225	97	68	34	20
Saulet	47	26	26	14	0
Castellás	143	88	56	18	5
Biscarbó	70	35	26	4	0
Junyent	122	82	50	25	0
La Torre	15	?	?	?	0
Guils	250	217	166	46	6
Solans	30	22	17	17	3
Vila-Rubla	131	49	36	25	0
Total	**1255**	**731**	**542**	**233**	**55**

Source: Albert Villaró and Xavier Campillo, *Causas y consequencias del despoblamiento* (La Seu d'Urgell: MAB 6 Alt Pirineu, 1988), p. 14.

Table 2
Population Decline in the Castellbó Valley, 1865-1986

Town	1865	1920	1950	1970	1986
Albet	40	69	63	31	12
Carmeniu	70	32	25	8	2
Castellbó	260	154	153	94	72
Castellnovet	10	?	?	?	?
Les Eres	25	14	14	4	0
Sallent	70	15	37	16	0
Sant Andrew	90	35	32	12	7
Santa Creu	100	39	30	27	19
Sarcédol	10	?	?	?	0
Seix	40	17	19	12	5
Sendes	140	43	32	7	0
Solanell	180	45	34	8	0
Turbiás	50	29	28	9	2
Vilamitjana	210	59	102	44	20
Total	**1195**	**571**	**569**	**282**	**139**

Source: Albert Villaró and Xavier Campillo, *Causas y consequencias del despoblamiento* (La Seu d'Urgell: MAB 6 Alt Pirineu, 1988), p. 14.

to show serious deterioration from the ravages of rain and snow. Resident priests disappeared during the Spanish Civil War, and no school was ever built. Modern conveniences such as piped water and the telephone never arrived. What did arrive was an electricity line, in 1963, years too late to stem the flood of departures.

When Solanell was alive, its inhabitants moved to a very different rhythm than that dictated by vehicular access and indoor plumbing. Like scores of other towns in the Pyrenees, Solanell may be thought of as a casualty of modernity, a way of life swept aside by the values, demands, and priorities of the late twentieth century.

Figure 4
Solanell, viewed approaching from the south, 1996

In the Tradition

For generation after generation, Solanell's ways were the ways of the land. Around and about, the land could be put to six different productive uses. First, in the immediate vicinity of the townsite, families tilled their own agricultural plots, more like large gardens rather than even modest-sized fields. Second, below town, along the banks of brooks and streams, were the best strips for pasture. Third, in closer proximity, livestock grazed a more extensive tract of land, one of lower quality, where thorns and nettles invaded meadows of grass. Fourth, some distance from town, a zone of upland terraces was devoted to cereal cultivation, rye growing better in this thrawn mountain niche than barley or wheat. Fifth, scattered here and scattered there, were forests where wood was cut either for construction, for domestic fuel, for making farm implements and household utensils, or for charcoal. And sixth, high above, lay mountain areas where stone was quarried, animals hunted, berries, herbs, and wild mushrooms gathered. Everything won from the land was won with human labour or the help of draught animals. Few machines, certainly no tractors, were of any practical use in such remote and rugged terrain.

In the unglamorous round of peasant subsistence, self-sufficiency was the goal. Few earned a wage. People worked for themselves, growing their own food and assuming responsibility not just to provide for their families but for their animals as well. Sheep were raised in flocks ranging from perhaps fifty to two hundred head. Donkeys, mules, and horses were far fewer in number. Each family fattened a pig or two, and fed some rabbits and chickens. Milk cows came much later, in the 1950s, bringing with them the difficult challenge of producing something regularly for the world beyond Castellbó. People took part in a market economy only occasionally, dealing with the outside for certain specific transactions, seldom on a daily basis, frequently with barter or payment in kind as the operative means of exchange. Peddlers with miscellaneous wares passed through town from time to time, their mules as often as not laden with contraband goods from Andorra or France. No road, not even one of dirt, broke Solanell's isolation until 1935, though a bridle path linked it to Castellbó and other towns in the valley. People lived much as their forbearers had, within the physical and mental confines of the place in which they were born. La Seu d'Urgell, where a doctor could be fetched, some grain sold, or a relative dispatched to work in a factory in Barcelona, was a different universe three to four hours' walk away.

Abandonment and Decline

Solanell's demise, as that of other dead or dying towns in the Urgell periphery, represents failure to adjust from one mode of being to another. Age-old ways of doing things simply could no longer be sustained when peasant self-sufficiency was penetrated in the 1950s by commercial agriculture. Town numbers had certainly dwindled over the course of the previous century, but the lure of milk production accelerated the process of depopulation considerably. Many families were unable to accumulate enough resources to make the crossover from eclectic producer to specialized supplier of milk. Other families did manage to marshal enough capital to become small-scale dairy farmers. The money they received in return, alas, fell short of the amount needed to secure goods and services they formerly furnished themselves but now had to pay for as part of a new economic order. Only a few savvy folk were able to adapt their land and their lives to the relentless advance of a cash mentality, a mentality insensitive to (and corrosive of) traditional mountain mores.

It would be naïve, however, to lay all blame on the insidious forces of capitalism. Local, decidedly Pyrenean reasons for town abandonment and population decline must also be looked for. In Solanell's case, remoteness, inaccessibility, limited cultivable land, steepness of terrain, shortage of water, and harsh winters when heavy snowfall could result in days or even weeks of isolation – all these factors took their toll. One former inhabitant declared that he and his fellow townsfolk "had to work hard to live poorly," commenting also that every activity "took such an effort. That's why people left."

Difficulties related to the austere environment also affect what social services and infrastructure can reasonably be provided. Solanell, by any contemporary standards, may be said to have endured chronic deficiency in this regard (Table 3). The list of things lacking is seemingly endless, but the absence of a school is particularly noteworthy. Children from Solanell were schooled in Castellbó, an hour or so from Solanell on foot. Having children return home was advantageous, but more than two hours of potential labour was lost in their travelling back and forth each day. Other towns in the region were even more unfortunate, for greater distance between home and school resulted in children being boarded, thus cutting them off from their families during most of the week. The effects of this removal meant systematic socialization to ways other than those of one's parents or grandparents. In school, bonds were formed and interests sparked that might later lead to marriage with a non-local partner or finding employment far from home. Towns like Solanell thus gradually became abodes of old people, places where younger folk were conspicuously few. The manner in which children were schooled, in essence, educated them to leave. Towns without children are destined to die, are half-dead already.

Table 3
Social Services and Infrastructure in the Castellbó Valley

Town	Dirt Road	Paved Road	Electricity	Telephone	Running Water	Indoor Plumbing	School
Albet	1941	---	1963	1973	+	+	Closed 1972
Carmeniu	1941	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Castellbó	1934	1980	1963	1950	+	+	Closed 1978
Castellnovet	1941	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Les Eres	1941	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Sallent	1937	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Sant Andrew	1941	---	1963	1978	+	None	
Santa Creu	1941	---	1963	1987	+	X	None
Sarcédol		1941	---	1963	---	X	None
Seix	1941	---	1963	---	+	X	None
Sendes	1938	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Solanell	1935	---	1963	---	X	X	None
Turbiás	1941	---	1963	---	+	X	None
Vilamitjana	1941	---	1963	1969	+	+	Closed 1967

Source: Albert Villaró and Xavier Campillo, *Causas y consequencias del despoblamiento* (La Seu d'Urgell: MAB 6 Alt Pirineu, 1988), p. 50.

What happened to Solanell must also be placed in the context of economic and political trends affecting Spain and Spanish society as a whole. The development priorities of General Francisco Franco throughout the 1950s and 1960s favoured investment in urban/industrial complexes at the expense of improving the lot of people in rural/agricultural areas. Franco's policies, in mountain communities like those of the High Urgell, at best resulted in stagnation, at worst in progressive disintegration as individuals and entire families left to seek work elsewhere in Catalonia, or even farther a field in Zaragoza or Madrid. Central government decisions to close schools in which at least twenty pupils were still in attendance are remembered by local inhabitants with a bitterness that time has yet to erase. Now, more than two decades after Franco's death, a radically alternative political agenda and an unimagined range of political scenarios certainly prevail. Yet moves to reopen schools where perhaps only five children will be enroled, commendable though they may be, do little to reverse the drift from countryside to city. Catalonia today finds itself aspriring to greater autonomy in a Spain that can no longer be considered the poorest, most needy member of the European Union. But certain consequences of the Franco years continue to be felt, as the fate of Solanell in part attests.

Taking Leave

After lunch we walked around a little more. In the churchyard, amidst a sea of blue and yellow wildflowers, a toppled tombstone carried the inscription "Pere Juliá Guitart, 10-1-1963, als 45 anys." It struck me as symbolic that the only resident of Solanell I would know by name died the year electricity came to town. As we entered the church itself, it was impossible not to feel the need for some kind of prayer (Figure 5). Particles of dust hovered in a shaft of sunlight. Wooden pews lay pushed to the side. A panel on the altar, singular in the extreme, had been painted over with the figure of a skeleton, a perfect visual metaphor (Figure 6). We were there, I realized later, to mourn the loss not of one soul but of many, to acknowledge not the passing of life but the end of an era.

Outside the sky echoed with the sound of birds and crickets. The bells of wandering sheep clanged and clanged monotonously. On our way back to the car, I noticed a fresh pile of dung on the trail, around which flies buzzed in random, frenetic circles. Sheep indicated a human presence, cow dung confirmed it. I suddenly felt that we, the observers, were ourselves being watched, that behind one of the houses we walked past, someone was waiting for us to leave. Not until we were beyond the town

Figure 5
The church at Solanell, 1996

Figure 6
The church altar at Solanell, 1996

perimeter did I hear a door slam and a dog bark. I looked back to see the figure of a man move up a street, then disappear into a barn. We learned next day of an old farmer who returns each summer to pasture sheep and graze a few cows. After our departure, the solitude of Solanell was again exclusively his.

Acknowledgements

The members of the UNESCO program *Man and the Biosphere,* based in La Seu d'Urgell and involved in conducting fourteen different projects related to mountain ecosystems in the High Pyrenees, shared not only pertinent information but also extended the warm hospitality noted by Hilaire Belloc almost a century ago. Three researchers in particular, Albert Villaró, Montserrat Iniasta, and Ramón Ganyet, gave generously of their time and expertise. Mireya Folch-Serra came on the first journey to Solanell with me, one of the most memorable days in our years of association. Brian S. Osborne may not have been with us in person, but was certainly there in spirit. Angels Torrents, of the Universitat Autónoma de Barcelona, deserves special thanks for suggesting that answers to the questions most of concern to us would more profitably be sought in Alt Urgell, not Val d'Aran, where we were originally headed. An earlier version of the paper was presented by Brian S. Osborne at the 8th International Conference of Historical Geographers in Vancouver in 1992. Likewise, two earlier sketches of Solanell appear in print in *The Geographical Review,* Vol. 86, Nº. 2, 1996, pp. 259-269 and *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. 103, Nº. 3, 1996, pp. 562-571. The financial support of the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada allowed Mireya Folch-Serra and myself the opportunity of working in Spain together.

Sources and Commentary

Publications emanating from the *Man and the Biosphere* investigations referred to above contain a wealth of data gathered from meticulous and sensitive fieldwork. Two monographs are especially invaluable: Xavier Campillo, Ramón Ganyet, and Xavier Sanclimens, *La población: evolución reciente, situación actual y prospectiva para el año 2000* (La Seu d'Urgell: MAB 6 Alt Pirineu, 1987) and Albert Villaró and Xavier Campillo, *Causas y consequencias del despoblamiento* (La Seu d' Urgell: MAB 6 Alt Pirineu, 1988). Also useful is Anna Cabré and Isabel Pujades, eds., *Estudi demográfic de la comarca de l'alt Urgell* (Barcelona: Departament de Política Territorial i Obres Públiques, Generalitat de Catalunya, 1985). Issues of cultural continuity and change in the Urgell region form a central focus of Mireya Folch-Serra,

Voices of Place: Dialogical Landscapes in the Catalan Pyrenees (Ph.D. dissertation, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario, Canada, 1990). Gerald Brenan's *South from Granada* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1957) and Alastair Reid's "Notes from a Spanish Village", in *Whereabouts* (San Francisco: North Point Press, 1987), impart a wonderful feeling for rural life elsewhere in Spain. John Berger's *Pig Earth* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980) evokes similar appreciation of peasant life in Alpine France. The "neorural phenomenon" is explored by Joan Nogué i Font in "El fenómeno neorural" *Agricultura y Sociedad*, Vol. 47, 1988, pp. 145-175. A vibrant sense of how peasant life was lived centuries ago on the other side of the Pyrenees not far from Solanell charges Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie's *Montaillou: The Promised Land of Error* (New York: Vintage Books, 1979). Peter Sahlins, in *Boundaries: The Making of France and Spain in the Pyrenees* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), presents a fascinating argument about how local communities in the Cerdanya, a mountain region adjacent to the High Urgell, shaped national agendas as much as they were shaped by them. The story of Boreraig may be found in John Prebble, *The Highland Clearances* (London: Martin Secker and Warburg, 1963). Beyond Skye, Tom Steel's *The Life and Death of St. Kilda* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1975) tells of more recent Scottish depopulation. What happened to Maya Indian communites in Huehuetenango and El Quiché I wrestle with in *A Beauty That Hurts: Life and Death in Guatemala.* (Toronto: Between The Lines, 1995). While contemplating the fate of Solanell I have endeavoured, as much as possible, to listen to the "siren voices" John K. Wright speaks of in "Terrae Incognitae: The Place of the Imagination in Geography," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers,* Vol. 37, No. 1, 1947, pp. 1-15.

LADY ABRAHAM OR MISSING MEMORIES*

Jacques Mathieu,

Titulaire Chaire CEFAN, Université Laval

Once upon a time, there was a great Lady whose name was *Lady Abraham*. She was a real treasure, a lady of quality and power. Her face was traced with gold and diamond. She has been photographed from every angle by amateurs and professionnals. She was a very old Lady, but she was still very attractive. Born in the era of glaciation, her cliffs stood up well, and did not fall. She could not be destroyed by time, and thus she gained immortality. At one time, she was the wife of Monsieur French. But Monsieur British looked upon her for more than 150 years. Possession of her friendship and her qualities symbolized the image of a winner, the queen of the world (Figure 1).

Figure 1
Plan of the City of Quebec, 1775-1776

Source: National Archives of Canada, NMC 59019.

The history of the Plains of Abraham has been so omnipresent in everyone's collective memory that it took more than two hundred years before the need for a history of the site emerged. This long delay seems somehow surprising when we consider the importance of the events that occured on the site and their political, territorial and cultural effects. The highly symbolic role played by the site, its location in Québec — the most francophone city in Canada — its relationship to the ambivalent political position of Quebeckers, and its troublesome meanings in a memory context may explain the lack of research and publication on the site. As in most memory recalls, a time of mourning has been necessary. In fact, much of the early history of the site was realised in a context of crisis. *Recall of Memory*, we should note, is most frequently related to crisis.

Main Memory

First, let us see what we know best about the history of the site. These illustrations represent the landing of the troups of General Wolfe in the night of the 12 to 13 of September 1759, at the bottom of the cliffs of the Plains of Abraham (Figure 2).

Figure 2
Disembarkation of British Troops,
13 September 1759

Source: Archives Nationales du Québec, Collection initiale GH 970-159.

In 1760 and 1761, immediately after the victory, numerous maps representing the British fleet in front of Québec were drawn and published. Many were offered to the governmental authorities or sold to the public (the one below was made by Thomas Jefferies and dedicated to William Pitt) (Figure 3).

* The following is a revised version of an oral and slide presentation made at the closing banquet of the colloquium. For more information see: Jacques Mathieu. *The Search for the Ideal, The Plains of Abraham*, Septentrion, 1991.

Figure 3
View of the siege of Québec

Source: National Archives of Canada.

Figure 4
Death of General Wolfe

Source:National Archives of Canada, C-12248.

Figure 5
Death of General Montcalm

Source: Musée du Québec.

Figure 6
Lady Francia transfers New France to Lady Britannia in 1763

Source:National Archives of Canada.

The death of the two leaders of the armies (General Wolfe on the battlefield, and Montcalm twenty-four hours later) contributed to amplifying the meaning of the battle. Incidently, we may note (in the paintings below) the presence of Indians near Wolfe and their absence near Montcalm, while they were on the French side during the battle (Figure 4, 5).

And finally, we see the cession of New France to Great Britain by Lady Francia to Lady Britannia in 1763. In such crucial moments, we note, royalty and nations are often represented by women (Figure 6).

These representations of the great battle, of the winners and by the winners, were very numerous at that time. We know of only one French rendering of the battle; it is an anonymous one, lost in the archives and of poor quality.

Memory is a self-celebration. It is why like Laurier Lapierre's attempt to make the battle of 1759 the great symbol of Canada is so unrealistic. It is absolutely impossible for French Canada to construct its past and to conceive of its future in a defeat particularly if the defeat was not so evident, as we will now see.

A century later, French representations of the battle began to appear. The most important one, for its historical and esthetical significance, was a painting by Joseph Légaré in 1854 (Figure 7). It shows the victory of the chevalier de Lévis against the troops of Murray, on the same plains in April 1760. In the mid-19th century French Canadians firmly asserted their

Figure 7
French victory at the battle of Sainte-Foy in April 1760

Source: National Gallery of Canada.

origins and their French ancestry. It is at this time that they erected a monument to Jacques Cartier and took part in the rebellions of 1837 and 1838.

Then, the representations of the site began to become ambiguous. In 1852, workers found weapons, cannonballs, and bones buried near the site of the battle. The remains were those of British and French soldiers of 1760. An imposing ceremony was organised. The remains were transfered, received official funerals, and later a monument to the heroes of the two armies was erected.

Other manifestations show the difficulties of reconciling French and English positions regarding the events of the Conquest. In 1880 French Canadians had long prepared to celebrate the day of St. John the Baptist on the 24th of June. It was to be a spectacular event and to have a moving effect on French Canadians. The celebration was intended to attract large crowds, including francophone delegations from the United States. In reaction, the anglophone authorities of the country decided to organise a holiday in the honour of the Queen's birthday, to be held exactly one month before St. John the Baptist Day celebrations. Three thousand militia from Ottawa and Toronto were sent to Québec to participate in a great re-enactment of the battle of 1759. The political meaning of those events did not escape the journalists. The *Canadian Illustrated News* mentioned Victoria Day, but passed silently over the 24th of June; The journal L'*Opinion publique* did just the opposite.

Another commemorative event shows the duality of aspirations with which the site has been invested — the great festivities organised for the inauguration of the site itself. The first intention of Prime Minister Laurier was to combine the inauguration of the park with the opening of the Québec bridge in 1909, a date that would correspond to the 150th anniversary of the battle of the Plains. But the bridge, while under construction, collapsed into the St Laurence River. City officials insisted on holding the ceremony in 1908, at the occasion of the tercentennial anniversary of the founding of Québec. The Governor General of Canada, Lord Grey, supported this second proposal. Grey was an ardent imperialist and his support succeded in presenting Québec as the "cradle of an expanded Great Britain."

Therefore, it was possible to think to the planning of the festivities. In the presence of the Prince of Wales, numerous official guests and a number of British warships met in Québec in July 1908. However, it took the intervention of the Archibishop and the guarantee of the director of the ceremony to convince the French population to participate. They wanted to celebrate the foundation of Québec. Finally, forty-five hundred people were recruited to participate as actors in the great pageant (Figure 8).

Figure 8
Festivities at the inauguration of the Park in 1908

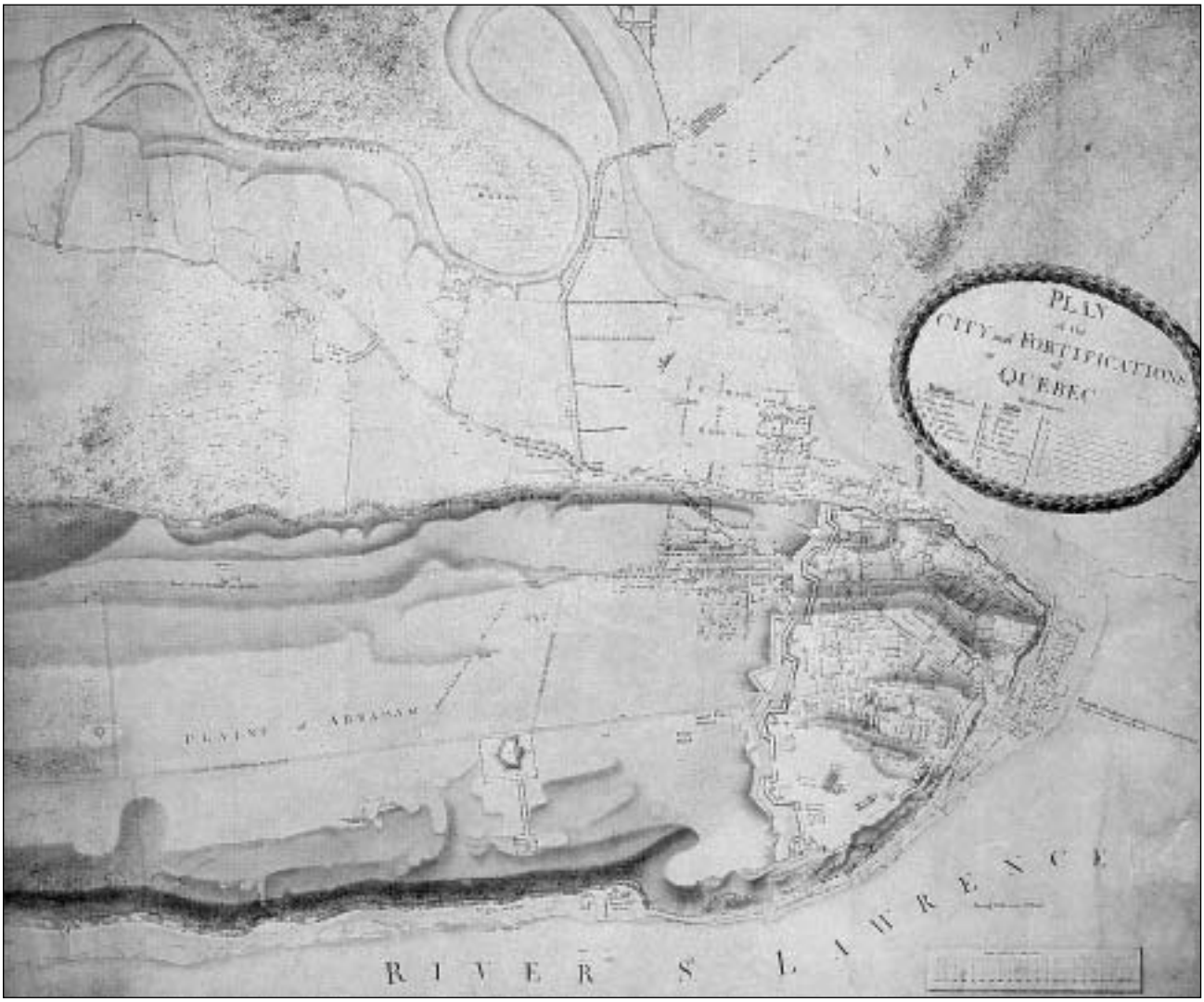
Souce: National battlefield Commission.

Over eight days, different scenes of the French Regime were reconstructed. The last one was a parade where French and British troups marched side-by-side. The words of Lord Grey had been solidified in a symbol of reconciliation and peace.

Those examples clearly indicate how commemoration is not neutral, nor is it purely intellectual or simply nostalgic. On the contrary, the attitudes towards Lady Abraham are loudly charged with ideological meanings and sensibilities, moved on by concrete and living passions.

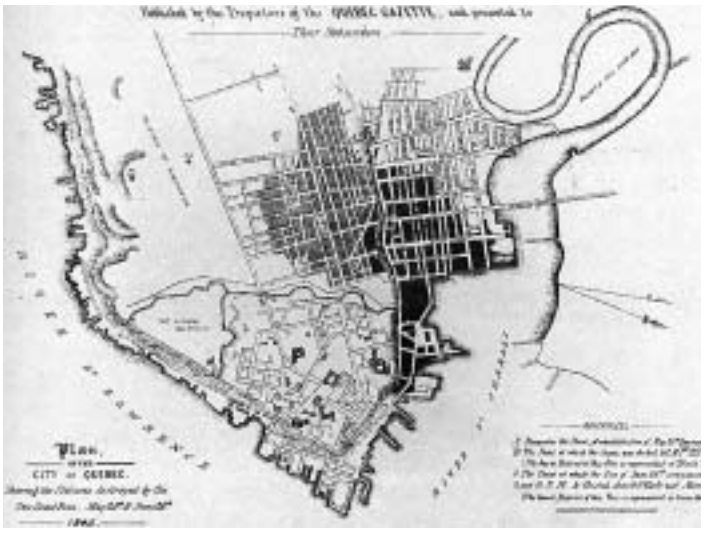
How can an historian introduce rationality into that kind of process? This has come about in two ways. First, historians have written the history of these representations, which are no less real than reality. After that, new facts revealed by the research appear to be of great significance. Indeed, some of these secondary events had more impact than the history of the battles themselves. We will look briefly at some of them.

Figure 9
Town and Fortification of Québec in 1808



Source: National Archives of Canada, C-15722.

Figure 10
Plan of Town of Québec, 1845



Source: National Archives of Canada, C-23558.

Figure 11
Québec in 1871

Source: National Archives of Canada, MNC-62943.

But first, when we talk about the Plains of Abraham, what is the space with which we are really concerned? Here, let me pay tribute to the field of geography, particularly to historical geography. It is to be noted that the Battle of 1759 covered the whole promontory of Québec, from south to north. The actual National Battlefield Park corresponds only to a small part of the site of the battle. In some regards, Lady Abraham seems to have been a little inconsistant. From time to time she has moved in space. From its origins to 1759, she existed only as a "cote," a street, whose name emerged out of popular usage. At the time of the victory, British officers needed to name the place of their victorious battle, and so it was named the *Heights of Abraham*. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, in 1808, the name was still applied to the whole promontory (Figure 9). Yet in 1845, pushed by urban development, it moved towards the south (Figure 10). In 1871, it was relegated to a small portion on the southwest part of the promontory (Figure 11). That same year, the British garrison left Québec. The site having lost its military function, it acquired a symbolic value, in the same way that an object becomes museal. *The memory may be satisfied with part of the space concerned, and Memory is essentially symbolistic,* yet other important and symbolic events occurred in the park.

Symbolic Memory

Memory is strongly related to facts concerning space and nature. Jacques Cartier picked up what he believed to be gold and diamonds from the cliffs. Due to the competence of the Amerindians, he recognized the virtues of a tree, that was called *arbor vitae.* He brought back to France, to the Fontainebleau garden, roots from that tree. Centuries later, the name of that tree still survives (in fact up to our days), but not the memory of its practical uses.

Figure 12
Plant of New France in Cornuty

Source: J.-P., Canadiensum Plantarum… Paris 1635, p. 44.

Another event has been more important. As early as 1635, when the founder of Québec, Samuel de Champlain was still living, a book was published in Paris by J.-P. Cornuty on the plants of Canada (Figure 12). It was the first book on the plants of North America; in the British colonies, the first similar book of John Josselyn was not published until 40 years later, in 1682. Cornuty's book on Canadian plants was important, and through it forty-four new plants of North America were entered in the international repertory of plants. They were transferred to the Royal Garden of Plants in Paris, at the moment of its creation in 1635. Cornuty's volume shows the relationship between major scientists in Europe: Rondelet in Montpellier, Carolus Clusius in the Lower-Countries, Mathias Lobel and John Parkinson in England, Marin Mersenne considered the secretary of the pre-royal Academy of France, etc. It contributed to the first steps of botany as a scientific discipline. This research in natural resources was followed by reknowned scientists such as Michel Sarrazin, whose name was given to a plant (The *sarracinea*); it shows also different uses of the site of the Plains (like those ancient and new orchards); and it contributes to a better analysis of nature. It culminated in the mid-nineteenth century with the work of such women as Lady Bayfield and Lady Sheppard. In sum, the promontory of Québec saw the birth of botany in North America. And *in the collective memories, the "premieres" always take an important place.*

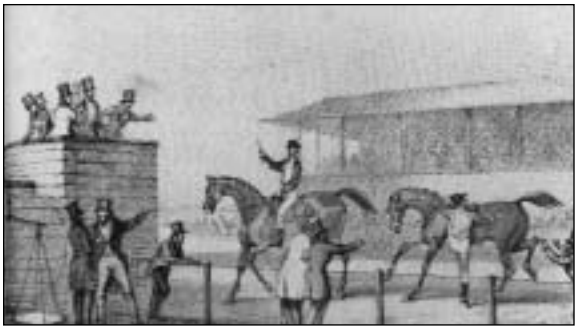
The next sequence consolidated the strategic character of the site after the conquest. It refers particularly to the control of navigation, the invasion by the British colonies in 1775, and the fears of 1812. It resulted in the construction of a citadel and something well known in Kingston, the ingenious conception of the Martello Towers, with their elliptical masonry shaped so that the mass of stone facing the ennemy was twice as thick as the other. But, they were never tested in battle (figure 13).

The struggles related to Lady Abraham took another form of competition, that of sport. In 1808, four days of horse racing were held on the Plains. It became the Epsom of Canada. In 1832, thousand of Montrealers embarked on four steamboats for the trip to Québec to see the races on the Plains (figure 14).

Figure 13
Martello Tower

Source: Photo Eugen Kedl, National Battlefield Commission.

Figure 14
Horse Racing on the Plains of Abraham



Source: Royal Ontario Museum, Allodi 331.

Parades were often organized as a distraction for the public and an evocation of power and of history.

Many of the sports or physical activities were more than just play. They supported the principle of *mens sane in corpore sano*. The search for performance expressed the progress made by man and by humanity. This concept of excellency places its confidence in man, infinitely perfectible through his own efforts, channeled through a philosophy and a discipline of life.

At this time, progress took the path of industrialization and urbanization. Workers lived, crowded together, in narrow and dark streets that were poorly drained and situated beside accumulated garbage, insanitary conditions. The gentry, entering into the Romantic age, were looking for villas in natural settings. They were in search of pure air, because they were convinced by researchers that outbreaks of disease were propagated by the *vicious* air. The site of the Plains represented a new attraction, that of sun and fresh air, without dust or smoke. It combined the attractions of the city with the advantages of the country. It influenced the rules of construction and installation in the growing town (Figure 15).

Figure 15
Le Soleil, 24 May 1914

With romanticism comes nostalgia. Monuments were erected to the men who died for Lady Abraham. She was so full of immeasurable qualities, and she still offered one of the best views in the world. In fact, at the end of the nineteenth century, Lady Abraham received more visitors than any other place in the world. Its environment had to reflect its beauty.

It was decided to erect to Lady Abraham a monument befitting her significance. It was to be a magnificent garden, defined by its designer, the landscape architect Frederic Todd, as a great *royaume de la nature*. The principles guiding his work were the respect of the spirit of the site and the love for nature.

But the garden would be better than natural scenes. Todd compared his work to that of an artist. And as a great painter, he would compose the most beautiful part of nature.

The landscape was carefully designed. It had to respect natural beauties, generous forms, gracefully curved avenues, gentle undulating transitions in — sum it had to reflect freedom and intimacy (Figure 16).

Figure 16
The Plains today

Source: Photo Eugen Kedl, National Battlefield Commission.

It was also essential to incorporate a sense of time and change, since the work was designed to last. All of its components were living, growing, and changing, through the hours of the days, the seasons, and the years. Lady Abraham was a living monument, and a living memory.

In fact, as indicated by the mosaiculture, one of the first created in Canada in 1919 and representing the device of Lord Grey, Lady Abraham was created to serve the King. Sorry, gentlemen!

Today, the paths and avenues are still frequented by joggers. They remind us of that long run of three to ten kilometers made by the soldiers of Montcalm, with 40 kilos of baggage, arms and munitions, on a difficult field while moving up to face the regiments of Wolfe.

Finally, Lady Abraham seems to have the qualities the people want to commemorate.

- It may be religious. Below is a view of the Eucharistic Congress of 1938, where 125,000 people gathered in Québec, participated in an overnight ceremony, and offered almost 87 million communions, prayers, and sacrifices (Figure 17).

- it may be a celebration of Canada… or of Québec, where finally the winner is proclaimed by temperature.

- or it may be the celebration of living nature.

All those representations are explained by the fact that *Memory* is in the spirit of everyone. If *History* is centered on the relationship of societies to the past, memory focuses on the relationship of a community to its past. Memory is not only rationally produced; it excites sensibilities and passions. It is much more than diffusion, or living history, it is inserted in culture. *Memory proceeds from an actual volunteer to recall the past to conceive of the future.* It expresses "the grandeur of the glorious dreams," as said by the Marquis de Lorne. It is why Lady Abraham is such a fascinating Lady.

Figure 17
Overnight Ceremony, 23 June 1938

Source: Archives Nationales du Québec, Collection initiale N-275-42.

RETURNS ON INVESTMENT: SEIGNEURIAL LAND DEVELOPMENT IN NINETEENTH CENTURY QUEBEC

D. Aidan McQuillan

Department of Geography, University of Toronto

Introduction

Much has been made of the abundance of land and of the scarcity of labour in the development of the New World in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In Europe, the source of wealth traditionally lay in property ownership. Some who came to North America with dreams of establishing themselves on large landed estates were unable to realize those ambitions because of this reversal of the ratio of land to labour. Nevertheless, the dream persisted through the end of the eighteenth century as Loyalists and demobilized officers continued to arrive and put down roots in Lower Canada. Well-to-do and enterprising British colonists purchased seigneuries from departing French seigneurs in the years after 1763. The new seigneurs attempted not only to take over the seigneurial system with all its dues and obligations but also to tighten up the system of land development and resource exploitation on which the French had worked for more than a century. The cold facts of contract rather than familial obligation and paternalistic responsibility would now pervade the management of the newly acquired seigneuries. From their encounter with what was more than a symbolic landscape emerged some mythical history that reputedly delineated the essential differences between French and English in North America. These differences lay at the core of the mythical history which emerged.

The anglophone seigneurs were considered very different from their francophone predecessors. The new seigneurs rarely resided on their property; they were frequently absentee landowners. The social distance between seigneur and habitant was very much greater than before and relations between them were determined by the terms of contract rather than by custom. The new property owners viewed their investment in land strictly as a business enterprise. They introduced a system of hard-nosed management which contrasted sharply with the indulgent paternalism of the French seigneurs. Absentee landowners used estate managers to collect the cens et rentes and other seigneurial dues (lods et ventes, banalites), and to oversee the exploitation of timber resources on their lands. Rents were continuously increased as farm lots were conceded to new farmers: new settlers paid up to ten times more in rent than their long-established neighbours. (Greer: 1993, 267)

The newcomer entrepreneurs were English and Scottish professional and businessmen as well as officers in the British army, men with limited capital but a lot of ambition. They could purchase seigneuries at bargain prices in the closing decades of the eighteenth century. Neatby estimated that within a decade of the Conquest they had purchased some thirty seigneuries. “Those who bought seigneuries bought them to exploit them as the Canadian seigneur did by making the most of the rent rolls, the banalities, and the timber rights.”(Neatby: 1966, 60) Seigneuries offered economic opportunities in exploiting the land for farming and for lumbering. These were the two beacons of opportunity which beckoned anglophone investors.

It was clear that as a business venture the exploitation of the seigneuries offered a fine opportunity to create new wealth. A good example was Gabriel Christie, a military officer who had fought in the Seven Years War and who purchased several seigneuries in the upper Richelieu valley close to what later became the United States border. “His major purpose in investing in seigneurial lands seems to have been to increase his wealth by taking advantage of good investment oportunities and to provide a stable income for his heirs.”(Noel: 1992, 3)

The Christie seigneuries were, in many ways, typical of the new regime. The land had not yet been occupied but Christie had it surveyed “in order to control the movement of settlers onto his land and to protect his timber reserves.”(Noel: 1992, 3-4) Following the American Revolutionary war, in which Christie fought, his lands were settled by French Canadians from adjacent seigneuries and by American immigrants. Lots were conceded under contracts which preserved the seigneurial dues and obligations in their entirety. Christie (and later his son) was often absent from the seigneury and so they used a local estate manager to run the seigneury.

Seigneurial rights were scrupulously enforced. The seigneur retained a monopoly over water resources and the rights to build saw and grist mills to which his censitaires were obliged to come and pay the usual dues for their use. When a number of Christie's tenants took their grain to Terrebonne for milling Christie pursued them, charged them his milling dues according to the Custom of Paris and imposed fines on them. Hard-nosed management practices indeed! Christie had invested £1,200 and within twelve years his property was valued conservatively at £15,000 while his own estimate was as high as £20,000.(Neatby: 1966,60) The Christie case was one of several which fitted the stereotype of the anglophone seigneur and doubtless contributed to the mythology of the distant and exploitative landowner accumulating wealth on the back of the struggling small farmer.

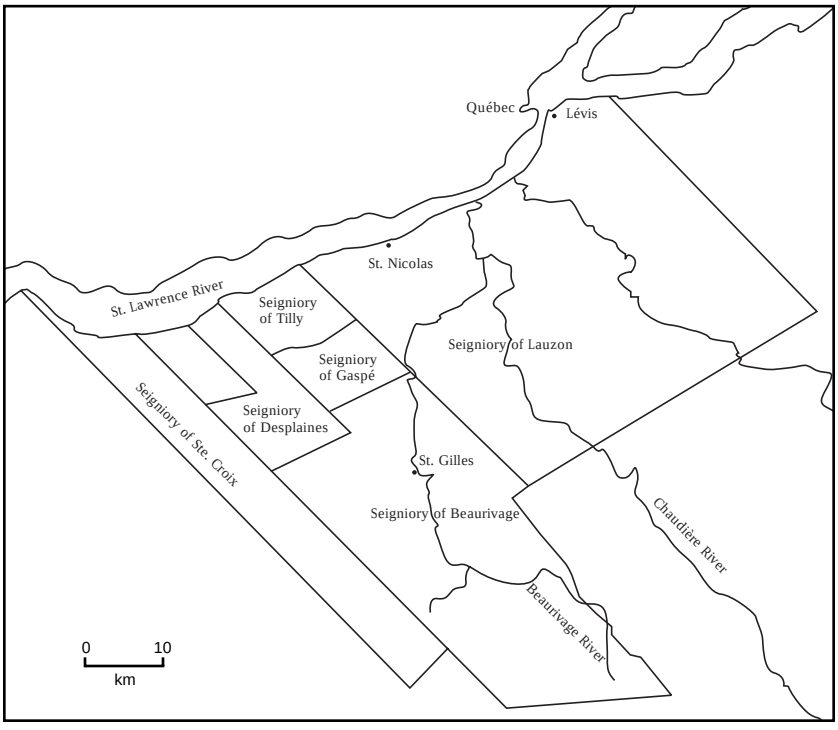
The mythology extended to the financial and social possibilities inherent in assuming a seigneury. The purchase of seigneurial lands appeared to offer a good prospect in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century to military officers and to professional men among others with small financial resources. Furthermore, the acquisition of a seigneury held the added attraction of social prestige although it should be acknowledged that some of the new British seigneurs didnt care much for the social advantage: they attempted to terminate the seigneurial system in order to increase the potential for commercial gain from property speculation. (Seguin: 1970, 162-167) Nonetheless, encompassing the dream of most new seigneurs was the notion of new wealth derived from property ownership (rather than trade), social standing and a continuing source of wealth for their families into future generations. Rarely, however, were the goals and dreams of these entrepreneurs fully realized.

The Seigneury of Beaurivage

What I would like to do is examine one seigneury where development came a little later, in the nineteenth century. The records which I have used in this analysis are the journal and the letters written by the agents hired by the anglophone seigneurs to manage the seigneurial property. There are occasional account books but the numerical records are fragmentary. What I have tried to do is to take what evidence is available to reconstruct the financial progress of the seigneury from about 1825 to 1871 in order to estimate how well the Fraser-Davidson-Ross families conformed to the stereotype of anglophone seigneur .

The seigneury of Beaurivage was of irregular shape, about nine miles wide by twenty miles deep, but it had no access to the St. Lawrence River - a major constraint on development as we shall see (Figure 1). The seigneury had been conceded to Gilles Rageot in 1738. He died in 1754 without making any significant improvements. After the Conquest his son sold the seigneury in 1782 to Alexander Fraser and retired to France. Fraser, a Scot and like so many of the new seigneurs, had been a captain in the British army disbanded after the American Revolutionary War. (Fraser had already acquired another seigneury at Martiniere). A small settlement had already developed along the Beaurivage River in a village known as St. Gilles and Fraser was anxious to expand the community. So, the following year he brought in fifteen settlers of German origin to take up farm lots and thus began to develop his investment. Eight years later Fraser, whose son had been killed in an accident, transferred the seigneury to his daughter's ten month old son, Walter Davidson.

Figure 1



Progress was slow in the last decade of the eighteenth and the first two decades of the nineteenth century. During Walter Davidson's minority the seigneury was managed by the child's father, Arthur Davidson, who invested new capital in road building from St.Gilles to St. Nicholas on the St. Lawrence River (some distance from the seigneury) where he also built a grist mill. When Walter's father died in 1807 settlement had progressed but slightly: there were still only a few settlers in St. Gilles. The opening of the Craig's Road in 1810 provided a boost to the seigneury's prospects that were eventually realised in the 1820s and 1830s when French Canadians, Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants with a few Americans, Scots and Englishmen took up farm lots under the seigneurial system of tenure. In 1825, following Walter Davidson's untimely death the seigneury had passed to his sisters, Mrs. David Ross and Mrs. Robert McKay and management was placed in the hands of David Ross, a lawyer in Montreal. It is from 1825 onwards when the seigneury was being actively settled that I wish now to concentrate.

During the term of David Ross's management of the seigneury from 1825 to 1839 he hired an agent to advertise the land, bring in settlers, complete the surveys of the seigneury, and arrange for the construction of roads and mills. In short, the agent, William Wickstead, was to do all that was necessary to advance the development of the seigneury and to collect revenues. As payment for his services Wickstead was to receive a percentage of the seigneurial income which he managed to collect. Thus, there was built-in incentive to have the estate manager maximize returns from the seigneury. Indeed, had the seigneur and the estate manager been so inclined, their arrangement might well have led to a little rack-renting of the kind known in Ireland at that time.

Although settlement progressed rapidly during the late 1820s and the early 1830s revenues increased slowly. In 1826 Wickstead reported that on one concession alone, along St. Mary's Road, nearly £100 was due but he could not get anything out of the settlers. Similar reports appeared in his correspondence over the next decade. In April 1829 he reported that the people were very poor and he had not been able to raise more than £15 in rent. Many promised something in the summer but Wickstead was not sanguine about the prospects. He was aware that some settlers may have been tricking him but he knew well that if he tried to put pressure on them they were just as likely to pack up and leave the seigneury. Better for the seigneurs that the settlers remain even if they were in arrears. It is clear from these reports that far from rack-renting, the seigneur and his manager adopted a humane and liberal policy towards revenue collection. Strict accounts of accumulating debt were kept but the seigneur did not go to the courts to try and collect back dues until conditions were much improved.

Despite the semblance of a distant seigneur engaged in a business venture with little interest in the physical well-being of his tenants there is no evidence here in Beaurivage of the hard-nosed business practices associated with the Christie family in the Richelieu Valley .

Indeed, Wickstead urged Ross and the other shareholders in the seigneury to be liberal in dealing with the censitaires. The Roman Catholics pleaded poverty on account of contributions they were required to make towards the construction of a new church in St. Sylvestre. Wickstead understood that the church was important in helping to stabilize the community and suggested that Ross forgive some of the arrears of the very poor once they could show that they had made their contribution towards the church. Such a step would earn the seigneur goodwill all around. Meanwhile Wickstead was spending money purchasing millstones and building a mill on the Beaurivage south of St. Gilles. The following year he could report that he had arranged for the construction of a new road, a new bridge on the Beaurivage, and had invested in developing a steamboat service between St. Nicholas and Quebec City which would improve communications with the seigneury. This was important because the censitaires had to take their crops and livestock to the city if they hoped to raise cash and so pay their rents.

An important draw on the accounts of the seigneury during the 1820s and early 1830s was an annuity which had to be paid each year to Arthur Davidson's widow. Mrs. Elinore Davidson (Arthur's second wife and stepmother to Walter and his sisters, Mrs. Ross and Mrs. McKay) had returned to Ireland following her husband's death and each year she was entitled to an income as stipulated in her husband's will. That sum was fixed at £165 in 1827 but rarely, if ever, was it paid in full. Wickstead struggled to come up with £100 each year. In 1829 he managed to raise only £90 but in 1832 was able to gather up £140 to send to Ireland. A constant tension existed between meeting this obligation to the Widow Davidson and finding funds to develop new facilities in the seigneury. Wickstead constantly pleaded the shortage of money in the seigneury and complained how the lack of capital prevented the necessary development. He used rental income to pay off the millstones in 1829 in order to prevent wheat being taken out of the seigneury to be milled elsewhere. The investment soon paid off because

within a year he reported that income from the mill was increasing and the millstones had already paid for themselves. But his mill investments had left him short in advancing money to Mrs. Davidson.

In 1839, at the end of his contract as agent for the seigneury (following David Ross's death in 1837) Wickstead gave a general account of how the seigneury was doing financially. Average revenues from rent, assuming that all rents were paid, should have come to £800. Expenditures came to £300. This included his own fee which was one eighth of all income in 1839, i.e. £100. In the previous thirteen years of his contract, however, he had received one fourth of all income as a fee so that in 1839 if the original conditions of the contract had prevailed his fee would have been £200 and so total expenditured would have been £400 leaving only £400 in profit for the seigneurs. However, rarely were the full rental revenues collected in the seigneury. Two years earlier, in 1837, Wickstead had noted that when his share of the seigneurial income was 25% his average annual income in the early years was only £60. This would mean an average income for the seigneury of only £240, far short of the £800 he hypothesized in 1839.

What seems apparent from these records is that revenues were barely adequate to cover the minimum payment to Mrs. Davidson each year aand that after other expenses were paid, including Wickstead's fee which was the largest item of expenditure, very little remained for investment in the seigneury. During these fourteen years David Ross was simply the executor of the interests of his wife and sister-in-law in the seigneury. He personally did not invest in the development of the land as his nephew Walter Davidson had done in the early 1820s. Ross invested little or none of his own money in the estate. In fact, when Wickstead approached Ross for a loan of £25 to pay some of the seigneury's debts in 1826 Ross replied sharply that he expected to be repaid "as if borrowed from a stranger". He continued: "Were I to go on advancing monies for the Seigniory under the present situation, I would be involving myself in difficulties". David Ross willingly oversaw the affairs of the seigneury but he was not prepared to invest in its development. Seigneurial investment would have to come from seigneurial revenues.

A significant change occurred in the affairs of the seigneury in 1839 as Arthur Ross, eldest son of David Ross, took over proprietorship of the seigneury. His mother deeded her half of the seigneury to him in 1839 and he secured the purchase of the other half from his two cousins, Alexander and Robert McKay, sons of the deceased Eliza Davidson McKay, in 1843. To secure the purchase he took mortgages from his cousins for a total of £2,500 each. Now the seigneury was in the hands of a single seigneur who would take a more active interest in the management of the property. Arthur Ross, like his father, continued to live in Montreal but visited the seigneury at least once a year. He employed resident managers to look after the day-to-day affairs of the estate. He married Elizabeth Isabella Webster in 1840 and under the terms of the marriage contract there was no community of property between them - a family practice which had been maintained for several generations. The new Mrs. Ross had her own income which was not available for investment in the seigneury.

The financial state of the seigneury seemed meagre when Arthur Ross took over as seigneur. In 1841 the revenues came to £1,240-18-3 and expenditures to £846-18-1 leaving a balance of £394-0-2. One half of this sum was still due to the two McKay brothers who had not yet sold their interest in the seigneury to Ross. All of the land that held any agricultural potential had now been settled but clearly, revenues from rents had not improved markedly. The new managers hired by Arthur Ross were more agressive than Wickstead had been in trying to collect those rents which were in arrears. Laggards were increasingly taken to the district court in an attempt to recover debts throughout the 1840s. The legal manoeuvers were half-hearted at best and did little to increase the cash flow from the seigneury. Income from rents continued to prove disappointing as harvests were poor and incomes were low.

Revenues from agricultural land did not improve much during the 1850s. Ross was advised to take a more aggressive approach towards rent collection in 1858. One Byrne, an Irish Catholic who had been employed by the seigneurial agent, wrote in a confidential letter to Arthur Ross: "I must be candid. I fear that you are hurting your own interests by being too tender and lenient with your censitaires in St. Sylvestre. I know them everyone well. I have lived long amongst them and I candidly assure you that there are not a dozen in the parish who could not well afford to pay you if you only put them to their trumps and rouse them up a little. The general run of them are more avaricious than they are poor." Byrne went on to explain that some were secretly banking their money in Quebec and that Ross should make an example of a few by prosecuting them in court and thereby draw the other offenders to heel. Ross agreed that Byrne's advice was probably good but by this time he was so deeply up to his ears in his own financial difficulties to

prosecute aggressively the censitaires in St. Sylvestre. The return from farming enterprises in the seigneury had proved very disappointing, to say the least.

The other beacon for seigneurial investors in the early nineteenth century had been exploitation of lumber resources on the property. Beginning in the 1840s, Ross began to exploit the timber resources on his land. Ross's tardiness in exploiting these resources was probably due to the fact that the seigneury was not located directly on the St. Lawrence River and logs had to be taken out on the Chaudiere River to the east. The seigneury was not well served with rivers for transporting logs. Nevertheless, Ross decided to capitalise on his timber resources and so he set his sights on a saw mill and grist mill in St. Nicholas located on the St. Lawrence River some miles from the northern edge of the seigneury. He was clearly disadvantaged in that his own seigneury did not front on the St. Lawrence River.

The mill appeared to be his undoing. He signed a ten year lease on a banal grist and saw mill from the government on condition that certain repairs and extensions were carried out. And repairs were urgently needed. In January 1847 the main water wheel fell off because of decay at the mill. Although the government failed to make the repairs Ross went ahead and applied for his letters patent in 1848 in order to get operations moving. As his lawyer later stated: "These delays entailed great pecuniary loss and prevented Mr. Ross from taking advantage of the only season of commercial prosperity which prevailed whilst he was lessee." Ross spent between £8,000 and £9,000 making repairs to the mill and building a new road into the mill. The funds to make these improvements came from mortgages and loans arranged from family members and business associates. Then the year which followed, 1847-48 was disastrous for the lumber business and Ross offered to return the property to the government upon receiving a reasonable allowance for his improvements. Government inaction followed. Finally in 1855 following the natural death of his land agent and the accidental death of the American mechanic who had made the repairs, Ross pressed the government again for a settlement even though his major witnesses were no longer alive. The attorney General for the government's side claimed arrears in payment of the terms of the lease. Ross lost and his financial situation became extremely precarious. In 1854 and 1855 his wife, Elizabeth Isabella Webster Ross, whose private fortune had remained independent of the seigneury, paid off debts totalling more than £8,000 to various of her husband's creditors. Thereafter, a more cautious approach was adopted in the management of the seigneury's affairs.

At this particular moment the government introduced the Seigneurial Abolition Act and the seigneury's revenues were threatened once again. The seigneur's financial interest in lands was to be retired and censitaires were to be allowed to purchase their farms outright, in fee simple. The seigneur's income from land transfers (lods et ventes) was abolished and seigneurs were to be compensated from the public treasury: similarly the income from saw and grist mills (banalites) were to be retired with further compensation. In the case of the Seigneury of Beaurivage few censitaires applied to purchase their lots, but the seigneur's rights of land transfer and milling rights were retired. Ross, as seigneur, was apparently quite willing to have the censitaires purchase their lands since he would then realize the value of his investments and of those who had preceded him. He complained to his cousin that the government should have placed a time limit on the censitaires' option to purchase their lots. He was reimbursed for the loss due to milling rights and to land transfer dues but he was not able to capitalize the increase in the value of the seigneury due to the investments he and his forbears had made. When Arthur Ross died in 1871 after investing considerable sums of money in the development of lumbering and milling in his seigneury, the income from his property had not changed substantially. (An increase in value did not translate into an increase in cash flow.) Indeed, his efforts had resulted in a considerable loss that was borne by his wife's independent income.

Conclusion

In retrospect, when one examines the return on investment in landed property over several generations, the outcome cannot be considered a success. The Seigneury of Beaurivage had much in common with other seigneuries purchased by British entrepreneurs following the Conquest of New France. The seigneury was managed by local agents on behalf of the seigneurs who made only occasional appearances on the property. The seigneury was disadvantaged in that it was not located on a sizeable river: it was an inland signeury in which migration and settlement would arrive relatively late. Nevertheless, the seigneurs invested in infrastructure for the developemnt of the seigneury. Roads and mills were built and the land was surveyed in long lots. In the early years of the nineteenth cenury when the hunger for land was great, the return on investment, though modest, seemed bright for the future and the property

continued to improve in value. This was particularly true in the 1820s when settlers began pouring into Beaurivage. When the demand for land declined, however, the seigneur's great worry was to keep what settlers he could to remain on the land. The seigneur did not resort to "hard-nosed" management strategies to recoup arrears let alone to increase rents. In fact, there is a sharp contrast between the seigneur's response to problems of collecting income from impoverished habitants (which was one of understanding and sympathy) and his response to his co-inheritors such as Mrs. Davidson and the McKay cousins (which was one of desperately scraping together cash to meet his financial obligations to them). The conditions of contract were more rigidly observed in the latter than in the former case. The seigneur of Beaurivage did not fit the mythical stereotype of the anglophone seigneur and the myth or riches to be acquired in land development was never attained. Cash flow was rarely in surplus! The abundance of land and the shortage of settlers eventually caught up with the seigneurial hopes of an assured income for the seigneur and his family in the long run. The land market was simply too weak to sustain the aspirations for a substantial income.

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OUT OF PLACE: DISPLACEMENT AND COLLECTIVE RETURN OF MAYA REFUGEES

Catherine L. Nolin Hanlon

Department of Geography, Queen's University, Kingston

1700s:

Our people will never be scattered. Our destiny will triumph over the ill-fated days which are coming at a time unknown. We will always be secure in the land we have occupied.

(Popul Vuh: *The Maya book from the dawn of life*)

1990s:

Homelessness is coming to be the destiny of the world.

(Heideggar 1977, as cited in Chambers 1994,1)

Introduction

Issues of place and identity have never been straightforward, but given the increasing levels of movement across national borders and the development of transnational social fields, the shifting nature of Maya identities both within and across borders and boundaries is becoming more evident. It is well documented that Maya identities have been and continue to be rooted in the local geography of their community and surrounding lands. The displacement of thousands of indigenous Guatemalans in the early 1980s, caused by "racial" and economic marginalization, over thirty years of civil war, and state terror has led to a people out of place — that is, out of "their place" in the world. Contemporary Maya are now one of the most dispersed indigenous populations in the Americas.

In my upcoming research projects, questions of place and identity in the Guatemala / Mexico refugee context (Nolin Hanlon 1995) are used as the foundation on which to look more broadly at the Maya diaspora and these people "out of place" throughout the Americas. My research has focused on the Maya refugee movement from Guatemala across the border into United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) refugee camps in southern Mexico and contemporary processes of collective return to their homeland. I now plan to expand the focus from the refugee camp setting to include the broader scope of Guatemalan refugee and (im)migrant[1] movement beyond Mexico to explore the rich tapestries of the Maya diaspora which are woven into the landscape from Central America to the United States and Canada. In this paper, I will begin by providing a general overview of the work carried on with the camp refugees and subsequent follow-up research. Attention to this issue will allow for the exploration of the issues of place and Maya identity before turning to potential avenues for further research.

Fieldwork and Problematic

In the summer of 1994 I traveled to conduct fieldwork in Guatemala and Chiapas, Mexico, in order to meet with human rights observers and members of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) working with the Guatemalan refugees in Mexico. I wanted to interview people for their critical perspective on the return process and thus gain "on the ground" insight into the motivating factors influencing the decision-making of the refugees. Unfortunately, July and August of 1994 were not the most opportune months to conduct research on the refugee situation in Chiapas, falling roughly six months after the Zapatista Uprising. The countryside around my base in San Cristóbal de Las Casas was militarized and tense with anxiety running high in anticipation of the Democratic Convention being organized by the Zapatista guerrillas in Chiapas and the upcoming national election scheduled for August. Therefore, much of my research was conducted outside of the field, though connections with those who remained in the field was facilitated by the Internet and email correspondence.

The vast majority of Guatemalan refugees in Mexico are Maya Indians who fled their homeland during the brutal counterinsurgency war in the early 1980s. The refugee statistics I compiled convey general trends in movement and settlement that help discern three complex, fluid, ever-changing situations which are the Guatemalan refugee scenarios of flight, exile, and return. The first organized return took place in January 1993 and, with continuous stops and starts, it is on going as we approach the end of 1996. My research into the

geography of the return movements between 1993 and 1995 reveals a strong pattern of returnee movement to ancestral lands fled in the early 1980s and land transformed by labour. These two categories of land, discussed later in the paper, are intimately connected with the Maya refugees' sense of individual and collective identity. A different trend has been identified in subsequent research. Instead of returning to "their lands," the refugee returns of 1996 can be characterized as "last chance grabs" at any land made available to them by the large landowners and government of Guatemala. Even with a return to their country, many Mayas are still "out of place."

Guatemalan Maya refugees have "collectively returned" to their homeland from the camps in southern Mexico since the signing of the *Basic Accord of 8 October 1992* between the Guatemalan government and the refugee representatives - called the Permanent Commissions *(Comisiones Permanentes)*. This Accord outlines certain conditions that the refugees consider necessary for their collective and dignified return to Guatemala; this accord has, to varying degrees, guided all negotiations and every recognized return movement from Mexico. Conditions such as "security," "voluntary decision making," and "choice of resettlement location" are central to the accord. But incidents in the past year-and-a-half are raising concerns about the lack of "security" being extended to the returnees. Frustration is running high regarding the lack of political will on the part of the Guatemalan government to see these returns through and to fulfill their obligations, along with anxiety about the negative climate being created in Mexico that eliminates a "voluntary" nature to the decision-making process for the refugees.

Truly 1996 is a critical year for the refugees still in the camps in southern Mexico. Pressure has always been fairly intense for them to return to Guatemala, as most of the refugees are located in Chiapas, Mexico's poorest state. However, this pressure has been stepped up over the past year, creating fear and division among the refugees in the camps.

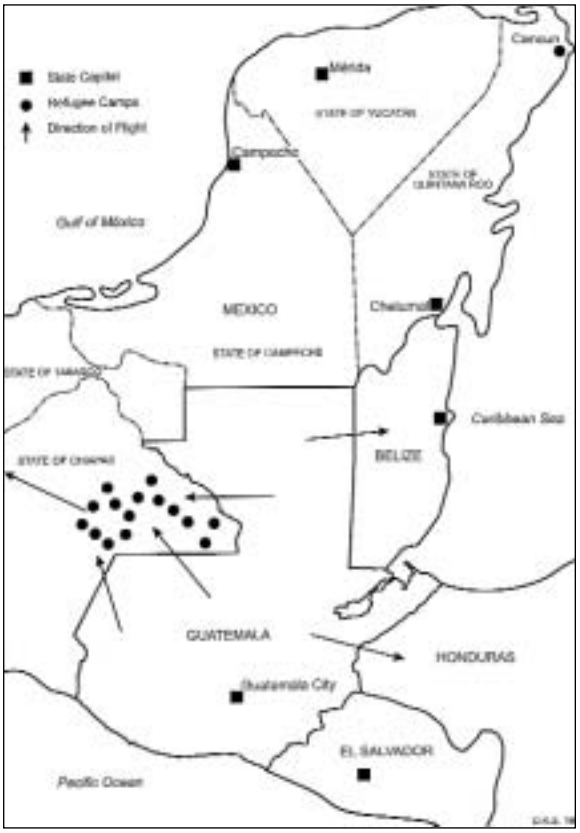
To make sense of the return movements themselves and the strong political organization of the refugees I will provide an outline of the refugees' flight, their time in exile, and their early returns to Guatemala. This focus will allow the issues of Maya identity to be explored, as the location of return clearly corresponds to the lands fled in the 1980s — while the bond between land and life, which is central to the Mayas' sense of their place in the world, is renewed.

Refugee Scenarios

Flight

Maya peoples in highland Guatemala were the overwhelming majority of those who were forcefully and brutally displaced from their home and communities during what the Guatemalan military labeled the "counter-insurgency sweeps" of the late 1970s and early 1980s (Manz 1988). The flight was unorganized, massive, and unprecedented. While indigenous Guatemalans fled to a number of countries, my research focuses on the situation of approximately 45,000 (by April 1984) Mayas who fled to the southern Mexican state of Chiapas and settled there in UN refugee camps (UNHCR 1984, Figure 1).

Figure 1
Refugee Flight from Guatemala



Source: Nolin Hanlon, 1995.

The majority of refugees fled from the departments of northwestern Guatemala, where indigenous peoples make up the clear majority of the population (*Comisión Mexicana para Ayuda a los Refugiados* (COMAR) 1985, 13). Even though the Maya are the overwhelming majority of the country's population, Guatemala is ruled by the wealthy *ladino* minority which operates in close quarters with the military[2]. The overwhelming evidence of early surveys of assisted refugees in Mexico (and more recent research) indicates the place of origin of refugees consistently corresponds to highland

regions and adjacent lowland areas of Guatemala which are predominantly Maya lifespaces where military operations increased during the early 1980s. Therefore, one key to understanding this conflict, which forcefully displaced well over 200,000 Guatemalans — mostly Maya — out of the country is the fact that the Guatemalan state could never imagine and incorporate the indigenous population into their vision of the future of the nation (Stepputat 1994, 3).

There are two distinct land categories from which the majority fled. The first may be considered ancestral land — land held within family circles, high in the mountains of the northwest. Also, many refugees fled not from their historic places of origin, but from "frontier" areas they had colonized up to thirty years before as part of government programmes of colonization. These programmes were initiated by the government in order to appear to be dealing with the land distribution crisis facing Guatemala; people from densely populated areas were resettled in sparsely settled regions of the country, such as the Petén, and the north of Huehuetenango, Alta Verapaz, and El Quiché. Therefore, the second category of land may be considered territory transformed by labour in these lowland regions near the Mexican border.

For many who fled, southern Mexico was the logical geographical and historically-rooted solution to their need for asylum. This option was not viable for those being attacked in the more central regions of the highlands, as they were trapped and caught by the military, or fled to the coast or the capital. But for those closer to the Mexican-Guatemalan border, traditional seasonal labour migration to plantations in Chiapas prepared them for fast escape and safe haven.

Due to the nature of forced migrations, the specifics of flight are rarely clear, but broad patterns of movement can be deciphered. Generally, patterns emerge of a great increase of Guatemalan refugees in southern Mexico in 1982 and 1983, with regular movement of individuals and families to the Las Margaritas region of Chiapas well into 1984. Likewise, survivors from the Ixcán, the Petén cooperatives, and the Department of Alta Verapaz (further east) found refuge as whole communities in camps in the Lacandón rainforest of Chiapas.

Exile

Life in exile for the refugees has varied over time and space, as conditions vary from camp to camp and as support for their plight has met with diverse reactions. The Maya refugees have survived not only deprivation, malnutrition, mistreatment, and military attacks, but they also united as a people in exile to negotiate the conditions of their desired return.

By 1983, it was clear to all parties (refugees, NGOs, government agencies, and the UNHCR) that the conflict in Guatemala would not come to a rapid conclusion and therefore the refugee camp experience would last much longer than anticipated. Pressured by the Guatemalan government, the Mexican government and the UNHCR implemented a "resettlement" plan. The plan called for swift movement of the refugees away from the border region in Chiapas to "settlements," not "camps," in the Mexican states of Campeche and Quintana Roo (in the Yucatan peninsula).

Resistance by the refugees to these plans was vigorous and almost unanimous. A number of factors surrounding geographical and cultural concerns were central to their opposition to removal from the camps in Chiapas. As ancestral lands or cooperative lands were left behind in Guatemala, most people had a strong desire to return when it was safe to do so. Relocation from a familiar landscape and environment to "settlements" far removed from their homelands was unacceptable for many. But due to military force approximately 18,000 of the 45,000 refugees were relocated.

During this same time period, 1983 to 1986, the Guatemalan government also tried to promote the "voluntary repatriation" of 30,000 refugees in an effort to appease international condemnation (UNHCR 1986, 5). Press coverage of Cerezo's Presidential address spoke of an invitation to the refugees to return to their native villages or any other place of choice in Guatemala. But, if we follow the path of early participants' "voluntary repatriation," Manz (1988) suggests, all were directed to "development centres" for "re-education" and "military monitoring."

The contradictory and highly questionable position of the Guatemalan government towards the Maya refugees fueled the urgency with which they organized themselves in Mexico to negotiate for their rights. The refugees identify a clear distinction between the government repatriation programme (*la repatriación*) and what they call "collective return" (*el retorno*). Repatriation is something done *to* them by the government (i.e., shuttle them to "detention centres"), while "collective return" is a political statement; returns are self-directed and negotiated *with* the government (Stepputat 1994). Through their participation in the negotiations, the refugees were actively seeking a return home under very different conditions than they fled.

Return

The risky processes of refugee repatriation and collective return to Guatemala began in 1984 under the coordination of the *Comisión Mexicana para Ayuda a los Refugiados* (COMAR) and the UNHCR.

The *Comisión Especial para la Atención a Repatriados, Refugiados y Desplazados* (CEAR) , the Guatemalan agency charged with the role to oversee the return of the refugees, was created in 1986 and began a program of official "repatriation." The repatriation process served, and continues to serve, many individuals and families with a strong desire to return to Guatemala quickly and with official recognition. Since 1986, over 15,000 refugees have "voluntarily repatriated" (Project Accompaniment 1996).

But for many refugees, their life in exile was not only a personal struggle, but a highly charged political struggle and therefore repatriation, on government terms, would not suffice. With a strong belief in their own communities in exile, the refugees organized the *Comisiones Permanentes de los Representantes de los Refugiados en México* (CCPPs) in order to negotiate certain conditions for self-directed, collective, organized, and voluntary "returns," in addition to the government-directed "repatriations." Their efforts resulted in the *Basic Accord of 8 October 1992*, an agreement signed between the Guatemalan refugee representatives and the Guatemalan government. All the efforts culminated in the first "return" of 2,480 refugees in January 1993.

The still fragmented puzzle of the geography of the collective returns has been pieced together through a variety of sources: NGOs; UNHCR documents; and refugee declarations. From these sources, evidence indicates that two-thirds of the returnees between 1993 and 1995 returned to their own lands, either ancestral or land transformed by labour — meaningful lands that are part of what the returnees believe "makes them Maya." But, this political statement of identity bound to specific local geography has not been an easy process.

While the Guatemalan government agreed to the Accord with the refugees, compliance has been another matter. The government has imposed one stipulation on the selection process of return sites: refugees must wait in Mexico until they have secured title to lands in Guatemala (that is, they must return to permanent not temporary sites). For some refugees, especially those who fled cooperative lands, this has not been a problem as the land title was not lost during their time in exile. But, for thousands of others, who did not necessarily have title to any land, though they may have lived there for years, this stipulation has proven to be a major obstacle. This arrangement allows the Guatemalan military and large landowners, who do not want to see the return of the very people they drove from the country years before, to create obstacles for the return process. And so the pace of the returns has been frustratingly slow due to the main stumbling blocks of land negotiations and provision of credit to purchase the land they fled.

Table 1 outlines the number of successful returns to Guatemala between January 1993 and December 1996. There were twenty-two returns, comprised of approximately 15,000 individuals in the years between 1993 and 1995, and close to 3000 in eleven returns during 1996. So, what is it that drew two-thirds of the early returnees to choose their former lands as their return sites, when conditions in Guatemala have not changed substantially during their time in exile? What is it that caused some people to return home, and others to stay well away? What connections between land and life, between people and place are drawing refugees home to often precarious resettlement conditions?

Table 1
Collective Returns to Guatemala (1993 - 1996)

Year	Returns	Individuals
1993	2	3747
1994	5	4123
1995	15	7018
1996	11	2919

Source: Nolin Hanlon 1995; CONGCOOP 1996; GRICAR 1996

In order to address these questions, I turn to the issues of place and identity.

Place and Maya Identity

Displaced lives get played out locally, therefore, in addition to speaking of the spaces of movement, Pratt and Hanson (1994, 25) suggest a focus on the "geography of placement " is vital. Geographer Liz Bondi (1993, 84) concurs that "the emphasis on *where* — on position, on location — is allowing in the questions of identity to be thought of in different ways." Various conceptual definitions for place have been brought forward in recent debates in cultural theory about identity, as the terminology of space, location, positionality, and place figures prominently in the literature on identity (*cf.*, Carter et al. 1993). But, it must be noted that theories of identity and location derived from cultural studies and literature studies often centre on themes of cultural belonging, on home and exile, on urban experiences, yet suggest that place no longer matters, and that the luxury of location of identities is no longer viable in our changing world.

Clearly for many peoples, especially those exiled or displaced from their homelands, place no longer provides *straightforward* support to their identities. But this should not indicate that places no longer provide *any* support for identity formation. Anthropologists

and geographers alike are now arguing that even with the changing contexts of displaced lives there need not be a denial of the importance of place in the construction of identity (*cf.*, Gupta and Ferguson 1992; Appadurai 1991; Lavie and Swedenburg 1996). Instead, it can be argued that as people shift their places in the world, so too will their identities shift, expand, layer, and weave the experiences of displacement into a more complex, place-informed identity. As the 1990s have unfolded, the Maya are rapidly becoming one of the most dispersed indigenous societies in the Americas. Exile or migration is now providing numerous external forces which will surely influence cultural change and reinforce certain key aspects of the Maya culture.

When we listen to the voices of the Maya, to their myths and legends, to their world views, to their reflections on exile, a picture emerges that reveals the strong association of traditional identity with the *municipio* (township) or certain village. For example, when questioned about their identity many Maya often relate the answer to their place of birth. *Yo soy San Pedreño* (I am from San Pedro), rather than "*Yo soy Maya*" (I am Maya). Early anthropological and geographical studies identified this connection with "place" when Maya peoples conveyed their worldviews as an articulation of their perceptions of themselves and their place in the world (Hanks 1990). This same connection has been expressed by others who emphasize that Maya identity is rooted in "place" rather than in a general sense of "Indianness" — with terms such as "anchored communities" used to illuminate the cornerstone of community identity, which is location or the local geography.

Anthropologist William Hanks (1990) provided insight into this relationship with a linguistic ethnography of Maya and their lived space. Hanks explores the complex relationship the Maya have with the earth, revealing the Maya worldview which holds that, regardless of its configuration, every kind of space has a *yuumil* (lord/owner) to whom it belongs. This bond links space and place to sets of responsibilities among owners of different ranks and kinds. These spaces range from the cosmos, who's "lord" is God, to the smallest parcel of land transformed by labour where one can call it *tinwiknal* ("my place"). Hanks further argues that it is a matter of common sense for most adult Maya that all have relatively fixed positions from which they move habitually, yet remain anchored to and return to again.

The native word *naabl* ("way of being") involves abiding attachment to the place first settled by local ancestors and the immediate condition of one's blood and its effect on how one behaves. Through the association with the blood, *naabl* "conventionally internalizes in each individual connectedness to ancestral place" (Watanabe 1984, 190). Communiques, reports, and testimony from the refugee representatives that express their experiences in exile often stress the "outsidedness" from both Guatemalan and Mexican life, and differentiate it from the "insidedness" of home. Guatemala becomes a lived or remembered or imagined place for those who survived the violence, a perception that is creating real problems as refugees return to lands in Guatemala where some people never fled from, to lands that new people have claimed as their own, to lands on which the army has resettled internally displaced peoples, and to lands now set aside as nationally protected parks.

Clearly, any discussion of Maya identity must have an emphasis on place and location, as this reflects Maya world views and their own perceptions of who they are. Economic circumstances have led to movements from ancestral lands. Place of origin shapes Maya identity, yet with the shifting of place and time, identity survives. It is revitalized and re-shaped in a metamorphosis of meaning. New layers of experience do not require the erasure of the base or foundation of place-informed identity. Even though their homes can be denied by forced displacement, Maya place-identity still continues to resonate through the "imaginations" of displaced Maya communities — which helps to inform the decision-making process for collective return.

In light of the political situation of Guatemala in the years 1993 to the present, the Maya return to ancestral land or land transformed by labour often means resettlement to zones of continued conflict. Violence is a daily problem for the returnees — and reports are sent continually from them and their international accompaniers regarding military intimidation and outright attacks. October 5, 1995, saw the massacre of eleven returned refugees in the community of Xamán which brought to light the startling reality of the violent climate of resettlement in Guatemala. The army entered this community, which was preparing to celebrate the first anniversary of their return to Guatemala. The army was in clear violation of the *Basic Accord* just by entering the community, but a year has passed without prosecution of the soldiers who shot, bombed, and killed the eleven returnees. And yet the refugees continue to return.

Not only are the returnees living in dangerous and volatile resettlement conditions, so too are the refugees still living in exile; those whose return groups have not received approval for land credit or land; and those who are unsure about their future plans. The Guatemalan Maya remaining in refugee camps and settlements in southern Mexico are faced with increased pressure to make the decision to return immediately or integrate into Mexican

society. COMAR has proposed an option for integration into Mexican society now that the UNHCR and the World Food Programme has delivered their last supply of food aid to the camps in Chiapas. Closure of the camps in Chiapas is imminent, therefore refugees must decide whether to return to the violence in Guatemala or move to another Mexican state (which they indicated they did not want when interviewed in the mid-1980s).

The situation no longer provides for a "voluntary" return choice — which the UNHCR itself indicates as a necessary component to repatriation. A different trend has been identified in the eleven returns of 1996 compared to those carried out between 1993 and 1995. Instead of returning to "their lands," the refugee returns of 1996 can be characterized as "last chance grabs" at any land made available to them by the large landowners and government of Guatemala. The numbers are smaller in the returns of 1996, as fear of return is clear, but the fear of missing the opportunity to return by waiting until conditions improve is stronger — and so the returns continue (See Table 1). There is no clear association in many of the more recent returns with settlement on ancestral land or land transformed by labour, but rather movement to *fincas* (farms) in new areas such as the south coast or the Petén.

Through discussion of the intimate connection the Maya, including returning refugees, have with the local geography of their home community in addition to land on which they have worked, I have attempted to explore the bonds that tie people to a "place"; bonds that draw the Maya back to Guatemala despite unchanged and uncertain conditions. For the returning refugees, identity as Maya has been transformed by experiences in exile and many have collectively returned in order to continue that process of change. But life in exile and the long wait for the necessary conditions for safe, organized, and collective returns — which are a matter of Maya identity — may no longer be viable. In 1996 the Maya returns were perceived as a last chance to move to "any place" in the country that would take them, rather than a return to a place of their own.

Transnationalism

My commitment to participating in socially relevant social science research is now continuing with the Maya refugee population in Canada. Though the population in Canada is rather small compared with other refugee groups, their identity (ies) as an "indigenous refugee population" has made their experiences rather unique (Burns 1993)[3]. The issues to be explored in this new avenue of research revolve around the following problematic: How are Maya cultural identities both maintained and transformed through the remittance commitment of transnational refugees and (im)migrants in Canada?

It is hypothesized that an economic and cultural survival strategy is being negotiated whereby linkages and connections with the land can be maintained in Guatemala. Initial inquiry into the phenomenon of remittances from Maya living in the United States and Canada indicate that the money sent to Guatemala is not used to move off the land, to "modernize," but to maintain ancestral ties with the land (Poitevin 1996). It is perhaps a resistance strategy against the national ideology that has rejected and attempted to delete the Maya from an "imagined national community" of the ruling minority in order to forge a modern, more "white" nation (Anderson 1983; Stepputat 1994). Therefore, I intend to investigate whether or not Maya refugees in Canada, as with those in Mexico, are reterritorializing space and place in their exile and home contexts in an effort to sustain their Maya cultural identities. Are their identities becoming more complex, multiple, and fluid, rather than less Maya — as much of the literature on migration asserts (Perea 1997)? What is happening to their identities while they are "out of place?"

As Guatemala moves through the implementation of the Peace Accords signed at the end of 1996, the refugee population may demand a greater role in the shaping of their country. As well, the foreign remittances and the transnational linkages that have been cultivated and maintained throughout the years of violence, most vividly revealed at the community level, may be increasingly depended upon for economic, social, and cultural survival in Guatemala. This economic connection may be one way in which those physically displaced from their homeland may find it possible to reclaim their rightful place in the Guatemalan nation. I am therefore interested in exploring beyond the quantification of communication networks and remittances to come to an understanding of the meanings and significance attached to them by the Maya at both ends of the transnational network.

In conclusion, the issues of place and identity for the Maya are complex and at the core of Maya existence. For most of the refugees in the UNHCR camps in Mexico who were driven from their homes, their time in exile has been focussed on returning to reclaiming "their place" on Guatemalan soil. Many similar issues regarding place and identity are central for transnational refugees and (im)migrants in Canada. They were forced to leave their homeland in Guatemala and now must assert their claims to place in order to shape the "Guatemala of the future… a pluricultural, multilingual nation, with unity" (*Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* General Command 1994)[4].

Notes

1. Following Rouse (1995a, 1995b), I use the terms "(im)migrants" rather than "immigrants" and "migrants" to avoid the bi-polar logic that informs most popular thinking about migration; in this way ambiguity is stressed.
2. Lovell (1992, 200) indicates that in Guatemala a *ladino* is a person whose cultural traits are predominantly non-Maya and who speaks Spanish rather than an indigenous language.
3. In 1987, the official figure for Guatemalan refugees in Canada was 7,326 (Egan and Simmons 1994, 5). A more recent estimate by the Canadian Lawyers' Association for International Human Rights suggests that approximately 20,000 Guatemalans have sought refuge in Canada. See Keresztesi et al. (1996-97).
4. The *Unidad Revolucionaria Nacional Guatemalteca* (URNG) is the umbrella organization of the rebel forces in Guatemala who are negotiating for peace with the Guatemalan government.

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THE CANADA ROAD FRONTIER: FROM MYTHICAL REPORTAGE TO ANALYTICAL RECONSTRUCTION

Barry Rodrigue

Laboratoire de géographie historique / Centre interuniversitaire d'études québécoises
Université Laval

My research focuses on the Canada Road, a route which served as the primary overland thoroughfare between Québec and Maine from 1818 to 1860. Ironically, more research has been done in this frontier area for the 17th and 18th-century period of exploration and warfare than for the more accessible 19th-century period of settlement. Much of this settlement was linked to the development of the Canada Road, which is my reason for choosing it as a topic. Although the road itself is an important artefact, it serves me primarily as a terrestrial point of departure from which to study aspects of 19th-century French-Canadian movement between Québec (Figure 1) and Maine.[1] A major *raison d'être* for this research, and one which relates to the topic of this conference and publication, is the revision of myths about French- Canadian and Franco-American society.

Impressionistic views of French society in North America have been common for over two centuries. Although particulars vary, the general image presents French Canadians as being conservative, un-educated, devout Catholics, poor farmers, and even poorer entrepreneurs. These stereotypes remained largely unquestioned into the early part of this century because they served the purposes of both Catholic and Protestant historians, albeit for different reasons. The mythology persisted into the mid-20th century because scholars found these impressions helpful to their broad topics of research, such as the fur trade or continental expansion. However, since the mid-1960s more localised and empirical studies have begun to question the older interpretations, a revision represented in this volume with the article by Serge Courville and Normand Séguin.[2]

I address many different stereotypes in my larger research project, however, for the modest objectives of this paper I will briefly review the history of the Canada Road and the particular methodology of my research, discuss one of the more prevalent myths about French-Canadian and Franco-American society, and demonstrate how I am using the Canada Road work to amend it. This paper is offered as a work-in-process, and is certainly still open to further discussion.

Figure 1
Earliest known illustration on the Canadian side of the frontier, along the Canada Road, 1840, Sartigan, Lower Canada.

Source: J.W. Glass, Jr., "Camera Lucida Sketch—Junction of the DuLoup with the Chaudiere—near Semples". Sketches From Surveys Led by Talcott, Nº 1-16; Item Nº 104; Series 11; Record Group 76, Boundary & Claims Commissions & Arbitrations; Cartographic & Architectural Branch, National Archives, College Park, Maryland, United States of America.

Early Settlement & Passage

The area of this study lies across a portion of what I call the "Norumbega Peninsula", the large land mass that is bracketed by the St. Lawrence River on one side and the Atlantic Ocean on the other. The Chaudiere watershed in Québec and the Kennebec watershed in Maine are separated by the northern Appalachian mountain range, which is known locally as the "height-of-land" or the "haute terre." While sections of the political frontier between British North America and the United States came into dispute between the times of the Treaty of Versailles (1783) and the Webster-Ashburton Treaty (1842), the spine of highland between the Chaudiere and Kennebec rivers appears to have been mutually accepted as a boundary between Québec and Maine. A portage over this geo-political highland became desirable for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was because the St. Lawrence River was clogged with ice during the winter months and such a route could provide an outlet to the ice-free Atlantic coast[3].

The Native American passages from the St. Lawrence valley of Québec to the Atlantic coast of Maine had come into use by the time of European entry into the region. Although several different routes existed, the one most relevant to the Canada Road went from the St. Lawrence Valley, up the Chaudiere and DuLoup rivers, over the height-of-land, down the Kennebec River, and onto the Atlantic seaboard. The passage was in the control of the Abenaki, but was also employed by other Native peoples.[4]

In 1629 Samuel de Champlain became the first known European to have the Chaudiere-Kennebec portage put to use. Jesuit priests journeyed along this corridor in their mission to the Norridgewock Abenaki of Maine between 1646 and 1724. Frontier conflict occurred in this area during the colonial wars between the French, Natives, and English. Although this passage was used by government couriers on the eve of the American Revolution, and colonial officials even considered building a post-road for overland transport between Québec City and Boston, hostilities prevented its implementation. Instead, a military expedition under Benedict Arnold followed the Kennebec-Chaudiere trail north, in the fall of 1775, to lay siege to Québec City. Peaceful use of the route continued after the Rebellion of the Colonies, as farmers from the Kennebec frontier would travel to the Chaudiere Valley to obtain seed wheat from the *habitants*.[5]

There was considerable similarity between frontier life in Maine and Lower Canada. Both had large-scale proprietors who often exercised absentee control of their lands. The farmers who worked under these systems of land tenure had a history of passive and active rebellion, often "voting with their feet." Hence, settlers found themselves moving further and further away from the urban control of Boston and Québec City, towards the Appalachian highlands. In response to these migrations, two primitive road systems had begun to develop along the Chaudiere and Kennebec rivers.

Seigneurial lands had been granted in the lower Chaudiere valley in the early 18th century, and road construction became necessary because the Chaudiere is not normally a navigable river. By 1802 a roadway went from the St. Lawrence River, up the north shore of the Chaudiere River, to Sartigan (Saint-Georges-de-Beauce). Similar developments occurred in Maine, where the county road system extended along the west side of the Kennebec River to the town of Embden. Thus, by the early 19th century, the roads of Lower Canada and Maine had approached each other, but ended near the height of land: About 150-kilometres of progressively higher hills, covered with forest, stretched between the two roads. It was through this highland wilderness that the Canada Road would be built.[6]

Road Over the Border

Beauce County in Québec and Somerset County in Maine were the local administrative units through which the Canada Road was built. The Beauce region served as the "cultural hearth" for a majority of the migrants who travelled to Maine along the Canada Road, but it is a difficult area to define, being a geographic region, an administrative unit, and a mental-emotional construct. A significant change in the *territorialité* of the Beauce area took place in the 1820s, when the construction of the Canada Road led to an expanded area of activity that spilled over the *haute terre* and onto the Atlantic seaboard of the United States. However, it is important to remember that such a re-territorialization also happened for frontier Yankees as well.[7] Aspects of these processes will be discussed below.

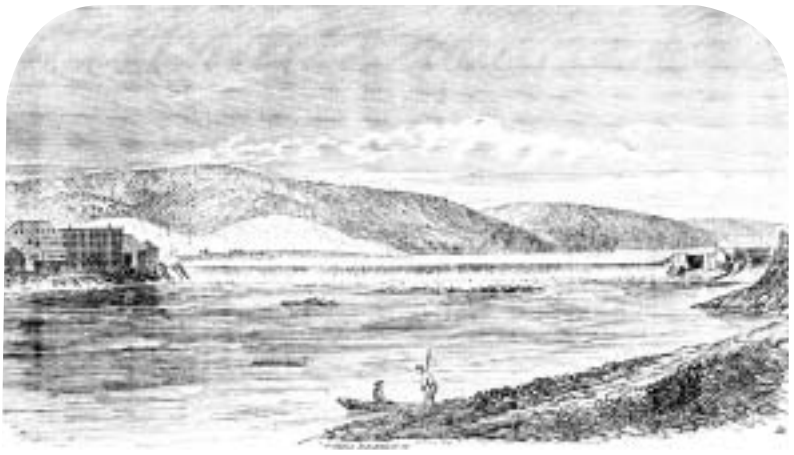
Figure 2
Earliest known illustration of the Canada Road on the Maine side of the frontier.

Source: Philip Harry, "Lowell's Custom House, Kennebec Road, Moose River, Maine," c. 1845. Courtesy of the Richard York Gallery, New York.

As settlements in the Kennebec Valley moved into Somerset County, above the town of Skowhegan, the Yankee pioneers found themselves closer to the urban markets of Québec City than to those of Boston. In the early 19th century this capital of Lower Canada was a growing lumber and ship-building port, as

well as a military and administrative centre. The city needed provisions. So, Yankee drovers took livestock north, through the woods, between the partially built roads that lay alongside the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers. It became obvious that it was to almost everyone's advantage to "close the gap" between these two road systems. The Massachusetts government commissioned a survey of this drover's trail in order to facilitate trade, but the War of 1812 interrupted construction of the road that the commissioners recommended.[8]

Figure 3
The Kennebec Dam, Augusta, Maine in the mid-1830s.



Source: Russell Richardson in Walter Wells, The Water Power of Maine, Augusta : 1869.

As soon as the Treaty of Ghent allowed peace to resume in North America, Lower Canadians sought to resume trade over this trail, although they were wary of U.S. *projects ultérieurs.* In 1815 the road along the north shore of the Chaudiere was extended to the fork of the DuLoup River and continued up the north shore of the DuLoup to the *haute terre,* just below the frontier. This forty-kilometre roadway was to be 3.7-meters wide, with stumps removed, and followed the earlier drover's trail.[9]

In 1817, just as the District of Maine was in the process of separating from Massachusetts to form a new state, the legislature authorised construction of a "travelled path" to be made suitable for the passage of loaded carts, sleds, and other such conveyances. It was to largely follow the old cattle drovers' trail as well, trees were to be removed by the roots to a width of 4.6 meters and felled to a width of ten meters, holes were to be filled, and brush cut out. Almost forty kilometres in length, it ran from the north shore of Parlin Pond to the Canadian line. The next year Somerset County had the final seventy kilometres of road built between Concord and Parlin Pond.[10]

Thus, by 1818, a traveller could pass between Maine and Lower Canada on something resembling a road. For the next decade it would be used primarily by drovers taking horses and cattle to market in Québec City. Settlers were sparse. Moose meat provided a staple diet. Nonetheless, the few residents aspired for a carriage road at a time when wolves would surround their houses during hungry times and howl until dawn. By 1830 the dream of commercial profit finally drove government officials to up-grade the Canada Road into a carriageway that would accommodate drovers, entrepreneurs, government and military officials, labourers, couriers, gentlemen hikers, sailors, farmers, and their families. Infrastructures began to develop in response to the increase of traffic as post offices, inns, stage lines, and customs houses were established[11] (Figures 1, 2, 8).

French-Canadian Migration

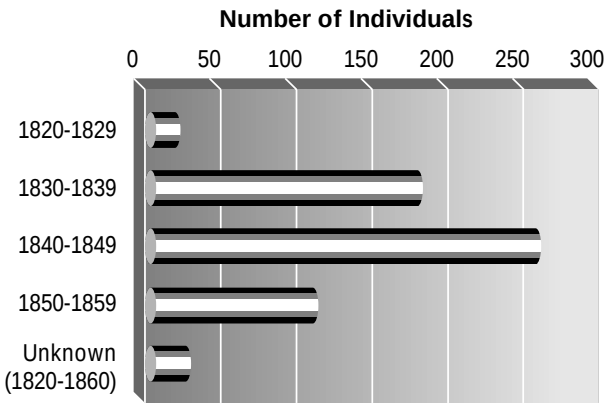
Migration from Lower Canada into Maine began about the same time as the construction of the Canada Road, which was a significant factor in itself since it allowed whole families to more easily relocate. Most of the travellers were sojourners who took seasonal work in Maine and then returned to Québec. They obviously came for jobs and money, but other regional events were also influential in helping families to decide to make the week-long journey through the highland forests and into a different country. Studies frequently cite only a few "major" reasons for their migration, but in reality there were many.

Maine did not have enough workers to accommodate its economic growth in the 1820s. Workers were needed for large construction projects, the expanding timber industry, and new mills, as well as to take over farms abandoned by Yankee emigrants to the American Midwest and to work in the carrying trade that had grown in response to the burgeoning economy and new roads (Figure 3). Cash was scarce in much of North America at this time and the opportunity to earn wages in Maine became an important "pull factor." In Québec, a number of important "push factors" encouraged such a migration. These included the beginning of the shift in the concentration of industrial development from Québec City to Montréal, large-scale Irish and British immigration, a cholera epidemic, climate and crop fluctuations, an economic depression, and the rebellions.[12]

These migrations into Maine were more international than one might assume, since the development of the Canada Road coincided with large-scale Irish and British migration into Quebec City. The first reference to French-Canadian settlers in the Kennebec Valley occurred soon after the road's construction, and it is estimated that about 100 families, in addition to individual sojourners, relocated there over the next thirty years. Although a thousand people might not sound significant, the dynamic they created was of major importance, especially when one considers that they set the stage and served as a base of operations for the later and larger mill migrations of 1870-1930.

The early French-Canadian entry into Maine was a reflection of economic tensions. This is not to say that there was a scarcity of land or too many people in Québec at this time, as has often been stated in the literature. The situation was more complex. Seigneurs and other landlords attempted to maximise their incomes by elevating rents for new lands or by reserving unallocated lands for resource production of items like timber. Tenants and farmers, in their turn, sought to obtain capital from wage labour and to obtain less expensive lands. By the 1830s a new kind of economy had begun in rural Québec, one which was orienting itself more towards industrial production and external markets. Families increased their reliance on the double strategy of day-labour and smallhold farm production, a method that lay between the subsistence and market economies. They kept a small farm, but would work in mills or on larger farms that were becoming commercial producers. The position of *journalier* probably gave a diversified, adaptable lifestyle ahead of that offered by only farming or industrial work alone.[13]

Figure 4
Numbers of French Canadians settling in the middle Kennebec Valley, 1820-1860.



Source: Data assembled by Robert Chenard & Barry Rodrigue.

A graphic representation of the migration data for French Canadians into the middle Kennebec Valley prior to the U.S. War of Secession shows a tentative entry in the 1820s, a large increase in the 1830s, a peak in the 1840s, and a decline in the 1850s (Figure 4). Although this data is not definitive and is meant to only serve as an indicator, it does illustrate a pattern that was probably similar for the region and period as a whole, and one that is related to socio-economic factors.[14]

The 1830s were a time of difficulty. Natural disasters had been compounded by poor market factors such that by 1837 the newspaper, *Le Canadien,* reported that the parishes of Saint-Georges and Saint-François in the Beauce region suffered "une excessive misère." At this time there were several large public works projects in Maine to serve as attractions. Despite the depression that lasted until about 1845, the timber industry of Maine continued during the hard times. An economic recovery had set in by the 1850s, and although the graph makes it appear that migration decreased, this is probably more a reflection that the migrants were going to larger industrial centres in southern Maine, areas which were not included in my data base and graph.[15]

By 1860 approximately 7500 French Canadians (and Acadians) were in Maine, which represented about 10% of the total number in all the United States. Over 82% of the French-Canadian settlers in the Maine cities of Augusta and Waterville came from the Beauce region and its adjacent areas along the Canada Road. Their settlement in Maine was largely confined to the valleys of the Kennebec River and its tributaries, but also spilled into other areas of the state. In 1856 a priest in Saint-François-de-Beauce wrote that it was impossible to calculate how many people had left his parish for the United States because the traffic was "continual."[16]

Completion of the Grand Trunk Railroad from Montréal to Portland in 1853 allowed easier access into Maine. While travellers from the Beauce region and Québec City would still use the Canada Road, the new railroad would bring many more migrants from the south of Québec to new industrial cities in the south of Maine. The U.S. War of Secession increased the demand for Maine products and resulted in a related increased demand in Maine for Canadian workers (as well as soldiers). Indeed, the 1860s served as a decade of transition between two phases of migration. By 1870 a new mill and factory experience had begun to unfold in New England and resulted in a French-Canadian migration that has been better documented than those of the earlier eras.[17]

Overall, almost one million French Canadians relocated to the United States, the majority moving from Québec to New England. There are numerous writings about the French-Canadian migration to New England, but few address the periods before 1870 and tend to dismiss them as similar to the later mill migrations. This is understandable given the scattered, fragmented, and incomplete nature of historical records on the frontier before 1870. However, the earlier migrations were actually quite distinct experiences and their history can be recovered. The problem is that the research necessary for such a recovery is extremely time-consuming and somewhat non-traditional in its interdisciplinarity.

Integration of New Sources & New Methodologies

In order to adequately describe the area encompassed by the Canada Road for the era from 1810 to 1860, a researcher has to ask basic questions like "Where was the frontier of settlement?" and "How did it change?" Even the topography of the frontier region between Québec and Maine cannot be taken for granted. Construction of hydro-electric reservoirs have inundated valleys, stream courses have been re-routed with dynamite and bull-dozers, and villages that existed 150 years ago have vanished. A researcher has to carefully trace the transformations that have taken place since the Canada Road was built in order to make sense of the surviving documentary evidence.

The Canada Road Survey began in 1994 with the collaboration of the author, Barry Rodrigue, from the Laboratoire de géographie historique at the Université Laval in Québec City, and Alaric Faulkner of the Historical Archaeology Laboratory at the University of Maine in Orono. One of the major problems that we faced was the lack of significant archival collections from which we could draw data. The frontier of Québec and Maine in the early 19th century had a very mobile population that was simply too busy making a living to create such documentary collections. The papers that do exist became scattered. Although there are many impressionistic writings, they needed to be cross-checked with hard data. The Canada Road Survey therefore had to develop a rather innovative methodology to overcome these obstacles, one which includes six different, but very complementary, approaches.

1) **Computer Modelling**. Rodrigue and Faulkner created a data base of the original surveyor's coordinates for the Canada Road in Maine, surveys that had been made by James Irish in 1817 and 1818. From this data base, our computer produced a line of the route on clear acetate, which we then could lay over a quadrangle map of the region. Such an overlay allowed us to set-up a predictive model of where we would find the road in the forest (figure 5).

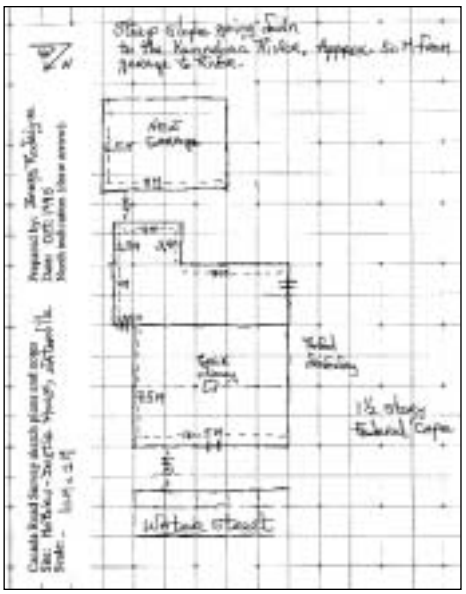
Figure 5
Map of the Canada Road and archaeological sites in Sandy Bay Township on the Québec and Maine border.

Source: Alaric Faulkner, University of Maine, and Barry Rodrigue, Université Laval, for the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, 1995.

2) **Field Archaeology.** Field investigation then allowed us to locate the old road. This exercise in searching-out the "ground truth" of our predictive model allowed us to develop another one. We found that buildings that had been built before 1860 generally lay ten to fifteen meters from the side of the road, and that the house and barn usually lay on opposite sides of the route. Thus, it became relatively simple to walk the old road and find the structural remains of houses, barns, inns, customs houses, post offices, work camps, and burial grounds. These sites were then measured and a scale-plan and photograph were made for each of them[18] (figure 6).

3) **Documentary and Oral History Research.** It was then necessary to consult local residents, historical societies, and archival collections for information about each site and the people who occupied them. The story of the Canada Road is told in diaries, maps, tavern ledgers, songs, photographs, artefact collections, letters, oral histories, and government documents. No one source is able to explain the story. It is a jig-saw puzzle. Political changes in northeastern North

Figure 6
The first French Canadian residence in Waterville, Maine.



Source: Barry Rodrigue, Université Laval, and Alaric Faulkner, University of Maine, 1996, for the Maine Historic Preservation Commission, ME 462-002.

America over the last 200 years have resulted in the records of the route and its travellers being scattered in repositories as far from each other as Québec City, Fredericton, Augusta, Boston, Ottawa, Washington, D.C., Paris, and London, in addition to those in collections along the route itself. By comparing and contrasting these materials it is possible to develop a description of both the individual sites and the region as a whole.

4) **Media Outreach.** An important part of the information-gathering process was to locate people who were knowledgeable about the Canada Road, its archaeological sites, and the pioneers who lived on the frontier. A one page announcement of the project was drawn-up in French and English, then distributed throughout the region (Figure 7). At the same time, a media campaign was also begun that included local, national, and international coverage of the project in newspapers, magazines, radio broadcasts, and television productions. This two pronged approach to public outreach brought contact with respondents from all over North America who contributed stories, photos, artefacts, and other information that could not have been otherwise retrieved.[19]

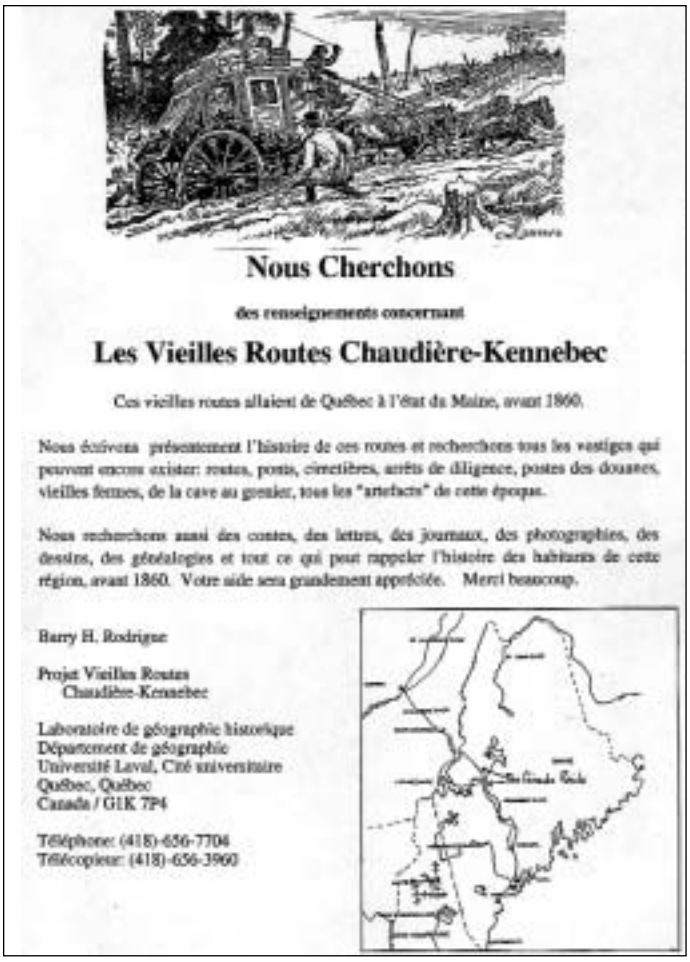
5) **Report Submission.** The oral history and documentary evidence were then merged with the field data, and a report was submitted to the appropriate government agency to officially register each site. A major problem was one of "simple" logistics: Rodrigue is based in Québec and Faulkner in Maine. In order to overcome this difficulty, Faulkner developed a computerised program of the Maine Historic Preservation Commission's site card, such that Rodrigue could then submit his archaeological reports, plans, and photographs via the internet, a convenience that saves an enormous amount of time and travel. By the time the project is completed we will have inventoried over 500 archaeological sites. This is a rather labour intensive operation that involves approximately two days per site or what will amount to 1000 work days or three years — just to create a data base from which to analyse the Canada Road.[20]

6) **Census Data Base.** At the same time as the above steps are taking place, researchers at the Laboratoire de géographie historique at the Université Laval are working on a second phase of the Canada Road Survey. We are creating a data base from Canadian and United States census reports and merging it with a computerised mapping program. This material will be used to analyse and represent farm and industrial production on both side of the border.

"Why is such complex work necessary?" a person might ask. Unfortunately, the lack of data about this frontier area in the early 19th century makes it necessary to create a reliable resource base from which to write about the frontier society of Québec and Maine. Since archaeological sites are fixed primary sources that provide hard evidence of human occupancy, they are a natural choice as a point of departure. Analysis of the remains allows for a description of activities on the sites, which can then be merged with census data and other materials to more fully and more precisely portray human activity in the northeast borderlands of Québec and Maine.

Every study has a "point of entry." This point is often a body of oral and documentary material in traditional history, census data and maps in historical geography, and structural remains and artefacts in historical archaeology. The choice of which approach a researcher might use tends to predispose the results of a given study. Class bias is often evident in document collections, data in census records can be incomplete, and survival of archaeological remains is often dependent on environmental conditions. The use of history, historical geography, and historical archaeology combine three very powerful tools in a co-operative effort to locate, describe, and interpret a frontier region. Hopefully, this complex merger of three different disciplines will correct some of the problems associated with choosing a "point of

Figure 7
Public Announcement, version française, of the Canada Road Survey.



Source: Barry Rodrigue, 1994, with the assistance of Claude Carrier, l'Université Laval.

entry." This technique has begun to produce interesting results, some of which apply to the topic of this conference and publication: *Mythical History and Symbolic Countryside: People in Time and Place.*

Amending a Myth

Many scholars emphasise what they consider to be the poor performance by French Canadians in 19th century agriculture. Many more dismiss French Canadian abilities in trade and commerce. Such opinions reflect, in part, an academic concern with urban development and international trade, as well as the use of the Laurentian and Staples Theses. The debate of such views are currently at the centre stage of Québec and Canadian studies. Two examples of this problem are evident in scholarly use of vocabulary and context.

There is an ethnic disparity in the terminology used to refer to *censitaires* of seigneuries in Québec. Both English and French scholars will employ the word "peasant," but it has two different meanings in each language. Francophones will use the word as a translation from the French *paysan,* which has a wide latitude of meaning that does not have an automatically negative connotation. However, "peasant" in English has a very pejorative connotation signifying ignorance, conservatism, and subservience. The word does appear in English translations of French texts, which seems to indicate its acceptance by French scholars, but this is actually a result of those scholars not understanding the English connotations or of the word choice being made by translators. Either way, the independent lifestyle of French Canadian *censitaires* does not allow them to be considered "peasants" in the English sense of the word. Use of the word perpetuates the myth of French Canadian inferiority.

Another part of the problem is a failure to place the 19th century French Canadian migration in a larger context. For example, the movement of approximately 900,000 French Canadians to the United States between 1775 and 1930 is often called a "Diaspora." However, the migration of 800,000 New Englanders to the midwestern states between 1790-1820 is merely considered a "relocation," if it is even referred to at all. The 19th century was a period of general dislocation in North America as a whole. The French Canadian migration was part of this larger phenomenon and was not a unique occurrence.

Despite these two examples of historical reportage that imply the inferiority of French Canadian rural society, the Canada Road research is showing that a rather lively economy existed in the border region of Québec and Maine. The various means to acquire wealth on the frontier were through trade, smuggling, and other activities that did not often require processing plants, government reports, or other materials that survive in a form easily accessible to

modern historians. It is through an analysis of this "hidden economy" that we can begin to re-evaluate frontier society. For example, archaeological evidence shows that a differential pattern of migration and settlement existed, one distinguished by ethnicity. While it would be easy to claim this differential reflects cultural *mentalité,* quite another interpretation is possible.

Irish and British migrants began to come to Lower Canada in larger numbers by the 1830s. Many first took farms in the Beauce region, then later took farms in Maine that were relatively close to the frontier. Although there is documentary evidence of French Canadians also passing through this frontier region of Maine, there is no indication that *habitants* actually settled there before the 1870s. Genealogical data, census reports, and parish records show that the French Canadians moved further south to industrial cities like Skowhegan, Waterville, Augusta, and Bath.[21] It would appear that this variance in settlement indicates that the ethnic groups had different economic goals.

The Irish and British were relatively recent arrivals, newcomers who lacked a strong residential base in the Beauce region. They were not able to consolidate as strong a foothold on the seigneurial lands as their French-Canadian neighbours, and the available land in the surrounding townships, on the *haute terre,* was of poor quality. Better land could be obtained just over the border in Maine on easier terms. These push and pull factors facilitated the removal of Irish and British emigrants from Québec across the border to new farmlands in Maine.

The French Canadians, on the other hand, were long-time residents in the Beauce region and had acquired the better lands there. They came to central Maine largely to acquire money from industrial jobs, money which they could use to augment their agro-forestry production back in Québec. Nonetheless, some did settle in Maine industrial towns and created French-Canadian colonies, which served as "bases" for their cousins' seasonal work as "sojourners." This strategy then facilitated the movement of U.S. dollars back into the Beauce region.[22]

This economic interpretation of archaeological and cartographic evidence is contrary to the often repeated stereotypes about "backward" *habitants* and progressive "yeomen." Indeed, the Canada Road model shows a sophisticated response by French-Canadian farmers to the transition from subsistence agriculture to a market economy. This leads to another view of the French-Canadian farmers, one by which they successfully colonised an industrial nation and thereby bolstered their agrarian and forestry economy at home.[23]

This dynamic of a rural hinterland expanding to encompass a cosmopolitan region deserves additional attention. It demonstrates how an empirical and interdisciplinary investigation can be used to help revise long-lived stereotypes. Although the work is far from being completed, new patterns of agricultural and industrial relations on the frontier of Québec and Maine are becoming apparent.

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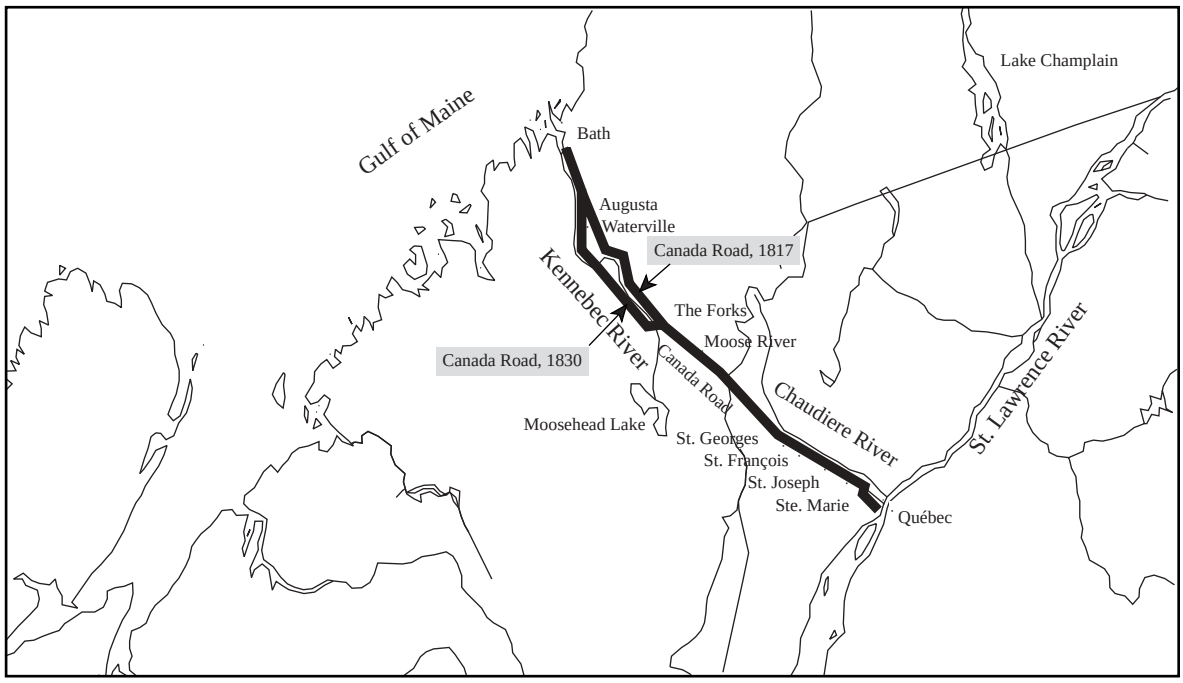
Figure 8
Map of the Canada Road Region



Notes

1 Toponymy is a problem in this project. The names used to designate the Canada Road depend on the direction of travel and the era under discussion. In the United States it was known as the "Canada Road" and the "Quebec Road." In Lower Canada it went by the name of the "Chemin de Kennebec" and the "Kennebec Road." I refer to it as the "Canada Road." The names of political units in this area have changed significantly in the last 400 years. Parts of what is today called "Maine," in the 17th century, were included in both New France and New England. Maine became a district of Massachusetts by the 18th century and then a separate state in 1820. What is today known as the "Province de Québec" was called "Lower Canada" and then "Canada East" in the early 19th century, before the name of "Canada" was expanded to include the entire dominion after Confederation in 1867. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to these two areas as "Maine" and "Québec", except when referring to a specific period and hence a specific political unit. Likewise, I employ "Quebec City" and "French Canadian," instead of "Québec" and "Québécois," which could be somewhat ambiguous to readers unfamiliar with the evolution of Canadian political nomenclature. Honorious Provost produced an important history of the Canada Road, but it needs to be revised, expanded, and placed in a wider context. It would be possible to fill the following footnotes with multiple references, but for brevity's sake those citations which appear are merely intended to serve as a representative sample. Honorius Provost, *Chaudière Kennebec: grand chemin séculaire,* (Quebec City: Éditions Garneau, 1974).

2 Besides the more apparent philosophical disagreements in the presentation of French Canadian and Franco American history, there are a number of more fundamental problems. Many historians of Franco American subjects have not kept abreast of current research in Québec and tend to present an antiquarian views of French Canadian society. For their part, French Canadian historians often view the French of New England as just a "debased" French Canadian society. In both cases, the migration itself is often presented as a simple, mechanistic thesis of over-crowding leading to migration. Rather than do original research, historians frequently tend to place new anecdotes in the same old socio-economic framework. A welcome change from such a presentation is Yves Roby's The following citations include discussions about the persistence of stereotypes in the academic literature about French North American society. Serge Courville, "Tradition or Modernity? The Canadian Seigneury in the Durham Era: Another Perspective," *Proceedings of the 17th Meeting of the French Colonial Historical Society,* Patricia Galloway, editor, (New York: University Press of America, 1993). Barry Rodrigue, "Cultural Trigonometry of Franco-American Stereotypes", *Maine History* 34:1, Summer 1994, (Orono: Maine Historical Society, 1994). Ronald Rudin, "Revisionism and the Search for a Normal Society: A Critique of Recent Quebec Historical Writing," in the *Canadian Historical Review* 73:1 (1992), 30-61. Bruno Ramirez, *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy, 1860-1914,* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1991). Serge Gagnon, *Quebec and its Historians: 1840-1920,* Translated by Yves Brunell, (Montréal: Harvest House, Limited, 1982); *Quebec and its Historians: The Twentieth Century,* Translated by Jane Brierly, (Montréal: Harvest House, Limited, 1985). Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English-Canadian Historical Writing since 1900,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986). Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains De La Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930,* (Sillery, Quebec City: Éditions du Septentrion, 1990).

3 The area of this study lies upon a peninsula that juts into the northwestern Atlantic Ocean. It is bordered by the Great Lakes and St. Lawrence River on one side and by the Atlantic Ocean on the other. Today it includes the political regions of Québec, Ontario, New York, New England, and the Maritimes. Although fragmented by various political jurisdictions and seldom considered as a united or distinct geography, this text will refer to it as the Norumbega Peninsula. The specific provincial and state polities in the Norumbega Peninsula are Québec, Ontario, New York, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Vermont, Maine, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia. One could also include St-Pierre and Miquelon, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland in the Gulf of St. Lawrence as detached fragments of the peninsula."Norumbega" was the name given to a mythical kingdom filledriches by the Wabenaki and Europeans. It was said to lie interior to the Maine, Maritime, and Québec coasts.

4 The Chaudiere-Kennebec portage as used by Native Americans was more complex than the above description might imply. It followed several watersheds, allowed a choice of movement down different river systems, and took advantage of river flow to facilitate travel. It is popularly assumed that Native peoples used these water and trail systems for travel between the St. Lawrence River and the Atlantic Ocean "since time immemorial." However, I believe that modern studies of Native demography raise problems with this assumption. The St. Lawrence valley had been inhabited by an Iroquoian-speaking people for centuries before Jacques Cartier's first voyage to Québec in 1534, but they abandoned the region before Champlain's arrival in 1608. It would seem unlikely that either these Iroquoians or their Eastern Algonquian neighbours would have normally migrated between the St. Lawrence and the Atlantic, it having been simpler for them to have tapped maritime resources within their respective territories. While it is possible that river and portage routes over the *haute terre* had been used for trade or warfare, it would seem more likely that regular Native migration would largely date from the time of European occupation of the Gulf of St. Lawrence and developed to facilitate trade. Bruce Trigger and James Pendergast, "Saint Lawrence Iroquoians," in *Handbook of North American Indians,* William Sturtevant, general editor, *Volume 15, Northeast,* Bruce Trigger, Volume editor, (Washington, D.C.:

Smithsonian Institution, 1978), 357-61. Honorius Provost, *Les Abénaquis sur la Chaudière*, (Quebec City: Séminaire de Québec, 1983). John Montresor, Journal (1761), *in March To Quebec*, Kenneth Roberts, editor, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946), 3-24. Hugh Finlay, *Journal from the last settlements on the Chaudiere To the first Inhabitants on the Kennebec River*, (1773); MG 21, Add. Mss., Volume 21686, File folios 48-55, Reel A-615, Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

5 Samuel Champlain, in *The Works of Samuel De Champlain*, H.P. Biggar, editor, (Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1936), volume 5, 313-18, volume 6, 42-45. Jerome Lalemant in *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents: Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610-1791*, Volume 31, Reuben Thwaites, editor, (New York: Pagent Book Company, 1959), 183-208. Joseph Williamson, "Materials for a History of Fort Halifax: Being Copies and Abridgements of Documents in the Office of the Secretary of the Commonwealth, Boston, Mass.," *in Collections of the Maine Historical Society* 7, (Bath: Maine Historical Society, 1876), 165-98. Kenneth Morrison, "Sebastien Racle and Norridgewock, 1724: The Eckstrom Conspiracy Thesis Reconsidered," in *Maine: A History Through Selected Readings*, David Smith and Edward Schriver, editors, (Dubuque: Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company, 1985), 68-73. Hugh Finlay, Journal (1773). I.K. Steele, "Hugh Finlay," in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume V, 1801-1820, Frances Halpenny and Jean Hamelin, editors, (Quebec City and Toronto: Les Presses de l'Université Laval and the University of Toronto Press, 1983), 316. Honorious Provost, *Chaudière Kennebec: grand chemin séculaire*, 230. John Montresor, Journal (1761), 3-24; Benedict Arnold, Journal (1775), 45-123; in March To Quebec, Kenneth Roberts, editor, (Garden City: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1946). Abraham Weatherwise, *Almanack*, (Boston: J. Norman, 1787), no page number. Paul Coffin, "Missionary Tour in Maine, 1797," in *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* 4, (Portland: Maine Historical Society, 1856), 346.

6 Honorius Provost, *Le Grand Chemin de la Beauce*, (Quebec City: La Société Historique de Québec, 1968), 5-17, map. Moses Greenleaf, *Map of the State of Maine*, (Published by Act of Congress, 1822); copy in the Archives National du Québec, Québec City.

7 Many Yankees had also spread across the border from the United States into the Eastern Townships of Québec, a migration of concern to British administrators worried about annexation to the United States. Unknown author, *Lambton, Kennebec, Temisquata Roads, Mr. Andrew Russell's Report*, 4 May 1841; Antoine-Charles Taschereau, Ste-Marie-de-Beauce, *Return of Lots Abandoned and of Lots Unlocated on the Kennebeck Road*, 11 May 1841; Andrew Russell, *Observations on the Lambton, Kennebec, Temisquata, & Gosford Roads*, 4 May 1841; all in the papers of the Governor General's Office, Civil Secretary's Correspondence, Governor General's Secretary, File 116, Nos. 100-227, 1841, RG 7, G 20, vol. 2; Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

8 Thomas McKechnie, Townships and Canada Road Survey, 1811, Plan Book 1, Page 24, Map Case 1, Drawer 11, Folder 11, Maine State Archives, Augusta. Ernest Walker, *Embden Town of Yore: Olden Times and Families There and in Adjacent Towns* (Skowhegan: Independent-Reporter Company, 1929, and Gardiner: Bunkhouse Books, 1984), 134.

9 Joseph Bouchette, *Description Topographique de la Province du Bas-Canada, avec des Remarques sur Le Haut Canada, et sur les Relations des deux Provinces avec Les Etats Unis de l'Amérique*, (London: W. Faden, 1815; Montréal: Éditions Élysée, 1978), 507-09. Honorius Provost, *Le Grand Chemin de la Beauce*, 20.

10 Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Resolve, 12 June 1817. Agreement with Samuel Austin, G. Coffin, Caleb Jewett, Edward Robbins, Lathrop Lewis, and Joseph Lee to build the Canada Road, 27 June 1817; John Merrick, Hallowell, to Lathrop Lewis, Gorham, 7 July 1817; Lathrop Lewis, Gorham, to John Merrick, Hallowell, 16 July 1817; in the Massachusetts State Archives, Boston. Edward Robbins and others, Petition for highway through the Million Acres, 1 July 1817, and Somerset County, Commissioners' Report, August Term 1818, Somerset County, Records of Highways & Ferries in the County of Somerset, Volume 1, 62-66; in Somerset County Court House, Skowhegan, Maine.

11 The Canada Road was in the context of an overall program of road and canal development in eastern North America at this time, these projects including the National Road (1818) into Ohio, the Erie Canal (1825) through New York, the Craig Road (1810) through the Eastern Townships, and the Chambly Canal (1843) on the Richelieu River. The Canada Road is much more complex than the brief account provided above. Other routes intersected and supplemented it, integrating the Canada Road into a larger network of roadways in both Québec and New England. George Evans, location not given, to the Maine State Legislature, 25 January 1827, in "Jackman and the Moose River Region," by John Sprague, in *Sprague's Journal of Maine History* 3:2 (July 1915, Dover, Maine), 57. Jackman Bicentennial Book Committee, *The History of the Moose River Valley* (Augusta: Kennebec Journal Printing, 1976), 27. Maine State Legislature, Resolve Relating to the State Road North of the Bingham Purchase, 24 January 1828, and A Resolve in Favor of Caleb Jewett and others, 1 February 1828; Report of the Agents for the Kennebec Road to the Governor, 17 February 1830; Elisha Hilton, Petition to the Maine State Legislature, 14 January 1836, and Petition to the Maine State Legislature, 22 May 1848; all in the Maine State Archives, Augusta. *Mechanicks Magazine and Journal of Publick Improvement* 1:2, (Boston: Samuel N. Dickinson, 1830), 41-42. Honorious Provost, *Le Grand Chemin de la Beauce*, 21; *Sainte-Marie de la Nouvelle-Beauce: Histoire Civile*, (Quebec City: Séminaire de Québec, 1970), 126, 374. Joseph Bouchette, *Topographical Dictionary of the Province of Lower Canada*, (London: Longman, Rees, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longman, 1832), no page numbers, under alphabetical listing for " Ste. Marie, seigniory, in the co. of Beauce." J.P. Proulx, *Plan du Chemin de la Beauce à la Pointe Levy*, 20 Septembre 1825; at the Société du Patrimoine des Beaucerons, Saint-Joseph-de-Beauce. Charles Jackson, *Third Annual Report on the Geology of the State of Maine*, (Augusta: State of Maine, 1839), 43-44. Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta, Historic Archaeological Sites Inventory: Hilton Farm, ME 629-002; Hilton Cemetery, ME 629-003. February 1832. Anonymous, *Voyage à Quebec City en 1831*, manuscript copy of the French translation in the possession of Ruth Reed, Moose River, Maine. Anonymous, *Memorandum on the Attack of Canada by the United States*, April 1839, in RG 77, Records, Chief of Engineers..., Special Collections and Other Reference Aids, 1789-1923, Unregistered Letters, Reports, Histories, Regulations, and Other Records, 1817-1894, Case and Drawer Bulky File, 1789-1877, Case 1, Drawer 3, N^{O} 1-13, Box 51, NM 78, Entry 292A, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

12 While the majority of French Canadians went to southern New England by way of the Richelieu River and Lake Champlain, the Canada Road into Maine provided an important alternative route. It should be remembered that this was an era of cash shortage, when people in the Aroostook territory of Maine, for example, used shingles and flour like currency, a custom that persisted into the 1870s. Martine Pelletier and Monica Ferretti, *A Folkloric History of Van Buren Settlers* (Van Buren, By the authors, 1979), 107. Richard Judd, *Aroostook: A Century of Logging in Northern Maine*, (Orono: The University of Maine Press, 1989), 89-90. Albert Fecteau, *The French Canadian Community of Waterville, Maine* (University of Maine, M. A. thesis, 1952), 10-14. Maurice Violette, *The Franco Americans: A Franco American Chronicle of Historical and Cultural Environment: Augusta Revisited* (New York: Vantage Press, c. 1976), 20-21. Yves Roby, *Les Franco Américains De La Nouvelle-Angleterre*, 13, 18-19, 21. Ralph Vicero, "French-Canadian Settlement in Vermont Prior to the Civil War", *The Professional Geographer* 22 (October 1971), 290-94; *Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis* (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1968), 148. Madeleine Ferron and Robert Cliche, *Les Beaucerons ces insoumis*, (Ville LaSalle, Quebec City: Hurtubise HMH, Ltd., 1982), 90. France Bélanger and others, *La Beauce et les Beaucerons: 1737-1987*, (Saint-Joseph-de-Beauce: La Société du patrimoine des Beaucerons, 1990), 34, 36-7, 60-1. Samuel Bowan and others, Bloomfield, Maine, Letter to Samuel Smith, Governor of Maine, 18 June 1832; Jacob Shaw and others, Report to the Governor, 18 June 1832; Executive Council Papers, in the Maine State Archives, Augusta. Charles Scontras, *Collective Efforts Among Maine Workers: Beginnings and Foundations, 1820-1880*, (Orono: Bureau of Labor Education, University of Maine, 1994), 43-44. James Allen, *Catholics in Maine: A Social Geography*, (Ann Arbor: University Microfilms, 1971), 65. Charles Nash, "Helen Jewett", in *Bibliography of the Town and City of Augusta, Maine From the Earliest Period to the year 1897*, 193-94; in the Charles Nash Papers, Kennebec Historical Society, Special Collections Room, University of Maine, Augusta.

13 It is important to note that the migration data base and graph, as well as the discussion about them in the text, are in the process of being developed. For example, the data includes only the parents and children who migrated from Québec to Maine, not their children who were born in Maine. Some settlers obviously escaped enumeration, and some of the larger communities of French Canadians in Maine are not included, such as those in the Saint John Valley, in Bath on the lower Kennebec River, and at Belfast and Rockport on the west coast of Penobscot Bay. Robert Chenard, Waterville, Maine, personal communication, spring 1995.

14 There is a tendency in the literature to depreciate the role of *journalier*, a disregard that fails to appreciate the fact that day-labouring was an adaptable choice, one which admittedly held as wide a range of security and desperation as other 19th century occupations. A variety of other tensions in Québec in the early 19th century existed between and within the seigneurial and township systems of land tenure. The depiction of the seigneurial system as "traditional" and "feudal" is a political stereotype. In the first half of the 19th century the seigneurial system was a plural phenomena, being used differently in different places. The system had evolved into a vehicle of capitalist use in the hands of both French Canadian "traditionalists," as well as English "mercantilists." The problem of representing the seigneurial system as a traditional expression of French society is examined in the following references. Serge Courville, "Tradition or Modernity?". Richard Colebrook Harris, T*he Seigneurial System in Early Canada: A Geographical Study*, (Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1984); "Of Poverty and Helplessness in Petite-Nation," in *The Canadian Historical Review* 52:1 (March 1971), 23-50. Allan Greer, *The Patriots and the People: The Rebellion of 1837 in Lower Canada*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 23-25, 35-42.

15 Yves Roby discounts the often cited explanation of over-population and its related pressure on the land leading to emigration in the first half of the 19th century. He emphasises that the reasons for the migration were based in economic factors and states that the pressure of over-population would become more significant only later in the century. Serge Courville describes migration as a normal process of internal regulation by a society. In this case, the integrity of land holdings were preserved by frontier expansion and migration over the border into the United States. France Bélanger et autres, *La Beauce et les Beaucerons,* 49-72. Madeleine Ferron et Robert Cliche, *Les Beaucerons ces insoumis,* 65-80. J.I. Little, *Ethno-Cultural Transition and Regional Identity in the Eastern Townships of Quebec* (Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1989), 2, 17-18. Serge Courville, *Entre Ville et Campagne: L'essor du village dans les seigneuries du Bas-Canada* (Quebec City: Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 1990), 241-56. Serge Courville and Normand Séguin, *Rural Life in Nineteenth-Century Quebec* (Ottawa: The Canadian Historical Association, 1989). John McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario until 1870* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981), 3-8. Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains De La Nouvelle-Angleterre,* 14-17. André Garant, *Saint-François de Beauce, Je me Souviens,* (Beauceville: L'Imprimerie l'éclaireur, 1985), 109-110. *Le Canadien,* 26 May 1837, 2. Ralph Vicero, *Immigration of French Canadians to New England,* 35-44.

16 Reports about Acadian "migration" into Maine are often misleading. Up to 85% of the people who are today are called "Acadian" in Maine's Aroostook County are actually the descendants of French Canadian migrants who came from the lower St. Lawrence River over the Temiscouata Road. These immigrants, as well as the true Acadian settlers in the St. John Valley, were subsequently "incorporated" into Maine by the Webster-Ashburton Treaty of 1842, which transferred lands that they already occupied to United States control. Yolande Lavoie in François Weil, *Les Franco-Américains: 1860-1980,* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 1989), 24. Ralph Vicero, *Immigration of French Canadians to New England,* 148. Rev. F-X Tessier, St-François-de-Beauce, 6 February 1857; in AAQ, 61 CD Beauceville, I: 170, Archives de l'Archdiocèse de Québec. James Allen, *Catholics in Maine,* 125-46. Leo Cyr, *Bicentennial Edition of Madawaskan Heritage,* (Bethesda, Maryland: By the author, 1985), 224-25. Martine Pelletier and Monica Ferretti, *A Folkloric History of Van Buren Settlers,* 26, 93, 107. Richard Judd, *Aroostook,* 7. Elijah Hamlin, Bangor, Maine, to Joseph Noyes, Collector of Customs, Passamaquoddy District, 14 March 1843, in RG 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, Records of the Division of Appointments, Registers Relating to Customs Service Appointments, Letters Concerning Appointments, Removals, and General Activities of Secret Inspectors of Customs, 1842-1850, Volume 01 of 1, NARS A-1, Entry 248, National Archives, Washington, D.C. Béatrice Craig, "Immigrants in a Frontier Community: Madawaska, 1785-1850," *Histoire Sociale-Social History* 19, 38, (November 1986), 277-97; "Agriculture and the Lumberman's Frontier in the Upper St. John Valley, 1800-70," *Journal of Forest History* 32, 3, (July 1988), 125-37.

17 Although the periodization of Franco American society is a much more complex issue than space will allow to be fully developed here, the Franco Americans who went to Maine before the U.S. War of Succession can be characterized, in general, as acculturating and assimilating more quickly into the larger Yankee society than the later migrations. A major reason for this more rapid cultural transition was a lack of French support networks that would later come into existence, such as French Canadian parishes, French newspapers, etc. For recent books about Franco-American history see the following references. Yves Roby, *Les Franco-Américains De La Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1776-1930,* (Sillery, Quebec City: Éditions du Septentrion, 1990); François Weil, *Les Franco Américains: 1860-1980,* (Paris: Éditions Belin, 1989); Armand Chartier, *Histoire des Franco-Américains de la Nouvelle-Angleterre, 1775-1990,* (Sillery, Quebec City: Les éditions du Septentrion, 1991); Gerard Brault, *The French Canadian Heritage in New England,* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 1986).

18 Rodrigue and Faulkner also worked the predictive models off against each other. When a segment of the road or a structure was difficult to find, we used the known entity to locate the unknown one. Thus far, we have focused on sites to which informants and documents have directed us. There are undoubtedly many more sites that have been totally forgotten and await discovery along the Canada Road.

19 The news story of the Canada Road Survey was originally distributed by the press service of the University of Maine in the spring of 1994. Their release was picked-up by the *Bangor Daily News* and *Channel 5 News* in Maine. The Associated Press saw these releases and distributed the story nation-wide in the fall of 1994. When the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation saw the AP article they produced their own story, which was aired on *Prime Time News* later that fall. As a result of the CBC coverage, *Canadian Geographic* produced an article about the Canada Road Survey in 1995-96. Most recently the project was again featured by the University of Maine press service in the fall of 1996 and in a Maine Public Television program about archaeological work in Maine in the winter-spring of 1997. As a wider audience has seen these reports, they have provided additional information—from as far away as British Columbia and Florida. In addition to the data that has come back to the project, this coverage has also served to increase public interest and brought requests for more information from high school and college students, for conference participation, and for lectures. Margaret Nagle, "Canada Road", *in Maine Perspective* (c. June & July 1994). *Bangor Daily News*, "UMaine student seeks information on old Augusta to Quebec Road," c. 18 June 1994. *Channel 5 News*, "Old Canada Road," Bangor, Maine, 20 June 1994. Glenn Adams, "UM researcher finds remnants of bygone U.S.-Canada route", Associated Press, Augusta, Maine, 21 September 1994. Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, "Old Canada Road," *Prime Time News*, Fall 1994; Peter Taylor, "Ancestral Trail", in *Canadian Geographic* 116:1 (January/February 1996), 38-46. Margaret Nagle, "In Search of the Long-Lost Canada Road", in *Maine Perspective* 8:5 (4 November 1996), 10-11, 19. Maine Public Television, "Historical Archaeology in Maine" (approximate title), *Quest* series, Winter-Spring 1997.

20 So far we have discovered over 300 archaeological sites and have submitted about 250 of them to the Maine Historic Preservation Commission for registration. Systematic work on the archaeological sites on the Québec side of the border has recently begun.

21 Barry Rodrigue and Alaric Faulkner, *Canada Road Survey, Part 1, Final Report,* Maine Historic Preservation Commission, Augusta, 1994-95. Maine Historic Preservation Commission, ME 290-035, Peter Pelotte Farm. Otis Holden, Account books of stagecoach stop and inn, c. 1830-1890, Moose River, Maine; in possession of Ruth Reed, Jackman, Maine. Robert Chenard, *St. Francis de Sales Catholic Church, Waterville, Maine,* Volume 1, (Waterville: published by the author, 1994). Unknown author, *Lambton, Kennebec, Temisquata Roads, Mr. Andrew Russell's Report,* 4 May 1841; Antoine-Charles Taschereau, Ste-Marie-de-Beauce, *Return of Lots Abandoned and of Lots Unlocated on the Kennebeck Road,* 11 May 1841; Andrew Russell, *Observations on the Lambton, Kennebec, Temisquata, & Gosford Roads,* 4 May 1841.

22 While perhaps a majority of the literature has discussed the development of a Franco American society in New England, few authors have addressed the changes that sojourning in the United States had in power relationships back in the Beauce region. A study that has addressed such changes in migratory source areas is Bruno Ramirez' investigation of Italy in *On the Move: French-Canadian and Italian Migrants in the North Atlantic Economy,* 1860-1914, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Inc., 1991).

23 The Beauce region's expansion into the industrial frontier of Maine provides a variation on Serge Courville's thesis that rural Québec was becoming as "proto-industrial" as other rural areas. While the pattern of French Canadian colonisation of industrial New England and New York has been identified for the late 19th century, it has not been elaborated for the early 19th century. It only became a subject of concern to labour officials after the U.S. Civil War. Serge Courville, "Tradition or Modernity?", 64-66. Robert Chodos and Eric Hamovitch, *Quebec and the American Dream,* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1991), 94-99.

ORT CHAMBLY AND THE CREATION OF SYMBOLIC SPACE: THE PHOTOGRAPH AS SITE OF MEANING

Joan M. Schwartz

Department of Geography, Queen's University

Fort Chambly, Canada [Figure 1] was one of only two photographs "From Nature" in William Notman's landmark publication, *Photographic Selections,* Canada's first art book illustrated with original photographic prints. This paper examines *Fort Chambly, Canada* as a site where landscape meaning was negotiated, and seeks to demonstrate that it was an active participant in the creation of symbolic space. What does this image tell us, as geographers, about the geographical imagination and how do we interrogate it?

Part I

This paper proceeds from the historical and theoretical perspectives to the photograph as a "record of fact" and a "site of meaning", themes further explored in my doctoral thesis. A brief overview of the arguments made there frame this discussion. My thesis proceeds from the central premise that, since the announcements of Louis Jacques Mandé Daguerre, in France, and William Henry Fox Talbot, in England, in 1839, photographs have been part of the process by which people pictured their world and their place in it. It supposes that geography and photography in the mid-nineteenth century were kindred exercises in describing and visualizing place, and that for the last 150 years photographs have played a role in the pursuit of geographical knowledge. It seeks to establish the historical basis of the photograph in geographical endeavour and, by extension, the historical grounding of a method of critical engagement with the photograph in geographical inquiry. It examines the origins and early development of the relationship between geography and photography, and on the grounds that historically, philosophically, and practically, photographs have played an active role in shaping perceptions of place and place-based identity, claims a place for the photograph in contemporary geographical inquiry. By locating both historical geography and photographs at the intersection of time and space, it suggests that photographs not only had an impact on the co-ordinates of the geographical imagination, but also played a role in the construction of imaginative geographies. It argues that the nature of the photograph in geographical inquiry is framed by the historicity of mimesis, and that in the transition from positivist faith to postmodernist rejection, the photograph assumes a dual role as a record of fact and a site of meaning.

Critical analysis of photographs has tended to situate photographs within the evolution of picture-making. But, from the invention of the daguerreotype and the photograph on paper, camera-made images have been used to record and transmit visual information, collect evidence, generate data, and document events. My thesis, then, departs from the traditional view of photographs as visual representation. It takes the interpretation of photographs outside the realm of art historical discourse and places it squarely within the realm of historical endeavour. It views photographs not as another medium of visual representation, but as another form of historical documentation. Instead of situating the photograph in an iconographical framework, it locates the photograph in a documentary perspective. Instead of exploring the photograph as a visual representation, it investigates the photograph as a visual document. Instead of focussing on image content and assessing it against art historical approaches to the evolution of pictorial convention, it emphasizes documentary context and grounds it in archival concerns for the evolution of media of record. Photography then becomes not just another means of picture-making but another means of records-creation. Its relationship to the production of knowledge is not contingent upon its nature as art but upon its character as information. Emphasis is not on the photograph *per se*, but on the meanings embedded in and communicated by the medium as an entré to the society in which it circulated.

In Canada, the new medium of photography was ideally suited to the task of celebrating and concretizing material progress and national development. Removed from the debates over "the legitimacy of photography's claim to artistic respectability"[1] which animated the development of photography in England and France and, to a

degree, the eastern seaboard of the United States, early photography in Canada, I contend, served essentially as a medium of geographical description used to communicate information in visual form over time and space. My thesis argues that because geographers are primarily interested in the photograph as a source for exploring the society in which it was generated and circulated, photographic meaning must be understood and investigated in geographical perspective. In order to seek the meaning of Canada's early photographic record and understand its impact on Canadian perceptions of landscape and identity, I propose a theoretical framework for doing so. Then, proceeding from the assumption that the photograph is a document, I offer a methodology for returning the photograph to the action in which it participated through an analysis of its functional context of creation. Intended not to supplant but to supplement existing analytical tools, the conceptual framework and critical method will be applied to the Canadian photographic record in order to demonstrate the way in which photographs participated in the construction of mid-nineteenth century reality. Having placed the photograph into proper theoretical perspective and having proposed a critical and systematic method for recovering functional context, I develop case studies drawn from the Canadian photographic record to demonstrate the power of documentary analysis and elucidate the role of photographs in the construction of imaginative geographies of Canada. From the application of theory and methodology to early Canadian photographs, I then draw more general conclusions about the critical exegesis of photographs by historical cultural geographers in their pursuit of the relationships between landscape and identity, people and place, reality and representation.

Part II

The role of photography in geography was first articulated on 15 June 1839 by France's Minister of the Interior, Duchâtel. In presenting the bill before the Chamber of Deputies to grant Daguerre a lifetime annuity in exchange for making public the details of his process, Duchâtel argued:

> ... to the traveller, to the archaeologist and also to the naturalist, the apparatus of M. Daguerre will become an object of continual and indispensable use. It will enable them to note what they see, without having recourse to the hand of another. Every author will in future be able to compose the geographical part of his own work: by stopping awhile before the most complicated monument, or the most extensive *coup-d'oeil,* he will immediately obtain an exact *fac simile* of them.[2]

Duchâtel's claim that "every author will in future be able to compose the geographical part of his own work," established photography as a legitimate tool of geographical endeavour. But photography was more than a form of visual note-taking: it was a means by which to visualize the world and one's place in it. In the Introduction to *Geographies of the Mind,* David Lowenthal observed: "The lineaments of the world we live in are both seen and shaped in accordance, or by contract, with images we hold of other worlds - better worlds, past worlds, future worlds. We constantly compare the reality with the fancy. Indeed, without the one we could neither visualize nor conceptualize the other."[3]

Geographical endeavour involved the observation and description of far-off and local environments, both natural and man-made, and exotic as well as domestic travel, including the relationships of people to place. Photographs were visual descriptions which came to serve as surrogates for direct observation and, as such, can be examined as the material expression of the "picturing impulse" underlying geographical endeavour. Invented at a time when vision and knowledge came to be inextricably linked in the projects of modernism and imperialism, photography joined geography as ways of situating oneself in time and space. During the mid-nineteenth century, geography and photography shared theoretical concerns about the nature of reality and how we come to know and represent it. Contemporary inquiry into the nature of representation and its role in the invention of reality raises questions about the way in which photography was employed to geographical ends - to appropriate new territory, extend imperial power and push back geographical frontiers, to shape ideas about place and define symbolic space. Their common agenda to describe, and thereby to know, the world was rooted in positivist science and mimetic representation.

The central premise of my thesis has its roots in what David Livingstone has called "the geographer's impulse toward mapping and picturing, namely, visual representation."[4] Ptolemy's conception of geography as "an enterprise essentially concerned with picturing (or representing) the world" and Blaeu's claim that "maps enable us to contemplate at home and right before our eyes things that are farthest away" suggest a fundamental compatibility of photographic means and geographical ends. The "centrality of the picture-making impulse" presaged the addition of the photograph to the geographical

tradition of visual representation. The photograph offered a mode of describing, studying, ordering, classifying, and knowing the world.

This impulse toward mapping and picturing also implies a way and an object of knowing. What then becomes interesting is the way in which the vocabulary of sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, and early-nineteenth century geographies becomes the rhetoric of nineteenth-century photography. Even more important to this project is the concomitant development of geography and photography. David Stoddart notes that "accounts of the exotic, spectacular and remote have been central to geography since at least the time of Hakluyt and Purchas."[5] From the invention of photography in the mid-nineteenth century on, these accounts took on a new visual aspect which, through the unprecedented realism of the photographic image, supplemented and supplanted exploration. Geographical curiosity was piqued by photographs. Geographical information was gathered through photographs. Geographical knowledge was assembled and disseminated through photographs.

In nineteenth-century Canada, exploration, settlement, urbanization and industrialization proceeded under the watchful eye of the camera. Building on the visual foundations laid by artists and military topographers, photographers created images that helped imperial eyes to visualize colonial possessions.[6] Modern geopolitical ideas about Canada were born at precisely the same time that photography stepped onto the world stage. Lord Durham's report was presented to the House of Commons on 11 February 1839, only three weeks after news of Daguerre's invention had been presented to the Académie des Sciences in Paris and ten days before William Henry Fox Talbot announced his process for photogenic drawing to the Royal Society. Thus developments in British North America shared intellectual space, legislative energies and public attention with the invention of photography and the evolution of modern geography. They also helped colonial eyes to visualize Old Country connections and New World possibilities. Photographs were part of the process of transplanting old identities and establishing new ones, helping Empire to comprehend colony and colony to develop into nation.

Part III

Modern Canada is a product of the photographic era. At its most superficial level, such a statement suggests that there is a rich and extensive photographic record illustrating many facets of Canadian society and history from the 1840s to the present day. However, embedded in this simple observation are wide-ranging implications for the pursuit of historical geography. These become clear in light of recent geographical approaches to landscape - its construction, meaning, and representation. The recent problematization of "writing" - keeping in mind that "photography" translates literally as "writing with light" - has undermined the visual authority of the photograph as a mimetic representation of the world, at the same time recasting the photograph as a site where meaning is negotiated. Until recently, photographs have tended to be viewed within historical scholarship as passive reflections of past material reality, useful for their descriptive details but generally an adjunct to rather than an integral part of documentary research. However, in view of the historical partnership between geography and photography, and the role of photographs in the process of visualization by which people made sense of their world, photographs are recast in a more active role as agents in forging responses to place, forming notions of identity, establishing symbolic space, fashioning collective memory, and defining cultural difference. The notion that photographs are not only tools of description but devices of inscription, suggests that they merit attention in historical geography for the ways in which they not only reflected but also constituted imaginative geographies of place. My thesis examines the ways in which photographs served to "picture place" in British North America in the mid-nineteenth century.

I argue that geographers are not interested in the photograph as an image within the evolution of picture-making. Rather we are interested in the photograph as an entré to the society which generated and consumed it. My aim, then, is not to understand the photograph as a picture but to engage it as evidence. The difference between an art historical approach and a historical geographical approach to photographic meaning is then a matter of disciplinary focus and scholarly priority. Where the art photograph can be treated as a document, not all photographic documents can be treated as art. As an example of the way in which the photograph participated in the construction of imaginative geographies, I offer the example of William Notman's photograph, *Fort Chambly,* as a case study in the creation of symbolic space.

Part IV: *Fort Chambly:* a case study in the creation of symbolic space

William Notman included *Fort Chambly, Canada* in his art publication *Photographic Selections. Vol.I.* It appeared about the same time that Fort Chambly "had been discovered an as historic site, and a strong movement was building to develop it as a cultural resource."[7] In view of this historical circumstance, let us return William Notman's landscape photograph *Fort Chambly* to the action in which it participated in order to comprehend its role in the construction of an imaginative geography of Fort Chambly as a place.

Fort Chambly was one of two original landscape photographs in William Notman's art publication, *Photographic Selections,* Canada's first photographically-illustrated art book.[8] It comprised 49 original photographs each with descriptive letterpress text: 37 were photographic copies of engravings after works of art, ten were photographic copies of original oil paintings, and two were photographs directly "From Nature".[9] Notman issued his *Photographic Selections* to subscribers in instalments between December 1863 and November 1864; *Fort Chambly,* the first of only two original photographs appeared in the third instalment published in February 1864. The descriptive letterpress text, accompanying *Fort Chambly,* was written by Thomas D. King:

> *Fort Chambly* The present fort was erected about the year 1710, at the termination of the wars with the Iroquois Indians, and is pleasantly situated on the border of the Lake Champlain, near the confluence of the River Richelieu. It has played a conspicuous part in the struggles between the English and French at the time of the Conquest of Canada, and subsequently at the time of the American Revolution. It was taken by the Americans in 1755, since which time it has been suffered to decay.
>
> The fort originally belonged to Monsieur de Chambly, captain in the troops sent by the French to Canada, and subsequently Governor of Martinique.
>
> It is selected for its historic importance, and on account of its beauty as a composition. The natural arrangement is effective — Mount Beloeil is seen in the distance — and the picture is much assisted by the cattle which figure in the composition.

Figure 1
Fort Chambly

Source: William Notman, *Fort Chambly, Canada*, Plate 12, *Photographic Selections* by William Notman with Descriptive Letter Press by Thomas D. King, Vol.I, Montreal, published by William Notman, printed by John Lovell, 1863 [-1865]. Courtesy, National Archives of Canada, Accession 1989-178, copy negative PA-186987.

Notman's *Fort Chambly* appeared the same month as the Montreal *Herald* announced that 130 men of the Victoria Volunteer Rifles would be having a snowshoeing weekend at Chambly.[10]

The inclusion of *Fort Chambly* in an art volume intended, according to the Preface, "to foster the increasingly growing taste for works of art in Canada," suggests a message about the relationship of art, photography, and nature. In the table of contents of *Photographic Selections*, where all works of art are listed by title and artist, Notman's view of Fort Chambly is not attributed to Notman. *Fort Chambly, Canada* is credited to "From Nature". Here, Notman capitalizes on the popular idea that Nature was her own amanuensis, emphasizing the ability of photography to communicate a direct, unmediated relationship between art and nature.

The descriptive text by Thomas D. King notes that Notman's *Fort Chambly* was "selected for its historic importance, and on account of its beauty as a composition." The historical significance of the site transcended its chronology of military engagements. And its status as "the only relic of the kind in North America" offered more than aesthetic links to the picturesque tradition of ruined abbeys, churches, cottages, castles, and riverside scenery that came from eighteenth and nineteenth-century landscape art and which found favour in mid-Victorian amateur art photography.[11] Buttressed by its military history and picturesque setting, more importantly, Fort Chambly was a site where national identity and collective memory converged and derived meaning.

Notman's *Fort Chambly* was part of the process by which Fort Chambly as a place was imbued with history and beauty. The message created by the conjunction of Notman's photograph and King's text was produced specifically for an audience of 263 original subscribers. Yet, the constitutive impact of this image on the public imagination within its original context in *Photographic Selections* must be assessed not by the number of original subscribers but their influence. A List of Subscribers was printed and bound into the volume; a veritable "who's who" of Canadian society, it included many of the most politically and socially powerful men in the Canadas: the Governor-General; the Lord Bishop of Québec, the Lord Bishop of Montréal, and other church officials; Chief Justice Draper, Lord Aylmer, Lt-Gen Sir W.F.Williams; Major-General Napier of Toronto and other prominent military men; members of Parliament including the Hon. G.E.Cartier, Attorney General for Canada East, and the Hon. William MacDougall, Provincial Secretary; architects Charles Baillargé and Thomas Fuller; publisher, John Lovell; George Stephen, later Lord Strathcona; lawyers, doctors; artists, collectors and art dealers, as well as founders, officers, and members of the Art Association of Montréal. Institutional subscriptions came from the Educational Department, Toronto, the Library of Parliament, Ottawa, and the Institut Canadian, Montréal. Subscribers came from such prominent Montréal families and businesses as Molson and Redpath, but the audience for *Photographic Selections* was by no means limited to the immediate geographical environs of Montréal. Subscribers also came from Québec, Toronto, Ottawa, Kingston, Hamilton, Peterborough, Brantford, Cobourg, Bowmanville, Sherbrooke, Beauport, London (C.W.), Stanstead, Belleville, Prescott; London, Stroud, and Bristol, England.

Following its initial appearance in *Photographic Selection,* single prints of *Fort Chambly* were subsequently available for sale at the Notman studio and its inclusion in many personal albums attests to the popularity of the image, a popularity which no doubt reflects both the artistry of the image and the appeal of the subject. Fascination with the photograph was likely fueled by the publication of Benjamin Sulte's poem "Le Fort de Chambly", written in September 1867, which cast the fort as a symbolic space charged with a heroic and glorious past, not to be forgotten:[12]

"O mon vieux fort", Sulte wrote, "reste debout,/ Brave l'abandon et l'orage, / dernier vestige d'un autre âge... Hélas! un outrageant oubli / Entoure la vieille relique! / Où donc est la race héroïque / Des défenseurs du Fort Chambly?"

…
Au temps où les fiers Iroquois,
Poussés d'une ardeur sanguinaire,
Apparaissaient sur la rivière
Avec la hache et le carquois,
Ses murs à ces farouches maîtres
Savaient commander le respect;
Les ennemis de nos ancêtres
Tremblaient de peur à son aspect.

…
Témoin des combats, des exploits
Qui firent jadis notre gloire,
Il me rappelle la mémoire
Du sang répandu pour nos droits.
Oh! de nos nobles origines
Aimons les berceaux glorieux:
Sur les tombeaux, dans les ruines
Est le culte des fils pieux!

…
Là furent les germes sacrés
D'où sortirent nos destinées;
Malgré la trace des années,

Qu'ils soient à jamais vénérés!
Que l'ardente foi de nos pères,
Leur courage au sein du danger,
Dans la paix, les crises, les guerres,
Subsiste pour nous protéger!

…

Canadien, pour d'autres combats,
Ton intelligence s'apprête.
Ne laisse point courber ta tête,
Ne laisse point fléchir ton bras!
Contemple en ton âme attendrie
La grandeur de tes anciens jours.
Il fut un temps où la patrie
Sans partage avait tes amours!

…

The enduring fascination with Fort Chambly as a place and the sustained influence on the geographical imagination of Notman's photograph is evidenced by the publication of an engraving from Notman's photograph in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in April of 1876 with an accompanying article chronicling the history of the site from construction of the stone structure in 1709-1711 through its service in the War of 1812, its occupation as an important post during the "troubles" of 1837-1838, to its transfer to the Government of Canada in June 1856 and its subsequent decay in the period that followed. The chain of command, the dimensions and building materials and the garrisons were described with emphasis on the French origins and architectural details; the British history of the Fort is largely ignored. Sulte's call to arms to defend Fort Chambly once again but this time from neglect, is echoed in the concluding dramatic admonition: "Thus abandoned and deserted, and all tenantless save "to the crannying wind," this unique and precious relic of antiquity, should no hand be stretched forth to save it, must soon fall under the weight of years, and become a prey to inevitable destruction."[13] Here, Sulte's theme of an abandoned relic with a heroic and glorious past re-emerges although perhaps with diminished patriotic ardour reflecting the predominantly English-speaking audience; nevertheless, the French origins and architectural details of the site were emphasized, contributing to Sulte's portrayal of Fort Chambly as a symbolic space of former glory, heroic ancestors, devout sons, and noble origins.

The print was reissued at least twice, mounted on card stock, with an ornate border and titled *Fort Chambly ou Pontchartrain 1711* over the verse:

Beneath these battlements, around those walls
What deeds of prowess unrecorded died!

The date 1711 suggests that the viewer is looking into history, at the fort as it appeared in the early eighteenth century. In the accompanying lines, romanticism and historicism converge to direct the process of visualizating the glorious past and imaginative geography of this symbolically-charged place. On the verso of one mounted print, a letter-press text similar to that which accompanied the engraved view in the *Canadian Illustrated News* appeared attributed to Charles Walkem, Militia Department, Ottawa (Formerly R.E.Staff in Canada). A postcript ensures the reader: "It will be hailed with much satisfaction to know that the Government at Ottawa have begun to repair this precious old relic. June, 1882."

Notman's photograph did not act in isolation to constitute ideas about Fort Chambly as a place imbued with nationalist sentiment. Rather it was one of several visual and textual agents that shaped responses to the landscape and created the pre-texts of seeing. The photograph was only one of several active elements in an information economy. Notman's depiction of Fort Chambly had precedents in paintings by William Henry Bartlett (1840),[14] William Sawyer (1844),[15] Cornelius Krieghoff (ca.1858), James Duncan, and others.[16] Embedded in the growing historicism of the mid-nineteenth century, Notman's view was not simply another artistic rendering of a picturesque scene. Like Bartlett's engraving and Sulte's poem, Notman's photograph paired with King's text entered the public imagination and became a pre-text for seeing Fort Chambly as a site and extracting meaning from it as a place. The image was not created by Notman in order to influence political decision-making directly. However, the choice of subject matter must be seen to reflect prevailing market preferences for landscape imagery and public interest in this site. Yet, in entering the public consciousness, it helped to construct Fort Chambly as a place in the geographical imagination.

Conclusion

Briefly, I have argued that photographs do not occur naturally. Rather, they are humanly created to communicate messages in visual form across time and space. All photographs may be viewed as reflexive of the values and beliefs of their creators; traditional efforts to contextualize them seek to analyze to what degree they are reflexive of the larger society which generated and consumed them; such analysis takes a number of forms - iconographical, Marxist, content analysis, semiotic. However, photographs, *if and when seen,* may also be constitutive in establishing, maintaining or

influencing the prevailing values and beliefs of the society which generated and consumed them. They can be either passive, entering the collective consciousness as part of the visual environment of intellectual inquiry, or active, contributing directly to individual or government decision-making as a powerful rhetorical device or ideological tool by which to argue or persuade.

To understand the constitutive role of the photograph in the construction of imaginative geographies, photographs must be returned to the action in which they participated; this requires a method of critical engagement which seeks not to analyze the photograph as an image but to recover the messages communicated by the photographs as a document. I propose a contextualizing strategy based on the notion that the meaning (that is, the original message intended by the creator) of the photograph resides in its functional context of creation. Treating the photograph not as a visual image within an iconographical framework but rather as a visual document within an archival framework, it is then possible to approach the photograph in terms of the universal attributes of a document. While not all photographs survive with a recoverable functional context of creation, where it is possible to ascertain who created the photograph, the purpose for which it was created, and the audience for which it was created, analysis of the photograph as a document - created by a will, for a purpose, to convey a message to an audience - offers a powerful method of critical engagement to supplement existing methods.

Notes

1 Julie Lawson, "The Continuum of Realism: Photography's Beginnings," in Sara Stevenson (ed.), *Light from the Dark Room. A Celebration of Scottish Photography.* Edinburgh: National Galleries of Scotland, 1995, p.29.

2 "The Particulars and Motives of a bill tending to grant: 1st, to M. Daguerre, an annuity for life of 6,000 francs; 2d, to Mr. Niepce junior, an annuity for life of 4,000 fr., in return for the cession made by them of the process to fix objects reflected in a *camera obscura*, presented by the Minister of the Interior," Chamber of Deputies, Second Session of 1839, 15 June 1839, in *An Historical and Descriptive Account of the various processes of the Daguerréotype and the Diorama, by Daguerre*… London: McLean, 1839, souvenir reprint by the American Photographic Historical Society, 1989, p.2.

3 David Lowenthal, "Introduction," in David Lowenthal and Martyn J. Bowden (eds.), *Geographies of the Mind: Essays in Historical Geosophy in Honor of John Kirtland Wright.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1976, p.3.

4 David N. Livingstone, *The Geographical Tradition: Episodes in the History of a Contested Enterprise.* Oxford: Blackwell, 1992, p.98.

5 D.R.Stoddart, *On Geography: and its history.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986, p.55.

6 James R. Ryan, *Photography, Geography and Empire, 1840-1914*, unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Royal Holloway, University of London, 1994; James R. Ryan, "Visualizing Imperial Geography: Halford Mackinder and the Colonial Office Visual Instruction Committee, 1902-11," *Ecumene* 1994 1 (2), 157-176; James R. Ryan, "Imperial landscapes: photography, geography and British overseas exploration, 1858-1872," in Morag Bell, Robin Butlin and Michael Heffernan (eds.), *Geography and Imperialism 1820-1940*. Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995, pp.53-79.

7 C.J.Taylor, *Negotiating the Past. The Making of Canada's National Historic Parks and Sites.* Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990, pp.11-14.

8 I am grateful to my good friend and colleague, Lilly Koltun, for sharing her groundbreaking research on Notman's *Photographic Selections* with me. Her comprehensive treatment of this work is forthcoming.

9 The other was *Road Scene, Lake of Two Mountains.*

10 Montreal *Herald*, 19 February 1864.

11 Grace Seiberling, *Amateurs, Photography, and the mid-Victorian Imagination.* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986, pp.46-57.

12 Benjamin Sulte, *Poesies: Les Laurentiennes.* Montréal: Eusèbe Senécal, 1870, pp.136-139.

13 *Canadian Illustrated News*, 19 April 1876, text, p.275; engraving, p.284.

14 *Fort Chambly* appears on page 84 opposite a discussion of the November 1837 insurrection along the Richelieu. N.P.Willis, *Canadian Scenery Illustrated. From Drawings by W.H.Bartlett.* London: George Virtue, 1842.

15 Michael Bell reproduces this painting in his *W. Sawyer, Portrait Painter* Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, Queen's University, 1978, ill.2 p.9.

16 The National Archives of Canada art card catalogue lists the following paintings, prints, and drawings: James Pattison Cockburn, Fort Chambly, Lower Canada, ca.1830, watercolour, pen and ink, C-40003; Fort and church, Fort Chambly, Philip J. Bainbrigge, 1838, C-11856; Fort Chambly (coloured aquatint), Drawn by Col.J. Bouchette and engraved by J.&C.Walker, ca.1815, C-3289; *Fort Chambly & part of the Great Camp, 1814* (engraving), drawn by J. Bouchette, engraved by W.J.Bennett in J. Bouchette, *A topographical description of the province of Lower Canada....* London: 1815, facing p.171, C-21119; Fort Chambly, Anon, C-5224; Fort Chambly, Québec, 1865-66, watercolour with opaque white and scraping out over pencil, Capt. Francis George Coleridge, C-102467; Fort Chambly, Richelieu River, C-26255; Fort Chambly, attrib. Lord Henry Hugh Manvers Percy, C-113746; *Fort Chambly, frontiers of Canada and the United States*, woodcut, in *Canadiana Views, scrapbook*, National Archives of Canada, Art Accession 1993-287, Pt.2, p.62, C-23617.

PAYSAGE ET REPRÉSENTATIONS COLLECTIVES AU QUÉBEC : LE CAS DE BAIE-SAINT-PAUL À LA PREMIÈRE MOITIÉ DU XIXe SIÈCLE[1]

Lynda Villeneuve

Laboratoire de géographie historique / Centre Interuniversitaire d'Études Québecoises
Université Laval

Le but de cet article est de démontrer comment les mythes et les idéologies à la base de la représentation de la société canadienne-française de la part des deux groupes ethniques principaux du Bas-Canada sont omniprésents dans les représentations du paysage de Baie-Saint-Paul. Nous utiliserons à cette fin deux exemples datés de la période 1830-1843. Le texte est divisé en trois parties. La première est consacrée à un exposé de la théorie de la représentation et à une brève définition de nos concepts opératoires, qui sont le paysage, la représentation, le mythe et l'idéologie. La seconde partie est consacrée à la description et à l'analyse de deux représentations iconographiques du paysage de Baie-Saint-Paul, soit une aquarelle réalisée par un officier britannique, Philip John Bainbrigge, datée de 1841, et une toile d'un artiste canadien-français, Joseph Légaré, réalisée entre 1830 et 1843. La troisième partie analyse les différents systèmes de représentation à la base de ces images et leur impact sur l'évolution du paysage charlevoisien au milieu du XIXe siècle.

LES REPRÉSENTATIONS : THÉORIE ET CONCEPTS

« Every object in the world can pass from a closed, silent existence to an oral state, open to appropriation by society [...] A tree is a tree. Yes, of course. But a tree as expressed by Minou Drouet is no longer quite a tree, it is a tree which is decorated, adapted to a certain type of consumption, laden with literary self-indulgence, revolt, images, in short with a type of social usage which is added to pure matter. » (Barthes, 1957, p. 109)

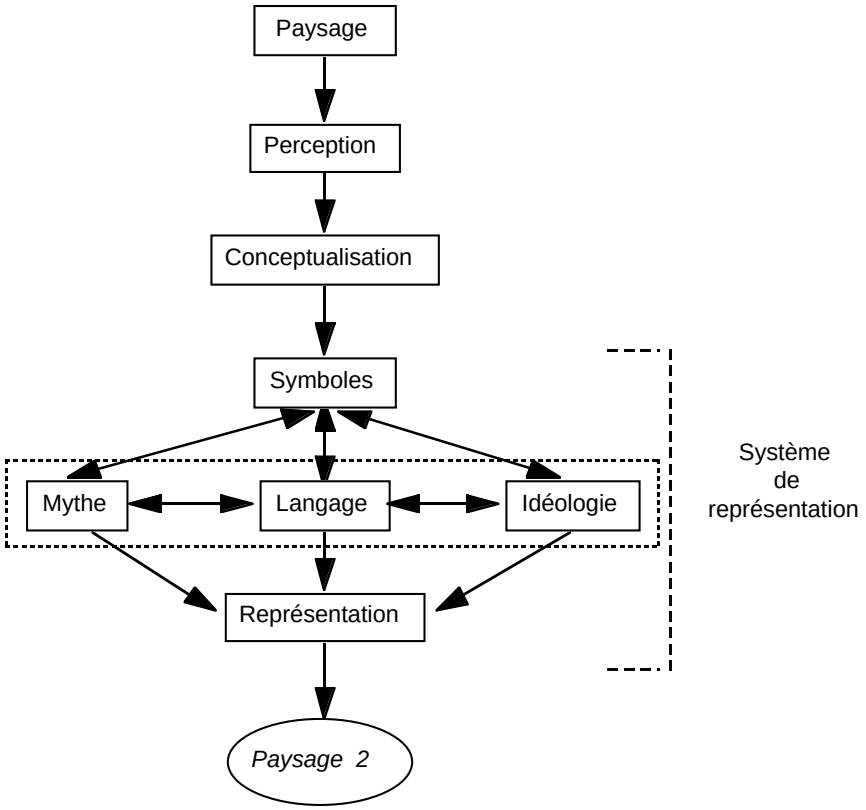
La représentation est un processus au cours duquel un objet est rendu intelligible, cohérent pour l'esprit humain. Cette traduction s'effectue par son analyse et son intégration à la compréhension globale du monde par un individu à l'intérieur d'un système de symboles[1], le langage[2]. L'élaboration du langage est le résultat d'une longue évolution culturelle des sociétés et de leurs liens avec l'espace (Tuan, 1974). C'est à partir de ces prémisses qu'a été élaborée la théorie des symboles par Nelson Goodman (1968). Cette théorie postule qu'à la base, tous les « langages », qu'ils soient verbaux, textuels, iconographiques ou musicaux, sont constitués d'un enchaînement des symboles fonctionnels.

Ainsi, comme Roland Barthes l'explicite au tout début de cette partie, la représentation d'un paysage par un artiste est hautement tributaire de l'expérience préalable de l'individu face à l'espace et aux sociétés. Le contenu de l'oeuvre ainsi que le style et la composition du tableau sont étroitement liés à la perception de l'espace de l'individu (déterminée en partie de façon culturelle) et de son système de représentation de celui-ci. Des mythes, des idéologies, des valeurs particulières forment ce système de représentation qui se veut le langage d'un groupe à propos du monde. La Figure 1 illustre le processus individuel de la représentation, soit la transformation d'un objet ou dans ce cas-ci d'un paysage en une représentation cohérente de la part de l'individu par le biais de son intégration à un langage.

Le mythe et l'idéologie

Roland Barthes (1957) définit le mythe de façon sémiologique comme étant une forme de discours, qui vise la matérialisation d'une idée, d'un concept, en une forme matérielle, un objet. Autrement dit, le mythe transforme un système de valeurs en un système factuel, en associant directement la chose à l'idée. Il évacue les significations multiples d'un objet pour l'associer à un concept ou un ensemble de concepts particuliers. Il a également comme objectif de prêter à une intention historique au départ une justification naturelle et de faire paraître le momentané comme éternel. De ce fait, il induit une perte de la qualité historique des choses (Barthes, 1957, p. 142). Il est également qualifié de système idéographique, où les formes sont déterminées par les concepts qu'elles représentent (Ibid.). À cet égard, il constitue une appropriation de symboles en fonction d'un système de valeurs particulier à partir duquel un nouveau langage est élaboré.

Figure 1
Le processus de la représentation



Certains auteurs (Morissonneau, 1978 ; Livingstone, 1992) soulignent la puissance du mythe en tant que récit des origines du peuple, qui devient non seulement un objet de respect, mais également un facteur d'émulation et d'exemplification des comportements individuels et collectifs. L'assemblage d'idéogrammes qu'il effectue en fait un véhicule puissant de valeurs. Pour Christian Morissonneau, le récit mythique vient raconter « les origines du peuple en même temps qu'il modèle la conduite du présent et de l'avenir : il est du devoir d'obéir aux valeurs tirées de l'histoire sacrée, donc vraie, de ce qui s'est réellement passé aux temps glorieux des commencements. » (Morissonneau, 1978, p. 8) Livingstone (1992, p. 35) y introduit également la signification souvent spirituelle que revêt le récit mythique, mais aussi son importance en tant qu'expression de la mentalité collective d'un peuple à travers l'histoire. Les événements, les personnages et les valeurs véhiculées par le récit mythique sont matérialisés à travers des objets. Ces objets (monuments, bâtiments, institutions, sites, etc.) deviennent alors chargé d'une signification symbolique qui en font un témoin du passé, un objet de souvenir et de vénération : un lieu de mémoire.

Le mythe se situe également au coeur de la définition de l'idéologie. Il constitue la référence ultime de l'idéologie face aux valeurs et aux actions collectives à entreprendre, qui sont définies en accord avec le mythe (Morissonneau, 1978). Fernande Roy (1993, p. 9) offre à nos yeux la définition la plus complète de l'idéologie. Elle la définit comme un système de représentation de l'espace et des sociétés, composé d'images, de mythes, d'idées et de concepts. Son système et ses structures de signification et de domination sociale se traduisent dans l'espace. Elles expriment les objectifs et le sens du développement social tout en distribuant les rôles. Elles mobilisent en vue de l'action. Des groupes sociaux les utilisent afin d'exprimer leurs intérêts particuliers, tout en prétendant poursuivre le bien général. Ultimement, elles sont un instrument de pouvoir.

Les symboles de l'identité nationale tels que définis par le mythe et l'idéologie sont intégrés à la représentation de son espace. Ils viennent souligner le caractère distinct de la nation à l'intérieur du paysage en vue d'y associer des émotions et un sentiment d'appartenance (Osborne, 1995, p. 265).

Plusieurs chercheurs ont identifié des relations entre l'apparition de l'art du paysage et la création d'une identité nationale en Europe notamment (Mitchell, 1994), et également au Canada (Reid, 1979 ; Osborne, 1988, 1995). Ces études ont démontré la puissance de l'art en tant que véhicule de diffusion des valeurs à l'intérieur d'une société. L'art du paysage est en fait associé depuis ses origines[3] à la formation de l'identité nationale et à la promotion de l'État (Adams, 1994).

Nous allons démontrer dans cet article comme les idéologies à la base de la définition de l'identité de la nation canadienne-française sont omniprésentes dans les représentations du paysage de Charlevoix avec deux exemples datant de la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Cette période présente un intérêt particulier dans le cadre de la définition de l'identité canadienne-française, de la part des canadiens-français eux-mêmes, mais également de la part de la minorité britannique du Bas-Canada de l'époque. Il s'agit d'une période de revendication politique intense des deux groupes pour le contrôle du territoire bas-canadien. Ceux-ci tentent de se définir les uns par rapport aux autres en mettant en évidence leurs traits culturels les plus divergents (Dumont, 1993, pp. 124-127).

Une analyse iconologique des représentations picturales

La méthode utilisée pour cette analyse de l'iconographie ayant pour thème le paysage charlevoisien au XIX^e^ siècle est inspirée de celle de l'iconologie, développée par les historiens de l'art (Panofsky, 1972) et qui fut reprise plus récemment par des anthropologues et des géographes (Osborne, 1984 ; Cosgrove et Daniels, 1988 ; Gendreau, 1990 ; Mitchell, 1994). Le terme « iconologie » renvoie à une interprétation de l'horizon symbolique global de l'image, en y intégrant le contexte social et historique dont elle est issue. L'iconologie discrimine trois niveaux de signification de l'image (Panofsky, 1972, pp. 3-17). Le premier concerne les éléments ou signes sélectionnés par l'artiste, d'après leur nature d'abord (forme, couleur) et selon leur importance ou leur fonction à l'intérieur de l'image. Le second niveau d'analyse examine l'agencement des signes qui permet de discriminer l'ordre établi par l'artiste parmi ceux-ci et la recherche expressionnelle qui s'en dégage. Le troisième et dernier niveau considère le contexte plus large de la production de l'image. Ce contexte comprend le but et l'intention de la représentation, l'expertise de l'auteur, le contexte culturel général et le milieu social dont cette représentation est issue, le style artistique, les conventions, le médium utilisé et les préférences du public (Osborne, 1984, pp. 41-59). Tous ces aspects sont considérés dans l'analyse de l'image afin d'en extraire toute sa signification idéologique.

LE PAYSAGE DE BAIE-SAINT-PAUL, 1830-1843

La région de Charlevoix est située sur la rive nord du fleuve Saint-Laurent, à environ 100 km au nord-est de Québec, en bordure de l'estuaire. Baie-Saint-Paul occupe le sud-ouest du territoire. L'occupation de Charlevoix a débuté à Baie-Saint-Paul en 1670. Les premiers établissements ont été motivés par l'exploitation à des fins commerciales des grandes forêts de pin qui couvraient le territoire. L'agriculture s'associe toutefois très rapidement à l'industrie forestière avec l'implantation de six seigneuries à partir de 1674. La géographie de la région est très particulière, formée d'une suite de vallées et de plateaux élevés qui alternent sur des distances relativement courtes. Ce relief vigoureux en bordure du fleuve est très majestueux, intégrant à la fois le grand fleuve, les vallées verdoyantes et les montagnes dont le relief s'étage en altitude vers le nord. Les officiers militaires et les fonctionnaires coloniaux ont été les plus nombreux à dépeindre le paysage charlevoisien, et ce dès la fin du XVIII^e^ siècle. Nous avons sélectionné une aquarelle de l'un de ces artistes dans Baie-Saint-Paul. Il s'agit de celle de l'Ingénieur Royal Philip John Bainbrigge.

Les deux parties suivantes présentent l'analyse iconologique des deux paysages choisis. Nous traiterons d'abord de l'aquarelle de Philip John Bainbrigge réalisée en 1841 dans les environs du village de Baie-Saint-Paul. La seconde partie est consacrée à la toile de l'artiste canadien-français Joseph Légaré intitulée *Baie-Saint-Paul* et éxécutée entre 1830 et 1843. Nous avons choisi ces deux paysages d'abord en raison de leur proximité temporelle et spatiale, et ensuite en raison de l'origine ethnique des deux artistes, l'un britannique et l'autre canadien-français. Leurs paysages, qui portent tous les deux le même titre, *Baie-Saint-Paul,* présentent une vision très divergente d'un même espace.

Philip John Bainbrigge : une représentation étrangère de la campagne canadienne-française

Philip John Bainbrigge a réalisé une aquarelle dans les environs de Baie-Saint-Paul en 1841 (Figure 2). Son sujet est une ferme située à proximité du village, qui semble être localisée sur une petite terrasse à la base de l'escarpement du côté ouest de la vallée, légèrement en retrait par rapport au village. Il semble toutefois que Bainbrigge a modifié la perspective de cette vue, afin de rapprocher

l'habitation de l'église et du fleuve. Ces éléments devraient vraisemblablement être beaucoup plus éloignés les uns des autres. Ce jeu de perspective n'est pas rare de la part des artistes de la première moitié du XIX[e] siècle. Il permet d'accentuer les contrastes à l'intérieur du paysage et de le rendre plus conforme aux critères du Picturesque, ou encore d'associer plus étroitement certains de ses éléments.

On aperçoit d'abord dans cette aquarelle la maison à l'architecture canadienne-française typique de l'époque, avec son toit en larmier et sa cheminée centrale, percée de nombreuses fenêtres. Une véranda s'étend le long de la façade. Son environnement immédiat est circonscrit par le clocher de l'église à gauche, et un four à pain à droite. La maison et l'environnement qui l'entoure suggèrent une certaine rusticité en même temps que le confort. Le fleuve sur lequel glisse deux goélettes et les montagnes immenses qui encadrent cette vue lui confèrent une impression de calme et de quiétude. Un rayon de soleil qui illumine l'avant-scène y ajoute une touche de spiritualité. Bainbrigge utilise une palette de couleurs chaudes, des rouges, des orangers et des jaunes, qui viennent conférer une impression de chaleur à la ferme et l'église, en opposition avec des bleus sombres et du noir utilisés pour dépeindre la forêt et les montagnes. Il crée ainsi deux ensembles contrastés. Les éléments sont également spatialement circonscrits à l'intérieur de plans horizontaux : le milieu humain occupe une faible partie de l'image dans le coin inférieur gauche, l'immensité sauvage environnante couvre le reste de la moitié inférieure de l'image, séparée de la ferme et de l'église par le champs clôturé. La forêt et la montagne sont divisés par le fleuve au calme plat, la route de pénétration à l'intérieur de cette nature sauvage. Finalement l'espace occupé par le ciel témoigne de la volonté de l'artiste de conférer un aura spirituel à son paysage.

L'image est marquée au plan expressionnel par une dichotomie : homme-spiritualité et nature-hostilité. Ces deux caractères s'intègrent toutefois dans le paysage par leur proximité dans l'espace. On remarque également dans cette représentation l'attention particulière portée à l'habitat et l'association étroite établie entre l'habitation et l'église, renforcée par l'illumination du soleil. Bainbrigge caractérise le paysage de Baie-Saint-Paul par la spiritualité qui se dégage du mode de vie. Cette spiritualité relève de la proximité de l'église, de l'aura et de la nature qui spatialement entourent la ferme et la protègent.

Figure 2
Bainbrigge, Philip Johh. Baie-Saint-Paul, 1841.

Source : Archives nationales du Canada, Ottawa, C-11833.

Philip John Bainbrigge (1817-1881) est d'origine bourgeoise. Il a été en contact avec les grands mouvements esthétiques de son époque au cours de son séjour à l'Académie Woolwich, où étaient formés les jeunes officiers de l'Empire. On les initiait alors à l'art du paysage et la technique de l'aquarelle, afin qu'ils soient en mesure d'illustrer leurs rapports de croquis de sites particuliers ou encore d'ouvrages défensifs. Bainbrigge a été posté au Canada en 1836. Il a notamment été chargé d'enquêter sur les conséquences de la Rébellion de 1837-38. Par la suite, il a été affecté à des travaux de reconnaissance spéciale qui l'ont amené à voyager à travers les colonies, afin de faire des recommandations quant aux besoins en mesures défensives et en fortifications. La production artistique de Bainbrigge est volumineuse et couvre l'ensemble du territoire canadien de l'époque.

L'aquarelle représentait à cette époque le support le plus commode pour les artistes itinérants, en raison de sa facilité de transport et d'utilisation. Le paysage tel que représenté par ces militaires se devait d'être le plus fidèle possible à la réalité. Certaines études (Allodi, 1974) démontrent toutefois que ces artistes étaient parfois très sensibles au paysage et à son art. Ils tentaient de lui conférer sinon une profondeur, du moins une expressivité conforme aux normes esthétiques du temps. C'est le cas de Bainbrigge dont l'oeuvre au Bas-Canada témoigne d'une certaine recherche artistique, malgré son souci premier de réalisme. Nous disposons de 48 aquarelles de Bainbrigge réalisées au Bas-Canada au cours de la période 1836-1841. Ces images représentent principalement des panoramas des environs des villes de

Québec et Montréal, souvent des vues classiques prises du fleuve. Il y a également des paysages urbains, des ouvrages défensifs, mais aussi des villages et quelques campagnes des environs de Québec et de la vallée du Richelieu. Son aquarelle de Baie-Saint-Paul se démarque toutefois du reste de son oeuvre par son sujet et la recherche expressionnelle profonde qui s'en dégage. Une analyse de contenu réalisée à partir des oeuvres de Bainbrigge au Bas-Canada (Figure 3) révèle en effet une nette prédominance des éléments liés à la description morphologique et aux fonctions présentes dans le paysage (agriculture, ville, transports, ports, etc.), avec toutefois quelques thèmes décoratifs privilégiés par l'art du paysage de l'époque, comme les amérindiens, la pêche, les ruines et la forte récurrence de l'hydrographie.

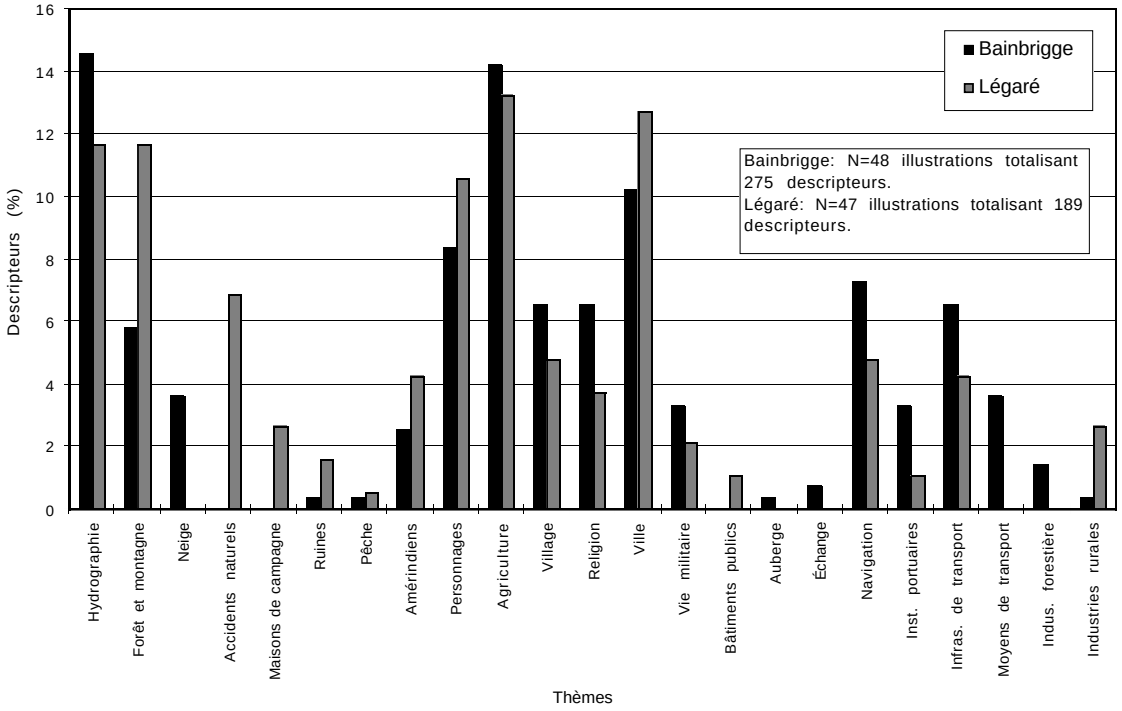
Nous pouvons percevoir dans cette recherche plusieurs influences, à la fois esthétiques et idéologiques. Bainbrigge est marqué par la tradition dite « topographique » dans l'art du paysage européen. C'est là que repose son souci d'exactitude des formes et des distances, particulièrement important pour un ingénieur militaire. On perçoit également dans la composition de l'oeuvre l'influence du style Picturesque qui apparait en Angleterre à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, initié par le Révérend William Gilpin. L'objectif du Picturesque est d'idéaliser le paysage en tentant d'en extraire le caractère sublime (Rosenthal, 1982, pp. 54-58). Ce mouvement privilégie une mise en évidence du caractère rude, ébauché et sauvage des paysages. Les vues intégrant à la fois des montagnes, des plaines et des cours d'eau sont alors très populaires. Au plan technique, cette théorie esthétique utilise des règles élaborées par les peintres classiques. Il s'agit notamment des jeux d'ombre et de lumière, de coulisses formées d'arbres ou d'autres éléments naturels, le repoussoir, et la séparation de la vue en trois plans afin de donner une profondeur au tableau. L'aquarelle de Bainbrigge intègre ces techniques afin de structurer le paysage.

L'importance accordée à l'habitat et à l'église suggère également un second type d'influence. Il s'agit de celle d'une nouvelle théorie esthétique initiée en Angleterre à la fin de la décennie 1830 par John Ruskin (1819-1902). Le mouvement qui en a résulté a été qualifié d'«esthétique théocentrique» (Cosgrove, 1979, p. 46). L'esthétique théocentrique s'inscrit dans le courant plus large du Romantisme qui émerge en Angleterre à partir du début du XIX^e siècle. Selon Ruskin, l'objectif des arts romantiques est d'exprimer la beauté et le caractère divin de la nature à travers la diversité de ses formes. Ruskin a développé à cette fin une approche phénoménologique du paysage, par l'observation et l'expérience directe de celui-ci. La religion évangéliste protestante a également influencé Ruskin. Dans sa théorie, le paysage devient un témoignage de la vérité divine qui s'est manifestée lors de la création. L'objectif de l'art du paysage est de rendre le plus fidèlement possible cette nature dans ses moindres détails afin de mettre en évidence sa perfection. Les éléments humains qui occupent le paysage doivent également témoigner de l'unité des formes qui le composent. Le style et les formes architecturales doivent s'accorder au cadre naturel qui les entoure et exprimer l'âme de la nation qui les ont créés (Ibid., p. 47). Ultimement, c'est le « genre de vie » de la nation que Ruskin tente d'exprimer à travers l'architecture et le paysage. Dans les régions rurales, c'est la religion qui, selon Ruskin, caractérise le mieux ce genre de vie. L'attention donnée par Bainbrigge à l'architecture canadienne-française à travers la maison, son association étroite à l'église et le caractère majestueux de la nature qui entoure la scène traduisent ce souci de caractériser le « genre de vie » dans Charlevoix. Ils traduisent également un souci d'unité et de perfection divine à travers un milieu naturel très diversifié, caractérisé par une grande hétérogénéité des formes et des matériaux. En plus d'une esthétique romantique, Bainbrigge semble rechercher l'essence de la culture canadienne-française à travers ce paysage particulier.

Il définit cette culture d'abord par la religion, illustrée par le clocher d'église qui surplombe la maison, ainsi que par le rayon de soleil qui illumine la scène. Le second élément qu'il représente est l'architecture. Vient ensuite l'agriculture, dans l'espace à droite de l'habitation. Comme nous l'avons mentionné plus haut, le champs agricole marque une division entre l'espace humanisé et le milieu sauvage environnant. Ce champs semble toutefois pauvre en étendue et en mise en valeur. Il semble destiné à un usage exclusivement domestique. Ces deux traits reviennent souvent dans la définition de la collectivité canadienne-française de la part des conquérants britanniques à la première moitié du XIX^e siècle. Un an après le rapport Durham, le mode de vie de la majorité canadienne-française au Bas-Canada est défini par sa base rurale et agricole, la religion catholique et le faible niveau d'éducation de la population. Durham souligne également la piètre performance économique des canadiens-français, tant en agriculture qu'en industrie et leur peu d'esprit d'innovation : « Ils sont restés une société vieillie et retardataire dans un monde neuf et progressif. » (Dumont, 1993, p. 124, cité du rapport Durham). Cette phrase synthétise la représentation très opposée des deux sociétés de la part des britanniques, en fonction de leur modernité.

Cette vision d'un mode de vie ancestral et primitif des canadiens-français transparaît dans l'aquarelle de Bainbrigge. Cette représentation des campagnes est également populaire parmi les bourgeois

Figure 3
Thèmes abordés par l'iconographie de Bainbrigge et Légaré, Bas-Canada, 1826 à 1855.



britanniques de l'époque. Elle est tributaire du mythe agriculturiste qui tire ses origines du géorgisme du XVII[e] siècle. Cette idéologie affirmait la base d'abord rurale et agricole de l'Angleterre, d'où la nation tirait ses qualités morales et la source de sa puissance économique (Rosenthal, 1982). Le mythe agriculturiste est récupéré par le mouvement Romantique qui réagit violemment contre l'urbanisation rapide des sociétés occidentales sous l'impulsion de l'industrie capitaliste. Cette nouvelle classe urbaine et industrielle est saisie de nostalgie et d'admiration pour la pureté morale et physique des espaces ruraux et de leurs occupants. Ils sont perçus comme un paradis perdu, opposé à la pollution et à la déshumanisation croissante des nouvelles villes industrielles. C'est pourquoi, sous l'impulsion de philosophes et de théoriciens comme Ruskin, les bourgeois se mettent à rechercher des espaces ruraux éloignés de la ville et de ses désordres afin de goûter non seulement les paysages, mais également l'essence de la nation qui les occupent.

C'est le cadre général dans lequel s'insère l'aquarelle de Bainbrigge dans Charlevoix, où s'allient à la fois les théories esthétiques, le mythe et l'idéologie afin de représenter une vision idéale du paysage à Baie-Saint-Paul, siège de la pureté et de la grandeur du paysage de la vallée du Saint-Laurent, et du mode de vie des canadiens-français. S'y entremêlent le côté primitif et immobile de la culture canadienne-française, dont la société est renfermée sur elle-même autour de l'église paroissiale; on y retrouve également la simplicité, le charme rustique et bucolique de la vie à la campagne telle que présentée par le romantisme.

Joseph Légaré: l'utopie agriculturiste de la petite bourgeoisie canadienne-française

Le second exemple de représentation du paysage dans Baie-Saint-Paul est celle du peintre et politicien canadien-français Joseph Légaré (1795-1855). Légaré a choisi de peindre les basses terres de la vallée du Gouffre entre 1830 et 1843 (Figure 4). La toile illustre l'étendue de la campagne dont les champs s'étirent sur toute la largeur de la vallée et remontent sur le flanc des terrasses fluviales. Les champs s'étendent jusqu'à la limite du fleuve à l'horizon. Légaré accorde presque toute son attention au parcellaire de la vallée du Gouffre. Les lots perpendiculaires à la rivière et aux versants de la vallée sont délimités par des clôtures. Légaré marque également le front des terres au bas des versants en y plaçant de petites habitations. L'Ile-aux-Coudres constitue la limite de ce panorama. Le relief est doux, composé de formes arrondies, notamment le long des versants. Seuls quelques bâtiments de ferme viennent interrompre l'ondulation de la plaine. On aperçoit au premier plan un bassin d'eau sombre où se reflètent les arbres et les bosquets. De petites collines apparaissent sur les coins inférieurs de l'image. Ces derniers éléments agissent comme repoussoirs servant à orienter le regard vers la plaine agricole.

Figure 4
Baie-Saint-Paul

Source : Photographie de Pierre Soulard, 1983, Légaré, Joseph. Baie-Saint-Paul. Musée de la civilisation, dépôt du Séminaire de Québec, Québec, 1994.24989.

À un deuxième niveau, l'arrangement des formes de cette toile révèle une volonté de traduire un espace agricole organisé et relativement prospère. En témoignent notamment l'aspect propre et géométrique des lots et des fermes ainsi que l'étendue des terres en culture. Légaré s'attache à l'aspect organisé, domestiqué et humanisé du paysage. L'orientation de la vue, vers le fleuve, traduit également le caractère central accordé au fleuve comme principal moyen de communication dans la vallée du Saint-Laurent. Nous pouvons remarquer dans cette vision particulière du paysage diverses influences.

Au plan artistique d'abord, de nombreuses influences de l'art du paysage européen et surtout britannique sont perceptibles. Nous pouvons notamment observer certaines analogies de la peinture de Légaré avec les vues panoramiques des peintres hollandais du XVII^e siècle. Ces éléments sont visibles à travers le point de vue particulier de l'artiste qui est large et élevé, la présence d'un avant-plan plus foncé et le reflet des arbres dans la marre, élément décoratif couramment utilisé par ces peintres. Selon Didier Prioul (1993), il est possible que Légaré ait pris connaissance de ce style par des gravures européennes qui circulaient au Bas-Canada à l'époque. Il postule toutefois qu'il l'a plutôt appris de James Duncan, peintre d'origine irlandaise. Nous pouvons également discerner l'influence du Picturesque et du travail des topographes dans la structure particulière de l'image en plans horizontaux séparés par des tons différents, l'utilisation de coulisses formés d'arbres hérités des peintres classiques ainsi que l'aspect très géométrique des bâtiments.

L'origine des influences artistiques de Légaré réside dans son apprentissage particulier des arts graphiques. Il est issu de la petite bourgeoisie marchande de Québec. Légaré a appris son métier en recopiant et en restaurant des tableaux pendant sa jeunesse. La plupart de ces tableaux avaient un thème religieux. Il a débuté son métier comme apprenti chez Moses Pierce en 1812. En 1817, Légaré possède son propre atelier de peintre et vitrier. On croit que c'est à ce moment qu'il commence la restauration des tableaux de la Collection Desjardins[4], pour le compte des communautés religieuses et des paroisses. Ses plus anciennes oeuvres connues datent de 1826 (Porter, 1978, p. 10). En plus de portraits religieux, il peint des scènes historiques ainsi que des paysages dans le district de Québec. Son médium privilégié était l'huile sur toile. L'oeuvre de paysage de Légaré compte une soixantaine de tableaux réalisés entre 1827 et 1855 (Prioul, 1993, P. V). Il est le premier artiste paysagiste canadien. Il a également été un collectionneur.

Les oeuvres de la collection Desjardins ont fortement influencé son art, particulièrement les paysages d'inspiration italienne avec les ruines picturesques de Salvator Rosa et Hubert Robert. Pour Prioul (1993), c'est l'imitation qui caractérise l'art du paysage de Légaré. Il procédait par emprunts multiples, et parfois par imitation ou copie directe de travaux auxquels il avait accès : « Il ne fait que modeler ses propres mises en pages sur la vision de ceux qu'il estimait et qui eux pouvaient posséder quelque savoir théorique. » (Prioul, 1993, p. 89). Ses emprunts sont tributaires du mouvement du Picturesque initié par des artistes comme William Gilpin ou Richard Payne Knight, d'artistes européens du temps comme William Turner ou de peintres classiques italiens comme Salvator Rosa qui est probablement le peintre ayant le plus influencé Légaré. Les peintres topographes comme James Pattison Cockburn ont également eu une influence déterminante. Prioul identifie « d'étonnants parallèles » entre l'oeuvre de Légaré et celle de Cockburn. Cette influence prend la forme d'une vision ordonnée de la nature, « rectifiée mentalement afin de l'accorder à un idéal de composition et un travail d'atelier procédant par additions de beaux motifs pour augmenter le pittoresque du site naturel. » (Ibid., p. 91). Il affiche une prédilection marquée pour les chutes, les rivières, les forêts, les maisons de campagne, certains paysages urbains et les vues pittoresques. Ce parallèle entre l'oeuvre de Légaré et celle des topographes est également visible lorsque l'on compare les thèmes abordés par celui-ci et Bainbrigge au Bas-Canada (figure 3). Son art était très apprécié des critiques de l'époque. Il a participé à plusieurs expositions. Il obtiendra les deux premier prix à l'Exposition industrielle de Québec en 1854. La

variété et l'audace de l'oeuvre de Légaré était très avant-gardiste pour l'époque, la peinture bas-canadienne se limitant au portrait et au religieux. Cet avant-gardisme est attribué à l'aisance matérielle de Légaré, qui lui permet de peindre les sujets de son choix sans se préoccuper réellement des ventes (Porter, 1978). Une grande partie de son oeuvre fut d'ailleurs boudée, ses paysages notamment. Certaines le furent en raison de leur style particulier, mais d'autres le furent en raison de ses positions politiques. Il connut ses plus grands succès avec la clientèle étrangère.

Les représentations de Légaré sont caractérisées par une documentation réaliste des événements quotidiens en même temps qu'une vue romancée de l'homme en harmonie avec la nature. La figure 3 témoigne de ces deux tendances dans l'oeuvre de paysage de Légaré. Sa recherche esthétique est visible à travers la place accordée notamment à la forêt et aux montagnes, aux amérindiens, aux accidents naturels (les chutes principalement) et aux maisons de campagne. C'est en cela que l'oeuvre de Légaré se différencie le plus de celle des topographes comme Bainbrigge, dont les représentations sont beaucoup plus centrées sur les formes et les fonctions socioéconomiques du paysage.

Il est intéressant de noter que malgré ses multiples influences et emprunts stylistiques européens, Légaré rejetait les critères européens en fait de paysage digne de représentation. Il préférait utiliser sa propre conception de la campagne, intimement liée à ses préoccupations politiques et sociales : « For Légaré, the land, his environment, was important primarily as the location for contemporary social struggles, not merely a battleground but a symbol of the disputed possession, freedom. » (Davis, 1983, p. 7). Il voyait dans le paysage bas-canadien les symboles de l'identité de la nation, liée à sa forme particulière d'occupation et d'exploitation du sol. Ce paysage était également perçu par Légaré comme le siège de l'expression de la culture de la collectivité canadienne-française et de ses luttes politiques.

Parallèlement à son art, Joseph Légaré s'est impliqué au niveau social de plusieurs façons. Il est d'abord sensibilisé aux besoins de la population lors de l'épidémie de choléra de 1832 qui l'incite à se joindre au Bureau de la santé de Québec. Il a ensuite été élu au Conseil de ville en 1833. Il a été un membre fondateur de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Québec en 1842. Le progrès économique et social de la collectivité était au coeur de ses convictions libérales. Cette préoccupation a également été à l'origine de son implication en politique active. Sa première préoccupation était l'éducation : « Il voulait instruire le peuple [et] le mettre au niveau des autres populations qui l'environnent, pour qu'il puisse lutter avec la même chance de succès. » (Porter, 1978, p. 10). La promotion de l'éducation était d'ailleurs l'un des principaux éléments du programme libéral de la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Légaré a pris une part active dans les luttes politiques et sociales de l'époque. Ces luttes étaient liées à une opposition des intérêts économiques et sociaux de la minorité anglophone et de la majorité francophone qui s'exprimait ouvertement à la Chambre d'Assemblée du Bas-Canada. Légaré s'est impliqué dans les revendications du Parti canadien, et plus tard du Parti patriote. Il a aussi pris une part active aux Troubles de 1837-38, ce qui lui a valu une arrestation en janvier 1837. Il s'est opposé à l'Acte d'union en 1840 et il a milité pour l'obtention du gouvernement responsable en 1847. Il s'est présenté comme candidat Rouge à l'élection partielle de 1848, mais a été défait. Il s'est présenté une nouvelle fois sous la bannière Annexionniste à Québec en janvier 1850, où il fut encore une fois défait. Il s'est également impliqué dans le mouvement de colonisation vers les Cantons de l'Est en 1848-49. Il s'est prononcé en faveur de l'abolition du Régime seigneurial en 1853. Légaré a été nommé Conseiller législatif du Bas-Canada peu de temps avant son décès en 1855.

Joseph Légaré était un membre actif de la nouvelle élite sociale du Bas-Canada de la première moitié du XIX^e^ siècle. Cette petite bourgeoisie en ascension était celle des professions libérales et des intellectuels issus du peuple et formés dans les collèges classiques. Elle utilisait la Constitution et les institutions parlementaires comme levier afin de prendre le leadership de la société. Elle ne pouvait y parvenir autrement en raison de son absence presque totale de la sphère économique. Ce groupe tentait de prendre le pouvoir et s'instituant comme porte-parole du peuple face au gouvernement et comme garant de sa culture. On rêvait en fait de construire une société idéale, qui maîtrise l'ensemble de ses ressources et dont la grande bourgeoisie soutient l'essor de la culture (Voir Bouchard, 1993 ; Dumont, 1993). L'idéologie élaborée par cette petite bourgeoisie en ascension était le reflet de sa propre situation et de ses intérêts particuliers. Joseph Légaré était le parfait représentant de ce groupe et un grand admirateur des politiques de Louis-Joseph Papineau. L'implication de Légaré au niveau social témoigne de son adhésion à cette idéologie. Le programme du Parti canadien n'a pu que confirmer chez Légaré l'importance de la promotion de cette idéologie à travers le militantisme social et politique ainsi que le développement de la culture.

La tableau de Légaré à Baie-Saint-Paul peut être perçu comme une expression de cette volonté de traduire les symboles de l'identité canadienne-française à travers le paysage, ces symboles étant étroitement liés à la conception bourgeoise libérale de cette identité. Elle peut également être considérée comme un moyen d'éducation populaire à travers l'art. En effet, nous avons vu au début de cet article comment l'art du paysage pouvait être utilisé à des fins idéologiques afin de faire la promotion de l'État, ou de l'idée dont un groupe ou un individu s'en fait. Connaissant les idées de Légaré sur l'éducation à travers l'art et la culture, cette toile remplissait peut-être un but «éducatif», celui de montrer aux visiteurs les traits du paysage idéal de la nation canadienne-française. Signalons que Légaré a ouvert la première galerie d'art au Bas-Canada dans la décennie 1830 (Porter, 1978). Même si le tableau Baie-Saint-Paul n'a jamais été vendu, (peut être victime de son orientation idéologique) il fut certainement présenté au public.

MYTHE ET PAYSAGE

Les deux différentes représentations du paysage charlevoisien que nous venons de voir sont riches en valeurs et en symboles associés à l'espace. Ils révèlent d'abord l'énorme influence des arts européens sur la façon de représenter le paysage bas-canadien à la première moitié du XIX^{e} siècle. En effet, l'arrangement particulier des formes présentes dans les deux images est lié au mouvement Romantique qui imprègne non seulement les arts, mais la pensée européenne à partir du début du XIX^{e} siècle. Il en résulte un paysage idéalisé, où sont mis en valeur les traits culturels associés aux campagnes bas-canadiennes en particulier par le système de représentation des deux auteurs.

C'est là que réside le caractère mythique du paysage de Baie-Saint-Paul tel que représenté par les deux artistes. Le mythe agriculturiste présent dans les deux cultures nationales de Bainbrigge et Légaré est traduit dans le paysage. Bainbrigge y associe les symboles de l'identité nationale canadienne-française telle que véhiculée par l'administration coloniale anglaise: la foi catholique, les traits culturels français (architecture et système seigneurial), l'agriculture de subsistance, l'isolement et l'immobilisme social. Ces éléments sont toutefois revêtus d'un aura romantique lié à la mode du temps. Joseph Légaré y voit plutôt un exemple de campagne bas-canadienne telle que se la représentent les membres de la petite bourgeoisie libérale canadienne-française: un paysage caractérisé par une domination de l'agriculture comme principal mode de subsistance, de droit français, prospère, organisé et ouvert sur l'extérieur. Légaré présente également son paysage en respectant les critères européens de représentation du paysage. Les auteurs ont ainsi transposé dans le paysage leur propre mythe fondateur, coloré toutefois par des idéologies nationales différentes.

Baie-Saint-Paul est devenu à la fois un paysage chargé de valeurs esthétiques en regard de la culture bourgeoise et urbaine, ainsi qu'un lieu riche de symboles culturels. Il est ainsi investi d'une double signification. Il est intéressant de noter que ces deux identités semblent avoir été spatialement discriminées dans le paysage régional à la deuxième moitié du siècle. Le secteur de Pointe-au-Pic - La Malbaie voit se développer à partir de la décennie 1860 des infrastructures d'hébergement et de loisir destinés aux bourgeois des villes du Canada central et des États-Unis. Ces touristes viennent profiter de l'air pur et des paysages grandioses dans des villas et des hôtels luxueux (Gagnon, 1996). Le secteur de Baie-Saint-Paul semble peu touché dans ses formes et ses fonctions par ce flot de visiteurs. Le mode de vie repose toujours sur la pratique de l'agriculture à laquelle on associe diverses autres occupations (saisonnières la plus part du temps). Tout au plus tire t-elle quelques avantages commerciaux de cette affluence d'étrangers, par la demande accrue en biens et services qu'elle génère. L'impact morphologique a été beaucoup plus considérable dans les campagnes des environs de La Malbaie qui voient se développer une véritable petite ville sur les terrasses de Pointe-au-Pic (Ibid.). Ainsi, à peu de distances près, le visiteur peut à la fois satisfaire d'un côté son besoin de confort, d'air pur et de paysage sublime et de l'autre celui de la campagne canadienne-française traditionnelle, siège des vertus ancestrales des vielles sociétés agricoles.

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Notes

1 Le terme «symbole» est ici entendu dans son sens large. Il comprend les lettres, les mots, les textes, les images, les diagrammes, les cartes, etc. Il ne contient aucune connotation dérivée.

2 Le terme «langage» est utilisé non seulement en tant que façon de verbaliser la pensée, mais également comme un lieu de médiation, un cadre conceptuel global permettant d'appréhender la réalité (Raffestin, 1977).

3 L'art du paysage tel qu'on le connaît aujourd'hui est apparu en Hollande au XVII[e] siècle.

4 Il s'agit d'un ensemble d'une trentaine d'oeuvres, présentant des sujets religieux pour la plupart. Ces tableaux furent saisis par l'État pendant la Révolution française et achetés en 1803 par l'abbé Philippe-Jean-Louis Desjardins. Il sont expédiés au Bas-Canada en 1816 dans le but de les exposer dans les églises de la province. Ces tableaux constituent le point de départ de la collection européenne de Légaré.

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THE "REGION" IN GERMAN HISTORIOGRAPHY

Philip Wolfart

Department of Geography, Queen's University

Introduction

In 1806, the Holy Roman Empire collapsed. This cleared the path for a new constitutional structure that was based upon the fundamental premise that the state, as indeed the world in general, could be organised spatially. Ultimately, the full, and most dramatic implementation of these ideas came about in the Napoleonic reforms, when they had acquired sufficient intellectual and ideological support. The goal of the reforms was to consolidate all aspects of civil administration into clear territorial units. These reforms introduced a new logic of sovereignty which was supported by a particular historical model, oftentimes labelled as liberal. That model presented the idea that the state was progressing towards a society in which the government's role would be limited and good government would arise through free and logical actions directed by rational thought. As a historical model, the principal proponents of these ideas — and later targets of criticism — were Michelet in France, and Treitschke in Germany. The fundamental units of that model were the territorial units and, in particular, the nation-state. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the idea that the world could be spatially divided had progressed to the point where the region itself could only be seen as a natural phenomenon. As a result, throughout most of the nineteenth century, historical and geographical enquiry was centred upon the nation-state, and how its social, economic, and political integrity was to be maintained.

In brief, that was the ideological climate that set the stage for the pursuit of a "national" history, and in the course of the nineteenth century, as the nation-state became a tangible reality, so too did the writing of a national history to support it. In the early twentieth century, and in particular following the Treaty of Versailles, that particular liberal model was heavily criticised on both sides of the Rhine. Despite similar origins and early connections, notable differences emerged in the use of the region in historical analysis. The work of the *Annalistes* which emerged in between the World Wars, was heavily influenced by French geographic thinking and has been widely taken up by geographers in the English speaking world. In this paper I will discuss some of the German approaches, primarily in the early part of the present century. I hope to take from this an important lesson about the implications of an uncritical use of the region (or its dismissal altogether) in historical analysis. More recently scholars have attached importance to the concept of *Heimat*. While similar to the French *Pays*, there are also some important differences.

The Traditional Approach

Even though Germany was made up of many regions, the concept of the region, as an appropriate unit of analysis, was not widely taken up by German historians. As a consequence of a dominant liberal ideology, post-Napoleonic historians were unable, or unwilling, to incorporate the great regional diversity into a centralised national history. This ideology persists in various forms to this day. Only recently have scholars even begun to question whether the creation of a "national" history can sufficiently account for the complexities.

Modern historians are calling for a less monolithic history. Thus, Sheehan argues that human affairs are not so neatly parcelled into the categories of national history:

> It may be time to give up the idea that all those living in a nation possess only one past and to accept the fact that nations, like every other sort of complex group contain many different histories which often converge, overlap or intersect, but which often times move in quite different directions (Sheehan 1981: 4).

It seems that regionalism did not become a theoretical concept, and the region did not become a unit of scientific enquiry, until early in the twentieth century. Writing after 1871, the quintessential German liberal historian, Treitschke, saw regionalism as a backward-looking concept and an obstacle to national unity. In more general terms, but, I think of much greater consequence, it seems Treitschke had a great deal of difficulty incorporating the ideas of regionalism into a national history of the German people.

The inability to deal with regionalism, and the view that such differences actually represented something backward, forestalled any critical examination of the Holy Roman Empire, and the regional differences within it. The Empire was condemned by contemporary observers and later scholars alike:

> The Prusso-German historical school of the late nineteenth century roundly condemned the Empire as an Austrian device, supported in devious ways by the German archenemy France, whose effect was to prevent the German national unification that was finally realized only under the superior political and spiritual leadership of Prussia (Gagliardo 1980: ix).

In the liberal model of Treitschke and others, the nation-state represented an ideal in which there was an attempt to strive for geographic unity between a nation (*Volk*) and its political expression (the State) which had a territory. Indeed these were the principles according to which Europe was divided up in the Treaty of Versailles, and through which the signers of that agreement sought to maintain peace.

"New Methods"

In Germany, during the period of the Weimar Republic, a new generation of historians objected strongly to that model. Otto Brunner, arguably one of the leaders of this new generation in Germany, outlined his objections in a paper that he presented at the *Historikertag* in 1937 (Kaminsky and Melton 1992: xvi).[1] Brunner argued that the republic was artificially constrained because it did not incorporate the entire German nation (*Volk*) (Kaminsky and Melton 1992: xxvi).

These objections were shared by many critics of Weimar, and fuelled the drive for an ethnically and sectorially defined history, as opposed to a territorially constrained one. In 1942-43, the Nazi government commissioned Brunner and others to edit a two-volume collection of essays that were intended to present the progress that had been made by German scholars of Eastern European history in undermining the 1918 Treaty of Versailles. The concept of "*Volk*" was a guiding theme behind that project, and from it arose a methodology in which "history, sociology, the study of peasant mentalities and landholding patterns, the study of racial composition, all joined preferably in the individual scholar in various disciplines" (Kaminsky and Melton 1992: xxv).

In Brunner's view, liberalism had committed two offences: it separated state institutions from the society they were intended to govern; and secondly, it created analytic categories that could not be used to comprehend the complexities of medieval social structure. Brunner, and other critics of this separation in German liberal historiography, referred to it as *Trennungsdenken* (literally 'disjunctive' thinking).[2] *Trennungsdenken*, at one level, implied the separation of ideas from actions. At another, it referred to the separation of economic, political, and social history (Brunner 1956:3-5). The separation of state institutions from society was one of the hallmarks of nineteenth century scholarship,[3] but it was unable to provide a history of the German nation. Such a separation laid the ground work for artificially delimiting the state spatially, while thereby ignoring the society. In other words, the German nation (*Volk*) existed beyond the boundaries of the Weimar Republic.

For Brunner, the most significant consequence of this *Trennungsdenken* was the creation of analytic categories that were wholly inappropriate for the study of anything other than the constitutional structure that had created them: that is, the modern nation-state. The separation of state and society forced late medieval constitutional reality into the disjunctive cognitive categories that corresponded to nineteenth-century reality (Kaminsky and Melton 1992: xx). What was missing in the historical analysis of the Middle Ages, Brunner argued, was "the insight that occurrences like "state," "power," "justice," and "economy" only emerged as "obvious factors" and "autonomous spheres" whose changes could be studied in particular historical circumstances that came into being with absolutism and the Enlightenment" (Brunner 1956: 4).

In order to overcome those shortcomings, two paths could be taken: one can either write a history of the Estates, a complex network of social relationships based on kinship ties and a feudal code of romantic chivalry and honour; or one can write regional histories which examine critically the region in question, its relationship as a place to the people who live there, and its relationship to neighbouring regions.

Brunner chose the former, placing most of his emphasis on uncovering the political structures of the medieval Holy Roman Empire. He was able to demonstrate a German unity that extended much further back than the liberal historiography which, to put it simply, had been unable to deal with the medieval *Reich*. Unlike previous scholars, who had largely dismissed the political structures of the pre-national Empire, Brunner identified them as utterly essential for the protection of Imperial privilege and further stability of the Empire.

Despite the spectre raised by an approach so closely tied to supra-national structures and a wider German nation, Brunner's thesis of the all-important constitution continues to have its supporters. Since the nineteenth century, the last years of the Holy Roman Empire had been ignored because the Empire was generally viewed as a failure (Vann and Rowan 1974: x). Gagliardo (1980) has argued that after 1648 the Empire diminished in significance in German historiography, as it did for the vast majority of its inhabitants and rulers. After the House of Habsburg (who had also been Holy Roman Emperors) lost Spain in the early eighteenth century, the Habsburg rulers turned their attentions away from Imperial and towards Austrian interests (Kann 1974). The Empire was condemned by contemporary observers and later scholars alike. For Gagliardo,

> The Prusso-German historical school of the late nineteenth century roundly condemned the Empire as an Austrian device, supported in devious ways by the German archenemy France, whose effect was to prevent the German national unification that was finally realized only under the superior political and spiritual leadership of Prussia (Gagliardo 1980: ix).

So long as the nation-state was viewed as the ultimate expression of success, the fragmented political structure of the Holy Roman Empire remained an enigma. For hundreds of years it had worked — in so far as it had not collapsed — with only minor adjustments, usually brought on by forces outside of the Empire. And yet it showed no evidence of progressing towards territorial nation-states. Indeed there was every indication that the individual estates did not even aspire to what liberal historians viewed as a logical and correct progression.

Since the time of Brunner's first comments on a holistic approach, scholars have tried to develop a prospective that would incorporate a regional approach. But for many scholars, regionalism was often seen more in the light of a political expression rather than a valid analytical category. More importantly, it does not seem to be a key feature in Brunner's work. In 1952, Dietrich Gerhard sketched the importance of regionalism in his frequently cited article "Regionalismus und ständisches Wesen als ein Grundthema europäischer Geschichte" (Gerhard 1952). By his use of the term regionalism, Gerhard did not imply, as one might have expected, the study of individual regions, but simply the fact that these regions had had a notable influence on the continued stability of the Empire and that there existed a suitable infrastructure to maintain that power within the Empire. The power of regions persisted in early modern Europe through the corporate structure of the Estates. The essential point is that these Estates were essentially non-territorial. They consisted of the cumulative privileges, land, and serfs of the lords who had representation on the Imperial Diet (*Reichstag*). This was reinforced by the strength of the constitution and powerful local institutions. In fact, their power was challenged by proto-territorial entities such as the Urban Leagues on the one hand, and emergent territorial powers such as the Elector of Bavaria, on the other (Kiessling 1987). Furthermore, Gerhard argued that to understand regionalism further, we must examine the Estates. Each, he argued, operated under different moral and legal codes to protect its Imperial privilege. This has become a common thesis in the writing of German history. In a collection of essays edited by Vann and Rowan (1974), the contributors show how the political structure of pre-national Germany was not at all chaotic, but highly organised to maintain peace and stability throughout the Empire.

Vann (1975) has argued that the Swabian *Kreis* (the collective representation of the Swabian nobles that sat on the Imperial Diet) operated entirely within the feudal structure. This allowed it to maintain a degree of autonomy; at the smaller scale, Lordships within the *Kreis* similarly protected their privilege. But they usually fought territorial disputes at the Imperial level, at the Cameral Court (*Reichskammergericht*) in Weimar. This had two consequences. First, it denied the local lords of any judicial power. At the same time, this procedure greatly overburdened the *Reichskammergericht* to the point where many historians have attributed the Empire's collapse to this phenomenon. According to these more recent arguments, which demonstrate some of Brunner's legacy, the constitutional structures permitted and indeed required a strong regional power.

Carol Rose (1974) agrees with the thesis that the institutions of the Empire supported the regionalism that characterised the Empire. Rose not only implies that regionalism and the stability of the Empire were compatible. She further argues that only when the supportive structures of the Empire collapsed was the path cleared for a simpler territorial administration. Regionalism, Rose argues, was not the destructive force, but the cohesive force of the Empire (Rose 1974: 62).

The essays in Vann and Rowan (1974) illustrate a continuity established by Brunner that is now increasingly coming under attack. Regionalism is no longer simply a political expression, but may be

considered to be a more valuable basis for historical enquiry than the national and all encompassing histories that have tried to uncover the basic structure of the old Reich. Hermann Rebel (1983) has been especially convincing in his attack of Brunner. Rebel is critical of the macro-historical approach that sought to "integrate the history of early modern Europe directly into explanations of recent history" and says that these historians, despite their own claims to the contrary, ignored the social historical dimension (Rebel 1983: xiii). And one of the key elements of this social dimension is the great regional variation that exists in practice within the established rules of the Holy Roman Empire.

While Brunner's objections to the liberal model were the same as those of the *Annalistes,* and his methodology shared some elements with them, he differed in that he did not seem to express any concern with regional differences. The *Annalistes* recognised regional differences, but sought to expose the relationship between land and people and, in this way bring down the artificial borders imposed by liberal historians, and their practitioners at Versailles. Lucien Febvre, one of the co-founders of the *Annales*, actively engaged in the debate between the geographic determinism of Ratzel and the human liberty of Vidal de la Blache, coming down firmly on the side of Vidal de la Blache (Burke 1990: 14).[4] Brunner in contrast perpetuated the view that Germans shared an emotional attachment to other Germans, but not the liberal construction of Germany (or Germanness) — the republic.

The similarity in concern and methodology, and Brunner's association with one of Germany's pioneers in regional history, Hermann Aubin, has caused two recent scholars to associate Brunner with the *Annales* (Kaminsky and Melton 1992). That association is not supported by one of the more prominent *Annalistes*, Fernand Braudel. In response to Brunner's piece *Neue Wege der Sozialgeschichte,* written in 1956 (in which he outlines his methodology, and his relationship to the *Annales),* Braudel wrote: "Otto Brunner owes nothing to the *Annales,* and the assumptions of his reasoning or his experience, his proofs and his conclusions are not ours" (Braudel 1959: 120). He adds,

> We are offered a certain *particularized model of European social history* in the waters of the longue durée, from the eleventh to the eighteenth century. This model brings out the continuities, the immobilities, the structures. It abandons the event, underestimates the conjecture, preforms the qualitative... (Braudel 1959: 122).

Kulturprovinz, Pays, Heimat

Geography, like history in the nineteenth century, was contained within pre-determined limits. Early in the twentieth century that idea was questioned. Traditional political geography was concerned with determining the distribution of polities. These polities were contained within pre-determined limits. The regions were treated as static entities which could be described, but one could not in this way gain a fuller understanding of their origins.

As a result, these views came under intense criticism by the early twentieth century. According to the critics, the exact definition of a region's limits must be viewed as anything but natural. Instead, a region was presented as a set of interrelationships between people and the land they inhabit. This concept represented a break from dynastic and territorial histories and gave way to an explanation of historical connections of the distribution of cultural attributes (Faber 1968: 8).

In 1926, Aubin, Frings, and Müller, in their work *Kulturströmungen und Kulturlandschaften in den Rheinlanden,* developed the concept of *Kulturlandschaft* to describe these relationships. Across the Atlantic, these ideas heavily influenced Carl Sauer, known for his work on cultural landscapes. This work was one of the pioneering regional geographic studies in Germany, and Hermann Aubin seems to be considered, by some, to be the father of regional studies in Germany. He questioned the borders that had been placed around administrative units and conceived of regions in a very similar way to Marc Bloch's elucidation of the *Pays*: "interaction du milieu physique et du milieu humain" (Veit-Brause 1979: 468). *Kulturlandschaft* was not a spatial concept, but described historical and cultural unity of a place (Faber 1968: 9). A secondary concept, *Kulturprovinz,* is more fully tied to historical unity of place, to social organisation, and to identity. At this time Aubin founded the *Institut für Geschichtliche Landeskunde der Rheinlande* at Bonn, and developed the concept of the *Kulturprovinz,* analogous to the Pays — a concept that was acquiring increasing prominence on the other side of the Rhine. *Kulturprovinz* was the arena for viewing the *Kulturlandschaft*. Aubin called for interdisciplinary activity that engaged linguists, human geographers, and ethnographers to "map the persisting and the changing features in the physiognomy of the Rhenish *Kulturprovinzen*" (Veit-Brause 1979: 469).

The concept of the *Kulturprovinz* has been important in local ethnographic studies, but has not received the same coverage in the geographical literature as *Pays*. This is because while it appears to be

an important geographical term, it has offered no explanation of geographic variation, and those that have used it, have actively disassociated themselves from those who would call themselves geographers. Under the auspices of identifying *Kulturlandschaften,* there were other studies that mapped housing types or dialects, but stop short of illustrating how a similar way of doing things create a region.[5] By applying the concept of the *Kulturprovinz* the region does not become an arbitrarily assigned administrative unit. Instead it is actively created, and hence infinitely more grounded in the geography of the landscape.[6]

The striking similarity between *Kulturprovinz* and the more familiar concept of *Pays* is not coincidental. Aubin and his colleagues were regular contributors to the *Vierteljahresschrift für Sozial— und Wirtschaftsgeschichte,* a journal which served as a model to the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*; The *Vierteljahresschrift* was edited by Henri Pirenne who later became one of the founding members of the *Annalistes* (Veit Brause 1979: 453).

Throughout the 1950s and 60s scholars in Germany, as indeed elsewhere, became involved in a debate over the role of geography in historical enquiry. Some spatial concepts were put forward in order to counter the "Estates approach" used by Brunner and his followers, but few with overwhelming success. In the specific context of questions about German national identity, two streams may be identified and they have been explicitly studied by Mack Walker (1972) and Celia Applegate (1990). The debate raised by these scholars highlights the relationship between regions and the overarching national (or federal) structure.

Walker argues that the power of "hometowns" was a driving force towards eventual national consolidation, and the rise of the nation-state. Hometowns were generally Free Imperial Cities in southern Germany. The *Bürger* of the Free Imperial Cities fought vigorously for their special status within the Empire, because only by maintaining their protected privilege, were they able to fend off territorial ambitions of the local nobility. Implicitly (or perhaps explicitly) localisms were incompatible with the new modern structures of state building.

Unlike Brunner's model, where the operation of the Estates within the feudal structure maintained that structure's stability, the "hometownsmen" of Mack Walker's study would become a collective source of local power and "regional" sentiment that would eventually bring down the Empire.[7] The localisms of Walker's model are tied to particular places, the hometowns, and ultimately were incompatible with the otherwise dominant non-spatial organisation of the Holy Roman Empire. Applegate broadens the debate by promoting the concept of *Heimat* which allows the experience of one community to be carried and shared by others, such that each community's collective experience becomes everyone else's, and ultimately that of the nation.

Applegate presents evidence from the border region of the Rhenish Palatinate to argue that the concept of *Heimat* can be used to show that localisms are not only compatible with the ideological structure of German nationalism, but an essential component of it. *Heimat* refers literally to 'home' or 'homeland,' but more importantly it encompasses a range of activities directed at preserving local identity. Conversely, it is the state-structures which ignore the regionalisms or try to forge new ones, that are destructive.

The term *Heimat* is an important, though not unproblematic "Keyword" in German history of the nineteenth century.[8] It allows the experience of one community to be carried and shared by others, such that each community's collective experience becomes everyone else's and ultimately that of the nation. The term "came into its current usage at a certain juncture in German history and has remained in both an everyday and a more formally argumentative vocabulary ever since" (Applegate 1990: 6). Those engaged in these activities were, however, not conscious of doing so:

> They understood their regionally directed activities, if they thought about them at all, as a private enjoyment, comparable to a hobby, and as a public service — a civic minded contribution to the health of the community (Applegate 1990: 3).

Ever since the concept of *Heimat* took hold early in the nineteenth century, people have written small articles, collected objects and customs, and organised local festivals and celebrations (Applegate 1990: 3). Moreover, the deep conviction in the importance of these activities has given rise to a long list of terms that do not appear to have an equivalent in English, and yet many scholars, like Applegate, see *Heimat* as key to understanding regional and national identity in Germany.[9] Shama relates it to romanticism in Germany in the nineteenth century (Shama 1995: 102). Its origins, according to him, lie in the attempts by Herder and others to expose the German national experience of the land, an experience that is situated and grounded in physical topography, cultural paths, folk songs, and so forth. The tie to a mythical land is key to the concept of *Heimat*. It looses some of its credibility with

explorations of social scientists and is best thought of as a rhetorical device that has appeal to various groups within Germany, despite their regional differences. For our present purposes, it illustrates the difficulties that persist when we try to understand the treatment of the region in German historiography[10] In disputing Walker's thesis, Applegate argues that, as a guiding principle of activities, *Heimat* was key in the confrontation between the General Estates and the hometownsmen. In fact, it took much of its current ideological baggage from the efforts of the General Estates to understand and reshape German localities in the context of a nation-state (Applegate 1990: 8). It uses nostalgia to present a reality. "A mixture of practicality and sentimentality became the distinguishing feature of Heimat" (Applegate 1990:8). When the experienced reality resembles the rural, pre-national life depicted by *Heimat*, however, the concept ceases to have either analytical or political powers. This is the case in the late eighteenth century, and that period requires an analytic framework that is much more locally grounded in what the people we are studying can understand. We cannot presume to know exactly what this might have been, but we can be fairly certain that they had little interest in whether their history could be made more compatible with a "national" history.

What distinguishes *Heimat* from expressions of regional identity that we find in other countries is the high degree of institutionalisation that is embodied in this term.[11] In its current academic usage, *Heimat* refers not only to a familiarity with a territorial home, but represents an emotional attachment to that which constitutes place. In this concept, then, are included the community of one's ancestors, as well as one's descendants (Veiter 1975: 414). In the middle of the nineteenth century, *Heimat* was nostalgic and bucolic, and presented in opposition to city life (Applegate 1990: 10). Because of its nostalgic or mythical power, it "offered Germans a way to reconcile a heritage of localized traditions with the ideal of a single transcendant nationality" (Applegate 1990: 11):

> Heimat suggests a long standing, though not always explicit debate in German society about the proper relation between the locality and the nation, the particular and the general, the many and the one (Applegate 1990: 6).

In this sense, *Heimat* is not incompatible with national history but an essential part of it. While it is loosely translatable as "home" or *Pays*, it is quite different from these terms because it is less grounded in space than those ideas.

Conclusions

The difference between the perspectives of Brunner and the *Annalistes*, and the concepts of *Heimat* and Pays carries important implications. The subtleties of an aspatial model — and *Heimat* still retains elements of that — need to be understood, if for no other reason than the ideological justifications such an history has, and continues to provide. Again, it is possible to see some similarities between the argument above, and that raised by Brunner and others. The danger of such an argument of course, is that it feeds into romantic arguments of the glories of the past, of a pure "race," and all the other trappings of (?) nationalism are not coherent political units, but become ethnically and culturally defined with reference to an historical myth. How then can we deal with the problem of local cultural identity and the development of the nation-state, without feeding rhetoric to the romantic nationalists?

A simple answer to this question must be in the methodological approach that is used. It must be one that considers the dialectic between regionalism and nationalism, and while viewing them as compatible with each other, must also explicitly highlight each one's effect on the other, and this effect on the wider pressing economic issues of class solidarity. As we have seen before in the context of the *Annalistes* and Brunner, the only similarity between them lies in cynicism with regards to certain analytical contructs. And a difference again lies in whether we choose to reject these constructs all together, as Brunner does, or to study these constructs critically, and try to understand how they are actually constituted, as the *Annalistes* did with *Pays,* and as Applegate has tried to do with *Heimat*. In short, the German geographical tradition did not embrace the concept of *Pays*, in which the landscape and people were so integrally tied to space, but rather they were tied to an imagined community, *Heimat*, which was portable and ubiquitous. It existed in myths, songs, stories and culture. In German the region, *Landeskunde*, is not defined by the space it covers, but as a cultural community (*Siedlungsgemeinschaft* and *Stamesvolkseinheit*). A collection of *Heimats* could make up the German nation, but a collection of *Pays* could not, without the strong centralising efforts that were directed to the construction of the French state. And arguably, *Heimat* could never have constructed the French nation.

Notes

1 Mitteis 1941:257.

2 Brunner (1939) and Mitteis (1941); both are reprinted in Kämpf, ed. (1956).

3 In America in the nineteenth century, this separation of state from society was able to produce two very distinct iconographic representations: the Statue of Liberty for the nation (i.e. society), and Uncle Sam for the state. Liberal ideology held a certain amount of disdain for the state, and it was therefore possible to ridicule Uncle Sam, whereas the Statue of Liberty has remained, even to this day, a sacred icon that is rarely ridiculed (Zelinsky 1988:22-25).

4 In 1922 Febvre wrote *La Terre et l'évolution humaine*.

5 These same criticisms can be raised against similar studies that were carried out in North America throughout the 1950s and 60s.

6 For a detailed discussion of *Kulturprovinz*, and early German influences on the *Annalistes* see Veit-Brause (1979). Weiss (1952) in an ethnographic study of a region is Switzerland uses this concept and acknowledges his debt to Aubin and others, who have been credited with introducing this term to the *Annalistes.* See also Varga (1991).

7 Cf. Kiessling (1987), especially his discussion of *Nachbarpolitik*. According to his model, merchants in the sixteenth century began to form political units based on region, rather than, as had been the case earlier (or as it had been described in other models) political units that were based on guilds or the Estate structures.

8 Celia Applegate argues that it should be treated as one of Raymond Williams' "Keywords". She cites Raymond Williams' (1966) *Culture and Society: 1780-1950*, New York, and also his *Keywords* (Oxford, 1983). (Applegate 1990:6 fn 10) Cf. also Veiter (1975). He makes the distinction between *Heimat* as 1) a territorial concept, 2) a region of ethno-political tensions ('Ethnopolitische Druckzone') and 3) a legal construct after World War II associated with ideas in other countries, such as ancestral home, home, or homeland.

9 Bausinger & Köstlin, eds. 1980.

10 *Heimat* has given rise to *Heimatpfleger* (one who cares, in the sense of a guardian, for the *Heimat*), *Heimatgedanke* (the notion of the *Heimat*), *Heimatliebe* (love for one's *Heimat*), *Heimatkünstler* (an artist engaged in representations of local crafts or themes), or simply *Heimatler* (any one engaged in any activity that promotes and creates the *Heimat*). *Heimatpfleger* is a term with medical and civil connotations that refers to any and all activities that "care for" *Heimat*: it harks back to Stadtpfleger, a leading political position in the early modern constitutions of German cities (Applegate 1990:3 fn. 2). Members of the community were entrusted with the production of the *Heimat*. This still seems to be part of the political culture where the state invests considerable fortunes in school atlases, for example, and ensures that each student has one, and in Austria each Land produces "Jungbürgerbücher" for all citizens when they reach voting age. This volume not only explains the responsibility of voting, but imbues the citizen with a strong dose of national and local pride; it chronicles the history and geography of the land and reports on local heros.

11 To this day there are civic offices that are responsible for the promotion of *Heimat*, and rich government agencies together with local banking institutions sponsor projects with that specific aim in mind. In many cases throughout southern Germany in the medieval and early modern period we find the *Landschreiber,* a civil clerk who was responsible for keeping the *Protokoll-bände* (minutes of activities in the district offices), administering local property transactions, marriages, and debts; he was also responsible for maintaining a chronicle of events (Stadelmann 1948:72-73). The term varies, but the office seems to be common. For each document he produced, he collected a tax for each page of minutes that was produced (Stadelmann 1948: 73). Many roles are similar to those of Justice of the Peace in England, but the detail of the information that was recorded on a regular basis is more reminiscent of early corporate enterprises such as the post journals of the Hudson's Bay Company in British North America.

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RAPPORT D'ÉVALUATION DU COLLOQUE LAVAL-QUEEN'S, 25-27 OCTOBRE 1996, KINGSTON, ONTARIO

Les étudiants du Laboratoire de géographie historique, Université Laval

Du vendredi 25 au dimanche 27 octobre 1996, une quarantaine de professeurs et d'étudiants de géographie historique se sont réunis au Dragon's Lair Pub and Brewery à Kingston en Ontario, dans le cadre d'un colloque interuniversitaire. Ces professeurs et étudiants provenaient de l'Université Laval, de l'Université Queen's, de l'Université McGill, de l'Université de Toronto et de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières.

Le professeur Brian S. Osborne de Queen's a organisé le colloque. Dès le premier soir, après un repas au Dragon's Lair, celui-ci nous a initiés au paysage de Kingston, en nous présentant une série de diapositives qui ont aussi permis de replacer la ville dans son contexte temporel, spatial et culturel. Les principaux thèmes abordés ont été les débuts de Kingston en tant que site militaire stratégique ; le développement subséquent de son port et du commerce du bois, favorisé par la situation de cette ville à l'extrémité est des Grands Lacs, ainsi que ses fonctions actuelles de ville administrative, militaire et touristique.

Ces thèmes ont fait l'objet d'une excursion géographique, tenue deux jours plus tard. À cette occasion, le professeur Osborne a conduit les participants à une visite des principaux sites de la ville : les forts Frontenac et Henry, le premier français et le second britannique ; l'écluse et le canal Rideau permettant d'unir Kingston et Ottawa, en plus du site de Barriefield datant du XIX^e^ siècle. Les interventions du professeur Osborne ont permis aux participants de comprendre non seulement l'importance historique du site stratégique de Kingston, mais aussi son déclin relatif des dernières années, ses tentatives de stabilisation et son désir de conserver le passé.

Le colloque s'est déroulé en six sessions, comportant chacune deux ou trois présentations. Les sujets présentés étaient très variés. Les professeurs Serge Courville et Normand Séguin, respectivement de Laval et de Trois-Rivières, ont abordé les mythes et les réalités entourant l'évolution socioéconomique du pays laurentien au XIX^e^ siècle. Ils ont également offert aux chercheurs de Queen's une copie du premier volume de l'Atlas historique du Québec, ouvrage pour lequel ils ont récemment remporté un prix prestigieux, le Prix Lionel Groulx Bell-Québec.

Le professeur Marc St-Hilaire, de Laval, a présenté un aperçu de la démographie de la ville de Québec au milieu du XIX^e^ siècle. Le professeur Peter Goheen, de Queen's, a discuté des funérailles de Lord D'Arcy McGee, un politicien canadien assassiné, que ses contemporains ont transformé en personnage mythique du fédéralisme canadien. Quant au professeur Aidan McQuillan, de Toronto, il a orienté sa présentation vers les investissements faits par les seigneurs dans le Québec du XIX^e^ siècle. Finalement, la professeure Anne Godlewska, de Queen's, s'est intéressée au travail de A. J. Letronne, un égyptologue français de l'École des Chartes peu connu, mais qui fut fort influent dans le développement scientifique de son époque.

Le second soir, le professeur Jacques Mathieu, de Laval, a présenté une série de diapositives recréant l'histoire des Plaines d'Abraham. Cette présentation s'est déroulée après un excellent repas à l'auberge du Général Wolfe, située sur une île du lac Ontario : Wolfe Island. À cette occasion, le professeur Osborne avait gracieusement rebaptisé cette île du nom de « Wolfe and Montcalm Island », un changement toponymique qui n'a apparemment suscité aucune réaction à Ottawa…

Au fil des présentations, plusieurs différences sont apparues entre les deux groupes principaux, tant au plan des approches méthodologiques que des préoccupations de recherche. Ainsi, contrairement aux chercheurs de Queen's qui semblent accorder une préséance à la théorie, ceux de Laval s'attachent davantage aux études empiriques, comme base de leurs réflexions théoriques. C'est ainsi, par exemple, que Philip Mackintosh et Joan Schwartz, de Queen's, ont appliqué le concept de modernité, le premier à la bicyclette au tournant du XIX^e^ siècle, et la seconde, à la photographie. De son côté, Barry Rodrigue de Laval, a montré comment une étude empirique, basée sur une recherche de terrain aux dimensions archéologique et géographique, a pu permettre de réévaluer certains mythes de l'identité canadienne-française.

Il est également apparu que le groupe de Laval était davantage préoccupé par des études reliées au Québec, alors qu'à Queen's ces études couvraient des espaces très divers. Ainsi, Lynda Villeneuve, de Laval, a présenté comment, à travers l'image, on a élaboré une vision mythique du paysage de la région de Charlevoix au XIX^e^ siècle. De son côté, Matthew Hatvany, postdoctorant à Laval, a exposé son étude sur le mythe relié au fardeau d'être tenancier à l'Ile du Prince Édouard au XIX^e^ siècle, en comparant cette situation à celle du Québec à l'époque seigneuriale. À Queen's, Philip Wolfart a étudié la construction de la «région» dans l'historiographie allemande, James Reinhart l'identité ethnique des Garifunas du Bélize, Catherine Nolan les réfugiés guatémaltèques, alors que le professeur Georges Lovell, de Queen's, nous offrait une vision très personnelle de l'anthropologie des Pyrénées catalanes.

Plusieurs facteurs peuvent expliquer cet écart entre les deux groupes. D'un côté, les études régionales ont été au centre d'une réévaluation de l'expérience historique québécoise au XIX^e^ siècle. De l'autre, la remise en question de la géographie historique au Canada anglais en a occupé plusieurs. Des études empiriques, on est donc passé à la théorie, et, de là, à la réflexion sur la place et les limites des contributions, ce qui a suscité d'intéressantes discussions quant aux différents objets d'étude et aux manières aussi très différentes de les aborder.

Cette année, contrairement à 1995 où chaque participant avait fait une présentation d'une quinzaine de minutes, seulement seize des quarante participants ont présenté en vingt à trente minutes leur objet d'étude. Il est certain qu'une plus longue présentation permet de donner davantage d'informations sur les travaux et, par conséquent, présente un plus grand intérêt. Cependant, comme le temps était compté, plusieurs ont dû se résoudre à écouter, regrettant que les budgets ne permettent pas l'ajout d'une journée supplémentaire, ce qui leur aurait permis eux aussi de présenter leurs travaux.

Malgré cette limite, le colloque Laval-Queen's a été néanmoins une excellente occasion d'échange entre les participants. En plus des informations qu'ils ont pu obtenir sur les travaux en cours, ils ont pu comparer leurs méthodes et leurs techniques de travail, ainsi que leurs préoccupations théoriques, ce qui a été un enrichissement pour leurs propres recherches. Il aura été aussi une heureuse occasion de retrouvailles. Ainsi, en 1995, Barbara Snyder, de Queen's, avait orienté sa présentation sur les femmes de Loyalistes dans le Haut-Canada, en montrant des cartes dévoilant la présence d'un camp loyaliste en Nouvelle-Beauce. Elle avait particulièrement intéressé Pierre Poulin et Barry Rodrigue de Laval, qui travaillent tous deux sur la Beauce. Un échange fertile d'informations par courrier électronique a donc suivi le colloque, préparant ainsi celui de 1996.

De son côté, Lynda Villeneuve qui avait aussi présenté ses travaux sur Charlevoix en 1995, leur a donné une suite heureuse, en effectuant par la suite un stage d'un semestre à Queen's. Ce stage lui a permis d'approfondir sa réflexion sur les représentations passées des paysages, et de s'initier à la lecture critique de l'iconographie ancienne. Il a été supervisé par le Professeur Brian Osborne, qui l'a en outre accueillie dans l'un de ses séminaires et soutenue dans son cheminement théorique et méthodologique. À cette occasion, la candidate a pu prendre connaissance des différents modèles développés à Queen's pour l'analyse iconographique et se familiariser avec les travaux de recherche effectués sur le sujet au Canada anglais, aux États-Unis et en Grande-Bretagne. Elle continuera de bénéficier des enseignements du professeur Osborne, puisque ce dernier a aussi accepté d'être lecteur externe pour sa thèse.

Ce type d'échange entre universités est unique et important. Trop souvent, en effet, l'enseignement se limite aux salles de cours. Par les occasions de partage qu'il crée, il s'avère un puissant stimulant intellectuel, dont peuvent profiter tant les professeurs que les étudiants, quel que soit leur niveau. Les colloques de Québec et de Kingston ont été à cette enseigne. Tout au plus aurait-on souhaité de pouvoir prolonger davantage ces discussions fertiles, par des échanges plus informels tenus après les présentations. Après tout, ce n'est pas tous les jours qu'on a ainsi la chance d'être aussi intimement en contact avec une culture scientifique différente de la sienne, et de pousser plus loin ses réflexions pratiques et théoriques ! Mais, bien sûr, restait la Brasserie…

RÉSUMÉS ABSTRACTS

L'aire de recrutement des conjoints des jeunes filles de la paroisse de Saint-Charles de Limoilou à la fin du XIX^e^ et au début du XX^e^ siècle

Louise Blouin
Université Laval

L'objectif de cette maîtrise est de tracer la configuration de l'aire de recrutement des conjoints des jeunes filles de Limoilou à la fin du XIX^e^ siècle et au début du XX^e^. Une industrialisation et une urbanisation rapides caractérisent cette époque. Saint-Charles de Limoilou se situe sur la rive nord de la rivière Saint-Charles au confluent du fleuve Saint-Laurent.

Dans le cadre de nos recherches, nous partons de l'hypothèse selon laquelle le nombre de mariages décroît en s'éloignant de la paroisse. Nous voulons également appréhender les liens familiaux, sociaux et professionnels qui interviennent dans la configuration de l'aire de recrutement. Nous partons également du principe selon lequel le contexte d'urbanisation et d'industrialisation qui prévaut à cette époque à St-Charles de Limoilou favorise la venue d'une population des milieux ruraux. De plus, nous notons la présence assez importante de célibataires masculins venus résider dans la paroisse pour trouver un emploi. Il est probable que la migration d'hommes célibataires mais également de familles favorise le maintien de liens de solidarité avec les paroisses de provenance et par conséquent, de mariages.

À l'aide des informations consignées dans les registres paroissiaux St-Charles de Limoilou entre 1896 et 1914, du recensement du Canada de 1901, et de l'annuaire Marcotte (indicateur des rues de Québec) nous avons pu également noter le lieux de résidence lorsque celui-ci se situe dans la paroisse et la ville de Québec. Ces sources permettent pour la majorité des unions d'établir le métier des pères des conjoints et celui du jeune homme. Les registres paroissiaux permettent également de montrer les liens familiaux et consanguins. Ces informations nous permettent de tracer l'aire de recrutement des jeunes filles de cette paroisse et les raison qui motivent cette configuration.

Au plan cartographique, nous avons cru pertinent de cartographier uniquement les églises des paroisses de la ville de Québec puisque plus de 80% de jeunes hommes résident dans l'une ou l'autre des paroisses de la ville. Il aurait été ardu de vouloir cartographier toutes les paroisses de provenance des conjoints.

Géographie historique du textile au Québec au XIX^e^ siècle : discours et représentation

Michel Boisvert
Université Laval

Le textile joue un rôle important dans l'évolution et dans les changements survenus au XIX^e^ siècle dans la société rurale québécoise. À travers la montée de son industrie, c'est toute la socioéconomie du monde rural qui peut être explorée, dans ses processus de croissance et d'adaptation au changement. Nos premiers travaux ont fait ressortir l'ampleur de la production textile et le caractère original de sa distribution géographique, changeant ainsi l'idée que cette activité ne fut pas uniquement destinée à l'autoconsommation familiale, mais qu'elle alimenta, à sa façon, une part du marché. En replaçant l'activité textile québécoise dans un contexte nord-américain et européen, nous avons lieu de croire que le Québec ne fait pas figure à part et qu'il s'inscrit dans une logique héritée de l'expérience des autres pays producteurs.

L'intérêt de notre recherche doctorale est basé sur le fait qu'il y a eu, par l'importance du travail à domicile dans le secteur du textile, l'amorce d'une diversification des échanges économiques et

sociaux favorisant ainsi des changements importants dans la société rurale et urbaine du XIX^e siècle. Dans cette optique, nous aborderons plusieurs concepts, modèles et notions associés à notre objet d'étude. Dans le cas du travail à domicile, nous traiterons de Domestic System, de dépendance économique, de pluriactivité. Dans l'optique des échanges, nous aborderons le modèle de la proto-industrialisation, des comportements sociaux, d'économie paysanne et d'économie de marché et enfin dans le cas des processus de croissance et d'adaptation au changement, nous examinerons les notions d'industrialisation, de progrès technologiques et d'urbanisation. Pour rejoindre le thème de ce colloque, nous mettrons en évidence la place du discours et la perception des observateurs de l'époque et des contemporains entourant la culture du lin et du chanvre. Cet exemple permettra de mieux comprendre l'écart entre le discours étatique et la réalité vécue par l'habitant.

Dans son ensemble, notre recherche apportera un éclairage complémentaire aux études déjà en cours sur les sociétés rurales et urbaines du XIX^e siècle. Ayant déjà fait ressortir les aires où la production textile a été la plus importante et les écarts entre les lieux de répartition de la matière première et les lieux de sa transformation, nous sommes maintenant convaincus que l'idée d'une production autarcique est à nuancer et qu'on y retrouve plutôt une activité ouverte aux échanges. Reste à savoir comment et par qui s'effectuent ces échanges et quel rôle ils jouent dans la vie et l'économie familiale afin de mieux saisir leur place dans la vie des campagnes.

Gender and the Urban Experience: Clerical Work and Urban Change in Montreal, 1890-1925

Kate Boyer
McGill University

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, notions regarding appropriate gender roles and ideas about the nature and experience of urban space both underwent radical transformations. These changes played off one another in a multitude of ways: suburbanization, shifting standards of propriety, and "first-wave" feminism all suggest the magnitude of change attendant upon the beginning of a stage now identified as Modernity. Through an examination of relations between gender and urban space at this time focusing on the feminization of clerical work, this thesis seeks to weave these strands together.

By the first years of the twentieth century, officework was the fastest growing sector of employment for women in Quebec, comprising the third largest percentage of women in paid employment by 1921 (after factory work and domestic service). Dual products of monopoly capitalism and the bureaucratization of government and finance, the expansion and feminization of officework figured centrally in a broader re-negotiation of what it meant to be a woman – or, for that matter, a man – in Montreal's early 20th century urban landscape. Part of a larger effort to uncover hidden histories and geographies of women and socio-spatial relations at this time; I seek to reflect on how this influx of women working downtown, in corporate offices with men, interplayed with broader changes about the meaning of so-called "respectable" womanhood, and those about Montreal's public, urban space. Building on the work of Lowe, Dagenais, and, in an American context Fine and Kwolk-Folland which explicate the process by which clerical work became women's work, I submit that this process played a crucial role in breaking down Victorian associations between public space and "fallen" womanhood.

This study draws on a rich variety of sources housed at public and private archives. Census materials, newspapers, women's magazines, Royal Commission labour reports and municipal reports provide a solid base for understanding gender dynamics at this time. To gain an understanding of the feminization of clerical work in particular, I am also drawing on sources held at the corporate archives at: the Bank of Montreal, Sun Life Insurance Company, Scotia Bank, Toronto Dominion and the Canadian Imperial Bank of Commerce. Holdings at these archives include staff lists, employee magazines, employee files, and photographic and visual imagery not available elsewhere. Taken together, materials allow for a finer and much more richly textured analysis of the nature and experience of clerical work at this time, and as such constitute a crucial part of my data.

The "Caribs" of Dominica: An Ethnohistorical Geography, 1490-1700

Wayne Burke
Queen's University

The Native peoples of the Lesser Antilles have been misrepresented, maligned, and transformed in the European imagination since the time that Columbus called them "Caribs" and "cannibals". A geographer, seeking to reconstruct the life-ways and landscapes

of the early contact period must interpret the primary sources so as to identify facts and fantasies, as well as separate and recover images from imaginings.

Though a contact population estimate for the Lesser Antilles is elusive, more certain is sixteenth-century decline due to Spanish slaving-raids and introduced diseases. French and British colonizing missions in the early seventeenth-century, therefore, encountered a decimated Antillindian population. The Carib reputation for savagery and cannibalism owes less to any cultural practice than to their opposition to enslavement by Spaniards and to European settlement in the Lesser Antilles. Inter-island and Orinocon trade routes were a feature of the pre-Columbian Caribbean Sea and Antillindians eagerly extended their economic relations to include trade with Europeans for European manufactured goods. One discrepancy, then, is between the representations of the Caribs as "marauding cannibals" and the reality of mutually advantageous trade relations in the Caribbean. The same Antillindians, however, actively opposed European attempts at settlement.

Even islands that appeared uninhabited were part of the Carib subsistence base as conucos were planted on different islands as buffers against hurricane damage. Caribs also travelled frequently and widely to utilise various terrestrial and marine habitats (coastal, estuarine, mangrove, and offshore). Islands were not relinquished without resentment and resistance. Caribs rejected European religious but not economic goods, they were also able participants in balance-of-power politics between English and French settlers. In this way they were able to maintain cultural autonomy and territorial integrity on the island of Dominica until the end of the seventeenth-century.

Tourism as a Cultural Practice: Elora and Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario

Jacques R. Critchley
Queen's University

Questions arising from recent field work in the villages of Elora and Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ontario, two tourist destinations within the urban field of Toronto, encapsulate the issues and interests that I currently seek to document and investigate.

In these two villages, members of the metropolitan elite seek to live a life of self-conscious pastoral elegance in a heritage landscape. Common to this group is the understated consumption and display of restored houses and well kept gardens, art and antique furniture as markers of status and belonging. They also serve to differentiate residents from tourists. As in all other studies of communities and social groups, engaging in social research in such a community requires negotiating access and establishing a rapport with key informants. In this instance, establishing such connections was relatively easy: my educational status, my interest in the built environment and local history and the (what I can only assume to be flattering) curiosity I displayed about the daily lives of this elite were all means of entry.

This raises the issue of the researcher as a positioned subject: who was I to these people? The varied interactions I had with these people suggested that I held a variety of positions: first, an arbiter of authenticity, as a researcher and scholar; second, my long-term presence and interest in things local accorded me provisional status as a resident; third, my education indicated membership in this elite. Most importantly, however, my role was to reinforce and justify their status and material choices in their estimation. My class position, as one of Canada's cultural elite via the university system, suggests the impossibility of "objective" research — I share a great deal of general knowledge and interests with the people I was studying. How does one proceed in such instances? Issues of ethics and bias, partial and subjective accounts must be dealt with prior to and during the research and writing process. My interest is in answering that question by researching and writing in a reflexive mode, a mode that sets out our positions as (marginal?) members of the political and cultural elites.

These questions arise from my interest in tourism as a cultural practice, as well as an activity of obvious consequences economically and socially as well as in the realm of planning and development. More generally, I see my research moving towards an analysis of consumption and the social construction of place-specific ideologies (generally based on Pierre Bourdieu's concept of distinction and habitus and Raymond Williams' extended definition of ideology) and the concrete consequences for landscapes and communities, illustrating how differing class-related practices and interpretations of place alters land use, social and economic conditions and the social and cultural evaluation of the built environment in communities of all sizes, but particularly those in periods of flux and transition.

Hong Kong's First Topographical Survey and the Value of Empire

Robert Davidson
Queen's University

"Re-inscribing" the other (or the colonised) in terms of the coloniser is an established technique of imperialism, and the mapping of empire is a particularly powerful tool in this process, enabling the possession, re-naming and control of resources. In the case of Hong Kong, factors other than re-inscription appear to have been influential in the government's decision not to commission a detailed topographic survey until 1899. These maps are therefore central to understanding the value placed on Hong Kong by the British in the nineteenth century.

The Island of Hong Kong was formally ceded to Britain in 1842, and this was followed 18 years later by the cession, in perpetuity, of the Kowloon Peninsula. These small pieces of empire were quickly mapped to affirm possession (a map was notably included in the 1860 deed of cession), to reinscribe them with English names, and to facilitate commercial enterprise through the port of Victoria and enable control over the colony from London. However, there were no detailed topographic maps produced of the colony until after the New Territories were leased for 99 years in 1898.

Within the British Empire the Colonial Service was responsible for organizing the administration of the colonies, and for co-ordinating and instructing the various colonial bureaucracies in the collection and return of data to London. In Hong Kong the civil service was modelled on the "Indian Civil Service" (ICS), the most famous of the British colonial bureaucracies, and like the ICS the top jobs were all filled by the British upper classes. One of the key functions of the colonial civil service was the supervision of mapping in the colony concerned. The first detailed survey of Hong Kong took five years to complete (1899-1904) and was mandated to produce a general topographic map of the territory and to map the occupied land in much more detail, to establish details of ownership, occupation, usage and extent. Those employed in the survey reflected the structure of the civil service. For the 1902-3 field season there were 27 surveyors (British) engaged, along with 37 Indian labourers and 55 Chinese labourers. These maps remained in use until 1929. (Prior to these maps the 1845 general survey by Collinson and the Royal Artillery had been relied upon). This mapping process established a Western framework through which Hong Kong could be understood; the product of a standardized civil service across the Empire.

Compared with India, Hong Kong was only mapped systematically at a very late stage, the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India was started a century earlier. The technology was evidently present to map Hong Kong quickly and efficiently as standard techniques of topographical survey were used extensively from the mid-nineteenth century in Britain by the Ordnance Survey, as well as in India and other colonial possessions. To be sure, topographical survey is expensive, which makes it especially peculiar that this mapping venture should be started at the same moment that the efficiency and cost of Empire were being heavily debated in England. Similar questions were also being asked on the continent within the French Empire, and in the early formations of the Marxist critiques of imperialism (these became most vocal in the early stages of World War I).

Was the late mapping of Hong Kong a result of its small size (spatial insignificance), the bureaucratic incompetence of the civil service which plagued the ICS in the latter part of the nineteenth century or its valuelessness to the British Crown in terms of natural resources, taxation revenues and as a market for British exports? The last of these is probably most important, and this should be reflected in the mapping. How do the first topographic maps of Hong Kong depict the value of the colony to the Empire? How were the maps actually used, and by whom?

La distribution spatiale des structures socioprofessionnelles de la population de la ville de Québec entre 1851 et 1891, d'après les recensements

Sophie Drouin
Université Laval

Notre recherche vise à comprendre et analyser les composantes socioprofessionnelles de la population de la ville de Québec dans la seconde moitié du XIX^{e} siècle. Cette période correspond à un contexte très particulier pour la ville, soit celui d'un virage économique difficile accompagné d'une relative stagnation des effectifs. L'étude des composantes socioprofessionnelles pourra nous aider à comprendre les grandes étapes de la redéfinition économique qui s'accentue pour Québec.

Il sera intéressant de voir qui part s'installer en ville à ce moment. Si le XIX^{e} siècle est caractérisé entre autres par la poussée urbaine, il faut rappeler que les élites canadiennes françaises tenaient des discours pour endiguer ce mouvement en avertissant la population des dangers innés à la ville, et en décriant son mode de vie et ses pauvres valeurs. Il

sera intéressant de comprendre les motivations de ces deux groupes d'acteurs.

À partir des recensements de 1851, 1871 et 1891, nous confectionnerons une base de données avec laquelle nous effectuerons une analyse statistique. Puis, nous cartographierons nos résultats et nous les confronterons avec les cartes anciennes et les plans d'assurances. Ainsi, nous espérons en dégager des corrélations et surtout des explications.

From Galleries to Gift shops: Othering through Anti-Modernism, Gender and Place in the Worlds of Inuit Art

Michele Dupuis
Queen's University

At any airport in Canada, we have all come into contact with curios which depict Inuit hunters, northern animals and woman with child. Prosaic and pedestrian, we rarely question the meanings of this bric-a-brac beyond the commercial imperatives. Upon closer examination, however, these curios can reveal a great deal about how we conceive of, and construct, an Inuit Other.

In this project, I am examining all aspects of the Inuit art "world" as a means of understanding how the nebulous designation of Other is constructed and conferred by Euro-Canadian society onto other cultures, specifically Inuit culture. I am investigating kitsch or "airport art" as it is sometimes disparagingly referred to, tourist art, and "high" (or museum / gallery) art. Each of these artforms offer particular insight into the stereotypes in which Inuit are portrayed.

Within each of these different areas of Inuit art, I am exploring the stereotypical themes in which Inuit are cast. First, Inuit culture, like many Aboriginal cultures, is portrayed as being linked to the past. This theme, or trope, privileges pre- and/or anti-modern ideals of Inuit culture as being more authentic than contemporary Inuit culture. This theme, while discernable in all the areas of Inuit art, it is most visible in museum collections, the world of high Inuit art. I am positing that the major Inuit art collections in Canada, from the National Art Gallery to the Winnipeg Art Gallery, focus their collections and exhibitions on early art with typical Inuit themes, disregarding much contemporary art which challenges stereotypes. I hope to travel to the Northern community of Cape Dorset to canvass Inuit artists opinions' on the representation of their work in southern media and museums and galleries. Second, Inuit culture is uniquely tied to the North as a place. Indeed, I am arguing that the purchase of tourist art is connected to Canadian's identity as citizens of a northern country. Finally, I am investigating how "woman" can be a metonym for Other. In other words, I am exploring the similarity of the tropes or stereotypes the West applies to Other cultures, such as the Inuit, and those the West applies to women. To do this, I am undertaking a reading of the iconography of kitsch art, with its reliance on female Inuit images. I hope to examine the product lines of various kitsch art distributors in Canada to unravel the relationship between gender and Other.

La région de Drummondville au XIX^{e} siècle

Hans Gardner
Université Laval

Je suis un étudiant nouvellement admis cette année à la maîtrise en géographie historique. Comme objet d'étude, j'ai choisi la région de Drummondville au XIX^{e} siècle et je m'intéresse plus particulièrement à la colonisation de cette région. En voulant étudier cette région, je veux pallier une certaine lacune historiographique. En effet, il n'y a pas eu beaucoup de recherches effectuées sur cette région.

L'histoire de cette région est originale. Drummondville a été fondée en 1815 par le major anglais Georges Frédérick Hériot. Il avait été chargé par la couronne de coloniser la région. Cette région a été dès lors occupée par des soldats anglais, vétérans de la guerre de 1812-1815, mais également par des mercenaires allemands, des Canadiens-français et, plus tard, des Irlandais. Je veux voir les relations qui existaient entre ces différents groupes et les rapports à l'espace entre ceux-ci.

Transforming the Ideal: Visions and Revisions of Housing in a French-Canadian Community, 1942-1995

Jason Gilliland
McGill University

Using houses as cultural artifacts, this research examines the morphogenesis of a residential landscape in Montreal. Cité-Jardin du Tricentenaire was a wartime effort of a small group of entrepreneurs who had dreams of building the "ideal" French-Canadian community. Its high rate of persistence over the past fifty years — one in five households are original settlers — makes it a convenient laboratory for the study of community development. The research revolves around several

themes: the planning behind the original housing; the physical evolution of the houses themselves; the experiences and perceptions of the homeowners; and the cultural and temporal context into which the housing was placed.

Recapitulating the Perceived Burden of the Proprietary System: Agricultural Productivity Rates and the Relative Weight of the Rental Payment in the Tenurial System of Prince Edward Island, 1841

Matthew G. Hatvany
Université Laval

Farm life in the countryside of nineteenth-century Prince Edward Island is often considered only in terms of the perceived negative proprietary structures put in place by the British in 1767, which does not show the true relationship between people and place. This essay critically examines agricultural productivity rates in three townships of Prince Edward Island as a means of understanding the relative burden of the rental payment within the proprietary land tenure system of Prince Edward Island in 1841. The results of this study argue that while rental rates were generally equal across the Island, the burden of paying the rent for the tenantry varied considerably according to the agricultural productivity of the individual farm family. In describing the burden of the proprietary system on the tenantry, therefore, scholars must in the future avoid sweeping generalizations about the burden of the rental payment and provide a more detailed examination of the territorial relationship between indiviual people and place.

The study is based on a micro-historical and territorial approach that challenges the generalized assumption that rental payments within the proprietry system were difficult for all farm families. By using census data to examine agricultural productivity at the level of the individual farm family, it is possible to see that the productivity of the territory controlled by individual farm families varied considerably and led to considerable economic stratification.

The primary source for this study is the Prince Edward Island Census for 1841, and a contemporary theoretical model for determining individual farm family agricultural productivity based upon the number of cleared and arable acres in possession of the family.

Les Eudistes sur la Côte-Nord 1903-1945: des effectifs réduits et peu adaptés

Marc Hébert
Université Laval

L'Église catholique apparaît solidement installée au Québec début du XX^e^ siècle. Le clergé québécois recrute massivement des effectifs tandis que s'opère un maillage paroissial serré du territoire. Toutefois, nous observons un espace en marge de ce phénomène. L'expérience du clergé québécois sur la Côte-Nord tient du paradoxe. D'abord sous la juridiction de Monseigneur Labrecque, évêque de Chicoutimi, la Côte-Nord est confiée aux Eudistes, une congrégation française, en 1903. Monseigneur Labrecque leur confie ce territoire parce qu'il manque de ressources et qu'il considère la tâche trop lourde. Cette communication porte sur la présence eudiste, fragilisée par un personnel peu nombreux et difficilement renouvelable.

À l'aide de curriculum vitae de la Congrégation, nous avons construit une prosopographie des Eudistes ayant oeuvré sur la Côte-Nord. Elle révèle une très faible présence sur ce vaste territoire. Se profilent aussi dans l'analyse de la répartition des obédiences une mouvance des effectifs et des séjours de courte durée dans la préfecture apostolique du golfe Saint-Laurent. Grâce à la riche correspondance des Eudistes, nous pouvons cerner les causes de ce difficile recrutement et les obstacles décelés dans la poursuite des oeuvres missionnaires. La faiblesse des moyens de communication, l'isolement et les exigences du travail de missionnaire, des tensions et divisions dans la Congrégation quant à l'intérêt à apporter à la Côte-Nord, une adaptation limitée aux communautés locales, représentent des facteurs qui rendent l'action apostolique difficile.

Cette démarche nous permet de nuancer certaines représentations de la vie religieuse au Québec. La Côte-Nord ne cadre pas avec l'image d'un Québec sous la tutelle de l'Église. Au contraire, cette région semble presque impossible à maîtriser. L'expérience des pères eudistes déforme aussi l'image du prêtre qui s'implante dans une paroisse pour des décennies afin de veiller sur ses ouailles. Nous sommes plutôt en présence d'effectifs religieux très mobiles obligeant les populations locales à s'adapter fréquemment à un nouveau prêtre.

Échanges matrimoniaux et communautés ethnoreligieuses: Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier, 1861-1871

Edith James
Université Laval

Nous nous intéressons dans nos travaux aux différences socioéconomiques entre les groupes ethniques dans le monde rural québécois. Plus particulièrement, nous voulons voir quelles différences fondées sur l'appartenance ethnique existent à Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier au 19e siècle. Les Irlandais et les Français sont-ils relégués à un statut de prolétariat, comme la littérature le suggère? Le protestantisme favorise-t-il plus le commerce et le leadership comme le craignait le clergé catholique? S'il y a des différences socioéconomiques entre les groupes ethniques, y a-t-il stratification parmi les groupes? Lors de ce colloque, nous aborderons une des composantes de ce projet, les mariages.

Dans l'imaginaire collectif, nous avons eu tendance à croire que les mariages se faisaient entre gens de même souche sociale, de même religion et surtout de même origine ethnique. Afin de vérifier cette perception, nous avons compilé les mariages célébrés à Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier pendant dix années, soit de 1861 à 1871.

Deux sources sont utilisées afin de constituer des matrices d'analyse. Il s'agit des recensements nominatifs du Canada, province de Québec, pour les années 1861 et 1871, et les registres des mariages catholiques, anglicans et presbytériens. Le dépouillement du recensement de la paroisse de Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier permet la constitution d'une base de données fournissant des informations sur les individus y habitant. Le recoupement avec les actes de mariage permet d'identifier les facteurs caractérisant les couples de mariés. Les facteurs culturels de la religion et de l'origine sont ceux retenus dans cette analyse.

Au moyen d'une matrice, nous pouvons connaître plus précisément les niveaux d'homogamie ethnique et religieuse au sein des communautés culturelles de Saint-Gabriel-de-Valcartier. Il nous est ainsi possible de nuancer les idées reçues relativement aux échanges matrimoniaux.

Québec's Environment Through the Centuries: An Environmental History

Sophie Kenniff
Université Laval

I am a new student at the master's degree in historical geography at Univertsité Laval since September 1996. I would like to specialize in environmental history. As of today, this field of research has been mainly developed by English and American researchers. Because it has been neglected by the French speaking scientific community, I would like to develop that field by studying the environmental history of the province of Québec.

More precisely, I shall direct my research towards the perception man had of Québec's environment through the centuries. It will then become possible to understand how he dealt with the environment. To reach that goal, I will choose and study several authors who wrote about the environment in the 17th, 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. Other sources will be used but are still to be determined.

This research will bring two concrete results. First, it will let the French speaking scientific community know about the work done in environmental history by the English and the Americans. Secondly, it will help develop the environmental history of and for the French speaking community, and especially in Québec.

Rural Settlement, Landscape Form, Sense of Place, and Identity

Karen Landman
Queen's University

My interests lie in rural settlement patterns, rural cultural landscape form, sense of place, and identity tied to place. My intent is to research landscape change from European settlement time to the current post-industrial society.

Rural development has seen the transformation of once-distinct communities, including agglomerations of ribbon development, subdivisions and shopping centres, and the conversion of working family-farms to country retreats. Communities wishing to conserve their landscape character and sense of place can begin to do so if residents and local officials gain a fuller understanding of some of the basic principles of historic settlement patterns and the changes wrought by present-day society.

Not only does landscape character figure into local identity, it is increasingly seen as both an environmental and economic resource. Conserving desirable character may become increasingly important as changing economic pressures and rapid development are brought to bear on the countryside.

It is hoped that a North American site and a Western European site will be the objects of a comparative study.

The Spatial Formation of Nunavut and the Emergence of a New Inuit Regional Identity in the Canadian Eastern Arctic

André Légaré
Queen's University

On April 1, 1999, a new political entity will emerge in Canada's North. Nunavut, covering an area of 2,121,102 km2 of the Canadian Eastern Arctic and inhabited by a population of 21,000, a majority of whom are Inuit (85 per cent), will be carved out of the Northwest Territories (NWT). The thesis will explore the emergence of Nunavut as a region in relation to changing regional Inuit identity in the NWT between 1971 and 1993. To look at this question, notions pertaining to identity and regions as socially constructed categories will be explored, with a specific focus on how a region is constructed and used to create among its residents a common feeling of togetherness leading to a new regional identity. In addition, the dissertation will examine how both notions, region and regional identity, affect each other. In sum, the primary question of this thesis is how regional space is delimited and how such space while being constructed is used in the formation of a common regional identity for a group of people? To answer this question I will draw mainly upon Paasi's institutionalization concept (1986, 1996) supplemented by Wetherell's and Potter's text analysis approach (1992)

Mediating Modernism: Cycling in the Fin de Siècle

Phillip Gordon Mackintosh
Queen's University

The "great cycle craze" of the eighteen nineties coincided with the peak of nineteenth century modernism, but the proliferation of cycling exceeds coincidence. Both cycling and modernism have radical individualism in common. Transportation planning of nineteenth century cities strove to move modern individual bodies freely through urban space, reducing the meaning of space and people's association with others in it (Sennett 1994), especially as they peddled their bicycles with increasing anonymity in populating and diversifying cities. The bicycle enabled individuals to move and behave singularly. Cycling established the pluralism of individualism on the street, impugning a traditional and declining corporation. The bicycle enabled stoutly individualistic moderns to construct a normativity suitable to the history of their own age. Prototypical of the automobile age, by individuating its rider, the bicycle gave him and her a technological uniqueness, and privilege, in the city, which turns out to be a reasonable and moral means of mediating the contradiction and instability of modernity.

Literature and Geography: A Post-Colonial Perspective

Sabina Moeller
Queen's University

As a student of both literature and geography I have long been fascinated by intersections between these two disciplines. While literary critics have become interested in landscape as, for example, metaphor, geographers have brought to fiction their concerns with space and place, distance and territory, centers and margins. Indeed, an effective novelist can often surpass other forms in capturing the meanings that places landscapes possess, express and evoke, and thus imaginative literature can be used by geographers to gain alternative perspectives and insights in the study of human-environment relationships.

Literature can also influence this relationship because humans occupy a psychological as well as an ecological world; in other words, as a cultural product, literature can affect our 'way(s) of seeing' a landscape. Perhaps one of the most powerful examples is Joseph Conrad's Heart of Darkness, which continues to influence western representations of Africa today. "Knowledge" of Africa was underpinned by Europeans' cultural, intellectual and environmental background and deeply racist assumptions of the superiority of these traditions. Conrad and other nineteenth-century European authors captivated their audiences with tales of vast, primordial, chaotic and barbarous physical geography, underlain by menacing forces of darkness and inhabited (when inhabitants were spoken of) by a miserable, diseased, savage, backward population. These images permeated settlers' understanding of their relations with African social systems and, in

their eyes, excused their implementation of imperialism on the African continent. Any pre-existing reality was effaced as experience of the land and its inhabitants was distorted in an attempt to fit new information into these established frameworks of understanding.

Therefore, European authors built a literary empire whose sovereignty "extended over forms, images, and the very imaginations of both the dominators and the dominated" (Said, 1993: cover). This pervasive European vision of Africa prompted a literary response from native authors of imaginative writing. Indeed, some would argue that "one cannot look at African writing except as embedded in political circumstances, of which the history of imperialism and resistance to it is surely one of the most important... Africa is still a site of contention" (Said 1993: 239). I am intrigued by the works of post-colonial African authors who are participating in the process of decolonizing the imagination, or the perceived space, following decolonization of the physical space. Of particular interest to me are J.M. Coetzee and Ben Okri, two authors who demonstrate particular concern with spatial issues. I wish to compare and contrast the approaches Coetzee and Okri take in revealing the construction/perception of space in colonized and formerly colonized areas respectively. While Coetzee takes a more explicit approach in revealing the interests and additional influences behind the construction of "way(s) of seeing" a landscape or space, Okri goes further to challenge and reconstruct our most fundamental notions of space and place both in a particularly African context and in general. If these new voices are to be heard, geographers must begin to use sources such as imaginative literature which are "reflexive and interpretive and...[deal] with meanings rather than with numerical magnitudes" (Simmons 1993: 75).

The Maya Diaspora: Transnational Migrant Lives Spanning Cultural, Social, Economic, and Political Boundaries

Catherine L. Nolin Hanlon
Queen's University

Issues of place and identity have never be straightforward, but given increasing levels of movement across national borders and problems of deterritorialization, the shifting nature of Maya identities within and across borders and boundaries is becoming more evident. It is increasingly important for those interested in the study of migration to connect theoretically the issues of displacement, deterritorialization, constructions of ethnic identity, and ideas about nationalism and the nation-state. My doctoral research will build on my master's research question of place and identity in the Guatemalan context. My previous research focussed on Maya refugee movement from Guatemala across the border into United Nations refugee camps in southern Mexico and contemporary processes of collective return to their homeland. I plan to expand my focus to include the broader scope of Guatemalan refugee and migrant movement beyond Mexico to look at the rich tapestry of the Maya diaspora that is evident from Central America to the United States and Canada.

I would like to situate my research in the growing literature on place, identity, and transnationalism, a current conceptual approach to the study of migration in the wake of globalization and deterritorialization that attempts to convey the dynamic interactions between home and host country that must, by necessity, deal with both real and imagined borders. Recent research describes Guatemalan transmigrants in the U.S. as social actors who negotiate the politics, economic, social structures of host and home countries by developing and maintaining a multiple, layered, fluid identities. I will employ the transnational perspective in order to explore the possibility of such an emergence in Canada. Do Guatemalan migrants and refugees in Canada, as those in the United States, establish social and economic fields that span geographic, cultural, and political borders to reach their home community in Guatemala? And to what extent do the necessities of migrant and refugee lives of "double consciousness", call for transmigrants to deal with, modify, and reterritorialize the space of "imagined communities"? Recent research on transnationalism in the Americas has focused on movements to and from the United States, therefore, one of the aims of my research will be to explore continuities and reformulations evident in Guatemalan migrant life in the Canadian context.

L'évolution des limites territoriales de la Nouvelle-France entre 1713 et 1763

Béatrice Olive
Université Laval

Ma thèse d'École des chartes pour le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe — actuellement en préparation — et mon Diplôme d'Études Approfondies — D.E.A. — portent sur «L'Évolution des limites territoriales de la Nouvelle-France entre 1713 et 1763.»

Une part importante de mon travail consiste à cerner les modes de conception des espaces nord-américains au XVIIIe siècle. Il s'agit de comprendre comment les différentes catégories de personnes ressentent l'espace dans lequel elles vivent ou organisent la vie d'autres individus.

Entrent dans ce cadre les conceptions de la possession des territoires, héritage ancestral des nations amérindiennes, aussi bien que les projets colonisateurs du gouvernement royal de Versailles, ainsi que la réalité de leur application par les colons français.

Les indigènes occupent naturellement une place importante dans ces processus, puisqu'ils sont les premiers occupants et les premiers possesseurs de la terre. Tout cela ne peut se concevoir sans l'étude des traditions indigènes, des représentations réalistes ou symboliques de l'environnement.

En outre, n'oublions pas le mythe américain de la « frontière » ; même si ce terme est habituellement utilisé pour l'époque postérieure, on ne peut dans une étude comme celle qui m'occupe faire abstraction de cette notion, qui sous-tend toute l'entreprise colonisatrice tant française que britannique.

Les sources principales de cette étude sont les archives françaises concernant la Nouvelle-France, tant Archives des Colonies qu'Archives Diplomatiques. Elles permettent de rassembler nombre d'informations sur les ambitions de Versailles, les rapports directs avec les Amérindiens, et les contacts réels ou oniriques entretenus par les colons avec leur milieu. Les cartes d'époque constituent aussi une source intéressante.

La méthode utilisée consiste à rassembler le plus d'informations possibles non seulement sur les événements eux-mêmes, souvent déjà connus, mais encore sur les processus qui ont conduit à la réalisation de ces événements, sur les mécanismes de construction de la frontière et des limites territoriales de la colonie. À terme, il s'agira de donner une explication précise de ces mécanismes, et à partir de cela, de donner une vision la plus précise possible, allant jusqu'à la cartographie, de ces limites. D'ores et déjà, il apparaît de façon évidente qu'à différents territoires correspondent divers modes de domination, dépendant notamment de la vision réelle et surtout symbolique qu'en ont les différents acteurs.

Les paysages beaucerons au XIXe siècle : Genèse d'une région

Pierre Poulin
Université Laval

L'image de la Beauce et des Beaucerons au XIXe siècle, véhiculée dans la littérature scientifique et populaire, renvoie à celle du Québec rural et de l'« Habitant ». En insistant sur le caractère homogène de la population et sur « l'isolement géographique » comme éléments fondateurs de l'identité beauceronne, tour à tour et à des époques différentes, historiens, géographes, sociologues, généalogistes et amateurs d'histoire ont raconté la Beauce, à travers les histoires régionales, les synthèses historiques et les monographies paroissiales. C'est à partir de cette « vision du monde » que l'identité beauceronne s'est constituée autour d'un système de représentations collectives qui associe reconnaissance aux curés-missionnaires et hommage aux familles pionnières. Par contre, l'analyse des formes spatiales, issues des processus économiques et sociaux, suggère une autre vison de ce passé comme héritage dans la mémoire collective.

Au-delà de cette Beauce idéalisée et de cette Beauce vécue, qui renvoie à l'opposition entre le discours et la pratique, et au-delà des traits morphologiques distincts entre la vallée de la Chaudière et les collines environnantes, il y aurait, selon nous, deux autres Beauces. L'une s'articulerait autour de Sainte-Marie, plus près de Québec et de ses marchés ; l'autre, serait regroupée autour de Saint-François (Beauceville) et de Saint-Georges, orientée vers la Nouvelle-Angleterre, les régions limitrophes étant l'État du Maine et les Cantons-de-l'Est. Autrement dit, ne faudrait-il pas regarder la Beauce en terme de « succession de civilisations » et de « transformations des cohérences initiales » pour en comprendre la genèse. Telle est l'hypothèse qui sera défendue dans cette thèse.

En analysant le contexte de production de la littérature disponible, et en le confrontant à une spatialisation des phénomènes observés, obtenue par le traitement de données de diverses sources, par exemple les recensements nominatifs ou les cartes anciennes, nous croyons être en mesure d'obtenir une image différente de la Beauce et du Beauceron au XIXe siècle. Nous procéderons en constituant une grille d'analyse critique pour les monographies paroissiales et les histoires locales. Ensuite, la cartographie des paroisses crées, durant la période concernée, se juxtaposant aux seigneuries et aux cantons, montrera la superposition sur les entités territoriales existantes.

En plus de se référer à la littérature scientifique sur le sujet, nous procéderons à l'exploitation de sources de première main dont : les recensements nominatifs du Bas-Canada de 1831-1851-1871 ; les cartes anciennes et l'iconographie ; les cadastres abrégés des seigneuries pour la Beauce 1857-1863 ; la liste des terres concédées par la Couronne dans la province de Québec de 1763 à 1890.

À partir des recensements nominatifs, les bases de données seront constituées pour traiter diverses variables telles : la population, les superficies occupées, cultivées, les productions agricoles et le cheptel. D'autres encore seront créées pour étudier les industries rurales à partir des informations contenues dans les recensements et sur les cartes anciennes de la région au XIX^e siècle.

Un fond de carte sera réalisé pour les seigneuries primitives et les cantons beaucerons à l'échelle des rangées de concessions (rang). Ensuite, il s'agit de cartographier les variables démographiques relatives aux structures des ménages ; les limites des villages, les dates d'ouverture des registres d'état civil et celles de l'érection canonique des paroisses ; la répartition des industries rurales et les réseaux routiers ; les productions agraires et les produits dérivés des élevages et des cultures.

Par ailleurs, il sera possible de déterminer les acteurs influents en terme de biens fonciers, de comparer les types de production et les quantités produites par concession et d'établir les variations de production. L'analyse considérera également les types de sol et les variations climatiques. Enfin, les lots réservés à la recherche et à l'exploitation minières feront l'objet d'une attention particulière.

Une enquête sur la situation du crédit à la consommation sur la Rive Nord de Montréal au cours des années 1830 et 1840

Claude Pronovost
Université Laval

L'historiographie a longtemps présenté l'endettement comme une représentation et même une indication de la misère sociale des campagnes bas-canadiennes. Mais dans une société de colonisation où l'économie est principalement basée sur le secteur agricole et qui, de plus, est tributaire d'une demande extérieure volatile, faut-il vraiment s'étonner d'une telle situation. D'ailleurs, on a trop souvent confondu crédit et endettement dans le débat sur la situation économique prévalant au Bas-Canada dans la première moitié du XIX^e siècle.

Loin d'être un frein à l'essor de l'économie québécoise, le crédit marchand représente plutôt un tremplin vers l'accession à une économie de marché pour la population rurale. Mais, pour la majorité des ménages, le crédit à la consommation représente un mail nécessaire dans un contexte où le revenu familial est principalement basé sur la vente des produits agricoles.

C'est dans cette perspective que nous menons une enquête sur la situation du crédit à la consommation sur la rive nord de Montréal au cours des années 1830 et 1840. Si, au XVIII^e siècle, les marchands disposent d'un certain pouvoir économique en vertu d'une concurrence déficiente, au XIX^e siècle, la relation entre le marchand et le client n'est déjà plus rapport entre dominant et dominé. Les marchands de campagnes sont désormais suffisamment nombreux pour créer un rapport de force entre le pourvoyeur de produits manufacturés et le consommateur.

C'est dans cette perspective que nous voulons établir une véritable géographie du crédit à la consommation dans le monde rural. La proximité d'un marchand représente un des facteurs les plus importants qui incite un individu à acheter à un endroit plutôt qu'à un autre. Dans un contexte où le développement routier demeure primaire, ce facteur est d'autant plus déterminant. Pourtant la capacité d'un marchand à accorder du crédit et la forme que prendra celui-ci peut jouer un rôle décisif dans le choix du consommateur.

En combinant les informations d'ordre géographique contenues dans les recensements et les dettes contractées par les individus envers les marchands, nous pourrons visualiser le rayonnement des divers marchands dans le monde rural. On ne peut évidemment pas compter sur l'ensemble des livres de comptes des marchands pour espérer mener à bien une telle entreprise. Par contre, la rubrique des dettes passives contenues dans les inventaires après décès nous permettra d'établir le portrait de la situation du crédit dans un secteur donné. Il s'agit ici de travailler à rebours, plutôt que de partir de créancier vers les débiteurs, nous faisons le cheminement inverse. Si le processus est laborieux, il a pourtant l'avantage de donner un aperçu de l'ensemble de l'évolution du crédit.

The Politics of Space and the Hegemonic Construction of "Whiteness" in Canada

Vanessa Pyrce
Queen's University

My thesis examines the social construction of identity, particularly white identity within Canada. It is important to note that I recognize that race is both a social construct and a political reality. There is the risk of legitimizing race when issues related to race are explored. As I discuss whiteness I recognize its constructive nature though its influence on people of colour is a political reality.

It is my assumption that space plays a crucial role in the construction of whiteness and has influenced its position as the norm within Canada. I approach this task from within a feminist framework, and from within a system that despite my whiteness, I am equally involved. I also approach this work by deconstructing the centre; whiteness. In so doing I acknowledge my role as an historical oppressor of non-white people. The time had come for white people to recognize their role in the system of racism and how they consciously and unconsciously reproduce the ideology that whiteness is the norm through the use of space.

This idea grew out of two concerns. The first involved the recognition that most work in geography that deals with how place shapes identity has looked at how place shapes the 'other'. Instead I want to look at how place shapes and reproduces whiteness as the yardstick to which non-white people are measured. The second concern acknowledged that the literature on the social construction of whiteness involved little or no analysis of space. Similarly, the literature on identity and place does not deal with whiteness. Therefore my thesis hopes to bring these two ideas together by examining the social construction of whiteness and the influence of space.

In Search of National Identity

James E. Reinhart
Queen's University

My research sketches the historical roots of contemporary cultural heterogeneity in Belize in terms of ethnicity, identity, and nationalism. Beginning with initial settlement by the ancestral Maya, the study traces immigration to Belize. Ethnic groups other than the ancestral Maya whose settlement geography is discussed and mapped include Europeans, Creoles, Garifuna, Yucatec Maya, Mestizos, Mopán and Kekchí Maya, East Indians, Chinese, Mennonites, and refugees from civil war in Central America in the 1980s. Connections between place and identity are explored for each ethnic group. It is argued that the environment in which one lives shapes one's identity. Culture is a dynamic, ever-changing process yet, paradoxically, while culture continues to be so fluid, ethnic cohesiveness often remains quite immutable. The study also addresses theoretical considerations about the formation of identity and nationalism in Belize. Temporal and spatial contexts of identity are discussed in terms of self-identification and identification by others. The study ends with an exploration of the larger transnational forces of migration, cultural imperialism, and globalization that shape identity and affect state and sub-state nationalism in Belize.

The Canada Road

Barry Rodrigue
Université Laval

My research concerns the "Canada Road" (Route Chaudiere-Kennebec), its support structures, and the French Canadian migration along it from 1817 to 1860. This road was the modern overland derivative of an old system of water and portage routes linking the Chaudiere River in Lower Canada with the Kennebec River in Maine, this road served as one of the primary transportation corridors between Canada and the United States until expansion of the Grand Trunk Railway in 1860 supplanted it. This study serves as an emendation to note only the laurentian thesis, but also to its widely applied political symbolism.

This study is a socio-economic re-evaluation of frontier settlement that reveals a complex pattern of bilateral migration and differential settlement by British, Irish, German, and French Canadian migrants. While scholars have often sought to explain patterns of settlement in the Quebec and Maine border region by use of cultural stereotypes, a closer examination shows that the actual determining factors were largely economic in nature.

I am using an interdisciplinary approach to approximate the changing territoriality of the Quebec-Maine borderlands in the 19th century. My methods include archival research to determine the sequence of road development, the institutional structures which evolved along the road, and the economic opportunities causing migrants to move between Maine and Lower Canada; cartographic representation of archeological sites along the

Canada Road in order to identify the changing migratory patterns and settlement frontiers between Lower Canada and Maine; creation of a data base about individual families from the Beauce in order to better understand and interpret the source area for the migrations along the Canada Road; and collection of oral history with which to expand the quantitative data derived from the above methods.

Urbanisation et population: la ville de Québec entre 1850 et 1920

Marc St-Hilaire
Université Laval

Richard Marcoux
Université Laval

Hormis quelques recherches sur Montréal et Saint-Hyacinthe, l'étude rétrospective à échelle fine des populations urbaines en contexte d'industrialisation (formation, évolution, transition démographique) constitue un champ encore peu exploré au Québec. Par ailleurs, la période 1850-1920 de l'histoire de la ville de Québec a reçu peu d'attention de la part des chercheurs en sciences sociales et humaines, peut-être en raison du déclin relatif que la ville a alors connu, en particulier entre 1860 et 1900 (stagnation des effectifs, départ de la garnison britannique, déclin des chantiers navals et des activités portuaires, lent démarrage industriel). En effet, le gros des enquêtes réalisées à ce jour portent sur la période antérieure ou sur le caractère institutionnel et patrimonial de la ville alors que la période visée a été pour Québec une époque des changements fondamentaux, porteurs de plusieurs de ses caractéristiques actuelles (composition ethnique, assises économiques, structures socioprofessionnelles, comportements reproducteurs). Par le biais des traits et des comportements de sa population, la recherche proposée veut contribuer à combler ces lacunes historiographiques en apportant un éclairage nouveau sur les transformations sociales et géographiques qui ont marqué la capitale au cours d'une période charnière de son histoire.

L'enquête est basée sur les recensements nominatifs bas-canadiens et canadiens réalisés entre 1851 et 1901, les rôles d'évaluation et les archives de l'état civil. Jumelées entre elles, les données que recèlent ces sources permettront des analyses fines des caractéristiques économiques, sociales et culturelles de la population québécoise à l'échelle du ménage (natalité, mortalité, migrations, composition du ménage, participation des enfants à la main-d'oeuvre, services urbains, équipements sanitaires, etc.) et une cartographie à grande échelle des traits et comportements observés. Sur la formation de la population urbaine, notamment, les données des actes de mariage célébrés sur le territoire municipal serviront à reconstituer les aires de recrutement des conjoints et les aires migratoires de la ville, nous informant du même coup sur les relations que celle-ci a entretenu avec sa région immédiate et avec les autres ensembles régionaux du Québec. Le contexte urbain sera quant à lui connu par les informations tirées des recensements publiés, les archives municipales (cartes et plans, règlements municipaux relatifs aux infrastructures sanitaires, aux services publics, à l'hygiène et autres), les journaux et diverses autres sources cartographiques et iconographiques conservées aux Archives nationales du Québec à Québec et à la Cartothèque de l'Université Laval.

L'évolution de la géographie sociale et des comportements de la population de la capitale que permettra de reconstituer l'enquête projetée sera, dans la mesure du possible, comparée à celle d'autres villes québécoises et canadiennes. Sur ce point, l'expérience de Kingston, sur le lac Ontario, représentera un point de comparaison intéressant sur les plans social et économique, cette ville ayant elle aussi exercé des fonctions administratives et militaires importantes jusqu'au milieu du 19e siècle et ayant connu des déboires similaires à Québec après 1860. Pour ce qui est des comportements reproducteurs en soi, la comparaison portera sur Montréal, Saint-Hyacinthe et la région du Saguenay, trois ensembles pour lesquels des données élaborées sont disponibles.

Photography and Geography: Partners in "Picturing Place"

Joan M. Schwartz
Queen's University

Modern Canada is a product of the photographic era. At its most superficial level, such a statement suggests that there is a rich and extensive photographic record illustrating many facets of Canadian society and history from the 1840s to the present day. However, embedded in this simple observation are wide-ranging implications for the pursuit of historical geography. These become clear in light of recent geographical approaches to landscape — its construction, meaning and representation. The recent problematization of "writing" — keeping in mind that "photography" translates literally as "writing with light" — has undermined the visual authority of the photograph as a mimetic representation of the world, at the same time recasting the photograph as an agent in forging responses to place, forming notions of identity,

establishing symbolic space, fashioning collective memory and defining cultural difference. My research takes an archival approach to the photography as the product of a "document-event" relationship. It suggests that photographs are not only tools of description but devices of inscription, and that they merit attention in historical geography for the ways in which they not only reflected but also constituted imaginative geographies of place.

The National Parish as a Place for the (Re)construction of Irish-Catholic Identity

Rosalyn Trigger
McGill University

By examining three Irish-Catholic parishes in Montreal, St. Patrick's, St. Ann's, and St. Gabriel's, between c.1860 and c.1895, I hope to demonstrate the important role played by the parish as a site through which the Irish inhabitants' concepts about themselves as an ethnic group were constituted. In conjunction with the broader influences of ultramontane Catholicism and Irish nationalism, processes were occurring within the parishes which contributed to the evolution of Irish-Catholic identity on a micro-scale as a result of the complex way in which locale, sense of place, community, and ethnicity were bound together.

In my talk, I will focus explicitly on the role of the parish in creating symbolic landscapes and on the way in which these landscapes reflected and participated in the (re)construction of Irish-Catholic ethnicity in Montreal. An examination of symbolic landscapes, from the perspective of St. Gabriel's parish, will provide insights into the relationship between Irish Catholics and their French-Canadian co-religionists as well as demonstrate the way in which Irish-Catholics maintained their unity on a city-wide scale, despite their division into an increasing number of smaller, more human-scale, national parishes in the late nineteenth century. While the symbolic landscape of the parish may have been important in terms of providing Irish-Catholics with a sense of belonging and reinforcing ethnic identity, more tangible means of drawing Irish-Catholics together were to be found in the voluntary associations and charitable organisations that were a vital part of parish life.

I am interested in examining the links between ethnic identity and place. It has been noted that despite a growing theoretical literature, few attempts have been made to open up the questions of place to sustained empirical analysis (May, 1996 : 194). Exceptions include K. Anderson's work on Vancouver's Chinatown in which she illustrates the linkages between place, identity, and ethnicity by demonstrating the way in which the distinctive landscape of Vancouver's Chinatown came to be an important site through which white society's concepts about the Chinese were constituted (Anderson, 1991 : 4). In terms of my own study, I will attempt to make use of certain aspects of Anderson's approach, while at the same time following in the tradition of ethnic historians, such as Harney (1985) and Zucchi (1980), who have emphasized the importance of producing "interior" histories of ethnic neighbourhoods. Symbolic landscapes are worthy of investigation because they not only reflect the social and political processes that shaped them, but also played a role in these processes.

A wide range of sources will be used to carry out this study, including census material, contemporary newspapers, correspondence between the Irish parishes and the Archdiocese of Montreal, and parish archives. Both qualitative and quantitative methods of analysis will be used, although the former will predominate. Historical methods will be used to interpret the documentary sources.

Paysage, mythe et vécu territorial : Charlevoix au XIX^e^ Siècle

Lynda Villeneuve
Université Laval

Cette thèse a pour objet le problème de la représentation d'un paysage régional québécois au XIX^e^ siècle confronté au vécu territorial qui y prend place. Nous postulons que le discours véhiculé sur Charlevoix depuis le milieu du XIX^e^ siècle constitue une vision mythique du paysage, élaborée à partir de mythes et d'idéologies issus à la fois de la nation canadienne-française elle-même et de la société britannique de l'époque. Chacun de ces langages a cependant pour but de faire de Charlevoix une représentation du paysage national idéal du Québec.

Nous tenterons dans cette thèse d'aller au-delà du discours afin de mieux appréhender les relations entre l'homme et le territoire qui s'expriment dans le paysage. Le milieu du XIX^e^ siècle est marqué dans Charlevoix par une série de bouleversements économiques et sociaux, conséquences du passage de l'économie québécoise d'un stade préindustriel au capitalisme industriel. Le paysage s'adapte à ces changements selon la territorialité qui lui est propre, reflet d'une adaptation sur la longue durée entre la population et son milieu. Les représentations du paysage effectuées par des étrangers de passage dans la région ont également contribué à en façonner l'identité, en suscitant un intérêt pour son paysa-

ge naturel grandiose et ses habitants au mode de vie pittoresque. Ces représentations du paysage seront à l'origine d'une industrie majeure qui viendra modifier l'évolution du paysage à partir du milieu du XIX^{e} siècle : le tourisme.

Notre démarche s'appuie sur deux méthodes d'analyse liées au type de sources utilisées. L'analyse des signes, la sémiotique, nous sera utile afin d'extraire les composantes des représentations textuelles et picturales de la région au cours de la période 1800 à 1900. Nous aurons également recours à l'analyse spatiale et statistique afin d'obtenir une nouvelle forme de représentation du paysage à l'aide des recensements décennaux de la période de 1831 à 1871 pour deux paroisses représentatives des deux milieux socio-économiques de la région : Baie-Saint-Paul et Saint-Urbain. D'autres types de documents d'archives viendront également enrichir ce portrait. Cette double analyse nous permettra ainsi non seulement de mesurer l'écart entre les représentations du paysage et la territorialité qui y prend place, mais également de constater l'influence de ces représentations sur son évolution. Cette méthode nous permettra d'obtenir une vision plus juste de l'évolution de ce paysage, à travers les relations entre l'homme et le territoire.

Aboriginal Health-Status: The Importance of Health and Space.

Kathleen Wilson
Queen's University

What I hope to do in this research is examine the importance of "place" by comparing the health-experiences of First Nations people who live on reserves with those living in urban areas. In particular, I wish to explore the relationship of traditional healing practices, ties to the land, and social organization of reserve communities. These will then be compared with those living in urban areas where access to traditional material and spiritual resources is limited.

CIEQ

Cheminements

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- Serge **Courville,** et Brian **Osborne**
- Serge **Courville,** et Normand **Séguin,**
- Peter G. **Goheen,**
- Matthew G. **Hatvany,**
- W. George **Lovell,**
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- Catherine L. **Nolin Hanlon,**
- Barry **Rodrigue,**
- Joan M. **Schwartz,**
- Lynda **Villeneuve,**
- Philip **Wolfart**

Incluant également des présentations de

Louise **Blouin**
Michel **Boisvert**
Kate **Boyer**
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Claude **Pronovost**
Vanessa **Pyrce**
James E. **Reinhart**
Barry **Rodrigue**
Marc **St-Hilaire**
Joan M. **Schwartz**
Rosalyn **Trigger**
Lynda **Villeneuve**
Kathleen **Wilson**